INTERCULTURAL COMMUNICATION COMPETENCE

CONCEPTUALIZATION AND ITS DEVELOPMENT IN CULTURAL CONTEXTS AND INTERACTIONS

Edited by
Xiaodong Dai
Guo-Ming Chen

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Intercultural Communication Competence

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Intercultural Communication Competence: Conceptualization and its Development in Cultural Contexts and Interactions

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Edited by Xiaodong Dai and Guo-Ming Chen

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PREFACE

The rapid development of communication and transportation technologies has gradually transformed human society into a global community in the 21st century, in which intercultural communication competence becomes a necessary ability for citizens to interact appropriately and effectively in order to develop a harmonious and productive life and further build a multicultural civil society across nations and regions. Although the study of intercultural communication competence can be dated back more than half a century ago, the trend of globalization in human society has complicated the nature of the concept, and demands scholars to face the intrinsic and the extrinsic challenges of studying the concept by taking multiple perspectives to it, and re-examining its development in diverse cultural and interactional contexts.

In response to this call for a new way of examining intercultural communication competence, on December 15-16, 2012 Shanghai Normal University of P. R. China sponsored an international conference on the study of the concept. One hundred and forty eight leading scholars in different academic disciplines from 15 nations and regions were brought together in the conference to share their research ideas. The outcome of the conference was fruitful and thought provoking. Among the papers presented, 18 were competitively selected for this volume to show a more comprehensive picture and the latest development for the study of intercultural communication competence. More specifically, the 18 chapters in this volume reflect how scholars conceptualize intercultural communication competence from different perspectives and how the concept develops in diverse cultural contexts and interaction scenarios.

We are excited about the broad range of ideas covered in this volume. We sincerely appreciate the authors for their contribution to this collection through months long writing and revising. The supports from the Foreign Languages College of Shanghai Normal University and the Harrington School of Communication and Media at the University of Rhode Island are also grateful. Finally, we are indebted to the editorial staff of Cambridge Scholars Publishing for their assistance and suggestions on the completion of this project.

Xiaodong Dai and Guo-Ming Chen

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INTRODUCTION

XIAODONG DAI AND GUO-MING CHEN

With the blurring of national and cultural boundaries in globalization, intercultural relations have been strengthened and turned more complicated. The globalizing world is characterized by interdependence and mutual penetration, where people from different cultures increasingly encounter each other. When people engage in an intercultural dialogue or international trade, they are inevitably facing the challenge from communication barriers such as cultural stereotype and prejudice, identity conflict, language deficiency, and the lack of interaction skills. Only through the acquisition of intercultural communication competence (ICC) can these problems be solved in the process of global interaction. ICC constitutes an indispensable capacity for people to survive and establish productive relationships in the globally interconnected world.

ICC is one of the most fundamental concepts in intercultural communication study. The study of ICC has drawn much attention of scholars from different disciplines in the past decades (e.g., Chen, 2010; Chen & Starosta, 1996; Collier, 1989; Deardorff, 2006; Spitzberg & Changnon, 2009). Scholars have conceptualized and tested ICC from diverse perspectives that resulted in abundant literature in the field of intercultural communication study. However, the inherent complexity of the concept makes the study of ICC continue to suffer from various problems of conceptualization and measurement (Holmes & Neill, 2012; Rathje, 2007). It is therefore imperative to bring together the leading scholars from different disciplines to tackle the problems. This book was the outcome of the two-day international conference focusing on the conceptualization and development of ICC. Eighteen papers were competitively selected from the conference to be included in this book.

The goal of this book is twofold. First, it aims to investigate how ICC can be (re)conceptualized from different perspectives. Because ICC is such an elaborate concept, it will be difficult for any single perspective to present a comprehensive vision. Thus, multiple approaches to the study of ICC embedded in the theoretical investigation should be employed. Second, it aims to probe into the development of ICC in cultural contexts

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and interaction scenarios. We intend to shed light on how ICC develops in different cultures, nations, and academic disciplines. The book is designed for researchers, teachers, and students in a variety of fields, and can be used as a reference book or a reader. In addition, as one of the most comprehensive volumes on the study of ICC, the book can help professionals gain valuable intercultural knowledge and experiences and develop effective ways to solve problems encountered in international trade and business. Through synthesizing the leading voices and integrating the latest work on ICC, the book as well offer a useful source to international readers.

Two Basic Issues for the Study of ICC

While many issues involve in the study of ICC, such as the conceptualization of the concept, the identification of its components, the context in which it develops, the goal it seeks to fulfill, and the measurement of it, this book mainly deals with two of the most basic but cardinal issues, namely, the conceptualization of the concept and its development in cultural contexts and interaction scenarios. The conceptualization of ICC refers to how the concept is conceived, defined and theorized (Spitzberg & Changoon, 2009; Wiseman, 2002). In the 1970s and 1980s, most scholars conceptualized ICC as a behavioral construct, and others theorized it either as an attitudinal or cognitive construct (Imahori & Lanigan, 1989). However, intercultural communication scholars gradually realized that ICC should be treated as an integration of the three interrelated and equally important dimensions of cognition, affection, and behavior.

Intercultural communication scholars have long investigated ICC from diverse perspectives and produced numerous models and theories. For instance, Byram (1997) approached ICC from the aspect of foreign language teaching. He maintained that a competent intercultural speaker possesses linguistic and sociolinguistic or socio-cultural knowledge and the ability to manage the relationship between their own and other systems. Kim (2001) took a systems-theory view to the study of ICC. She posited that adaptability as the internal capacity of reorganizing oneself to accommodate the demands of the environment is an essential component of ICC. Ting-Toomey (2005) addressed ICC from the perspective of identity negotiation. She claimed that competent intercultural communicators are mindful, resourceful, and creative in maintaining an optimal sense of balance as they mutually negotiate desired identities. Some of the approaches to the study of ICC, such as Kim's systems

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theory, Gudykunst's anxiety/uncertainty (AUM) theory, and Ting-Toomey's identity negotiation theory, have endured the test of time, others need to be further explored or re-conceptualized (Arasaratnam, 2007).

The complex nature of ICC has prevented scholars from reaching a consensus on what it means to be interculturally competent after so many decades of research (Deardorff, 2006). One of the main reasons for the difficulty of reaching the consensus is because the diverse perspectives for the study of ICC tend to employ different theoretical assumptions, identify disparate components, and pursue different goals (Arasaratnam & Doerfel, 2005; Collier, 1989). In other words, each perspective can only explain an aspect of intercultural communication process. Hence, in order to draw a more comprehensive picture of ICC it is necessary for scholars to approach the concept from multiple perspectives.

Moreover, the conceptualization of ICC is culturally grounded. As Miike (2010) pointed out, it is necessary for scholars to recognize the significance of culture as theory in intercultural communication studies. Culture inevitably affects the development of ICC and how people construct it in interactions. Because most of the existing ICC models and theories were developed by American and European scholars, we need to be aware that the dominant paradigm of the study of ICC is not free from the linguistic, cultural or academic biases of Eurocentrism (Miike, 2003, 2012). According to Miyahara (1999) and H. Chen (2003), changing communication behaviors from situation to situation may be regarded as a sign of inconsistency or dishonesty in Western culture, but it can be valued as a skillful communication behavior in the Chinese culture. In addition, the tendency of discouraging individuality within the context of social group in Arab cultures is likely to be criticized by Western individualists who strongly resist conformity (Zaharna, 2009). By applying Euro-American standards, Japanese are considered to be reticent and therefore incompetent communicators (Miyahara, 1995). Because humans have the cultural capacity to observe and explain from the vantage of our existential location (Asante, 1998), it is important for scholars to take the culture specific approach by conceptualizing ICC from the local perspective in order to avoid cultural biases. Culture-specific theories pave the way for the development of culture-general theories, because only after the cultural validity has been ascertained can we develop culture-general theories (Collier, 1989).

ICC is most easily observed in intercultural interactions (Holmes & O'Neill, 2012). Investigating the development of ICC in the process of concrete intercultural practices enables us to locate where ICC resides and identify the specific components of ICC. For instance, Ting-Toomey

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(2007) addressed intercultural facework competence by defining it as the communication skills in managing identity-based interaction scenes successfully. To be a competent person, individuals must acquire face managing knowledge, cultivate mindfulness and face-saving skills. Of all the components of facework competence, knowledge is the most important one. The operational skills include deep listening, de-centering, consensus decision-making, cooperative conflict, and face-sensitive respectful dialogue skills. Grandin and Hedderich (2009) discussed ICC in the context of engineering. They contended that ICC concerns individuals' positive attitude toward new ideas and people from differing cultures, the knowledge of geography, history and culture as well as some proficiency in a foreign language, the skills of interacting with host country nationals at professional level, and the ability to define and solve engineering and managerial problems.

Investigating the development of ICC in interactions across cultures also helps to test the established theories and further formulate a new one that better explains and predicts intercultural behaviors. For example, American scholars perceived that Japanese managers deliberately make use of ambiguity and openness toward their subordinates to show their trust and sensitivity; and this unique Japanese communication style is believed to contribute to the success of organizational operation in Japan. Nevertheless, through an on-site observation, Miyahara (1989) revealed that there is a gap between American perception and Japanese reality. According to Miyahara, when talking to young and new employees, a Japanese manager tends to be precise and direct in giving information, but the manager is relatively ambiguous and indirect to middle-ranked subordinates to show her/his trust in them. When criticizing a mistake made by young and new employees, the manager tends to be ambiguous and indirect to demonstrate her/his sensitivity to them, but tends to be straightforward to middle or upper subordinates in the same situation. In terms of openness, the manager often makes an effort to create an open atmosphere on an informal occasion to maintain a two-way channel of communication with his subordinates, but only share the most important information with her/his assistant manager. In the same vein, the Chinese have been portrayed as conservative, humble, self-controlled, and valuing harmony, but in interaction they can be artful, crafty, cunning, and sly (Chen, 2004). Thus, it is the purpose of this book to illustrate the development of ICC in different cultural contexts and interaction scenarios in order to capture the rich texture of the concept. The following section overviews chapters included in this book.

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Overview of the Book

This volume is divided into two parts. The first part deals with the theoretical framework and diverse approaches to the study of ICC, and the second part deals with the development of ICC in different contexts and interaction scenarios. The first part begins with two chapters that review representative models, measurement, and future directions for the study of ICC. Then it addresses current approaches to the study of ICC, including the discourse analysis, the organizational management, the dialectical, the identity negotiation, and the critical approach. How ICC can be re-conceptualized in the process of globalization is also explored.

