

INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY

The Adult and Community Education(ACE) sector in Australia recognizes “cultural diversity” as one of the greatest challenges of the last decade of the twentieth century in its policy objectives, its international outreach, and its support of the Cross-Cultural Network of the Australian Association of Adult and Community Education(AACE) and the Network for Intercultural Communication(NIC).

“Come In Cinderella”, the Report of the Senate Standing Committee on Employment, Education and Training (1991:100-101) acknowledges:

Evidence on the outcomes of participation in fourth sector (ACE) programs by Non-English-Speaking-Background migrants, as for participants generally, is very poorly documented. Such information as has been provided to the Committee suggests that participation in the fourth sector programs is a significant first step in overcoming social isolation for many NESB migrants who have no immediate prospect of obtaining employment or education in mainstream institutions.

This seminal Report (1991:101) also recognizes that the key to overcoming the acute social and economic problems of our long-neglected Aboriginal and Islander communities is:-

An holistic approach, under the guidance of Aboriginal people, to achieve educational equity while accommodating cultural difference and recognizing socio-economic disadvantage.

Overseas students, particularly in our universities and TAFE colleges represent a rapidly expanding clientele, particularly students from Asia . There are more than 500 students from Confucian Culture Heritage countries alone at Griffith University, in Brisbane, in 1994. Their learning styles and support needs are very different from those of the Anglo majority and

Dunbar (1988:15) suggested that they pay a high price for success and often fail because of the lack of awareness of their special characteristics as learners.

Then there are the rapidly expanding opportunities for overseas travel, working overseas, transnational mergers, takeovers and transfers which mean that:

Increasingly we interact with people who are different from us, or with situations that are very unfamiliar to us. (Harris & Moran: 1987:205).

As citizens of the global village, adult and community educators will have noticed work colleagues and clients of unfamiliar cultural backgrounds whether they be African, homosexual or well elderly, who necessitate different ways of interacting to achieve mutual goals.

The so-called "Fourth Sector" which has been distinguished from the First Sector-schools; the Second Sector-TAFE and the Third Sector-Universities, by the Senate Standing Committee, is acknowledged as being as diverse and complex as "that arena of education and training that has not yet been absorbed into the formal system." (1991:8). This study, while focussing primarily on the fourth sector, will examine concepts, theories and practices relevant to cross-cultural practitioners in all four sectors, but particularly those involved with adult learners.

This study then is directed at conceptualizing "cross-cultural effectiveness" to improve the design and outcomes of cross-cultural provision in adult and community education. Chapter 1 will establish the need for and purposes of the study. Chapter 2 will review and synthesize different perspectives on key concepts such as "culture", "cross-cultural communication", "adaptation" and "effectiveness". Chapter 3 will critique some relevant, contemporary learning theories being applied in this field, i.e. competency-based-training, cognitive "attributes" and critical theory (including perspective transformation). Chapter 4 will search for culturally-appropriate research methods. The next Chapter will present the data on practitioners' "espoused" and "in action" theories of "cross-cultural effectiveness" (Argyris and Schön: 1978) by means of oral and written discourse analysis. The final chapter will summarize concepts and theories, derive implications for practice and identify areas for further research.

The four target groups have been spelt out above, i.e. learner groups who need the provider groups to be more "cross-culturally" sensitive and effective.

These includ

aboriginal and islander learners; visiting learners born overseas - especially from Asia and the Pacific and colleagues and clients in overseas settings or in Australia who are culturally different.

Why then has the Adult and Community education sector been selected from among provider groups and who are they specifically?

The Aulich Committee Report (Cinderella: 1991) describes ACE as both “the Cinderella” sector and “an idea whose time has come” and “the remaining sector” - “the fourth sector” - the other three being the schools, TAFE and the universities but it also defines it, in its appendix as (1991:175):-

an activity oriented towards lifelong learning ... which makes provision for the recurrent vocational, personal, cultural and social development of people beyond compulsory school age but not primarily engaged in post-school education and training programs.

This conceptualization is further operationalized in McIntyre’s (1993) Taxonomy of Providers which includes three major categories of providers viz.

- (a) Sole providers of ACE courses, e.g. Workers Education Associations, the Council of Adult Education, Community Colleges, Community Adult Education Centres, Skillshares and Disability Training Centres.
- (b) Formal educational institutions (State, Commonwealth-funded and private), e.g. Continuing Education units in universities, TAFE adult and community education units, business colleges and school adult education programs and
- (c) Other organizations providing ACE courses, e.g. government departments, agencies or statutory authorities - Community Services, Health Commissions, Telecom or the Cancer Council; Non-government organizations, e.g. Nursing Mothers Associations, Neighbourhood Houses & Centres; other non-government organizations, e.g. industry associations, unions (Real Estate Institute, Registered Nurses Associations and private companies like B.H.P.).

ACE courses identified above include, according to the Aulich Report (1991:169-170):-

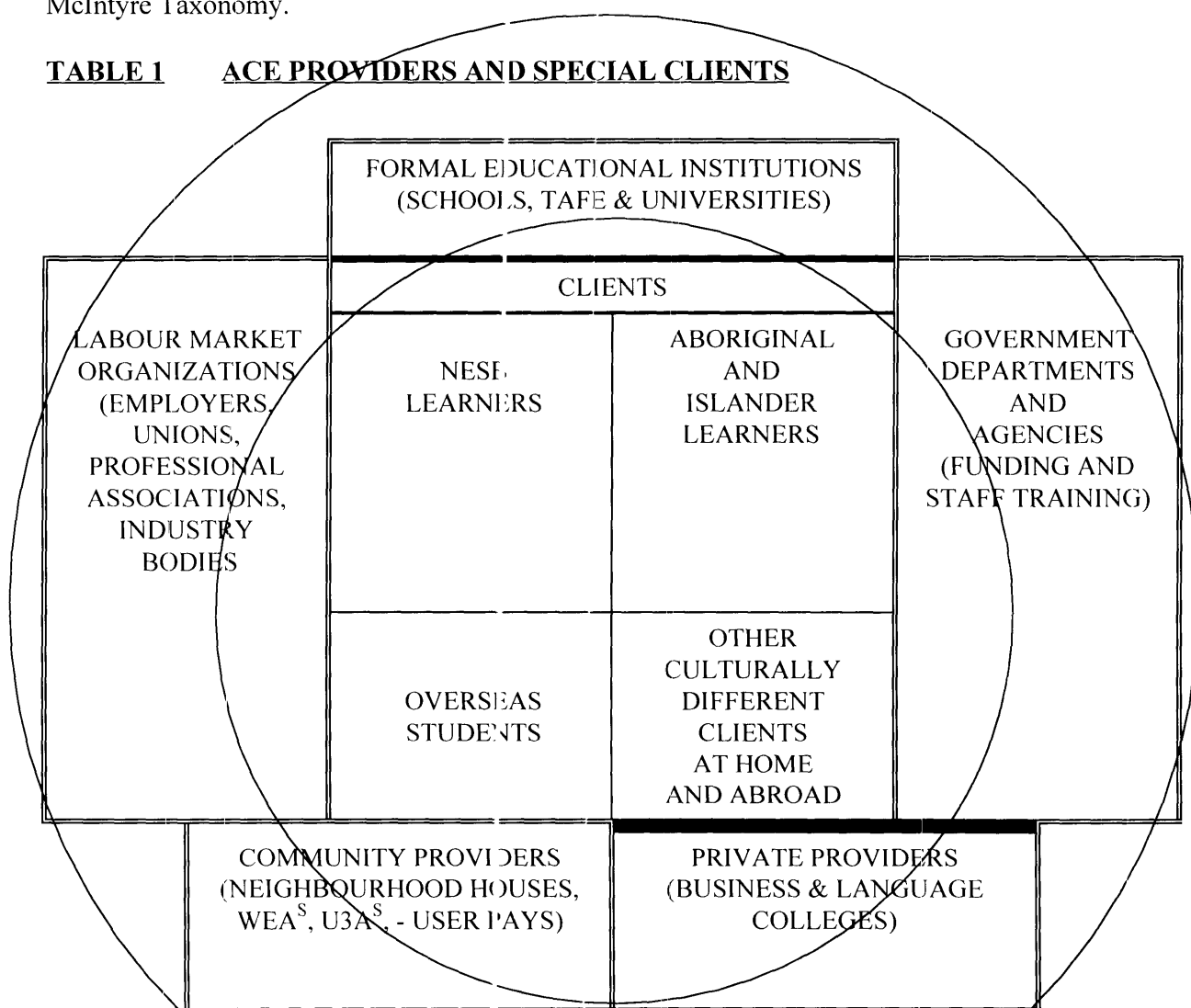
- Adult Basic Education (including English as a Second Language)
- General/liberal adult education

- General/liberal adult education
- Job, occupational and career-related education and training and
- Public education, e.g. AIDS and Landcare.

The comprehensive “Study of Outcomes for Students Participating in Adult Education at the Council of Adult Education”(1994) produced by Lance Peters, demonstrates conclusively that the four selected client groups are significant users of the ACE sector.

The diverse providers identified above and the specifically-targeted client groups for whom a better understanding of “cross-cultural effectiveness” is so crucial can be diagrammed as follows. The five categories of providers are taken from the Aulich Report rather than the McIntyre Taxonomy.

TABLE 1 ACE PROVIDERS AND SPECIAL CLIENTS



NB: this is a dynamic model, the outer ring should rotate around the inner ring denoting multiple relationships.

1. INTRODUCTION: TARGET GROUPS:-

A. NESB AUSTRALIANS

In the introduction to “Cross-Cultural Communication - A National Resource Guide”, published by the National Centre for Vocational Education Research, Haines (1992: xxiii) summarized her discussions with TAFE personnel in this way:-

Many teachers are unaware of the problems faced by Non-English Speaking Background students. The attitude that all students should be treated in the same way, and that any student in a main stream class must cope somehow with the ‘normal’ requirements of that class is quite common. Ignorance of differences, ignorance of the issues involved and unconscious prejudice are often present. Many teachers are aware that there is a problem, but feel they do not possess the background, training or skills to solve it. Others, while sympathetic, find that the time pressures of their job prevent them from giving all the help that is required.

It is to the conceptual frameworks, world views, “espoused theories” and “theories-in-use” or practice (Argyris and Schön: 1987) of the providers, in the Adult and Community Education sector (ACE), including TAFE, the Universities, private Colleges and community-based providers, of appropriate cross-cultural “background, training” and “skills”, that this study will be addressed.

Haines (1992: xl) concluded:-

Short courses will not change attitudes or beliefs overnight, but behaviour can be changed, and this in the long term will bring about changes in attitude. Such changes are essential if Australia is to overcome both the education costs and the social and economic costs of failing to adequately educate a significant proportion of its population.

Here she is targeting the 26% of Australia’s population from non-English-speaking backgrounds:

- . 1% of whom are Aboriginal or Torres Strait Islanders
- . 5% descended from migrants with Non-English Speaking 2 Backgrounds (NESB) who came to Australia more than two generations ago

- . 8% are second generation Australians, born of NESB parents and
 - . 12% overseas born from NESB backgrounds.
- (1986 Census figures from "Understanding Immigration" [1987])

More recent figures from the last (1991) census indicate an increase in the Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander population of 13% since the 1986 census; an increase from 90,000 migrants admitted as refugee, humanitarian and special arrivals in 1983 to 660,400 in 1991; an increase of Asian settlers from 32% of all arrivals in 1986 to 42% in 1991, most from Vietnam and the Philippines (Coppell 1994) and, in Queensland, a 14.5% increase in the Aboriginal and Islander population and a 69.8% increase in Australians of NESB background since 1986 (Castles: ABS: 1993).