In chapter one, Guo-Ming Chen summarized the conceptualization and measurement of ICC in the past 30 years. In 1987, he put forward the first model of ICC where five dimensions were identified: self-disclosure, self-consciousness, self-adjustment, communication competence, and interaction involvement. Chen and Starosta (1996) developed the triangular model of ICC which displays a holistic picture of ICC and consisted of three components: intercultural sensitivity, intercultural awareness, and intercultural adroitness. Focusing on the three dimensions, Chen further discussed the conceptualization and measurement of ICC. He argued that in the future, scholars need to examine the relationships between and among the three dimensions of ICC, and diverse approaches should be applied to the study of this contested concept.

In chapter two, Colleen Ward and Jessie Wilson also addressed the conceptualization and measurement of ICC. They defined ICC as the acquisition of culture specific knowledge for communicating in a new context and interacting with people from different cultural backgrounds. The authors argued that the socio-cultural adaptation scale (SCAS) offers a reliable and valid measurement of ICC, which dictates that cultural knowledge, personal attributes, language skills, cross-cultural experience, and intercultural interaction enhance the development of ICC.

In chapter three, Donal Carbaugh and Sunny Lie approached ICC from the cultural discourse perspective. As Craig indicated (2007), communication theory is a field of "discourse about discourse with implication for the practice of communication" (p. 64). Unlike those who comprehend competence as an abstract and universal capacity, Carbaugh and Lie considered ICC as a socially grounded, situated practice. Two behavioral dimensions are active in situated interactions, one is the appropriate conduct and the other is the effective conduct, and both are to some degree locally shaped. Through the process of communication theorizing, descriptive inquiry, interpretive inquiry, comparative inquiry, and critical

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inquiry, we are able to better understand how competence is defined and performed in different cultural contexts.

In chapter four, Ling Chen and Juan Du explored the possibility of applying ICC to the organizational context. They conceptualized ICC in an organizational context as a dynamic process where the organization acquires cultural knowledge and organizational intelligence and become competent in a culturally diverse environment. Through gaining new knowledge organizations adapt to cultural differences and achieve the goal of self-transformation. The authors further pointed out that ICC in the organizational context is cultivated through the interrelated individual and collective levels.

In chapter five, Thomas K. Nakayama and Judith N. Martin addressed the ethical issue in the conceptualization of ICC. They proposed that study of ICC should move beyond static social models and integrate more critical perspectives. Because competence is inherently based on privilege, there is a need for moral judgment about competence in cultural contexts. By taking a dialectical approach, the authors highlighted the significance of moral judgment and advocated the importance of exploring ethical issues in the study of ICC.

In chapter six, as Brown and Levinson (1987) claimed that human beings have a universal need for face in social communication, Beth Bonniwell Haslett proposed a face model of ICC. According to Goffman (1990), face in its etic sense is a universal premise for interaction, in which face varies across cultures, participants, goals and contexts. Based on Goffman's conceptualization of face, Haslett defined ICC as effective intercultural communication in diverse settings and across participants. In order to be effective, people must be aware of cultural differences and similarities and appropriately meet the basic face needs.

In chapter seven, Kathryn Sorrells revealed the complex conditions of globalization and its implication to the conceptualization of ICC. Sorrells argued that globalization has drastically changed the traditional mode of communication. She highlighted four key issues of re-theorizing ICC in the global context: (1) the change in the way we define culture, (2) the continuity of interaction pattern and power structure in the development of globalization, (3) the linkage between the local and the global, and (4) the situating of the study and practice of intercultural communication in critical engagement and social justice.

The second part examines the development of ICC in different contexts and interaction scenarios, including Asian contexts, language teaching and education, shyness and self-esteem, mass media, business negotiation, the global engineering design, and employee expatriation. Because ICC is

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culturally constructed and contextually situated, to address it from different cultural and communication scenarios helps scholars inspect established theories and models of ICC in a more critical way and further advance the knowledge regarding ICC.

In chapter eight, Mark Sawyer explored the way of promoting ICC in Asian contexts. One possible direction is the education for intercultural citizenship (EIC) developed by Byram (1997) in the European contexts, and the other is the theory of Asiacentricity developed by Miike (2003). For EIC takes place in an intercultural setting, it informs how cultural differences can be effectively mediated and accommodated. According to Sawyer, through incorporating the Asiacentric meta-theory of communication, the ideas of EIC might be modified toward promoting ICC in Asian contexts.

Only after individuals acquire the minimum linguistic proficiency can they communicate meaningfully with others from another culture. Language skills affect the quality and quantity of intercultural interaction (Masgoret, 2006). Competent persons know how to encode information into language and create recognizable messages and deliver them in an appropriate manner (Grice, 1975). At the same time, they are able to decode meaning of their counterpart's language and give necessary feedback. Chapters nine to twelve follow this line of research on ICC.

In chapter nine, Michael Byram focused on ICC in second and foreign language education. He contended that ICC should be an essential element of language teaching whose purpose is cultivating intercultural citizenship. Since the citizenship education has a positive notion of action in the world, the critical language education can be enhanced by the theory and practice of citizenship education.

In chapter ten, Nobuyuki Honna addressed how English language teaching can be used as an instrument for developing ICC. Honna argued that there is no English, but many Englishes. He further pointed out that when teaching English as a multicultural language, we need to find an appropriate way to manage the differences among speakers of different varieties of English, and improve intercultural sensitivity.

In chapter eleven, Yuanke Tao dealt with the development of ICC in the process of producing a L2 learner's dictionary. Tao assumed that ICC basically consists of communicative and linguistic aspects. Linguistic competence includes pragmatic, grammatical, and lexical abilities. When compiling an English-Chinese dictionary, it is important to provide readers with bilingual texts that illustrate the differences between the English lemmas and their Chinese equivalents. The bilingual text functions as a

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language-teaching context which helps readers cultivate the intercultural linguistic competence.

In chapter twelve, Martin Cortazzi and Lixian Jin demonstrated that the use of metaphor is closely associated with conceptions of language and reflects how people think about language and affect how people interact with each other in intercultural communication. Their study showed that some of the metaphors are universal, others vary across cultures. Examining culturally different metaphors is conducive to foreign language teaching and the development of ICC, for it is a productive way to enlarge our linguistic repertoire and achieve mutual understanding.

In chapter thirteen, Qingwen Dong, Yinghu Liu, Pei Zhao, and Dale Dong examined how shyness and self-esteem, the two psychological factors that were relatively neglected, affect ICC. While shyness inhibits individuals' interacting initiative, self-esteem significantly shapes their communication attitude and behavior. The authors found that shyness has a negative impact on the development of ICC and self-esteem has a positive impact.

In chapter fourteen, Jimmy Balud Fong discussed the social-cultural development of indigenous peoples in the Philippines and their struggle against American colonization in media, and for more realistic and fair representation. The capacity of indigenous people in appropriating American pop culture to articulate their own voices and tell their own stories enables them to communicate across cultures. The study shows the increasing importance of investigating mediated communication across cultures, which remains an area requiring more attention from intercultural scholars (Cheong, Martin, & Macfadyen, 2012).

In chapter fifteen, Michael B. Hinner discussed the important role ICC plays in international business communication, which demands sophisticated skills for business negotiation. Hinner argued that whether people are able to make an accurate evaluation lies in how they perceive themselves and the environment. He further indicated that business managers tend to overestimate their abilities in intercultural encounters. When self-assessment is inaccurate and cross-evaluation is problematic, a third party assessment should be a better alternative.

In chapter sixteen, Patrice M. Buzzanell reflected on the necessity of the development of ICC in the context of global engineering. Because global engineers have to deal with problems that are intercultural in nature when working abroad, Buzzanell argued that the acquisition of ICC is not only important to personal development, but also for more effective human-centered design (HCD). The case study showed that members of

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the global design team are learning from multiple challenges in the rural villages and becoming more sensitive to the local demands.

In chapter seventeen, Ran An conducted a study on Chinese volunteer teachers' ICC who work in Confucius Institutes across nations. She pointed out that ICC comprises three interdependent dimensions from the teacher's perspective of the Confucius Institute: personal adaptation ability, organizational negotiation ability, and intercultural teaching ability. The first two dimensions underpin the third one. An's study illustrates that organizations conducting business globally have recognized the increasing need to send employees to work on international projects or in joint ventures, and the process often requires employees to develop both general and specific competence to adapt to local community and enhance the job performance.

Finally, in chapter eighteen, Jürgen Deller, Stephan Dilchert, Deniz S. Ones, Anne-Grit Albrecht, and Frieder M. Paulus reported that there is a moderately strong and positive relationship between individuals' openness and their overall adjustment in expatriation. The authors found that openness to action, ideas, value, fantasy and aesthetics contributes to the successful adaptation to foreign environment.

Conclusion

ICC has been approached from diverse perspectives; some of them are culture-general and others are culture-specific. How culture is defined fundamentally shapes the conceptualization of ICC (Collier, 1989). In conceptualizing ICC, scholars have reached some consensus, but disagreements are still common. As Deardorff (2006) criticized, the problem of either being too general or too trivial for the existing ICC models or theories urgently needs scholars to further clarify what it means to be interculturally competent and systematically explain how relevant factors affect the intercultural communication process and outcome. Moreover, it is no question that ICC is fostered in cultural contexts and best observed in interactions among people from different cultures. Unfortunately, most of ICC studies continue to focus on encounters between Westerners and non-Westerners, only very few of them examine intercultural interactions within, for example, non-Western context (Panggabean, Murniati & Tjitra, 2013).

It is the attempt of this volume to make necessary contributions to the improvement of the present problems in the study of ICC through the employment of multiple approaches and exploring the concept in different cultural contexts and interaction scenarios. We hope that the eighteen

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chapters in this book can draw a picture that mirrors a more inclusive framework for the study of ICC and provides an outline for the directions of future research in this area.

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PART ONE:

CONCEPTUALIZING INTERCULTURAL COMMUNICATION COMPETENCE

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CHAPTER ONE

INTERCULTURAL COMMUNICATION COMPETENCE: SUMMARY OF 30-YEAR RESEARCH AND DIRECTIONS FOR FUTURE STUDY

GUO-MING CHEN

Introduction

As Chen and Starosta (2005) pointed out, five trends have pushed human society into a globally connected network and strongly demand the ability to communicate competently in intercultural context in order to produce a successful life in the 21st century. The five trends include the development of new communication and transportation technologies, the global inter-reliance on economy, the widespread movement of populations around the world, the rapid development of multiculturalism, and the de-emphasis of nation-state. Together, these globalization trends have made the world more interdependent and interconnected, which impacts almost every aspect of human society on personal, interpersonal, group, and organizational levels. Thus, scholars in different disciplines have begun to explore how to help people develop a global mindset through the enhancement of intercultural communication competence by extending and expanding the previous research on communication competence. It is assumed that only through intercultural communication competence can people of differing cultures achieve their goals effectively and appropriately in the process of intercultural interaction (Chen & Starosta, 1996).

Nevertheless, although intercultural communication competence has been identified as one of the most important concepts in the study of cross-cultural communication, research in this area has been suffering from the problem of conceptual ambiguity and the lack of valid and reliable

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instruments to assess the concept since the initial stage of study. It is the purpose of this chapter to report our efforts to improve on solutions to these problems by summarizing our research in the past 30 years on the concept of intercultural communication competence and further discuss challenges and directions for future research in this specific area. The chapter is separated into four parts: (1) early study on intercultural communication competence, (2) the triangular model of intercultural communication competence, (3) conceptualization and measurement of intercultural communication competence, and (4) the challenge and future of intercultural communication competence study.

Early Study on Intercultural Communication Competence

The study of the concept of "competence" can be traced back to the early 1950s. Earlier studies treated competence as an individual ability or effectiveness in the process of interaction. The interaction can be with the environment (e.g., Argyris, 1965; White, 1959), or refers to interpersonal communication (e.g., Foote & Cottrell, 1955). Moreover, some scholars considered individual competence an inherent ability that is not related to personal intellect and education (e.g., Holland & Baird, 1968), while others argued that individual competence is the capacity to manipulate the interaction and can be acquired through learning (e.g., Weinstein, 1969). From the perspective of human communication, a representative conceptualization of competence was found in Wiemann's synthesized definition of communication competence as "the ability of an interactant to choose among available communicative behaviors in order that he may successfully accomplish his own interpersonal goals during an encounter while maintaining the face and line of his fellow interactants within the constraints of situation" (p. 198). The definition was further refined by Chen (1989) as "the ability of an interactant to execute communication behaviors to elicit a desired response in a specific environment" (p. 13). In other words, communication scholars tend to regard competence as an other-oriented process through which one can effectively accomplish communication goals on the basis of appropriateness (Wiemann & Backlund, 1980). Effectiveness and appropriateness therefore function as the two main criteria for the assessment of communication competence.

Because of the involvement of culture, it becomes more complicated to deal with the concept of competence in the intercultural context, i.e., intercultural communication competence. In the early stage, scholars used "intercultural communication effectiveness" and "intercultural communication competence" interchangeably, and three common approaches were used to

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study the concept (Hammer, Gudykunst, & Wiseman, 1978). The first approach tries to identify the personal characteristics of intercultural communication effectiveness (e.g., Cleveland, Mangone, & Adam, 1960; Harris, 1973); the second approach focuses on the observation of interactants' behaviors in intercultural context (e.g., Ruben & Kealey, 1979); and the third approach integrates personal characteristics and communication behaviors in order to better understand intercultural communication effectiveness (e.g., Gudykunst, Hammer, & Wiseman, 1977).

Aiming to draw a more complete picture for the study of intercultural communication competence, we launched our research in 1983 by conducting a thorough literature review and classified the elements of intercultural communication competence identified by scholars into four dimensions (Chen, 1989). Figure 1-1 shows the model of dimensions and components of the concept. The model indicates that four dimensions of intercultural communication competence were identified, namely, Personal Attributes, Communication Skills, Psychological Adaptation, and Cultural Awareness, and each dimension contains four typical elements. After an empirical test of 149 international students from a pool of 611 who were from 63 countries and studied in the US, the model was adjusted to the one shown in Figure 1-2. Five dimensions of intercultural communication competence were identified in the new model with each dimension containing two or four elements, respectively.

Due to the impact of globalization that increases the frequency and intensity of intercultural interaction, more and more scholars continued to explore the nature of intercultural communication competence from the early 1980s. Approaches to the study of the concept were expanded and identified (e.g., Chen, 1990; Collier, 1989; Dinges, 1983; Kim, 1994; Ward & Kennedy, 1994; Wiseman & Koester, 1993). However, as Chen and Starosta (1996) pointed out, those approaches for the study of intercultural communication competence were useful, but they still were unable to satisfactorily provide a more holistic picture that can mirror the face of the concept, especially when it is applied to the context of globalizing society. Hence, Chen and Starosta (1996) developed a model that aims to promote "interactants' ability to acknowledge, respect, tolerate, and integrate cultural differences to be qualified for enlightened global citizenship" (p. 362). Figure 1-3 shows the model.

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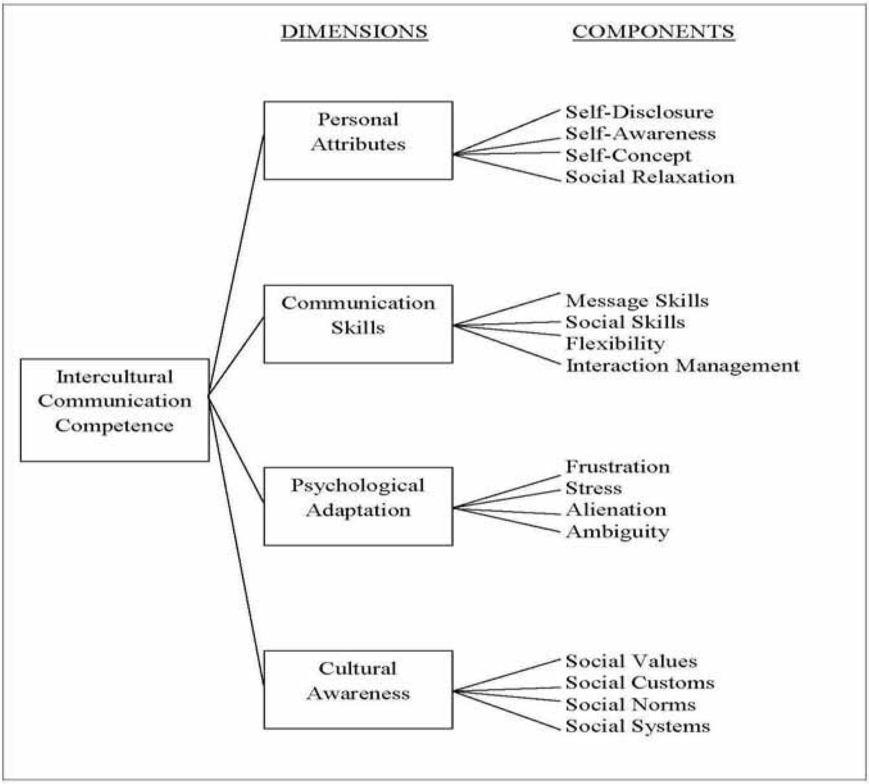

Figure 1-1. The dimensions and components of intercultural communication competence

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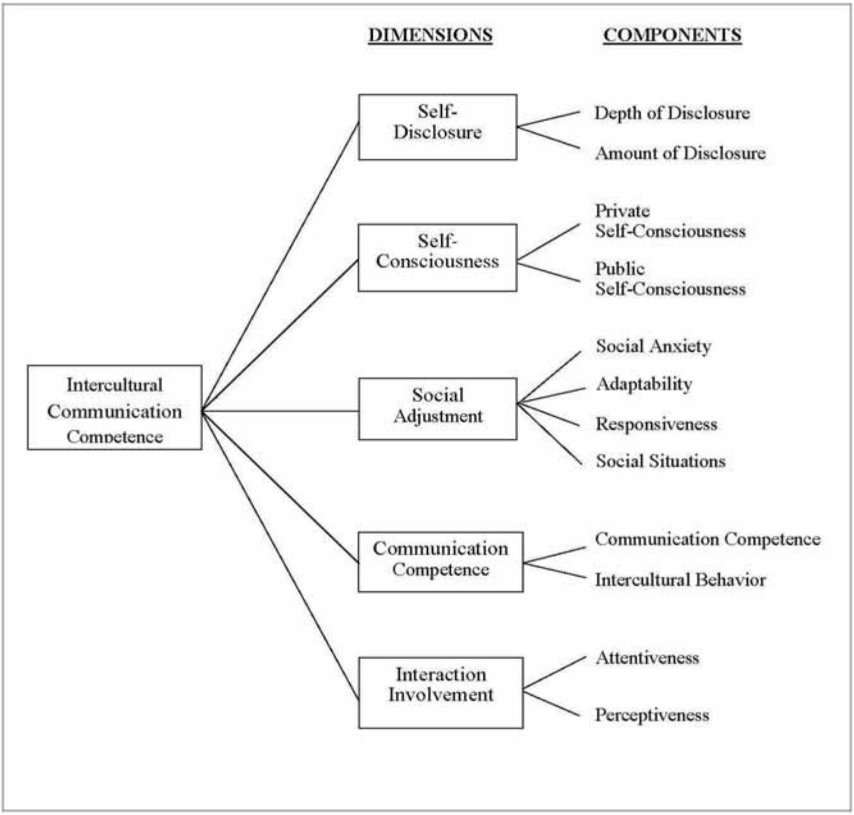

Figure 1-2. A new model of intercultural communication competence

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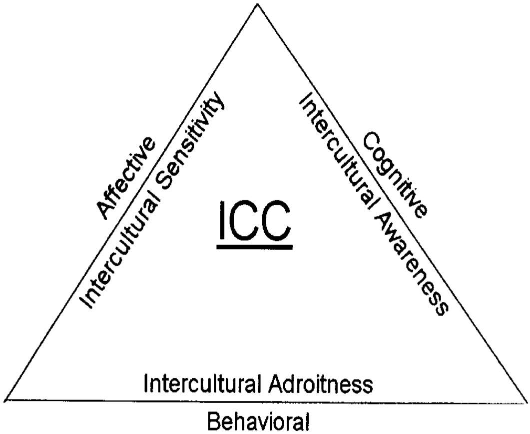

Figure 1-3. A model of intercultural communication competence

The Triangular Model of Intercultural Communication Competence

Although we further developed a more detailed model of global communication competence (Chen, 2005; see Figure 1-4), the triangular mode of intercultural communication competence in Figure 1-3 remains a more precise, rigorous and heuristic one because of its advantage in more comprehensively synthesizing the previous literature. The three sides of the triangular model represent the three aspects of cognition, affect, and behavior of intercultural communication competence (see Figure 1-3). The cognitive aspect of intercultural communication competence is manifested in the ability of intercultural awareness, the affective aspect is in the ability of intercultural sensitivity, and the behavioral aspect is in the ability of intercultural effectiveness/adroitness.