B. OVERSEAS STUDENTS

Haines went on to identify a second target group which the providers of Adult and Community Education are increasingly involved with - Overseas students. She identified a number of full-fee-paying overseas students within Queensland TAFE having the largest number, studying mainly business studies, computing, accounting and finance, hospitality and engineering and coming mainly from Hong Kong, Indonesia, Malaysia, China, Fiji, Japan and Thailand. Her figure of only 196 full-fee paying students in Victoria, in 1992, is cast into doubt by Bowen's (1991:56) figure of 168 at Prahran College of TAFE alone and 4079 Australian Migrant Education Program participants in the Central Region of Melbourne alone - and these latter are also the clients of ACE providers.

Phillips (1990:765) from the University of Canberra, writing about the university sector, reported:-

there has been a major shift in the character of the (university) student population from one of primarily Anglo-Celtic English-speaking origins to one which also includes a large and increasing percentage of students who come from a NESB background .. it might be closer to 20% of the student population .. and will possibly double in the foreseeable future.

Using DEET figures he calculated that, in 1990, from the top ten provider countries, there were 27,418 overseas students, in universities from non-English-speaking

countries. The largest groups were, in rank order, from Malaysia, Hong Kong, Indonesia, China, Fiji, Thailand, Taiwan, and Singapore. They studied overwhelmingly bachelor's degrees and favoured, in rank order, universities like U.N.S.W., Curtin, Monash, Sydney, R.M.I.T., Melbourne, Queensland, South Queensland, Western Australia and Wollongong in the faculties, again in rank order, of Business, Science, Arts, Humanities and Social Science, Engineering, Surveying, Health and Education.

More recent figures from Alexander (1993:6) indicated that:-

Every university now has an international students' office with people out regularly 'beating the bushes for full fee-paying students'. One of the main prizes at stake is the very lucrative pool of Asian students who travel out of their countries to undertake tertiary studies. This group constitutes almost three-quarters of the total of Australia's overseas students with maybe \$20,000 - \$25,000 associated with each.

A comparison of Phillip's and Alexander's figures show the rapid growth in this short time as well as highlighting the key target groups:-

TABLE 2

<u>OVERSEAS STUDENTS BY COUNTRY OF ORIGIN</u> (TOP 10 ONLY)		
	1990	1993
MALAYSIA	6669	7833
HONG KONG	3716	7024
SINGAPORE	285	4392
INDONESIA	1868	2530
CHINA	1216	2011
THAILAND	552	827
SOUTH KOREA	--	645
TAIWAN	339	580
JAPAN	--	520
SRI LANKA	--	478
(-- means not in the top 10) All figures from D.E.E.T. Reports		

These figures have been included as indicative of this increasing group of adult learners as figures from the ACE sector are not available at this time.

C. ABORIGINAL AND ISLANDER AUSTRALIANS

The development of “cross cultural effectiveness” is, of course, not confined to providers of services for non-English-speaking background Australians and overseas students.

At the Conference on Cross-Cultural Communication and Professional Education, in Adelaide, in September, 1989, reported in Hendrick and Holton (1990) a number of speakers addressed the needs of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Australians:-

Bourke analysed the differences experienced by the Aboriginal population in communicating their needs to inadequately-trained non-Aboriginal professionals. He further argued that a number of fundamental cultural differences must be understood before any meaningful dialogue can proceed between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal people. The lack of progress in the national reconciliation, deaths-in-custody and land rights arenas underscore this view.

Harris, from the University of the Northern Territory, identified the main challenge facing Anglo-aboriginal cross-cultural dialogue as two incompatible world views facing each other “neither of which can assimilate the other without destroying itself” (Hendrick and Holton: 1990:3). His solution is “two-way education” and “two-way living” in which each group develops the capacity for bi-cultural activity while not abandoning their cultural roots.

The Chief Commissioner of Enquiry into Aboriginal Deaths in Custody, Johnson, commented on problems of the clash of laws, problems of understanding and attitudes and urged lawyers and judges to be culturally-sensitive. He concluded (Hendrick and Holton: 51) that “the overwhelming responsibility lies with the non-aboriginal side .. improved community relations can only be achieved on the basis of principles of equality and equity expressed in policy .. in the implementation of policy, cross-cultural communication skills are absolutely vital.” He cited some examples of failure as (1990:50):-

Architects design houses for aborigines that are not suitable for their needs; the self-discharge rate from hospitals is very high, related to cultural problems - some Aboriginal women do not like being handled when naked or nearly so by those of the

opposite sex .. wards are closed from the sky and trees and views of the land; there are few black faces around, if any, among the general staff .. bush communities are provided with equipment and gear which they cannot repair.

Moir (1991:50) spoke, at the National Conference on Cross-Cultural Curriculum in TAFE and Police Academies, on police-aboriginal relations, of the fact that:-

Aboriginal people are more likely to come under police notice as juveniles, less likely to get bail and more likely to spend time in prison than other Australians.

Moir, from the N.S.W. Police Academy, wrote, in the Conference report, of a long history of “subjugation”, “discrimination”, “genocide” and “slaughter”, “removing children from their families for domestic service” and “prejudice” and advocated (1991:53):-

Training must be delivered within the general context of an anti-racism program and must provide a general overview of aboriginal culture, history and socio-economic condition .. the aim of which should be to deal with some of the myths surrounding Aboriginal people which lie at the heart of the attitudes of some (police) students.

D: OVERSEAS CONSULTANTS

There is one final group which ACE providers are little aware of but who hold the key to both export dollars and improved intercultural relations and who can provide both jobs at home and abroad in Ohmas’s (1990) new world “the Borderless World” of “global awareness” - the overseas cross-cultural consultant.

Meggitt (1993:1) surveyed a significant body of literature on “overseas consulting” and concluded:-

Guidelines for project managers and cross-cultural trainers seem particularly urgent in the light of the 80% early return rate at the cost of two billion dollars per annum (in the U.S.A.) and the evidence that one-in-three consultants receive cross-cultural preparation before their departure and are generally recruited on the basis of strong success records at home.

A recent study undertaken by Meggitt (1995) found that both Australian consultants and Asian and Pacific consumers of their services agreed that success in the home country was a poor predictor of success overseas due to powerful cultural differences in the two contexts.

This study compared the perceptions of Australian consultants, involved in a three year assignment in the South Pacific, of the essential knowledge, attributes and skills needed for “effective” consulting with those of the client group and a third group (Pacific Islanders) of Asian consumers and providers of consulting services.

Among the major findings that emerged are that there are statistically significant differences between the three groups as to the most important “competencies” required for successful overseas consulting: that “cultural sensitivity” is the most important attribute; “interpersonal” and “teaching” skills the most important skills after “technical expertise”; that a knowledge of “host values and expectations” is the second most important category of knowledge; and that “home country success” is unimportant. A later section will develop the compelling economic arguments for regarding all Australians as cross-cultural workers in a drastically changing Australian economy and world citizens in a global village which faces major resource and environmental problems.

Four major client groups have been identified whose needs have not been all that well served by the ACE sector. At the heart of this patchy provision lies a number of conceptual problems. These include problems of definition, the lack of a coherent theoretical base, the prevalence of “myths” and muddled eclectic methodologies. This next section will examine some views on the “State of the art” in conceptualizing some key cross-cultural concepts.

2. CONCEPTUALIZING CROSS -CULTURAL EFFECTIVENESS - THE STATE OF THE ART:-

This section has been included in this Chapter to emphasize the extent to which the field of cross-cultural communication has failed the ACE sector and its diverse learner groups as a vital part of the argument for the need for this study to be undertaken. The next Chapter will address this issue in much greater detail.

Black and Mendenhall (1990: 115), after a substantial literature review, concluded:-

International management in general is in a preparadigmatic, pretheoretical stage of development, then it is not surprising that such sub-areas as cross-cultural training also lack theories and models.

Most theories, in this field, they describe as mere “experience-based hunches or empirical generalizations” (113).

Kyi (1988: 209) summarized:-

The paucity of papers in the hypothetico-deductive category .. is related to the stage of the development of the field .. Well-integrated deductive theories with a central core concept, such as ‘market’ and ‘rationality’, in economic theory have not appeared yet.

In this analysis he reveals his “positivist” orientation but Kim and Gudykunst (1988:16) identify this approach as:-

profoundly appealing to the majority of practising researchers in intercultural communication, as in most of the other human sciences. This still appears to be the dominant “paradigm” in the social sciences, worldwide which represents a rather unsophisticated approach to culturally-sensitive research in the 1990s..

Shearer (1991: 53-4) moved practitioners closer to the conceptual dilemma in her paper presented at the National Conference on Professional Cross-Cultural Staff Development Inside and Outside Universities, in which she concluded:-

Over more than two decades, the field of intercultural communication has experienced the diffusion of various disciplinary approaches .. anthropology, sociology, communication and psychology with little attempt to cross-fertilize. The lack of paradigmatic consensus has hindered its development as a field of research and practice and produced a range of professional applications which, though seldom contradictory, nevertheless constitute a formidable maze through which researchers and practitioners must travel without much sense of progress .. In addition the “emic” (one culture from within) versus “etic” (many cultures from without) distinction multiplies the effects... The field is both vast, complex and disjointed as well as rich and diverse. Such rhetoric needs to be matched with concerted effort to integrate and synthesize, so that the resulting theory can be applied to policy and practice.

It is to the tasks of synthesis and integration that this thesis will be directed.

Kim and Gudykunst (1988: 11) reported some progress:-

As the field evolves we are seeing gradual but increasing consolidation and crystallization of its core concepts. Serious attempts have been made to develop coherent conceptual paradigms of intercultural communication based on which systematic enquiries using common terminologies may be advanced, pushing the field forward in the direction of greater coherence and rigour.

Kalowski (1991: 8) in Hendrick's Conference Papers described:-

The search for a conceptual framework that enables complex issues of culture to be examined and understood, demystifying yet not oversimplifying them.

An analysis of recent journal articles (primarily the "International Journal for Intercultural Relations") from the fields of psychology, sociology and business studies revealed among writers like Ruben and Kealey (1979) Grove and Torbiorn (1985); Paige (1986); Bennett (1986); Hughes-Wiener (1986); Harris & Moran (1987); Martin & Hammer (1989); Kudirka (1989); Black & Mendenhall (1990); Walton (1990); English (1991); Black & Gregersen (1991); Beamer (1992); Bawuk & Brislin (1992); and Haines (1992, a diverse array of concepts such as "intercultural communication competence"; "intercultural behaviour"; "cultural general competence"; "culture specific competence"; "cross-cultural adjustment"; "cross-cultural coping"; "cross-cultural adaptation"; "intercultural transformation"; "transcultural persons"; "interactional effectiveness"; "intercultural sensitivity"; "intercultural effectiveness"; "multicultural communication"; "cross-cultural skills"; "cross-cultural competencies"; "ethnorelativism"; "the multi-cultural person"; "the mediating person"; "intercultural maturity"; "contextual relativism"; "the meta-ethical model"; "intercultural competence"; "cross-cultural orientation"; "overseas effectiveness"; "cultural synergy"; "cultural understanding"; and "cross-cultural effectiveness" as goals for cross-cultural training.

As Shearer (1991: 54) concluded:-

There are several different terms being used to describe the process by which an individual or community moves towards comfortable interactions with those of another culture. And each conceptual model seems to emphasize different aspects of

the adaptation experiences. For example, the words 'acculturation', 'adjustment', 'assimilation' and 'integration' are used with only occasional cross-referencing.

The task of synthesis and integration is thus an urgent one in the light of global changes, government policy and the mythology on cross-cultural teaching and learning which is currently driving the provision of cross-cultural services by the ACE sector and other providers of adult education.