More specifically, the model dictates that interculturally competent individuals must possess the capacities of knowing their own and their counterparts' cultural conventions, demonstrating a positive feeling of acknowledging, respecting, and even accepting cultural differences, and acting appropriately and effectively in the process of intercultural interaction. Previous studies have revealed the significance and necessity of the three aspects respectively toward intercultural communication competence in different contexts of cross-cultural interaction, e.g., Bond (1988), Hanvey (1987), Kohls (1988), and Triandis (1977) for intercultural awareness; Bennett (1986), Bhawuk and Brislin (1992), Gudykunst and

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Ting-Toomey (1988), and Pruegger and Rogers (1993) for intercultural sensitivity; and Hammer (1987), Martin and Hammer (1989), Olebe and Koester (1989), and Ruben (1988) for intercultural effectiveness/adroitness. The triangular model provides an opportunity for us to further conceptualize and operationalize intercultural communication competence from the three aspects in subsequent years (Chen, 2009a).

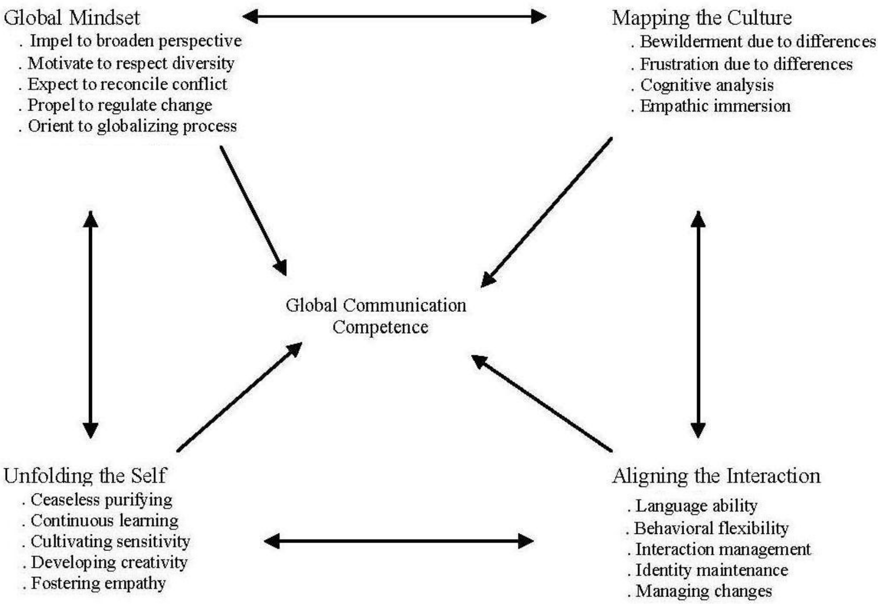

Figure 1-4. A model of global communication competence

Conceptualization and Measurement of Intercultural Communication Competence

Step by step we first explored the affective aspect of intercultural communication competence by dealing with the conceptualization of intercultural sensitivity (Chen & Starosta, 1997). Intercultural sensitivity was defined as "an individual's ability to develop a positive emotion towards understanding and appreciating cultural differences that promotes appropriate and effective behavior in intercultural communication" (p. 5). The definition emphasizes the dynamic nature of intercultural sensitivity and refers to the individual's willingness to learn, appreciate, and even

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accept the cultural differences of the two parties in order to bring forth a positive outcome of interaction. Six key elements of intercultural sensitivity that eventually cultivate intercultural communication competence were identified from the previous literature, including self-esteem, self-monitoring, open-mindedness, empathy, interaction involvement, and suspending judgment.

Based on the working definition that is sustained by the six components, Chen and Starosta (2000) developed and validated an instrument used to measure intercultural sensitivity. The initial 73 items of the instrument that manifest the empirical indicators of the six key elements of intercultural sensitivity were drawn from studies of previous scholars such as Benett (1986), Bhawuk and Brislin (1992), Bronfenbrener, Harding, and Gallwey (1958), Cegala (1981, 1984), Davis (1983), Hart, Carlson, and Eadie (1980), Snyder (1974), and Spitzberg and Cupach (1984). After a series of tests, the number of initial items was reduced to 24 items that are comprised of five factors: interaction engagement, respect for cultural differences, interaction confidence, interaction enjoyment, and interaction attentiveness. The instrument has a high reliability coefficient and a satisfactory predictive validity.

Second, intercultural awareness as the cognitive perspective of intercultural communication competence was conceptualized as "the understanding of the distinct characteristics of our own and others' cultures" (Chen & Starosta, 1998, p. 30). It was argued that only through the understanding of cultural variability can individuals appropriately modify their communication patterns to be congruent with the cues of their cultural counterparts (Hall & Whyte, 1963). The development of cultural awareness is moving from the learning of superficial cultural traits to knowing significant and subtle cultural traits of one's counterpart, and finally reaching the understanding of one's counterpart's feeling from the insider's perspective (Hanvery, 1987).

What constitutes cultural components that count for the awareness of a culture has been explored by scholars in different disciplines from two perspectives. The first perspective is about basic factual information of a culture as illustrated in, e.g., Kohls' (1988) 10 basic areas for knowing cultural factual information, Harris and Moran's (1989) eight systems of a culture, and Saville-Troike's (1978) 20 categories that comprise foundational cultural traits. In addition, Kitao's (1981) Test of American culture is an instrument designed to measure a person's knowledge of the basic traits of American culture. The second perspective of cultural awareness focuses on the acquisition of cultural values. Because cultural values are embedded in the deep structure of a culture, they are much more

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difficult to attain. Classic studies on cultural values include Parsons' (1951) model of the "pattern of role-definition" containing five categories that can be used to generate the types of cultural values; Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck's (1961) model on the five universal problems faced by all human societies through which the patterns of cultural value orientation can be identified; Condon and Yousef's (1975) model that extended Kluchkhohm and Strodtbeck's model to a much more detailed and comprehensive set of cultural values; Hall's high- and low-context cultures; Hofstede's (1983) four-dimensional model of cultural values based on organizational management; and Schwartz's (1992) model of universal cultural values.

Due to the lack of an instrument for measuring one's awareness of cultural values, Chen (1995) generated 15 items of cultural value orientation from Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck's and Condon and Yousef's models to develop an instrument for the measurement of intercultural awareness. Appendix A shows the final version of Chen's Intercultural Awareness Instrument (Chen & Young, 2012).

Finally, after reviewing the literature on intercultural communication competence, Chen and Starosta (1996) criticized that scholars in previous studies tended to use "intercultural effectiveness" and "intercultural communication competence" interchangeably without making a clear distinction between "effectiveness" and "competence," which led to the problem of conceptual ambiguity of intercultural communication competence. They suggested that "intercultural effectiveness" should be used to exclusively refer to the behavioral aspect of intercultural communication competence, so that the other two aspects, i.e., intercultural awareness and intercultural sensitivity can be clearly differentiated. Chen and Starosta also suggested that "intercultural adroitness" can be used to replace "intercultural effectiveness" to avoid confusion. They then defined intercultural effectiveness/adroitness as "the ability to get the job done and attain communication goals in intercultural interaction" through behavioral performance (p. 367).

Based on the definition, Chen (2007) identified five categories of behavioral abilities that manifest the meaning of intercultural effectiveness/adroitness: (1) message skills (e.g., Nakanishi & Johnson, 1993; Ricard, 1993; Rubin, 1988), (2) interaction management (e.g., Cegala, Savage, Brunner, & Conrad, 1982; Ruben, 1976; Spitzberg, 1997), (3) behavioral flexibility (e.g., Adler, 1998; Duran, 1983; Parks, 1994), (4) identity management (e.g., Collier, 2005; Lustig & Koester, 2000; Ting-Toomey, 2005), and (5) relational cultivation (e.g., Imahori & Lanigan, 1989; Martin & Hammer, 1989; Wiseman, 2003). In order to assess

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intercultural effectiveness/adroitness we created and selected 76 items that are attached to the five categories from the previous literature (Portalla & Chen, 2010). After a series of tests, a 20-item instrument was generated. Six factors were found for the instrument: behavioral flexibility, interaction relaxation, interactant respect, message skills, identity maintenance, and interaction management.

Our efforts for conceptualization and operationalization of intercultural communication competence over the years aim to improve the problems of conceptual ambiguity and the lack of valid and reliable instruments for the concept (Chen, 2010a, 2010b). However, our endeavor only represents one approach to examining intercultural communication competence. Moreover, the impact of technology and globalization on human society in the new century continues to enrich and challenge the study of the concept. The following section discusses possible challenges and directions for future research in this area.

The Challenge and Future of Intercultural Communication Competence Study

Intrinsically, the challenges for the study of intercultural communication competence are inherent in the demand of two tasks: (1) the examination of relationships between and among the dimensions/components of the concept, and (2) the application of diverse approaches to the study of the concept. Extrinsically, the study of intercultural communication competence has to face two challenges from the influence of globalization and new media: (1) the re-investigation of the nature of intercultural communication competence in global context, and (2) the exploration of the impact of new media on the concept. The four challenges are elucidated below, respectively.

Relationship of the Dimensions of Intercultural Communication Competence

A large amount of study on intercultural communication competence from the early stage to nowadays attempts to identify the dimensions and components that constitute the concept. Those models developed by Byram (2009), Chen and Starosta (1996), Deardorff (2006), Hammer (1987), Howard-Hamilton (2000), Howard-Hamilton, Richardson, and Shuford (1998), Spitzberg (1997), Ruben (1976), and Ting-Toomey and Kurogi (1998) are some examples of this compositional/typology model for the study of intercultural communication competence. The compositional

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models are helpful in identifying the content and scope of the concept by providing an analytic scheme or typology with a lucid chart or diagram. However, it is important to go one step further to examine the relationships between or among dimensions or components in the compositional model so that the hierarchical or determinative order of the dimensions or components toward intercultural communication competence can be specified.

For instance, questions can be raised in Chen and Starosta's (1996) triangular model of intercultural communication competence, such as "What are the relationships among intercultural awareness, intercultural sensitivity, and intercultural adroitness/effectiveness that represent the cognitive, affective, and behavioral aspects of intercultural communication competence, respectively," and "Which of the dimensions better predicts intercultural communication competence, or must all three dimensions be integrated in order to be considered intercultural competence"? While scholars tend to agree that all three dimensions are necessary for the structure of intercultural communication competence, it may be possible that only one of the dimensions (e.g., intercultural sensitivity) will be sufficient for predicting intercultural communication competence.

Moreover, individuals possessing the ability of one of the dimensions may not mean that they as well possess the abilities of other dimensions, as demonstrated by the possibility that one may take advantage of one's intercultural counterparts because of knowing their culture, i.e., the person may be interculturally aware without showing intercultural sensitivity in interaction (Chen, 1994; Chen & Kim, 1993). Although efforts have been made by scholars in exploring the relationships and nature of the dimensions and components of intercultural communication competence (e.g., Chen, 1989), it is obvious that more studies are needed for future research in this direction. In addition, as Spitzberg and Changnon (2009) indicated, other conceptual models, such as the co-orientational model (e.g., Byram, 1997; Rathje, 2007), developmental model (e.g., Bennett, 1986; Taylor, 1994), adaptational model (e.g., Kim, 1988; Ward, in this volume; Ward, Okura, Kennedy, & Kojimar, 1998), and causal path model (e.g., Arasaratnam & Doerfel, 2005; Griffith & Harvey, 2000), can also be used to supplement the compositional model to reach a more comprehensive and satisfactory understanding of the nature of intercultural communication competence.

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Diverse Approaches to the Study of Intercultural Communication Competence

The models for the study of intercultural communication competence mentioned above largely orient to the functional or discovery paradigm, which heavily rely on positivistic thinking and empirical research. While empirical research embedded in scientific inquiry can produce more accurate knowledge through a testing procedure, other approaches based on interpretative and critical paradigms as well can make significant contributions in terms of depth and breadth to the study of intercultural communication in general and to the distinct concept such as intercultural communication competence in specific. Instead of treating intercultural communication competence as a knowable ability that can be discovered by the knower through a systematic, causal, objective, or repetitive process, interpretative and critical paradigms recognize the existence of multiple realities that are socially constructed and shaped by the knower through a more subjective, creative, and revealing process in a specific context (Merrigan & Huston, 2004). Three non-empirical approaches including discourse analysis, critical approach, and dialectical approach deserve discussion here.

Cultural discourse analysis as a theory and methodology for the study of human interaction originated from the interpretative paradigm. The approach argues that intercultural communication is a process situated in social interaction which is woven by a rich semantic web and common knowledge of members in a specific cultural group (Carbaugh, 2012, also in this volume; Scollo, 2011). Thus, intercultural communication competence can only be observed in the social scene of a particular cultural context. In other words, competence is not a general ability or a universal set of skills that can be applied to different interaction settings. To be interculturally competent individuals therefore must be able to read "communication cue" and understand "communication code" regulated by the culture of interactants or dynamically tied to the situate knowledge. According to Carbaugh (2012), "communication code" refers to a set of cultural beliefs and values that guide communication behaviors of a cultural group, and "communication cue" is mostly an unconscious signal device acquired from cultural learning that consists of explicit and implicit meanings of verbal and nonverbal expressions.

The critical approach brings the concepts of structural factors, power relations, and historical content into the study of intercultural communication (Halualani & Nakayama, 2010). The approach argues that intercultural communication study must address the realities of human

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emotions and political economy in order to secure an open expression and unconstrained exchange of messages. Thus, intercultural communication competence should refer to an authentic and appropriate expression "with regard to the social relationship, as well as a willingness on the part of those in positions of power to cooperate with those who resist domination" (Kelly, 2008, p. 267). Based on the critical approach, Sorrells (2012, also in this volume) claimed that the study of intercultural communication in the new century should undergo four new actions: to reconceptualize and expand the meaning of "culture," to emphasize the multifocal and mutual vision of cultural heritages and production of centers and peripheries, to link the local and global cultures, and to stress critical engagement and social justice. Sorrells indicated that these actions warrant the actualization of intercultural praxis through which cultural awareness and critical analysis can be increased, and therefore intercultural communication competence can be reached.

Finally, the dialectical approach, as an extension of the critical approach, highlights the dynamic and changing nature of intercultural interaction by emphasizing the opposite, polar but complementary, interdependent, and transformative relationship between the two interactants, which reflects the holistic nature of dialectical intercultural communication through the manifestation of a synthetic unity (Bakhtin, 1982; Baxter & Montgomery, 1996; Chen, 1998, 2009b; Chen & An, 2009). Martin & Nakayama, 2010) identified six interdependent dialectics that can be used to observe intercultural interactions, namely, cultural-individual dialectic, personal-contextual dialectic, differences-similarities dialectic, static-dynamic dialectic, present-future/history-past dialectic, and privilege-disadvantage dialectic. Intercultural communication competence is therefore revealed in the intersection of the six interdependent dialectics operating in the process of intercultural interaction. The approach also underscores the need for ethical judgment in terms of stereotype, ethnocentrism, cultural imperialism and hegemony, and conventional cultural knowledge when examining the concept of intercultural communication competence (Nakayama & Martin, see this volume), although the ethical concern should be a universal subject in all approaches to the study of intercultural communication competence (Chen & Starosta, 2005; Xiao & Chen, 2009).

Intercultural Communication Competence in Global Context

The impact of globalization on human society in the new century not only strongly demands intercultural communication competence for a successful interaction in the global community, but also urgently calls for

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a possible re-conceptualization of the concept. A new global community is emerging now by drawing together more and more people of differing experiences in terms of race, ethnicity, gender, and spirituality, and its goal is to promote voluntary pluralism through intercultural communication by integrating different identities and interests to build a global civic culture. Hence, to cultivate a new sense of community in order to build a cohesive global society may call for moving the study of intercultural communication competence from intercultural to the global context (Chen, 2012a). In other words, global communication competence may require something more than intercultural communication competence.

As Figure 4 indicated, in addition to the dimensions of "mapping the culture" and "aligning the interaction" that respectively resemble cognitive and behavioral aspects of the triangular model of intercultural communication competence (see Figure 3), two extra dimensions, i.e., "global mindset" and "unfolding the self" that integrate both affective and cognitive aspects of intercultural communication competence, were found to be significant in demystifying the concept of global communication competence. More and more scholars from different disciplines have begun to explore global communication competence. For example, Willard (2013) attempted to determine the components of global competence; Hunter, White, and Goodbey (2006) drew a global competence model; Ashwill and Duong (2009) explored how to become a globally competent citizen; and Byram (in this volume) sought to develop global communication competence through the process of intercultural citizenship education from the foreign language teaching perspective. Furthermore, to apply the study of intercultural communication competence in other different contexts to the global level not only is a necessary step to take, but also continues to enrich the literature of the subject area. Some of the additional contexts involved in the study of intercultural communication competence include those in business/management (e.g., Moran, Youngdahl, & Moran, 2009; Chen, in press), health care (e.g., Anand, 2004), social work (e.g., Fong, 2009), religion/spirituality (e.g., Yancey, 2009; Young, 2012), and even in engineering (Grandin & Hedderich, 2009).

Impact of New Media on Intercultural Communication Competence

New media is the main force accelerating the globalization trend in recent decades. As Chen (2012b) pointed out, new media not only greatly enhances the interconnectedness and complexity of human society, but also imposes a great challenge to the traditional way of perceiving and

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practicing human interaction. New media produces a discontinuity between traditional culture and the innovation created by itself and has enlarged the communication gap among people from differing ethnic and cultural backgrounds. In other words, the impact of new media on intercultural communication will be enormous and urgently calls for scholars to rethink the study of intercultural communication in global context (Shuter, 2011, 2012a, 2012b). Chen (2012b) found that three areas of research on the impact of new media on intercultural communication are emerging, including the impact of national/ethnic culture on new media, the impact of new media on cultural/social identity, and the impact of new media on different aspects of intercultural communication. Three specific aspects from the three areas of the impact of new media on intercultural communication will directly affect the study of intercultural communication competence: cultural identity, intercultural relationship, and intercultural adaptation.

First, the convergence of new media and globalization fosters new life experiences in traditional face-to-face interaction and in cyberspace and between these two modes of human interaction (Lister, Dovery, Giddings, Grant, & Kelly, 2009). The emergence of new media results in a more fluid and dynamic cultural identity in the global community in which time and space are compressed and lose their traditional limitation power. The construction, reconstruction, negotiation, and re-negotiation of cultural identity definitely will be regulated by the impact of new media (Chen & Dai, 2012; Chen & Zhang, 2010; Weber & Mitchell, 2008). How this challenge of new media on the autonomy and stability of traditional cultural identity affects "identity management," which is one of the components of intercultural effectiveness/adroitness (Chen, 2007; Collier, 2005), remains a question for scholars to answer.

Second, the use of new media, especially the social media, gives a great flexibility for people to exchange messages in cyberspace, which in turn creates a considerable convenience for people to present themselves and connect with others in cyberspace. This flexibility and convenience brought in by new media will directly affect how people practice the traditional way of establishing intercultural relationships and will lead to creation of a new pattern of intercultural relationship in the virtual community (Ellison, Steinfield, & Lanmpe, 2007; Parks & Floyd, 1996). As previously mentioned, because "relational cultivation" is a necessary element for intercultural communication competence, especially demonstrated in behavioral performance in the process of intercultural interaction, the impact of new media on the study of intercultural communication competence becomes inevitable.

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Third and lastly, as indicated above, to study intercultural communication competence in the process of or from the perspective of intercultural adaptation represents one of the main aspects in understanding the nature of the concept (Chen, 2013; Kim, 2012; Ward, in this volume). However, the emergence of new media as a powerful tool of information exchange has begun to change the way a sojourner copes with the challenge of intercultural adjustment. Studies show that social media has become a common tool sojourners, immigrants, international students, and travelers use to communicate with their folks or establish relationships with friends in both their native land and the host nation (e.g., Chen, Bennett, & Maton, 2008; W. Chen, 2010). In addition, Croucher (2011) further theorized that the use of social networking sites not only affects the interaction of immigrants with the dominant culture, but also with their in-group communication, which may show a significant effect on immigrants' intercultural adaptation. Sawyer and Chen's study (2011) as well demonstrates that the use of social media not only creates a space for foreign students in the US to connect with people both in the host nation and their homeland, but also strengthens their personal relationships and develops the feeling of belonging to the host culture. Thus, intercultural communication competence may need to be re-conceptualized due to the impact of using new media in the process of intercultural adaptation.

Conclusion

The transformation of the labels from "competence," "interpersonal competence," "communication competence," "intercultural communication competence," to "global communication competence" illustrates the developmental history of the study of human competence on the one hand, and reflects the change and movement of human society from an isolated island to a highly culturally dynamic and interconnected network on the other hand. This chapter attempts to record the pulse of the trend by reporting our research on the subject of intercultural communication competence in the last 30 years. The literature review of the concept was selectively and representatively made; the conceptualization and measurement of the concept was proposed through the process of model building and instrument development; and challenges and directions for future research on the concept embedded in the impact of new technology were also stipulated. As emphasized in this chapter, the models and instruments we developed just represent a way of reaching a better understanding of the concept of intercultural communication competence. In order to fully demystify the concept, it is important to know that diverse

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approaches must be employed. It is hoped that the study of intercultural communication competence will not only contribute to the understanding and accumulation of literature related to the concept, but also help to reach a global civic society and productive life of *Homo sapiens* in the new century.