3. THE CHANGING GLOBAL CONTEXT:-

The Australian Language and Literacy Policy (D.E.E.T. 1991: 15-16) recognises the importance of cross-cultural effectiveness in its landmark policy statements:-

Global economic forces are demanding changes in the structure of Australian industry, in our ability to compete in world markets and in our readiness to adapt to new jobs, new career structures and new technologies. These changes will require new skills in communication, understanding and cultural awareness, in the workplace as much as in the international marketplace .. Australians generally have a poor understanding of other languages, cultures and countries, particularly those in our own region .. Australia's location in the Asia-Pacific region and our patterns of overseas trade should continue to be a factor in this selection of priorities .. A report found that Australian exporters named Mandarin, Japanese, Arabic, Indonesian, Korean, Thai, Spanish, German and French, in that order, as the languages most in demand in a trading environment. (A.A.C.I.A.M.E. Report).

Alexander (1993: 1) cited Robertson's (1992) concept of "global compression" and concluded that with its coming, cultural aloofness is increasingly impossible. Giddens (1990: 64) described "globalization" as "the intensification of worldwide social relations which link distinct localities in such a way that local happenings are shaped by events occurring many miles away and vice versa." He attributed this largely to the influence of the increasingly international electronic media as exemplified by the Keating-Mahatir contretemps. Other explanations for "globalization" are technology, consumerism or simply a shrinking world whose people are in a greater hurry than the past. Alexander (1993: 2) also included "an advanced global marketing culture inspired by homeless international commerce aided by the mass media."

In line with the Australian government's view on domestic as well as international implications Harris and Moran (1987 :204) foreshadowed the changes seven years ago:-

Today the emergence of the global economy and market is moving nations into growing interdependence, facilitating the cross-border flow of people, idea and information .. Mass media and transportation have literally turned this planet into a village .. the trauma of transition involves not only going overseas but increasingly will focus upon our coping capacity with the new work culture.

De Bergerac (1991: 202-3) related "globalisation" to the role of cross-cultural training:-

With the globalisation of the world economy 'managing' will be more and more synonymous with 'managing cross-culturally'. Such changes will imply the development of a new breed of managers, the 'Interculturally Competent Global Managers' .. It will lead to a new way of perception of ourselves and others. We are entering a new world, the Borderless World as described by Ohmae (1990) and we will need to develop new paradigms, new models of organizations, and new ways of operating organizational changes .. cross-cultural trainers will play a crucial role as change agents. They will plant the 'little seed' of what I personally call the 'Global Awareness' - a cross-cultural competence transcended by a spiritual dimension.

Apart from globalization, there are also vast cultural differences within cultures brought about by the disintegrating effects of rapid sociocultural change.

Harris and Moran (1987: 185) reminded us:-

All life is an intercultural experience .. the process of coping and acculturation begins, whether we are called nomads, refugees, immigrants, migrants or foreign workers, international traders or performers, even tourists or astronauts.

and again (1987: 204-5)

Increasingly we interact with people who are very different from us, or with situations that are very unfamiliar to us .. Such 'transitional experiences' happen to minority or foreign students who enter college, white supervisors of minority worker, prison parolees, returning veterans, married couples who divorce, families who move from one geographic area to another, those who change careers in midlife or have major

alterations in their roles, and to multinational managers and technicians going overseas.

It is to the needs of this phalanx of adult learners, grappling with “culture shock”, and to the ACE providers of cross-cultural awareness and skills that this conceptual analysis of “cross cultural effectiveness” will be directed.

4. CHANGING AUSTRALIAN GOVERNMENT POLICY

This section has been included to highlight the national press for a significant upgrading of services to the key learner groups identified earlier. In their paper on “Multiculturalism in the Public Sector” (1991) Salagaras and Scarvelis described a number of phases in the development of government policy:

- (a) The pre-Galbally period when governments provided services to migrants on a deficit or disadvantage model.
- (b) The post-Galbally (1978) period promoted “multiculturalism” through increasing awareness of the uniqueness and diversity of the nation’s migrant population from a lifestyle perspective.
- (c) The post-Jupp (1986) period has a stronger focus on access and equity through the mainstreaming of migrant services and programs: the broadening of the concept of “multiculturalism” to encompass all Australians and the inclusion of an economic dimension of “multiculturalism” which acknowledges Australia’s multicultural assets; this along with continued tension over the costs of immigration and multiculturalism which has led to a careful targeting of resources and more informed public debate generated through the research activities of the Bureau of Immigration and Population Research and the Office of Multicultural Affairs.
- (d) The 1990’s Multicultural Policy context espoused three dimensions of “multiculturalism” viz - the right to cultural identity; the right to equality of treatment and opportunity (social justice); and economic efficiency - the need to maintain, develop and utilize the skills and talents of all. These are being achieved by devolution to the Multicultural Management Commitment Plans - a strategic planning approach carried out by all state government departments but

Agencies are very concerned about committing themselves to anything that has a new resource component (Salagaras: 1991: 118).

The National Agenda for a Multicultural Australia (1989:37) clearly put cross-cultural issues on the government agenda which have, to a large extent, been matched by both policy and action.

In a society comprising people from many cultural traditions, there is an ever-present potential for misunderstanding and conflict. There is an obligation on both sides to try to understand the other - an obligation on those borne into and on those who choose to live in such a mixed society. There is a need for opportunities to develop cross-cultural understandings particularly among people who have always lived within a single cultural framework.

In even more recent times "The Australian Language and Literacy Policy (D.E.E.T.: 1991: 2) expressed the case for action in the cross-cultural areas of this policy:-

Approximately 360,000 adult immigrants have little, if any, English. Two-thirds of these are not in the labour force and the rest are mainly in low-skilled and poorly paid jobs, and are heavily at risk in the industry restructuring process..

Despite our multicultural society and our large number of speakers of languages other than English, Australians generally have a poor understanding of other languages, cultures and countries, particularly those of our own region.

We need to maintain, enhance, and prevent the future loss or neglect of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander languages and culture, which are an essential part of our national heritage and culture. (Writer's emphasis.)

The National Goals which this paper (1991: 4) then derived indicate three major areas in which ACE providers need to become more knowledgeable and skilled in "Cross-Cultural" provision:-

1. All Australians should develop and maintain effective literacy in English to enable them to participate in Australian Society.
2. The learning of languages other than English must be substantially expanded and improved.
3. Those Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander languages which are still transmitted should be maintained and developed, and those that are not should be recorded where

appropriate” (The latter will be funded by an amount of \$5.63 million in 1992-3 and \$8.25 million in 1993-4.) so the government is committed to achieving these long overdue goals.

5. NESB AND OVERSEAS STUDENTS
AND CROSS-CULTURAL NEEDS

Pearson and Teleni (1992:40) identified some significant differences between NESB students and F.F.P. Overseas students which underscore the need for a clear conceptualization of “cross-cultural effectiveness” for TAFE, University and other ACE providers.

TABLE 3

<u>COMPARISON OF NON-ENGLISH SPEAKING BACKGROUND AND FULL-FEE-PAYING OVERSEAS STUDENTS</u>	
<u>NESB STUDENTS</u>	<u>F.F.P. OVERSEAS STUDENTS</u>
Better support network of family and friends.	
More in tune with Australian lifestyle	
Less likely to suffer severe culture, education or learning shock.	Likely to be suffering some degree of shock. Have had sudden and total immersion in the language.
Fewer difficulties with accent, colloquial language; slang.	Cannot handle colloquialisms, slang expressions.
Likely to have a better understanding of educational requirements and modes of instruction.	Mode of instruction likely to cause difficulties, particularly for Koreans and Japanese.
More likely to understand Australian context of subject matter.	
Often have few study or research skills.	Can handle written tasks as long as format is clearly shown and requirements are clearly explained.
(Pearson and Teleni: 1992:40)	

For both groups Haines et al. (1992: xxxii-xl) identified the following barriers to cross cultural communication which they defined, according to Pauwels (1991: 144), as “communication that takes place between people whose cultural backgrounds are different in

such a way that it affects understanding and communication.” The goal of this communication is to “establish, maintain and satisfactorily conclude an interaction.” “Intercultural competence” (“cross-cultural effectiveness”) is the “demonstrated ability” (Kim & Gudykunst: 1988:108) “to negotiate mutual meanings, rules and positive outcomes.”

The barriers to achieving these positive outcomes have been identified in “Cross-Cultural Communication - A National Resource Guide” as:-

1. Language - particularly difficulties with cultural mannerisms, speech patterns (stress, intonation, pitch and rhythm), sound, tonal style, idioms and slang.
2. Non-verbal cues.
3. The politeness formula.
4. Preferred learning styles.
5. Attitudes to “plagiarism” and “cheating” and
6. Stereotyping.

These are confirmed by a number of writers addressing the needs of both migrant and overseas students as key problems to be mitigated.

In a report of a project funded under the Migrant Access Projects Scheme, Bowen (1991) from Prahran College of TAFE made a number of recommendations to increase migrant access including setting up a Migrant Education Coordinator, E2SL programs, resources, tutors, staff development, student assessment, Recognition of Prior Learning (RPL), using National Office of Overseas Skills Recognition (NOOSR) guidelines and targeted publicity materials.

On the other hand the overseas students seem to be at an even greater disadvantage than their NESB Australian relatives. Phillips (1990) posited these major barriers to success:-

1. Lack of English language competence.
2. Cross-cultural teaching style differences.
3. Cross-cultural assessment style differences and
4. Cross-cultural learning style differences.

His views on Asian (three quarters of the total group by Alexander’s (1993: 6) figures) differences are challenged by a number of Asian-based researchers - notably Biggs (1993) from Hong Kong and Volet and Kee (1993) and Renshaw and Volet (1993) and Louie (1984)

that Asian students have certain generalizable characteristics and skills that require enormous sacrifices of time and effort to ensure success and a range of support services to prevent attrition rates being very costly.

The following table represents a summary of Phillips' view of Asian Learners characteristics and Biggs and his colleagues contrary view of those Confucian Culture Heritage students from China, Taiwan, Singapore, Hong Kong, Japan and Korea for even Dunbar (1988: 12) recognizes that "It is possible to construct a stereotypical "Asian" set of attitudes to knowledge and learning, and resultant learning behaviours. It is acknowledged again that such a stereotype must disguise the diversity of the situation."

TABLE 4

PHILLIPS' ASIAN LEARNERS AND BIGGS' CONFUCIAN CULTURE HERITAGE STUDENTS - A COMPARISON		
	ASIAN LEARNERS	C.C.H. STUDENTS
1	Large Classes	Lighter teaching load. More out-of-class contact. Live together (China).
2	Authoritarian lecturers.	Respected elder - warmth and respect.
3	Expository methods.	Confucian elicitation - Provocative questions. Reflective wait-time. Sticky probing.
4	External end of year of exams.	Application and creativity after skills. The one "right" morally "good" way.
5	Low level cognitive goals.	High level cognitive expectations.
6	Competition and stress.	Collective problem-solving.
7	Low expenditure support (course selling) services.	Family & peer group support. Lecturer as mentor.
8	Students passive and compliant.	Active in discussions (Singapore).
9	Rote learning.	Repetitive (deep) learning with understanding (strategic).

PHILLIPS' ASIAN LEARNERS AND BIGGS' CONFUCIAN CULTURE HERITAGE STUDENTS - A COMPARISON		
	ASIAN LEARNERS	C.C.H. STUDENTS
10	Rarely ask questions	Interrupt teacher for clarification (Singapore).
11	Won't make criticisms.	Cue-seeking, face-saving but everybody learns (see "sticky probing").
12	Docile conformists.	Responsibility to family and society. Success due to effort not ability. Highly motivated and persistent.