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Appendix

Intercultural Awareness Instrument

Directions: Here are several statements about American cultural values. Please indicate the extent to which you feel that each statement describes what you think. There are no right or wrong answers. Just answer honestly how you feel by indicating:

5 = Strongly Agree
4 = Agree
3 = Not Decided
2 = Disagree
1 = Strongly Disagree

______ 1. *Americans* are individualists.
______ 2. *Americans* are doing-oriented.
______ 3. *Americans* believe that life is basically sad.
______ 4. *Americans* are high in family mobility.
______ 5. *Americans* emphasize spiritual life.
______ 6. *Americans* are open in the family role behavior.
______ 7. *Americans* are less formal in social interaction.
______ 8. *Americans* seldom express their opinions openly.
______ 9. *Americans* emphasize social rank.
______10. *Americans* often refer to each other by first name.
______11. *Americans* are not action-oriented.
______12. *Americans* believe that they are in control over their environment.
______13. *Americans* rely on intermediaries in social interaction.
______14. *Americans* express their opinions directly.
______15. *Americans* are less democratic in the family role behavior.
______16. *Americans* emphasize change more than tradition.
______17. *Americans* do not emphasize status.
______18. *Americans* emphasize the future more than the past.
______19. *Americans* believe that human nature is unchangeable.
______20. *Americans* believe that people are controlled by the supernatural.

Note: the italicized nation's name can be replaced by another nation.
Items to be reversed (i.e., 5 = 1, 4 = 2, 2 = 4, 1 = 5): 3, 5, 8, 9, 11, 13, 15, 17, 19, 20

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CHAPTER TWO

CONCEPTUALIZING, MEASURING AND PREDICTING INTERCULTURAL COMPETENCE

COLLEEN WARD AND JESSIE WILSON

Intercultural competence can be defined as the acquisition and maintenance of culture-specific knowledge and skills required to: (1) function effectively within a new cultural context and/or (2) interact effectively with people from different cultural backgrounds. The construct has been examined across and within national boundaries; that is, in connection with cross-cultural transition and adaptation and in terms of intercultural relations within multicultural societies. In acculturation theory and research intercultural competence is broadly seen as underpinning the capacity to "survive and thrive" in a new cultural milieu (Furnham & Bochner, 1986; Ward, 1996). In counseling/clinical, educational and organizational contexts intercultural competence is defined in terms of domain-specific goals (Chao, Okazaki, & Hong, 2011). Accordingly, intercultural competence can be construed as the capacity to work effectively in therapeutic settings with clients from culturally diverse backgrounds (Pedersen, Draguns, Lonner, & Trimble, 2007; Sue, Arrondondo, & McDavies, 1992), to manage the demands of a multicultural classroom and meet the needs of a diverse student population (McAllister & Irvine, 2000) or to operate skilfully in multicultural groups to achieve key organizational objectives (Tan & Chua, 2003). In the international business arena the last of these is often examined in connection with expatriate effectiveness (Mol, Born, & van der Molen, 2005). This chapter discusses intercultural competence primarily in the context of cross-cultural transition.

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Defining and Measuring Intercultural Competence

Despite decades of theorizing and research on intercultural competence, there is limited consensus about its definition (Deardorff, 2006; Dinges & Baldwin, 1996). One of the earliest attempts to define and assess intercultural competence was undertaken by Hammer, Gudykunst and Wiseman (1978) in their study of intercultural effectiveness. They began by identifying a range of competencies required for successful living abroad. A list of 24 abilities generated by North American sojourners and refined by the researchers was subjected to exploratory factor analysis. This produced a three-factor model: (1) the ability to manage psychological stress; (2) the ability to communicate effectively and (3) the ability to establish interpersonal relationships. Despite the face validity of model, attempts to replicate this factor structure have produced somewhat varied results. Black's (1988, 1990) model and measurement of cross-cultural adjustment likewise recognized the importance of managing the stresses associated with daily life in a new culture and the central role played by effective intercultural communication and interaction; however, this line of research has focused more on affective responses to cross-cultural transition rather than the knowledge, skills and abilities underpinning competence (also see Black & Gregersen, 1990; Black & Stephens, 1989).

Work by Chen and Starosta (1997, 1998, 2000) suggests that intercultural competence incorporates three related dimensions: sensitivity, awareness and skills. Sensitivity refers to individuals' capacity to comprehend and appreciate cultural differences. Awareness is linked to the ability to understand how culture affects how we think, behave and interact. Skills are reflected in effective communication and intercultural interactions. Chen and Starosta's program of research has centered on the sensitivity dimension and has included the construction of the Intercultural Sensitivity Scale (Chen & Starosta, 2000). Their work was preceded by Bennett's (1986, 1993) Developmental Model of Intercultural Sensitivity (DMIS), which describes the progression from ethnocentric to ethno-relative understandings of cultural differences and explains the evolution of intercultural competence. The Intercultural Development Inventory (IDI) is a measure of intercultural competence based on the DMIS (Hammer, Bennett, & Wiseman, 2003).

More recently Deardorff (2006) employed the Delphi method to clarify the core characteristics of intercultural competence, which entailed inviting identified experts to share views on the issue with the aim of reaching a consensus. Her research concluded that there was a wide variety

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of definitions of intercultural competence across international experts, although the definition that engendered the most consensus was "the ability to communicate effectively and appropriately in intercultural situations based on one's intercultural knowledge, skills, and attitudes" (Deardorff, 2006, pp. 247-248). There was strong agreement that intercultural competence is based on analytical and relational skills, particularly the ability to understand others' worldviews. However, Deardorff (2006) notes that the knowledge and skills component of intercultural competence is preceded by requisite attitudes including openness to and respect for other cultures.

One of the conceptual challenges in defining and measuring intercultural competence is the distinction of the antecedents, core characteristics, and consequences or outcomes of competence. For example, Earley and Ang (2003) define Cultural Intelligence (CQ) as "an individual's capability to function and manage effectively in culturally diverse settings" (p. 59), which appears broadly consistent with conceptualizations of intercultural competence. CQ is assessed by a self-report measure, with items such as "I vary the rate of my speaking when a cross-cultural situation requires it" or "I know the legal and economic systems of other cultures." However, the measure is then used to predict various outcomes, such as accuracy in cultural judgment and decision-making tasks, which are key indicators of skills-based intercultural competencies (Ang et al., 2007). CQ has also been used to predict work and general adjustment (Templer, Tay, & Chandarsekar, 2006). Consequently, it is unclear if CQ is a predictor or indicator of intercultural competence.

Ward and colleagues have approached the issue of intercultural competence from a broader perspective distinguishing two fundamental types of adaptation required during cross-cultural transition: psychological and socio-cultural (Searle & Ward, 1990; Ward, 2001; Ward & Searle, 1991). The first is related to psychological and emotional well-being, and the latter refers to the ability to fit in or negotiate a new cultural environment. In short, the distinction is made between "feeling well" and "doing well" with the latter centered on culturally appropriate behaviors and skills, i.e., intercultural competence.

Searle and Ward (1990, p. 454) developed the Sociocultural Adaptation Scale (SCAS) to assess "the skills required to manage everyday situations (e.g., shopping) and aspects of a new culture (e.g., different food)." The measure has been used in a program of acculturation research with Ward and Kennedy (1999) summarizing findings based on 16 cross-sectional and four longitudinal samples (see Tables 2-1 and 2-2). At that time Gudykunst (1999) evaluated the instrument as having "the

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most empirical foundation of any measure used in the study of intercultural relations" and as "a highly reliable, valid, and versatile measure of behavioral adaptability" (p. 553).

Table 2-1. Items from the sociocultural adaptation scale (Ward & Kennedy, 1999)

1. Making friends
2. Using the transport system
3. Making yourself understood
4. Getting used to the pace of life
5. Going shopping
6. Going to social events/gatherings/functions
7. Worshipping in your usual way
8. Talking about yourself with others
9. Understanding jokes and humor
10. Dealing with someone who is cross/unpleasant/aggressive
11. Getting used to the local food
12. Following rules and regulations
13. Dealing with people in authority
14. Dealing with the bureaucracy
15. Adapting to local accommodation
16. Communicating with people from a different ethnic group
17. Relating to members of the opposite sex
18. Dealing with unsatisfactory service
19. Finding your way around
20. Dealing with the climate
21. Dealing with people staring at you
22. Going to coffee shops/food stalls/ restaurants/fast food outlets
23. Understanding the local accent/language
24. Living away from your family members overseas/independently from your parents
25. Adapting to local etiquette
26. Getting used to the population density
27. Relating to older people
28. Dealing with people of higher status
29. Understanding what is required of you at university
30. Coping with academic work
31. Dealing with foreign staff at the university
32. Expressing your ideas in class
33. Living with your host family
34. Accepting/understanding the local political system
35. Understanding locals' world view
36. Taking a local perspective on culture
37. Understanding the local value system
38. Seeing things from the locals' point of view
39. Understanding cultural differences
40. Being able to see two sides of an intercultural issue

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Table 2-2. Cross-sectional and longitudinal samples (Ward & Kennedy, 1999)

Sample	N	Source
Multinational students in New Zealand	155	Ward & Searle (1991)
New Zealanders in Singapore	84	Ward & Kennedy (1992)
New Zealand AFS students abroad	178	Ward & Kennedy (1993a)
Singaporean and Malaysian students in NZ	145	Ward & Kennedy (1993b)
Malaysian students in Singapore	156	Ward & Kennedy (1993b)
Britons in Hong Kong	124	Ward & Kennedy (1993c)
New Zealand public servants abroad	98	Ward & Kennedy (1994)
Americans in Singapore	139	Ward & Chang (1997)
Singaporean students abroad	108	Kennedy (1998)
Multinational students in New Zealand	104	Berno & Ward (1998)
Singaporeans in the United States	100	Ward & Inserto (1998)
Hong Kong and P.R.C. Chinese in Singapore	147	Ward & Chang (1998)
Britons in Singapore	113	Ward & Kennedy (1998)
Filipina domestic helpers in Singapore	191	Ward, Chang,& Lopez-Nerney (1999)
Multinational aid workers in Nepal	104	Ward & Rana-Deuba (1999)
Japanese students in New Zealand	90	Ward et al. (1998)
Singaporean and Malaysian students in NZ	14 (L3)	Ward & Kennedy (1996a)
New Zealand VSA volunteers	14 (L3)	Ward & Kennedy (1996b)
Japanese students in New Zealand	35 (L4)	Ward et al. (1998)
Singaporean students abroad	108 (L3)	Kennedy (1998)

Note: L = longitudinal studies with the number of time points in parentheses

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Although the SCAS was a novel assessment of intercultural competency at the time of its development, by the year 2012 over 100 papers had been published using the scale, and these, along with Ward's own program of research, form the basis of this chapter. It is important to note, however, that the SCAS is but one way to assess intercultural competence. Indeed, it could well be argued that behavioral measures, observations and even peer assessments are more ecologically valid and less amenable to social desirability biases. More comprehensive assessments can be achieved with both qualitative and quantitative data (Deardorff, 2006), and the review that follows should be understood in that context.

Sociocultural Adaptation and Culture Learning

The Culture Learning Tradition

From the outset Ward situated the concept of sociocultural adaptation within the Culture Learning framework and placed emphasis on the process and outcomes of learning culturally appropriate skills. The culture learning approach has its roots in social and experimental psychology and has been strongly influenced by Argyle's (1969) work on social skills and interpersonal behaviors. The approach is based on the assumption that cross-cultural problems arise because cultural novices have difficulties managing everyday social encounters. Adaptation, therefore, comes in the form of learning the culture-specific skills that are required to negotiate a new cultural milieu (Bochner, 1972, 1986).

Historically, researchers who adopted a culture learning approach to intercultural contact and change emphasized the significance of cross-cultural differences in the adaptation process. Attention was particularly paid to variations in communication styles, including its verbal and nonverbal components, rules, conventions and norms and their influences on intercultural effectiveness. Early work by Stephen Bochner and Adrian Furnham in the Oxford tradition (e.g., Bochner, 1972; Furnham & Bochner, 1982), including their research with the Social Situations Questionnaire, exemplified this approach.

More recently, Culture Learning Theory has evolved in two directions. On one hand, aspects of the "social psychology of the intercultural encounter" (Argyle, 1982; Bochner, 1986) have been integrated and subsumed under the overarching framework of communication styles or communication competence. This development is reflected in the work of social psychologists and communication theorists such as Cynthia Gallois, Howard Giles, William Gudykunst and Y. Y. Kim (e.g., Gallois, Franklyn-

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Stokes, Giles, & Coupland, 1988; Gudykunst & Kim, 1984). On the other hand, researchers have broadened the traditional line of inquiry about cultural differences in communication styles, norms and values, to concentrate on the definition and prediction of intercultural competencies. While early research by Hammer et al. (1978) and Kealey (1989) on intercultural effectiveness underpins this development, more recent work by Ward and colleagues on sociocultural adaptation perhaps best exemplifies this contemporary approach.

The Core of Culture Learning

In principle meetings between culturally diverse people are no different from other social encounters, and in both cases troublesome interchanges can be conceptualized as failures in verbal and nonverbal communication. Language is obviously significant, but the rules, conventions and customs of social interaction are also salient aspects of communication. These include activities such as the expression of feelings, adoption of proxemic postures, display of gaze, and performance of ritualized routines such as greetings, leave-takings, etc. (Trower, Bryant, & Argyle, 1978). As these acts carry implicit messages that define the tenor of relationships, it is important that they are in accordance with cultural expectations. Indeed, experimental research on intercultural interaction has shown that culturally congruent nonverbal behaviors are a more powerful predictor of interpersonal attraction than ethnicity (Dew & Ward, 1993).

The Culture Learning tradition emphasizes the significance of social skills and social interaction. Extending work from the intracultural domain, it begins by identifying the cross-cultural differences in verbal and nonverbal communication, rules, conventions, norms, values and practices that contribute to intercultural misunderstandings. It then sets about proposing ways in which confusing and dissatisfying encounters can be minimized. As the approach considers intercultural effectiveness as essentially no different from other desirable activities or behavioral goals, it can be achieved through the application of the basic principles of learning, including readiness, observation, modeling, practice, and feedback. As such, training and experience abroad are likely to enhance culture-specific competencies as are learning opportunities that occur through day to day intercultural encounters over time.

There is no doubt that one of the most important factors underpinning intercultural competence is language proficiency. Indeed, if individuals making cross-cultural transitions are to communicate successfully across cultures they will be required, at least to some extent, to speak the

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language of the receiving community. Language skills are relevant to the sojourners' facility in performing daily tasks and are important in establishing interpersonal relationships in a foreign country as they affect the quality and quantity of intercultural interactions. Studies have found that language fluency bears a straightforward relationship to sociocultural adaptation; it is associated with increased interaction with members of the host culture and a decrease in sociocultural adaptation problems (Sano, 1990; Ward & Kennedy, 1993a).

A number of studies has suggested that the relationship between language fluency and social interaction is most likely a reciprocal one, with increased language competence leading to greater participation in the host community, which, in turn, leads to improved proficiency in the host language (Church, 1982; Clément, Noels, & Deneault, 2001). As individuals become increasingly fluent in the language of the receiving community, their ability to participate in various intercultural experiences is increased. According to this view, the development of language fluency and other communication competencies and the development of interpersonal relationships with members of the receiving community appear to function dynamically in the ongoing process of culture learning. Thus, language skills provide acculturating individuals with the means to establish the interpersonal relationships and social support that have been shown to facilitate culture learning and sociocultural adaptation (Ward, 1996). See Figure 2-1 for a graphic representation of these relationships.

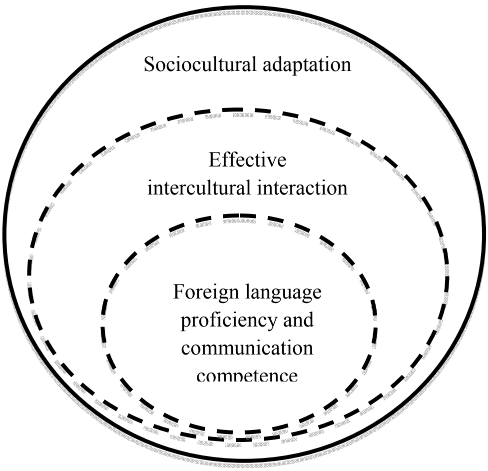

Figure 2-1. Interactive model of sociocultural adaptation (Masgoret & Ward, 2006)

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Predicting Intercultural Competence through Culture Learning

As the achievement of intercultural competencies is set within a culture learning framework, Ward has advocated examination of the factors that are known more generally to facilitate or impede skills-based learning. At the most basic level, learning improves with practice and is assumed to proceed in an orderly fashion, increasing steeply in the early stages of cross-cultural transition and then leveling off and remaining relatively stable over time. Indeed, longitudinal research has shown that the pattern of sociocultural adaptation resembles a learning curve (Ward, Okura, Kennedy, & Kojima, 1998). This points to a positive relationship between length of residence in a new country and sociocultural adaptation (Figure 2-2).

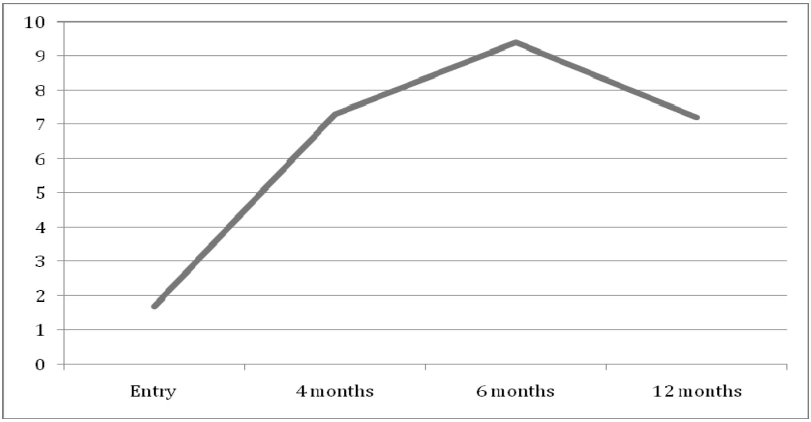

Figure 2-2. Sociocultural adaptation over time (Ward et al., 1998)

Opportunities for learning and the acquisition of culture-specific knowledge are prerequisites for sociocultural adaptation. In their model for the development of intercultural competence Bhawuk and Triandis (1996) positioned cross-cultural training and experience abroad as factors that contribute positively to the early stages of culture learning and assist an individual in moving from the status of layperson to cultural novice. Both training and experience enhance cultural knowledge, which, in turn, facilitates skills acquisition for intercultural competence and sociocultural adaptation.

Despite relying on a wide assortment of methods, training programs share a common assumption; that is, the major task facing cross-cultural

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travelers is to learn salient features of the new culture. Programs that specifically emphasize training for social skills are based on behavioral approaches to learning and rely primarily on procedures such as video feedback, role-playing, and modeling to simulate real-life situations. Emphasis is placed on the management of interpersonal encounters and the effective execution of communication skills (Ward, 2004).

Although intercultural training has been shown to have beneficial effects on interpersonal skills in cross-cultural encounters, understanding of host values, work performance and self-development (Deshpande & Viswesvaran, 1992), there is some evidence that behaviorally-based programs may be particularly effective in fostering intercultural competence. The positive effects of behavioral modeling techniques have been well documented (Harrison, 1992). Furthermore, culturally appropriate behaviors appear to be more readily acquired through intercultural contact and role-playing, compared to other training methods, at least under conditions when the trainees' behaviors are evaluated by host nationals (Landis, Brislin, & Hulgus, 1985).

With respect to experience, earlier exposure to the language and culture of the host community has been found to be positively related to sociocultural adaptation (Masgoret, Bernaus, & Gardner, 2000). More broadly, previous cross-cultural experience abroad has been shown to facilitate sociocultural adaptation, suggesting that generic skills learned in overseas settings might be applied to new cultural contexts. This was demonstrated in a study by Parker and McEvoy (1993), which found that greater international experience tended to enhance adjustment and the ability to deal with a new cultural environment, demonstrating the generalization of knowledge and skills.

While transfer of skills-based cultural competence may occur across cultural settings, the transfer is likely to be more effective in similar than dissimilar settings. Along these lines, skills will be more rapidly acquired in relatively familiar, compared to unfamiliar, settings. In the acculturation literature this is typically discussed in terms of cultural distance, which refers to the differences (both perceived and real) between culture of origin and culture of contact (Babiker, Cox, & Miller, 1980). Babiker et al. (1980) originally employed this construct in a clinical context using it as an explanation for the differences in symptomatology in international students, but Furnham and Tresize (1981) extended this line of reasoning to the social context and suggested that cultural distance negatively affects the ability to negotiate cross-cultural interactions. In an associated study, Furnham and Bochner (1982) investigated the relationship between cultural distance and social skills in international students in the United

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Kingdom by classifying their countries of origins into three groups according to similarities in religion, language, and climate. Research findings demonstrated that cultural distance and social difficulty were strongly related. In other words, individuals exhibit a more limited range of culturally appropriate skills and experience lower levels of sociocultural adaptation when they are operating in increasingly "distant" and unfamiliar cultural contexts.