Biggs (1993: 2) asserted, and provided substantial evidence for his claim that:- "C.H.C. students achieve at considerably higher levels than do Western students" both in their own countries and abroad, because (1993: 9) "classrooms everywhere, Western rhetoric notwithstanding, require the qualities of diligence, conformity to task requirements, attributions to effort and strategy, and the like: the docility dispositions with which C.H.C. students are socialized."

Their success is becoming resented overseas to the extent that University of California, Los Angeles recently imposed quotas negatively discriminating against ethnic Chinese applicants and New Zealand's top medical school changed entry requirements to reduce their domination of the faculty. (Biggs: 1993:9.)

Dunbar (1988: 15) commented on McAdam's (1972: 103) explanation of the high price they pay for good results:-

The demonstrably inefficient study methods which they employ, are counteracted only by dint of constant diligence and by single-mindedly focussing attention on their academic goals. Compared with Australian students, they study more often, work longer, get more fatigued, have less sleep, sacrifice more of their weekends, and have far few social outings.

Dunbar (1988) and Alexander (1993) identified ways of assisting these Asian Learners while maintaining academic standards and minimizing failure (attrition and loss of revenue to universities and government).

Ways of assisting overseas students (Dunbar: 1988)

1. Coaching and counselling student.
2. Coaching and counselling academic staff.
3. Selective intake (English language competence).
4. Marketing selectivity (British Commonwealth countries).
5. Selective course offerings (Post graduate courses only after completing undergraduate courses in Western universities).
6. Customized courses (but see Ballard's warning).
7. Twinning, e.g. first two years in Malaysia, rest in Australia.
8. English Language and Study Skills (especially writing essays and researching a topic as fully-costed components of program packages).

At the same time we are reminded of Ballard's (1987: 115) caution:-

Clearly we neither can nor should transform our courses into Asian look-alikes .. if for no other reason than that these students come to Australia to gain new ways of handling knowledge as well as to gain the skills and content of a particular course of training.

This view is borne out by the results of a survey conducted by "The Straits Times" (September 21, 1993) and reported in Alexander (1993: 9) as to why Singaporean students want to study abroad (4,329 of them in Australia in 1993).

TABLE 5

WHY SINGAPORE STUDENTS WANT TO STUDY ABROAD	
REASON	% WHO RATE IT AS IMPORTANT
Wider choice of subjects	90
Chance to see the world	87
Good educational processes and methods	83
Foreign degree worth more internationally	77
Education facilities abroad are superior	66
Can graduate in a shorter time	60
Prestige of a foreign education	59
Less stressful to study abroad	56

(From The Straits Times, September 21, 1993)

NESB students are a rapidly growing sector of TAFE e.g. 4079 in the Adult Migrant Education Program in Central Melbourne in 1991 and 617 (17.5%) of the student population at Prahran College of TAFE in 1991, and Phillips estimated the overseas students in universities in Australia (1990: 765) “as closer to 20% of the student population and likely to double in the foreseeable future.” An estimate from the Centre for International Economics (1991: 51) asserted that “the contribution from selling tertiary education to overseas students added \$1.4 billion to Australia’s gross national product.”

With community providers including neighbourhood centres and private Colleges being encouraged by A.N.T.A.’s Terry Moran to compete with TAFE and universities in providing quality training programs for NESB, overseas students, aboriginal and islander people and off-shore clients in a variety of industries (the overseas consultant) the need for cross-cultural awareness and skill becomes a high priority for all ACE providers.

6. CONCLUSION

This introductory chapter has identified four clear client groups for ACE providers and identified a pressing need for “effective” “cross-cultural” services for each of these groups, driven by both global demands and national policy responses.

It has also revealed the “muddy waters” of cross-cultural conceptual and theoretical development in the area of “cross-cultural effectiveness”, on which to base their practice, as well as serious contradictions in the research into learner characteristics and appropriate support services. The next chapter on “conceptual issues” will explore these perplexing matters further.

INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this chapter is, by analyzing the contributions of the major academic disciplines to the field of cross-cultural communication, particularly in their conceptions of 'culture', 'intercultural communication' and 'intercultural effectiveness' (successful intercultural communication) to be better able to understand the perspectives of the informants in the field study component, to be able to map the consistency of their 'espoused theories' with their 'in-use' theories (ideology) particularly as they relate to learning theories considered relevant by them and the concepts, theories, and practices which derive from their basic tenets.

What then is the eclectic and derivative field of intercultural (or cross-cultural) communication?

"Intercultural communication" as an activity is as old as the human species. A much cited definition is that of Porter and Samovar (1982:27):

Intercultural communication occurs when a message producer is a member of one culture and a message receiver is a member of another.

How is it, then, that this seemingly unproblematic field has produced the following assertions?

Intercultural communication as a field of research and practice has had only a brief history and is, as yet, ill defined... It has been suggested that the scientific precepts and approaches used to investigate explain and understand cross-cultural differences and communicative processes have reflected (a Western) cultural bias and might be inappropriate. (Damen: 1987 p 9).

Damen (87:19-20) also cautions that:-

Most of the major concepts and definitions associated with the field were developed in sister social sciences ... (so) the uninitiated may be confounded by the use of contradictory definitions of basic terms and seemingly incompatible theoretical positions.

Hopefully intercultural communication (the field) will attempt to shed the trappings of ethnocentrism and explain the communicative act in its own terms. (Asante: 1979:p11).

Much of the literature is characterized by a certain terminological arbitrariness. (Knapp:1987:3).

As the field evolves we are seeing a gradual but increasing consolidation and crystallization of core concepts... coherent conceptual paradigms... (and) common terminologies. (Kim & Gudykunst:1988:11).

Such conceptual imprecision has led to some major difficulties at the policy and practice interfaces as identified by two recent Australian writers:-

The simple pluralist model of culture deserves to be discarded in today's cross-cultural training environment, chiefly because of its inability to provide a framework for the complexity and dynamic nature of inter- and intra-group relations in a highly diverse society like Australia. (Kalowski: "A Rights Framework" 1991:6).

The 90's Agenda for Multiculturalism continues to be locked into policies of 'cultural' multiculturalism softened by the new rhetoric of 'equitable multiculturalism'... the philosophical and theoretical underpinnings of this new policy ethos promoted under the banner of 'cross-cultural communication' are no different to the earlier policies for they continue to subscribe to, and endorse, an outmoded and flawed concept of culture, especially in its conjunction with ethnicity. (Jayasuriya: "Some Critical Reflections": 1990:96).

The not-too-surprising paradox is that the field of "intercultural communication" will never speak with one voice unless it subscribes to one dominant paradigm based on one ethnocentric world-view and that it will continue to reflect the cultural diversity of perspectives, disciplines, methodologies and agenda priorities of its multifarious contributors.

It is to gaining a clearer understanding of this kaleidoscope of approaches to key concepts in this field viz "culture", "intercultural communication" and "intercultural competence/effectiveness" that this Chapter will be directed with other widely-used terms like "culture shock", "ethnocentrism", "adaptability" and "adjustment" being analyzed as reflections of the tools used by particular perspectives to explain the inter-cultural experience.

A BRIEF HISTORY OF THE FIELD

A useful starting point will be to overview the growth of the field of intercultural communication as largely an American export, shaped by post-war factors outside academia. This analysis ought to be tempered however by the awareness that a recent book on “change” (Minke:1993:p18) attributed the development of Action Research to Argyris & Schon (1974) rather than to the much earlier work of Englishman Reg Revans and his European co-pioneers .

Hoopes (1979) dates the emergence of the academic discipline of intercultural communication from the publication of Edward Twitchell Hall’s (1959) “The Silent Language” which gave “the first comprehensive analysis of the relationship between communication and culture.” (Hoopes: 1979:p10). Prior to this the two fields of communication and culture were separate and the exclusive domain of linguists and the emerging field of communication studies and anthropologists respectively (now interested in modern as well as traditional societies).

It was the central role of the U.S.A. in ensuring global peace and cooperation in 1945 that led to the summoning of linguists, anthropologists and communicators to national headquarters to assist in the search for understanding of cultural differences, vital to the new era, of such leviathans as Japan, China, Russia and Germany.

Margaret Mead and Ruth Benedict (“The Chrysanthemum and the Sword” [1946]) rallied to the cause as did numerous linguists and psychologists of the psychometric school in vogue at the time. Mostly they produced non-empirical stereotypes which exist to this day but certainly highlighted the inadequacy of Americans in all aspects of intercultural communication as in Lederer’s (1950) “The Ugly American”, which produced yet another unfortunate stereotype.

The development of massive aid programs to be delivered by technical experts and Peace Corps volunteers led to an upsurge in interest in cross-cultural training but not until the early 1970’s. Until then only basic orientation programs were provided with simplistic and stereotypical survival information. The high failure and return rate produced a new focus on intercultural communication skills based on the eclectic insights of psychology, anthropology and communication. The work of Rogers (1951) and Maslow (1954) in humanistic psychology and value orientations by Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck (1961) heightened interest in the characteristics of the successful intercultural communicator and appropriate processes.

The growth of the field was hastened by the flood of foreign students, technicians and business people to the U.S. and the civil rights movement which led to a greater focus on “cultural diversity” at home as well as abroad.

The first basic textbook: “An Introduction to Intercultural Communication” by Condon and Yousef appeared in 1975; the Society for Intercultural Education Training and Research published its journal, the “International Journal of Intercultural Relations” and regular conferences were held to disseminate ideas over the next two decades. The field had come of age but still faced many conceptual dilemmas. What contribution, then, have the major related (Western) social science disciplines made to the diversity of conceptual models in the field?

THE CONTRIBUTING DISCIPLINES

Damen (1987:20) identified the contribution of these disciplines to the “apparent confusion” and “lack of precision” in this way:-

The term ‘culture’ may be regarded by the anthropologist as a major unifying force, by a communication professional, as a major variable, or by a psychologist as an individual mental set.

LINGUISTICS

Modern linguistic theories have evolved from descriptive structuralism to the generative-transformational school of Chomsky (1966) to the functionalism of Halliday (1970) and others: from surface forms to ‘deep structure’; from syntax to semantics. From structural linguistics the field has gained the methods of the ethnographer and field researcher, and concepts of ‘cultural categories’ and the ‘cultural informant’. Halliday (1970), Hymes (1962) and others have stimulated the questioning of the relationships between language, culture, thought and perception - the domains of the newer disciplines of psycholinguistics and sociolinguistics.

Of early interest to the field was the Sapir-Whorf hypothesis (1952) which saw language not merely as a mechanism for communicating ideas but rather as a shaper of ideas, i.e. linguistically-different people not only communicate differently but also think and perceive reality differently. According to this view:-

the linguistic system plays a large and significant role in the totality of culture, and to the extent that languages differ markedly from each other, so we should expect to find

significant and formidable barriers to cross-cultural communication and understanding. (Hoijer in Samovar and Porter: 1976:152).

This view sometimes called “linguistic relativity” or “linguistic determinism” and based mainly on the language and thought patterns of the Hopi Indians, has been criticized on the grounds of questionable data, shifting interpretations and Hall’s conclusion (1976:31) that:-

Whorf and Sapir fell into the ‘extension transference’ trap. They believed that language was thought but Einstein didn’t think with words but visual and even muscular terms.

The legacy remains however so that the connection between language and culture (world-view) is still being explored and debated by scholars in the field in the 1990s.

ANTHROPOLOGY

In addition to cultural discovery methods this discipline has contributed its central concept “culture”. The deeply-held value of “cultural relativism” (of a non-evaluative approach to cultural diversity) has the quality of an incontrovertible “given” in this emerging and eclectic field of “intercultural communication” because of the contribution of generations of anthropologists.

This tradition goes back to people like Sir Edward Tylor (1871) who defined “culture” as:-

that complete whole that includes knowledge, belief, art, morals law, custom and any other capabilities and habits acquired by man as a member of society. (Kroeber and Kluckhohn: 1952:8).

This is the tradition that regarded “culture” as an inventory of cultural characteristics, elements or traits. This tradition soon gave way to a new approach, primarily an American approach, identified as cultural anthropology stemming from the work of Franz Boas who interpreted culture as a distinctive way of life, a set of practices, beliefs and ideas characteristic of a given people. Two of Boas’s pupils, Margaret Mead and Ruth Benedict, emphasized cognition and values. This view of the uniqueness of culture was in line with Pike’s (1954) distinction between “emic” and “etic” approaches to studying cultural differences where “emic” understandings are phenomenological and culture-specific and obtained by participant observation methods. “Etic” understandings, on the other hand, are comparative, generating

more general understandings, even universal causal explanations of cultural phenomena using imposed cultural categories and so-called 'objective' observational studies. The cultural anthropological approach was based on the doctrine of 'cultural relativism' which claimed that all values are equally important and can only be appraised and given meaning within that particular cultural context. As Jayasuriya (1990:99) pointed out:-

cultural relativism slips readily into moral relativism... It is an essential concomitant of cultural pluralism... a flawed argument because it fails to distinguish between 'cultural' and 'sociological relativism' (non-normative) and is therefore problematic.

The cultural anthropological approach emphasizes homogeneity of culture and the imperative of uniform traditions. Later cognitive anthropologists like Goodenough (1961) distinguished between two facets of culture as "patterns of" (descriptive) and "patterns for" (behaviour-denoting) cognitive structures which provide not just a map but a blueprint for emerging trends.

Geertz (1975) distinguished between cultural "ethos" (evaluative elements) and cultural "world view" (the way the world is cognized and how things are - cognitive aspects of "real" culture). The "ideal" culture is prescriptive and anchored in expectations, values, ideas, belief systems and normative consensus. The "real culture" comprises cognition and meaning systems as well as social, political and economic institutions.

Another school is the ecological anthropologists, e.g. Durkheim and the Marxists for whom "culture" as proposed by the functional analysts is more firmly anchored in the material world of social power and authority structures. Contemporary anthropologists like Williams(1977), Giddens (1976) and Bourdieu (1977) have addressed "culture" as "an inter-related configuration of 'archaic' (past patterns of symbolic value), 'residual' (lived patterns which continue to be effective) and 'emergent' cultures (expectations, negotiated aspects, lived meanings and relationships) (Williams: 1977:p63).

Bourdieu (1977:317) conceived "culture" as:-

A wide range of symbolic systems, such as religion, language, art and science... part of the social illusion.

Influenced by Marx, he drew the attention of the field to power relationships and cultural "imperialism" and "hegemony".

As such these three writers are closer to the grouping addressing the Sociology of Knowledge and Critical theory primarily Young (1977), Keddie (1972), Hargreaves (1975), Berger (1966), Althusser (1971), Gramsci (1987), Habermas (1984), Foucault (1972), Freire (1972), and Carr and Kemmis (1986).

Contemporary writers like Ferraro (1994:17) seek to synthesize the views of a number of these schools of thought in a definition of culture as:-

Everything that people have, think and do as members of their society, i.e. material objects, ideas, values, attitudes, beliefs and normative or expected patterns of behaviour shared by at least two or more people.

Geert Hofstede's latest book (1991), acknowledges the contribution of cultural anthropology, in which he defines "culture" as "the software of the mind... The collective programming of the mind which distinguishes one group or category of people from another" (1991:5). He applauded the work of Claude Levi Strauss (1988) on "cultural relativism" and continued with his large-scale "etic" surveys arriving at four (and now five) dimensions of national cultures. Samovar and Porter (1991:50) more correctly identify Hofstede's as a psychological perspective, influenced by cultural anthropology which still searches enthusiastically for universal characteristics.

The most significant contribution from anthropology, however, has clearly been that of Edward Hall who in seminal works like "Beyond Culture" (1976) and "The Silent Language" (1981) made a unique contribution with these kinds of insights:-

My emphasis is on the non-verbal unstated realm of culture... it is frequently the most obvious and taken-for-granted and the least studied aspects of culture that influence behaviour in the deepest and most subtle ways, e.g. white Americans are captives in their time and space systems. (1976:16).

The study of man is a study of his extensions... culture is the prime example... man is frequently seen as a pale reflection of his culture or as a shoddy version that never quite measures up and man's basic humanness is frequently overlooked or repressed in the process. (1976:40).

What is called for is a massive cultural literacy movement that is not imposed but springs from within... the only way that man can escape the hidden constraints of covert culture

is to involve himself actively and quite consciously in those parts of his life that he takes most for granted. (1976:7).

It is not man who is crazy so much as his institutions (e.g. bureaucracy) and these cultural patterns that determine his behaviour. (1976:11).

One powerful way that he believes people become aware of the control systems is in intercultural encounters when they become acutely aware of the structure of their own systems.

Most cultural explorations begin with the annoyance of being lost. We are in uncharted waters and are going to have to switch off the automatic pilot and man the helm ourselves. (1976:46).

We are reminded of the work of writers like Paulo Freire in these passages. Hall's impact on intercultural communication as an emerging field has been far greater than on his own discipline, anthropology. His explanations are lucid and insightful.

Most anthropology is concerned with metaculture (p192). Overt culture is an extension of both mind and brain. Internalized culture is mind. (1976:196).

We experience a person from another culture as an uncontrollable and unpredictable part of ourselves. The trouble I have with him is me. (1976:240). The influence of Jungian psychology is clear.

The greatest separation feat of a life is when one manages to gradually free oneself from the grip of unconscious culture. (1976:240).

Here he seems to have much in common with Asante (1979), Adler (1975), Bochner (1982), Bennett (1986) and others who conceive of the "transcultural", "mediating", "marginal", "multicultural", "international", and "integrated" or "ethnorelative" person, whose work is discussed in the section on "Concepts of Intercultural Communication".

SOCIOLOGY

Sociology's contribution has been to broaden the range of socio-cultural variables to include, among others, age, gender and social class and to apply insights into social groups and organizations to a growing understanding of the intercultural context of communication. Sociologists also shifted the focus from a study of monocultural (usually Western) contexts to culturally-diverse, non-Western and comparative (using an "etic" approach) settings. A concept "borrowed" from German sociologist, Georg Simmel's *The Stranger* (1950) has been applied in

the work of William Gudykunst (1988:126). "At least one participant in an intergroup encounter is a 'stranger' vis a vis the in-group being approached... and the stranger's initial experiences with a new group are experienced as a series of crises." He used this concept to explain "adaptation" and "effective intercultural communication" in terms of the stranger's efforts at "uncertainty reduction". Again in "Bridging Differences" (1991:3) he defines "Strangers as people who are not members of our own groups and who are 'different' on the basis of culture, ethnicity, gender, age or other group memberships, and "communication with strangers is usually based on negative expectations." (1991:64).

The sociolinguists, who study language in context, have also assisted in shifting interest from the linguistic competence of the ideal speaker to that of the "real" speaker, interacting in a "real" world governed by rules of appropriateness. Gumperz (1972), Hymes (1974) and others with their ethnographic studies contributed to the interest in analyses of sociological variables relating to community and social class. Among the most significant of these were Bernstein's (1964) work on "restricted" and "elaborated" codes, not unlike Hall's (1976) "high context" and "low context" cultures, Labov's (1973) research on so-called "deprived pupils" in his "Logic of Non-Standard English", and Berger's (1972:370) description of "the homeless mind" as "that of a person who is able to look at his own original culture from an outsider's perspective."

PSYCHOLOGY

Psychologists in both Europe and North America have long been interested in cross-cultural differences in perception, evaluation and cognition.

Kohls (1984: 58) wrote:-

Perception is at the heart of intercultural communication. We misperceive, misinterpret and misunderstand each other all the time, even when we share many values, attitudes, beliefs and ways of doing, being and thinking.

Keessing's (1974:89) definition of "culture" is an example of the influence of cognitive psychology on the field of anthropology:-

Culture is a system of competence shared in its broad design and deeper principles and varying between individuals in its specificities... it is his/her theory of the code being followed, the game being played in the society into which he/she was born... It may be in large measure unconscious, a system of knowledge, shaped and constrained by the way

the human brain acquires, organizes and processes information and creates 'internal models of reality'.

In addition, cross-cultural training methods have been strongly influenced by behavioural psychology (Skinner: 1957) and Jungian psychology, e.g. Brislin (1986), Ruben and Kealey (1979). Martin and Hammer (1989) and Paige (1986) chose a competencies approach while McCaffery (1986), Hughes-Wiener (1986), Walton (1990) and Christopher (1986) preferred Kolb's (1977) experiential learning cycle. Another popular underpinning is Bandura's (1977) social learning theory adopted by Black and Mendenhall (1990) while Hall's writings, particularly "Beyond Culture" (1976) acknowledge a debt to Jungian psychology as previously identified.

The impact of the individual's personality, perception, attitudes and motivation are also seen as representing major variables in the outcome of any communicative act both within and across cultures.

Kim, in Ting-Toomey (1991-259), regarded "intercultural competence, as "the cognitive, affective and operational adaptability of an individual's internal system in all intercultural contexts." Her factor analysis of variables predicting "effective intercultural performance" yielded three traits:- the ability to deal with psychological stress; the ability to establish interpersonal relations and the ability to communicate effectively (to interact with a "stranger" to deal with communication misunderstandings, and to deal effectively with different communication styles).

Walton (1990) found four characteristics of the effective overseas stress-coper, i.e. "hardiness" (a particular personality type), "cognition and coping" (skills), "self-efficacy" (an attitude), and "social support".

Clearly the borrowing of psychological constructs, methods, instruments and generalizations (as distinct from "stereotypes" - "stereotypes" are exaggerated images and beliefs while "generalizations" are about learned behaviours often demonstrated by many people of a given group) has fostered their reappraisal in the light of evidence of significant cross-cultural differences.

COMMUNICATION

Interest in communication as much more than mere speech acts arose as writers such as Stewart (1972), Condon and Yousef (1975), Hoopes (1979) and others argued that communication was much more than simplistic models of encoding and decoding but that it was complicated by variables of perception, context, interaction, feedback and distinctive cross-cultural variations.

Gudykunst and Kim (1984) refined views of human communication as symbolic, processual, transactional, attributional and sometimes non-intentional and taking place at varying levels of awareness". (Damen: 1987:32).

These understandings build on the seminal work of Hall (1976) in "Beyond Culture" and "The Silent Language" (1981) which highlight the importance of "non-verbal" communication as a vital element in the communicative act. Many of the business applications of "intercultural communication" consulted, e.g. Var. Zandt (1976), Neustupny (1984), Ferraro (1994), Elashmawi and Harris (1993), Klopff and Park (1982), Kohls (1984), Levine & Adelman (1993), Hammet and Brislin (1980), Scott-Stevens (1986), Sims and Denehy (1993), Storti (1990) and Moran, Harris and Stripp (1993) acknowledged their debt to these pioneering communication theorists who first recognized the force of the culture and communication connection.

This background understanding of the historical development of a highly eclectic field of endeavour should facilitate the analysis of the key concepts in "intercultural communication" from these diverse, and often contradictory, perspectives.

CONCEPTS OF CULTURE

Two Australian writers have commented on the confusion about just what "culture" means in these examples of its application in the discourse of public policy in Australia:-

The multiculturalist view of culture... typified the simple pluralist model of culture promoted in the late seventies to overcome resistance to the notion of something other than a monocultural Australia. Its drawbacks are the reliance on a view of culture as fixed rather than dynamic, and its tendency to stereotype whole groups by virtue of their 'ethnicity', also called 'culture' by the adherents to this model. (Kalowski: 1991, p.5).

She added: "I would question the effectiveness of the cultural differences approach since it took little account of similarities and emphasised only differences." She is concerned that this view

will maintain the status quo in power terms. e.g. by stereotyping a certain group, such as Samoans, as “aggressive” then management training will teach trainees how to handle people “of this kind”.

Kalowski would prefer a broader definition of “culture”, along the lines of Pedersen (1991), not just for understanding “exotic” groups but for understanding ourselves and those with whom we work in a complicated social context, otherwise we run the risk of perpetuating an “exclusionary perspective” based on culture-specific assumptions. She would like cross-cultural professionals to focus not on “cultures” but on culturally-learned assumptions; on ambiguity as well as difference and on the common ground that links us all.

Jayasuriya (1990: 96) is equally concerned with multiculturalist Australian public policy that endorses “an outmoded and flawed concept of culture, especially in its conjunction with ethnicity”. He, too, concluded that a view of “cultural relativism” runs the danger of presenting an unreal view of culture... one which is rigid and static preferring Williams’ (1977) analysis that the cultural tradition of any newly arrived migrant group is constrained by the hegemony of the ruling elite, i.e. “manifest culture” as “selective tradition”, i.e. what we observe as communicative interaction, operates selectively, filtered through the structures of society. He also rejected “ethnicity” defined in terms of cultural distinctiveness or shared lifestyles - a form of reductionism leading to stereotypes, e.g. Asians as submissive. His analysis draws our attention to “situational ethnicity” as a political construct and an arbitrary one for administrative purposes and purposes of attracting the ethnic dollar from governments.

Jayasuriya prefers the concepts of “social identity” (how one is defined by others) and “personal identity” (one’s self-definition in terms of social categories such as Greek-Australian, heterosexual and elderly). Multiple socialization into these multiple roles cautions against simplistic views of “ethnic identification” and suggests a view of “ethnic identity” as “a negotiated outcome in specific socio-cultural situations which involves conflict and hegemonic(dominant group) control... its impact on the communication process is always constrained by contingent contextual factors.” In arguing for a psychocultural approach Jayasuriya is identifying the tension between psychological and sociological perspectives and the need to explore both self-identity and bi-cultural (or better still multicultural) contexts.

Kim (1988) identified three major metatheoretical orientations or traditions in the field of intercultural communication. The first of these she labelled “the positivist approach” - emphasizing the goal of prediction, characterized by analytic-reductionist-mechanistic-behavioural-quantitative approaches to research and favoured by, among others, Gudykunst and Ting-Toomey, both social psychologists.

The positivist approach has been profoundly appealing to the majority of practising researchers in intercultural communication as in most of the other human sciences.

(Kim: 1988: 16).

The second tradition she called “the humanist approach” - a tradition embracing the constructivists, critical theory and the social interactionists and phenomenologists, emphasizes synthetic-holistic-ideographic-contextual methodologies and views social phenomena as personal, subjective constructions to be understood.

This group includes a number of contemporary sociologists, personal construct psychologists and others, who investigate the subjective and intersubjective processes of interpretation and perspective-taking in communication, including Applegate and Sypher, Cronen, Chen and Pearce and Collier and Thomas whose work appeared in “Theories” (1988).

The third orientation, Kim has termed “the systems approach”, which reflects the simplistic, deterministic and insensitive approaches of the positivists but also seeks lawlike principles and patterns of interaction among systems elements.

In doing so it attempts to integrate both the external “objective” pattern of the “positivists” and the internal “subjective experience of individuals of the “humanists”. Many of the writers in “Theories”, including Kim and Ruben, Yum, Kincaid, Ellingsworth and even the “humanists”, Cronen et al. and Collier and Thomas, are seen as operating from this perspective which purports to better analyse the complex, transactional and dynamic nature of human communication.

These distinctions will enable the comparison of different views of culture as expressed by key writers in the field:- Gudykunst (1991: 43-44) endorsed Keesing’s (1974: 89) definition of “culture” as:-

a system of competence shared in its broad design and deeper principles and varying between individuals in its specificities... his/her theory of what his/her fellows know,

believe and mean, his/her theory of the code being followed... in large measure unconscious... shaped by the way the human brain acquires, organizes and processes information and creates 'internal models of reality'.

This conceptualization suggests that culture forms an "implicit" theory that individuals use to guide their behaviour and interpret that of others. He goes on to contend that "adjustment" and "effectiveness" are primarily the outcomes of "uncertainty" and "anxiety reduction" - a neat causal relationship that is empirically testable. Certainly this is one view of "culture" but is it adequate in explaining the complexity, dynamic nature, subjectivity and inter-subjectivity?

In Ting-Toomey's collection of writings "Current Directions" (1989: 20), Haslett defines "culture" as "an inherited system of ideas that structure the subjective experience of individuals." Here we see the influence of Geertz (1973) - a cognitive anthropologist for whom "value structures" as "shared meaning systems" as well as social, economic and political institutions make up the key elements of "culture" - a view criticized by Westen (1985: 200) as naive and non-dynamic:-

People do not act because they think but they think because they want to act.

This view of "culture" as "tacit knowledge" which can be mapped as "cultural categories" using "emic" ethnographic (mainly participant observation) methodologies is seen by many critics, including Kim (1988) as of extremely limited usefulness in understanding "intercultural communication".

Feraro (1994: 17) refers to the fact that Kroeber and Kluckhohn (1952) identified over 150 definitions of "culture" and adopted a fairly simplistic cultural anthropological definition that combines the inventory approach, and the cognitive approach of Geertz, which is weakened by its being limited to a prescriptive "normative-consensus" conceptualization, i.e.:-

Culture is everything that people have, think and do as members of their society, i.e. material objects, ideas, values, attitudes and beliefs and normative or expected patterns of behaviours shared by at least two or more people.

This conception leads unfortunately to recommended cross-cultural skills to reduce "culture shock" - a view of "intercultural communication" as a problem to be solved. The title of his

book “The Cultural Dimension of International Business” identifies the target audience and will contribute to the anxiety and confusion in this sector of intercultural workers by its narrow conceptualization of “culture”.

Elashmawi and Harris (1993: 43) adopt as their central definition in “Multicultural Management: New Skills for Global Success”:-

Culture consists of the behavioural norms that a group of people at a certain time and place, have agreed upon to survive and coexist.

This definition then leads on to a series of tables of cultural contrasts (a positivist “etic” approach) which sets up some instant “stereotypes” for the international manager which will encourage a quick-fix, recipe book approach to achieving “intercultural effectiveness”.

Hall (1976: 196) cautions that “most anthropology is concerned with metaculture”, i.e. what people think and say about culture. His own preferred definition is much more comprehensive:

The totality of the man -environment transaction including introjects and extensions is culture.

This conceptualization seems more in line with Kim’s “systems” orientation.

Kohl’s (1984: 17) also adopts a naive anthropological view in his definition:-

Culture is an integrated system of learned behaviour patterns... characteristic of a given society... the total way of life of particular groups of people... learned and transmitted from generation to generation.

His book entitled “A Survival Kit for Overseas Living” is a grab-bag of dangerous (etic) tables of contrasting core values and lists of strategies for new arrivals. Again the final section contains a list of the symptoms and stages of “culture shock” and “remedies for this illness” including the naive:-

Have faith in the goodwill of your hosts. (1984: 71).

Much of this advice is based on anecdotal evidence and a “problem” view of intercultural communication.

Hofstede (1991: 5) defines “culture” from a cultural anthropological perspective as:-

The collective programming of the mind which distinguishes one group or category from another, i.e. Culture is the software of the mind.

Hofstede’s massive comparative studies of nearly 60 different countries have been criticized as deriving gross national characteristics from individual questionnaire responses.

Nasif et al. (1991: 88) argued that:-

Hofstede has committed an ecological fallacy in confusing country level correlations with individual level correlations, i.e. treating countries as individuals.

His five dimensions of national cultures vis Power Distance, Individualism-Collectivism, Masculinity-Femininity, Uncertainty Avoidance and, now, Short-Term-Long-Term Orientation are about as helpful in understanding intercultural communication as his six dimensions of ‘organizational culture’ in his latest book ‘Cultures and Organizations - Software of the Mind’ - a title which also bears the imprint of behaviourist psychology - a position the humanists would utterly reject.

Levine and Adelman (1993: XVII) in “Beyond Language” - a title based on Hall’s (1976) “Beyond Culture” - have recognized Hall’s insights in their definition:-

Culture is a shared background resulting from a common language and communication style, customs, beliefs, attitudes and values... the informal and often hidden patterns of human interactions, (compared to an iceberg), expressions and viewpoints that people in one culture share.

They have adopted Kalowski’s suggested focus in these lines:-

The more one learns about others, the more one sees one’s own culture more clearly. By learning about contrasts we can better understand how culture influences individuals and their communication with others.

This is a more reliable text, particularly for international students, because of its more subtle understanding of key concepts.

Scott-Stevens (1986) in her doctoral thesis, appears to be in the “systems” camp by using definitions by both Hall and Geertz and concluding:-

Culture supplies integration through providing meaning and value... the social system provides the kind of integration where each part is an element in a reverberating causal ring which keeps the system going.

This definition seems to combine Jura:ariya's (1990) balance between "personal" and "social" identity, takes account of social structures, and implies Kim's (1988: 306) systems approach:-

Intercultural transformation refers to the process of change individuals beyond the cognitive, affective and behavioural limits of their original culture... projecting a personhood that transcends any given cultural group, the term is not bounded by any specific cultural attributes... the theory is a culture-general (her emphasis), culture free, universal theory because its implications are not tied to particular time - and space-bound entities such as specific nations, societies, ethnic groups and relationships between communicators.

This "open system" view of a "worldview" that is larger than national and cultural interests, and embraces all humanity, will be tested in the following sections on the concepts of "intercultural communication" and "intercultural effectiveness".

TABLE 6: MAJOR APPROACHES TO ANALYSIS OF CULTURE

1. CULTURE SPECIFIC PLURALISM		
MAJOR DISCIPLINES	KEY CONCEPTS	METHODOLOGY
Cultural anthropology Cognitive anthropology Social psychology Business studies Behavioural psychology Linguistics	Cultural differences Ethnic identification Objective and fixed tacit knowledge Cultural categories Anxiety reduction Culture-shock Culture as problem	Positivist Analytic; Questionnaires; Reductionist; Behaviourist; Quantitative; etic comparisons; Culture contrasts Ethnography
CRITICISMS: stereotypes, emphasis on differences, simplistic, status-quo maintaining, externals only, frozen, static reality, normative		
2. CULTURE GENERAL UNIVERSALISM		
MAJOR DISCIPLINES	KEY CONCEPTS	METHODOLOGY
Construct psychology Constructivism Critical theory Social interactionism Phenomenology Jungian psychology Ecological anthropology	Cultural assumptions Cultural similarities Personal and social identifications (multiple) Subjective and negotiated (intersubjective) reality Psychocultural	Humanist Systems Holistic Contextual Emic studies Participant observation
CRITICISMS: not generalizable, methods invalid and unreliable, observer bias, unquantifiable, unable to be replicated, interpretive, non-scientific.		

CONCEPTS OF INTERCULTURAL COMMUNICATION

Kim and Ruben's (1988: 301) literature review revealed two major approaches to the intercultural communication experiences of sojourners viz. "the intercultural communication - as a problem approach" and "the intercultural communication - as a learning/growth approach". They then went on to develop a third "systems" approach which they called intercultural communication as "transformation". To this I would add, as has English (1991: 96), intercultural communication as a utilitarian strategy although this approach is probably a sub-set of Kim and Ruben's first category.

The Intercultural Communication as problem approach

The concept of "culture shock" has produced a whole set of related concepts such as "role shock" (Byrnes: 1966), "language shock" (Smalley: 1963), "culture fatigue" (Guthrie: 1966), "transition shock" (Bennett: 1977) and "culture fatigue" (Taft: 1977).

The most cited study of "culture shock" is Oberg's (1960) stages:- the "honeymoon", "the hostility and stereotyping", the "recovery stage" and the "adjustment stage". Oberg (1960: 177) conceived "culture shock" as:-

precipitated by the anxiety that results from losing all our familiar signs and symbols of social intercourse.

Harris and Moran (1987: 207) in "Managing Cultural Differences" explained the concept to managers as:-

a generalized trauma one experiences in a new and different culture because of having to learn and cope with a vast array of new cultural cues and expectations while discovering that your old ones do not fit or work.

These viewpoints, and those of Lysgaard (1955) who developed the "U-Curve" of adjustment and Gullahorn and Gullahorn (1963) who extended this to a "W-Curve" to include the re-entry phase into the home culture, have left a legacy of fear of the sojourner experience, have all the defects of the "developmental" stages literature, the lack of empirical support and have had a major negative impact particularly in business studies and cross-cultural training, i.e. they focus on differences and heighten anxiety at a time when change (or "transitions") might more helpfully be regarded as "opportunity" rather than "crisis".

Bochner (1982: 3) introduced his book "Cultures in Contact" by admitting:-

The approach will be to regard cross cultural contacts as a problem in social psychology.
(Writer's emphasis).

Gudykunst (1991: 21) asserted that "communication is effective to the extent that we minimize misunderstandings" - an essentially negative view of communication. He further argued (1991: 64) that "communication with strangers" (people not members of our own groups) usually is based on negative expectations because of the fear of negative consequences for our self-concepts, negative behavioural consequences, negative evaluations by strangers, and negative evaluations by members of our in-groups (the fear that the in-group will reject us)."

In fact, he believes that all intercultural communication is a type of intergroup communication shaped largely by inter-group anxiety. Even his explanation of "communication competence" is about avoiding the pitfalls and traps (1991: 101).

Klopf and Park (1982) focus on the problems of misinterpretation, identify three possible causes of cross-cultural misunderstanding, three attitudes that affect intercultural communication, i.e. "ethnocentrism", "stereotyping" and "prejudice", potential stumbling blocks and ways of overcoming the problems in their "Introduction to the Fundamentals", published in Seoul, Korea and clearly in the problem tradition.

Kohls (1984: 88) in his "Survival Kit for Overseas Living" postulated:- "We misperceive, misinterpret and misunderstand each other, even when we share many values, attitudes, beliefs and ways of doing, being and thinking." He concluded his book with the "remedies" for dealing with "culture shock" which resulted in "some distinct physical symptoms of psychosomatic illness." (1984: 63).

Samovar and Porter (1991: 278) identified "ethnocentrism", "because we learn (it) so early in life, and on the unconscious level... as the single major barrier to intercultural communication... its impact buttressed by the fact that all cultures display some signs of ethnocentrism" and concluded with seven ways of improving intercultural communication:-

It is best understood as communication affected (distorted) by cultural variability in social perception.

The fourth approach (utilitarian) is contained in all of the business studies texts previously cited, e.g. Moran, Harris and Stripp (1993) in "Developing the Global Organization", is essentially about cross-cultural (intercultural) problem-solving where they give extensive advice about integrating Japanese and American work practices, learning about cultural differences and avoiding cross-cultural marketing blunders. As English (1991: 97) wrote:-

Learning is first and foremost the absorption of useful information - to avoid giving offence and increase efficiency and profit.

The key concept which has been used to explain the process of overcoming the "illness" of "culture shock" is that of "adaptation" or "adjustment".

Ruben and Kealey (1979: 21) used the term to describe an end state, i.e. journey's end in this way:-

Psychological adjustment is the term we give to the general psychological well-being, self-satisfaction, contentment, comfort-with, and accommodation to a new environment after the initial perturbations which characterize culture shock have passed.

On the other hand, Kim (1991: 268) used the term to describe a process by which the individual reaches this state:-

Adaptability is the individual's capacity to suspend or modify some of the old cultural ways, to learn and accommodate some of the new cultural ways and to creatively find ways to manage the dynamics of cultural difference.

Asante (1979: 103) wrote that:-

Intercultural sensitivity has developed when you begin to anticipate ways to decodify the shock affect. This is the beginning of adjustment.

Storti (1990: 15) identified two kinds of adjustments:-

We have to adjust to or get used to behaviour on the part of the local people which annoys, confuses or otherwise unsettles us and we have to adjust our own behaviour so that it does not annoy, confuse or otherwise unsettle the local people.

The Intercultural Communications and Learning/Growth Approach

Furnham and Bochner (1982: 163) summed up the shift in approach very clearly:-

Many of the Peace Corps were repatriated so the approach was to inoculate them against culture shock with cross cultural training and orientation programs, e.g. Triandis's culture assimilators in the early sixties at the university of Illinois. This approach had a distinct clinical flavour... conceptualized within a medical model... breakdown required therapy and counselling so they applied psychotherapeutic models and techniques to the problems connected with adjusting to a new culture.

Bochner (1982: 163) urged a quite different approach:-

The major task facing a sojourner is not to adjust to a new culture but to learn its salient characteristics, to acquire the social skills of the host culture, especially the knowledge necessary to negotiate everyday social encounters with members of the receiving society. He further criticized the term "adjusting" as connoting "cultural chauvinism" while "learning a second culture" has no such ethnocentric overtones.

The major goals of this learning are clearly self-awareness and awareness of others. Hall (1976: 222) advocated:-

Understanding ourselves and the world we have created - and which in turn creates us - is perhaps the single most important task facing mankind today.

Learning, then becomes the key to intercultural "competence" or "effectiveness" - the final concept to be analyzed in this chapter.

The most prolific forum for writers on intercultural communication is the "International Journal of Intercultural Relations". A minority of authors consulted fall into the "communication as problem" category, e.g. J. Bennett (1986) who advocates Kolb's experiential learning cycle but still uses the language of "problems", e.g. "ambiguous", "intimidating", "deprived", and most significant "the need to develop... a tolerance of ambiguity to stay sane" (p 20); Biggs and

Harwood (1982) with their “inoculation approach”; Grove and Torbiorn (1985: 205) who identified, among other things “three means of reducing the severity and duration of Stage II” (Adjustment to culture shock); Walton (1990) who saw the key to overseas “effectiveness” as “stress management training”; Albert (1986), Brislin (1986) and Christopher (1986) who saw “Academia” as “a cross-cultural problem”.

The majority of contributors, however argue or assume that “intercultural communication” is a positive experience in self-understanding, understanding of others, change and competence in the course of passing through Adler’s (1975) five stages of contact, disintegration, reintegration, autonomy and independence.

These writers include Paige (1986) who wrote about training for “a paradigm shift” i.e. becoming “multicultural”;

Milton Bennett (1986) who also addressed the “paradigm shift” to “ethnorelativism” and “integration”; McCafferey (1986) who urged a new approach to training the Peace Corps to assist them to become independently effective sojourners; and Hughes-Wiener (1986) who wanted sojourners to learn how to learn prior to departure to enhance their performance and satisfaction.

Other writers in this tradition include Beamer (1992) who wrote of the importance of being able to communicate messages as if from within another culture, by becoming the other after acknowledging diversity and challenging stereotypes; Black and Mendenhall (1990) who conceptualized “adjustment” as a state of being familiar and comfortable while interacting in the host culture; Howell in Asante (1979) who argued that intercultural communication needs to be reconceptualized as “a creative act” (by reframing it holistically); Saral in Asante (1979) who viewed “intercultural communication” as individuals communicating (internally) among various states of consciousness, i.e. moving from right brain to left brain functioning according to the situation; and Barna in Samovar and Porter (1976: 292-293) who cautioned:-

It takes a long time of non-insulated living in a new culture before a foreigner can relax into new perceptions and non-evaluative thinking so he (sic) can adjust his reactions to fit what’s happening around him. The few who achieve complete insight and acceptance are outstanding by their rarity.

These writers suggest, however, that these skills can be learnt over time.

Hall (1976: 7), too, sees a way out through learning:-

The only way that man (sic) can escape the hidden constraints of covert culture is to involve himself actively and quite consciously in those parts of his life that he takes most for granted” and later in “Beyond Culture”, “in intercultural encounters they have an opportunity to achieve awareness of the structure of their own system (p44).

However Hall’s unique insights transport him further to Kim’s (1988) third and most interesting tradition.

The Intercultural Communication as Transformation Approach

Kim (1988) asserted that the existing literature, above, is generally inconsistent, post hoc and descriptive only, in its attempt to describe stages and patterns of “adjustment”. Accordingly she believed she needed to develop a new framework (1988: 305) which viewed “culture shock” as:- “neither negative (a problem) nor positive (a learning opportunity) but as an inevitable part of the process of becoming ‘intercultural’ . . . a process of individual ‘transformation’.”

In doing so, she sits squarely within the tradition of and under the influence of Adler’s (1976) “multicultural man”, Bochner’s (1977) “mediating person”, Stonequist’s (1937) “Marginal man”, Hall’s (1976) “transcendent person”; Lutzker’s (1960) “international person” and Bowen’s (1993) “multicultural organization”, although she is critical of each of these conceptualizations and believes she has improved on them by developing a new framework. Chronologically one can see the development of the concept.

Stonequist’s (1937) “marginal man” is the dweller on the outskirts of cultural groups. They are isolated because they do not identify with the majority but are also the most likely to accept change and be willing to cross cultural boundaries. Kim objected to this term as suggesting “a sense of inferiority or alienation, which is not considered an attribute of intercultural personhood.” (Kim: 1988: 318).

Lutzker (1960: 428) defined the “internationalist” as:- “a person who trusts other nations, is willing to cooperate with other countries, perceives international agencies as potential deterrents of war and who considers international tensions as reducible by mediation.” Kim critiqued this as focussing on an expanded psychological orientation beyond a national boundary but failing to emphasize numerous ethnic, racial and other sub-cultural groups within a nation.

Bochner’s (1973: 29) “mediating persons” can:-

select, combine and synthesize the appropriate features of different social systems without losing their cultural cores or myths and have the ability to act as links between different cultural systems, bridging gaps by introducing, translating, representing, and reconciling the cultures to each other.

Kim does not seem to have a problem with this view as this definition emphasizes the skills rather than the identity of her “intercultural person”.

On the other hand, Adler’s (1976) “multicultural man” is psychoculturally adaptive, is ever undergoing personal transitions, and maintains indefinite boundaries of the self and (1976: 370):-

He is capable of major shifts in his frame of reference, can change his social-psychological style... and is able to look at his original culture from an outsiders perspective.

Kim rejects this concept on the grounds that (1988: 318):-

It implies that an individual necessarily possesses characteristics of more than one culture.

She claims her term portrays characteristics that “transcend” any given cultural group.

Hall’s (1976: 51-55) “transcendent person” is probably the closest to Kim’s “intercultural person”:-

When we interact with other cultures or even variants of own culture, it is necessary for man to transcend his own culture and this can only be done by making explicit the rules by which it operates. (writer’s emphasis.)

and later in “Beyond Culture” (1976: 239-240):-

We experience persons from other cultures as an uncontrollable and unpredictable part of ourselves... the greatest separation feat of all (from this identification dilemma) is when one manages to gradually free oneself from the grip of unconscious culture... this process (identification) is most certainly a major impediment to cross-cultural understanding and effective relations.

Kim's (1988: 306) own conception of the "intercultural person" is of a personhood that transcends any given cultural group. . the term is not bounded by any specific cultural attributes,, the internal transformations occur for anyone who participates in intercultural communication activities."

During her intercultural stress-adaptation-growth process, the cycle of "draw back to leap" an individual evolves who is less ethnocentric, less prejudging, less rejecting, more embracing of differences, more tolerant, more sensitive and more flexible. she argues that this is a "natural" process, made possible by our (1988: 316):-

impressive capacity to manage intercultural encounters successfully without damaging our overall psychological health and integrity.

She attributes this change to an "inner alchemy" by which (1988: 314):-

As the 'old' person breaks up, the intercultural knowledge, attitudes and behavioural capacities construct a 'new' person at a higher level of integration.

The transformation will be a life-long journey as the environment changes but herein lies the usefulness of her synthesis - she has integrated both subjective and objective realities, the normative and interpretive paradigms, but clearly wants her systems-based theories to be thoroughly tested by the field.

For the transformationists the adjustment process is so dramatic that the sojourner is transformed into an intrinsically "new person". They have re-invented themselves to become successfully adapted in the host milieu.

The above analysis will be the key to understanding perspectives on and concepts of the culminating concept, namely "intercultural competence" or "intercultural effectiveness" - as the

basis for decisions about appropriate intercultural training, management and other important applications.

TABLE 7: MAJOR APPROACHES TO ANALYSIS OF INTERCULTURAL COMMUNICATION

I.C.C. AS PROBLEM	I.C.C. AS LEARNING	I.C.C. AS TRANSFORMATION
<u>Major Disciplines</u> Social psychology Business studies Psychotherapy Cognitive anthropology	Cultural anthropology Humanist psychology (human relations) Sociolinguistics Social interactionism Phenomenology	Systems theorists Critical theory Constructivism Action learning Perspective transformation Literacy of liberation
<u>Major Writers</u> Harris & Moran (87) (93) Oberg (60) J. Bennett (86) Brislin (86) Gudykunst (91) Kohls (84) Walton (90) Asante (79) Storti (90)	Bochner (82) Paige (86) Adler (75) Beamer (92) Howell, Saral (79) Hall (76) M. Bennett (86) McCaffery (86) Hughes-Wiener (86)	Kim (88) Adler (76) Habermas (70) Bowen (93) Freire (70) Mezirow (78) Bochner (73) Hall (76) Senge (91) Pedler (91)
<u>Key Concepts</u> Culture shock Adjustment Adaptation Remedies Illness Trauma Ethnocentrism Cultural differences Anxiety reduction Uncertainty reduction Sensitivity Inoculation	Second-culture learning Negotiation Self-awareness Awareness of others Competence Effectiveness Paradigm shift Ethnorelativism Integration Cultural synergy (third culture)	Transformation Transcendent Mediating Shifting frame of reference Intercultural person Ethnorelativism New person Self-transcendence The learning organization Learning alliances (dialogic communities)

<u>Appropriate interventions</u> Culture specific assimilators Orientation (pitfalls) Cross-cultural training (focus on differences) Learning about host culture do's and don'ts Culture contrast materials Pre-departure and re-entry training Counselling victims of shock	Learning how to learn Cross-culture training (focus on cultural assumptions and own culture) Empathy training Self-awareness training Culture general assimilators Learning with host culture people in situ	Consciousness raising Critical self-reflection and action (action learning) Perspective transformation strategies - critical incidents, biographies repertory grid, conceptual mapping, social action groups Learning encounters (with reflection)
<u>Desired outcomes</u> Adjustment to culture shock Mental health Anxiety and uncertainty reduction Problem solving	Self-awareness Autonomy Independence Satisfaction Success Mutually-satisfactory outcomes Flexible and responsive achievements	Integrity Reconstructed person Intercultural competence Intercultural effectiveness Paradigm shift Success Comfort Insight Acceptance

CONCEPTS OF INTERCULTURAL EFFECTIVENESS

These will match the preceding views of the purposes of intercultural communication, i.e. “Intercultural effectiveness” as problem-solving, learning and growth and transformation.

Effectiveness as Problem-Solving

Oberg (1960) describes the final stage of adjustment to “culture shock” as one in which anxiety is largely gone and new customs are accepted and enjoyed. This view is in line with that of Gudykunst (1988: 137) who concluded that :-

Two major outcomes of intergroup communication are adaptation to new intergroup situations and increased effectiveness of communication.

He used Ruben’s (1983: 137) definition of “adaptation” as “a consequence of an ongoing process in which a system strives to adjust and readjust itself to challenges, changes and irritants in the environment.”

This process, he believes, is driven by the “stranger’s” (sojourners) need to reduce and control uncertainty and anxiety. He believes that “effective” intercultural communication requires the sojourner to be able to understand the causes of the behaviour of the other-culture person (i.e. reduce uncertainty) in order to be able to influence it - problem solved.

Klopf and Park (1982) seem to regard “effectiveness” as overcoming “barriers” to and “stumbling blocks” in cross-cultural communication - “overcoming the problems”.

Kohls (1984) who has developed a “Survival Kit” sees “effectiveness” in remedying “culture shock” and identified “the three most important traits for ‘success’ as a sense of humour, low goal/task orientation, and the ability to fail” - an abysmally negative and ethnocentric view.

Harris and Moran (1987: 208) seem to see the goal of “Managing Cultural Differences” as “minimizing the dysfunctional effects of culture shock and maximizing the opportunities of another culture experience.”

Gudykunst (1991: 101) in “Bridging Differences” described “competent communicators” as:-
“People who ‘get by’ and manage to avoid the ‘pitfalls’ and ‘traps’ of communication”.

“Effectiveness” he defines on the next two pages as:-

adequacy, sufficiency, suitability (appropriateness), meeting the minimal context requirements of the situation by taking into consideration our own and the other’s perspective.

Feraro (1994: 132) in “The Cultural Dimension of International Business” uses the term “cross-cultural negotiation” in the pragmatic, utilitarian, problem-solving tradition as:-

A process between two people who share some common interests, people who stand to benefit from bringing the process to a successful conclusion.

An equally pragmatic approach is revealed in Elashmawi and Harris’s (1993: 165) table of contrasts in intercultural negotiations under the heading of “use of language” this advice:-

With Americans language should be open, direct and indicate a sense of urgency, with the Japanese indirect, appreciative and cooperative; with the Arabs emotional, religious and with plenty of flattery.

Moran, Harris and Stripp (1993: 39) urge the “global organization” to develop a global philosophy:-

To cultivate a spirit of cultural understanding and global harmony, akin to the Olympic Games, which allows business persons to retain their cultural heritage and be respectful of other cultures, while engaging in fierce competition at the same time.

Is this the voice of “interculturalism” or “global capitalism”? - perhaps George Bush’s “new world order”?

Effectiveness as Learning/Growth

Bochner (1982: 164-172) regards “effectiveness as “learning a second culture - to negotiate everyday social encounters with members of the receiving society... and develop skill with which the sojourner can enter into a relationship with a host person, maintain that relationship and draw it to a mutually-satisfactory conclusion.”

Elashmawi and Harris (1993: 66) who have just been criticized for their dangerously stereotypic advice on how to win in cross-cultural negotiations defined “cultural competence” in these terms:-

A successful culturally competent person must be aware of his/her own priorities as well as those of his/her country or society and reorganize them properly to achieve success and must also make an attempt in initial dealings with the other culture to adhere to and respect the other system. If both sides recognize the new values as necessary for coexistence then they will be accepted and culturally synergy will naturally occur.

Sumihara (1993) in Sims and Denney’s “Diversity and Differences in Organizations” the example is given of the synthesis of Japanese and American decision-making processes and practices in the development of an “enriching” “third culture”.

In the same book Baker and Kolb (1993: 17) confirm:-

Diversity is an opportunity to be sought and a resource to be preserved. It is not a problem to be managed. Diversity is essential for learning.

Bowens (1993: 36), also in Sims and Dennehy, defines "the true multicultural organization" as one which actively seeks to capitalize on the advantages of diversity; distributes resources equitably; acknowledges a pluralistic organizational culture's need for being the same in some ways and different in some to recognize individual and group interests, concerns, and backgrounds; and whose practices are flexible and responsive to the needs of all.

This is truly Peter Senge's (1990) "Learning Organization" which argues for the embedding of learning mechanisms at the centre of organizational culture.

Learning and growth in all of these cases is a means to providing the individual with achievement and satisfaction in intercultural interaction and the dyad, group or organization with achievement of its goals whether they be profit, reputation or whatever.

Scott-Stevens (1986) in her doctoral thesis on "Foreign Consultants and Counterparts", adopts a composite definition of consultant "effectiveness" as being able to interact competently; to learn from and with members of a different culture; and to be able to transfer her skills and relate "effectively" (communicate and motivate) to people in another culture. Interestingly her empirical study found that the nationals (clients) saw the main purpose of the consultancy as transferring skills to their counterparts - the Canadian consultants saw their major task as "getting the project completed with not enough time or money to train their counterparts" (1976: 215).

Few were judged as "effective" (consultants) and the "effective" counterparts were "marginal" in their own society, i.e. they had socio-economic status advantages, asked more questions and were more professionally-oriented (engineering) and more aggressive and confrontational than their peers. She recommended that, in future, the transfer of knowledge be conceptualized as a separate (and major) goal of the consultancy not as an adjunct to other tasks.

This study emphasizes the paramount need for mutually-satisfactory learning (to the satisfaction of all stake-holder parties) in intercultural encounters otherwise we will have to settle for unilateral problem-solving as a view of ‘effectiveness’.

Effectiveness as Transformation

First of all it will be useful to sound a warning as to the achievability of the ‘transcultural’ or “intercultural” person’s heroic journey and metamorphosis from grub to triumphant butterfly epitomized in Kim’s (1988: 315) words -

Becoming intercultural thus can be viewed as a process of reaching out beyond culture for a full blossoming of the uniquely human adaptive capacity.

Osland cautions, again in Sims and Dennehy (1993: 115-119):-

The metaphor which best describes the acculturation of many expatriates is the myth of the hero’s adventure (the stages of departure, separation, adventure, initiation, trials, power and mastery). The metaphor of ‘the glass ceiling’ may be more appropriate because they will continue to play a proscribed and peripheral role either within organizations or other cultures because of limitations placed by and for organizations or cultures on expatriate involvement, impact, membership and expression of self... many expatriate issues are quite similar to those faced by minorities in a domestic setting.

Kim’s breathless optimism would seem to be misplaced, as a critical theory analysis in the next Chapter will show. She fails to take account of well-entrenched power structures which have erected solid barriers (thick reinforced steel ceilings in fact) to the achievement of Kim’s “natural” evolution towards intercultural nirvana.

In her defence it must be remembered that nowhere has she claimed that the journey will be an easy one and who would have believed that the Rumanians, the Filipinos, the East Germans and even the indigenous South Africans would throw off their shackles by collective “praxis” and a variety of fortuitous external circumstances?

More apropos in terms of “effectiveness” is Jack Mezirow’s approach to transformative and emancipatory learning through critical reflection which depends on “perspective

transformation”, shifting frames-of-reference or the “paradigm shift” preferred by a number of the writers previously cited viz Adler (1976), Hall (1976), and Bennett (1986).

This will be further examined in considerable detail in the next Chapter on “Relevant Learning Theories”.

CONCLUSION

The preceding analysis has provided a conceptual base to assist in the content analysis of practitioners’ “espoused” and “in action” theories of inter-cultural teaching and learning (Chapters 5 and 6).

The next chapter (Chapter 3) will turn to three contemporary learning theories most commonly cited by ACE practitioners in their oral and written discourse about their practice to provide a further set of “concepts” to analyze their “implicit” and “explicit” theories, i.e. their “in-use” and “espoused” theories of teaching and learning in intercultural settings.