Ward and Kennedy's (1999) data on sociocultural adaptation across groups and contexts reflects these trends. Figure 2-3 shows that Malaysian and Chinese residents in Singapore report fewer sociocultural difficulties (conversely greater intercultural competencies) compared to British and American residents. It also indicates that Japanese students in New Zealand, who tend to have relatively lower levels of English language proficiency, report more difficulties than Malaysian and Singaporean students. The findings converge to illustrate the role of cultural distance in the acquisition of culture-specific skills.

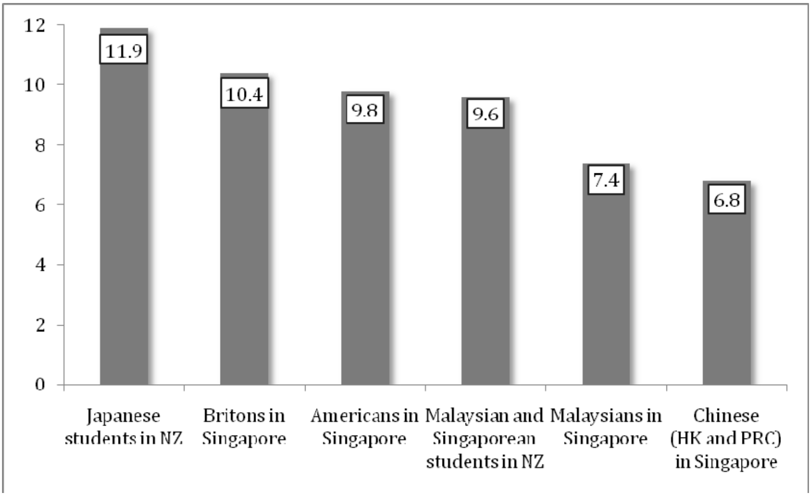

Figure 2-3. Sociocultural adaptation difficulties (Ward & Kennedy, 1999)

Language skills are at the core of sociocultural adaptation as they provide the key to understanding new cultures and directly affect the quality and quantity of intercultural reactions, which provide additional learning opportunities. Fluency is associated with increased interaction with members of the host culture (Gullahorn & Gullahorn, 1966) and a decrease in sociocultural adjustment problems (Ward & Kennedy, 1993b).

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These variables fit neatly into the culture learning model of cross-cultural adaptation because they offer tangible resources and facilitate skills acquisition in new cultural milieux.

One of the most reliable means for sojourners and immigrants to acquire, improve and eventually master cultural competence is through their interactions with host nationals. Contact provides the opportunity for instrumental support, and studies have shown that sojourners typically make use of host nationals for informational purposes (Bochner, McLeod, & Lin, 1977; Ong & Ward, 2005). Contact can also provide opportunities for observational learning. However, studies of sociocultural adaptation have not systematically distinguished measures of the quality and quantity of host national contact as predictors of adaptive outcomes. Research with international students indicates that close friendships can play a role in enhancing culturally appropriate social skills (Bochner, McLeod, & Lin, 1977; Furnham & Bochner, 1982). Studies have also shown that international students who have greater contact with their domestic peers have better social skills (Trice, 2004) and are more effective at “fitting in” (Kagan & Cohen, 1990). While both the quality and quantity of contact should be associated with positive adaptation, in line with Culture Learning Theory, Ward and colleagues have argued that the quantity of contact will have a stronger relationship with sociocultural adaptation. This is based on the premise that contact per se provides the opportunities for cultural instruction and observational learning (Ward, Bochner, & Furnham, 2001).

Intercultural Competence and Psychological Well-being

As Ward has argued that psychological and sociocultural adaptation are two conceptually related but empirically distinct constructs, an examination of the relationship between the two is warranted. Ward and Kennedy (1999) reported significant correlations ranging from .20 to .62 across 16 cross-sectional samples with a median correlation of .32. The results are not surprising as the complementarity of the psychological and social analyses of human behavior has long been recognized. In particular Trower, Bryant and Argyle (1978) argued that certain forms of psychological adjustment difficulties can be caused or exacerbated by the lack of social skills. They also commented on the reciprocal relationship between the two domains, with social inadequacy leading to isolation and psychological disturbance and psychological distress affecting behavior, including an array of social skills and interactions.

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The Correlates of Sociocultural Adaptation: A Meta-analysis

Ward's work on sociocultural adaptation has been ongoing for more than two decades, and since the publication of her original 1990 work there have been over 100 publications that have employed her Sociocultural Adaptation Scale. Accordingly, Wilson, Ward and Fischer (2013) have examined the correlates of sociocultural adaptation in a recent meta-analysis. The inclusion criteria for the meta-analysis were: empirical studies conducted between the publication of the original Searle and Ward (1990) paper and 1 April, 2011; research participants were at least 16 years of age; and studies included correlational data on demographic, individual difference or situational variables. Of the 104 studies identified, 66 met these criteria.

Selected results of the meta-analysis are summarized in Table 2-3. The analysis revealed that both age and gender were related to sociocultural adaptation with males and older people reporting more favorable outcomes. In line with Ward's contentions and Culture Learning Theory more broadly, the following variables were associated with better sociocultural adaptation (effect sizes in parentheses): (1) length of residence (r = .16); (2) experience and/or training (r = .17); (3) cultural knowledge (r = .34); (4) language ability (r = .35); (5) contact with host nationals (r = .29); and (6) low cultural distance (r = -.33). With the exception of length of residence and experience/training, these relationships were generally characterized by medium effect sizes.

A key objective of the Wilson et al. (2013) study was to go beyond Culture Learning Theory and to answer the question: What can personality tell us about intercultural competence? For decades armchair speculators have been quick to describe the traits conducive to cross-cultural adjustment and intercultural effectiveness, including extraversion, cultural sensitivity and open-mindedness, but these contentions have been based more on face validity than empirical research (Church, 1982). Accordingly, in addition to core culture learning variables, the researchers investigated the relationship between key individual difference variables and sociocultural adaptation.

The research findings indicated that each of the Big Five personality traits was related to sociocultural adaptation. As hypothesized, Extraversion (r = .29), Openness (r = .29), Conscientiousness (r = .22), and Agreeableness (r = .16) were associated with better adaptation while Neuroticism was linked to poorer outcomes (r = -.32). In addition, the study revealed that more culture-relevant/culture-specific characteristics

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tended to have stronger associations with sociocultural adaptation than these broad personality domains. Cultural Empathy (r = .49) and Cross-cultural Self-Efficacy (r = .45) demonstrated moderately large effect sizes.

Table 2-3. Selected correlates of SCAS (Wilson et al., 2013).

SCAS Correlates	**Studies (*k*)**	**Sample Size (*N*)**	**Effect Size (*r*)**	**SE**	**-95% CI**	**+95% CI**
Demographic Variables						
Age	26	4350	.12	.02	.08	.15
Gender	6	1049	.19	.05	.10	.29
Situational Variables						
Contact with Nationals	21	4127	.29	.04	.21	.38
Cultural Distance	20	3640	-.33	.05	-.43	-.24
Cultural Knowledge	7	876	.34	.04	.26	.42
Experience	16	2335	.17	.03	.12	.22
Language Ability	28	4523	.35	.02	.30	.39
Length of Residence	32	5362	.16	.02	.12	.21
Personality Variables						
Agreeableness	4	533	.16	.05	.06	.25
Conscientiousness	6	862	.22	.04	.14	.30
Cross-Cultural Self-Efficacy	7	759	.45	.09	.27	.63
Cultural Empathy	4	413	.49	.08	.32	.65
Extraversion	12	1865	.29	.02	.24	.34
Openness/flexibility	9	1267	.29	.05	.19	.40
Neuroticism	6	923	-.32	.06	-.43	-.20

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Interpreting these data, Wilson et al. (2013) suggested that in light of the culture learning focus on the significance of intercultural interactions in the acquisition of culture-specific skills, personality traits associated with interpersonal behaviors are most likely to affect sociocultural adaptation. These include Extraversion, Agreeableness and cultural empathy. This line of argument is consistent with Tams' (2008) contention that extraverts "create more opportunities for social learning because they engage in more outgoing, gregarious, active, and excitement-seeking behaviors" (p. 199). She also suggested that extraverts are more proactive in building relationships and seeking feedback, which are optimal strategic behaviors for learning culture-specific skills.

Agreeableness was likewise expected to be associated with better sociocultural adaptation, as it is linked to both social skills and learning opportunities. Sneed (2002) has suggested that Agreeableness affects social interactions and is associated with empathy and social skills. It has also been proposed that agreeable people increase their social learning opportunities because they relate to others in ways that are likely to encourage more supportive feedback (Tams, 2008). Furthermore, Agreeableness has been related to expatriate success (Caligiuri, 2000).

Flexibility and open-mindedness have been consistently theorized to predict successful cross-cultural transitions, primarily in relation to non-judgmental attitudes and willingness to engage in novel behaviors. Openness as framed in the Five Factor Model of Personality—particularly the components relating to the willingness to try different activities (actions), intellectual curiosity (ideas) and readiness to examine social, political and religious ideologies (values)—would appear a prerequisite for sociocultural adaptation. Research has shown that Openness is related to cultural intelligence (Ang, Van Dyne, & Koh, 2006), expatriate work and general adjustment (Huang, Chi, & Lawler, 2005), engagement in multicultural activities and desire for an international career (Van der Zee & Van Oudenhoven, 2000).

Moving from the Big Five domains to more specific personality traits, the capacity for cultural empathy has been identified as an important component of intercultural sensitivity and a significant predictor of intercultural competence. Embedded in agreeableness, which includes facets of altruism (an active concern for others) and tender-mindedness (trust and sympathy for others), and situated in theory and research on intercultural effectiveness, cultural empathy refers to the ability to empathize with the feelings, thoughts and behaviors of individuals from different cultural backgrounds and to see issues from their perspective. Bennett and Bennett's (2004) developmental model of intercultural

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sensitivity highlights the importance of an "intercultural mindset" referring to cultural consciousness, cognitive frame switching and the capacity to adopt another cultural perspective; this has also been described as cultural empathy (Bennett, 1998). It has been further suggested that cultural empathy is related to intercultural effectiveness (Arthur & Bennett, 1995; Hannigan, 1990).

Beyond the personality traits associated with positive interpersonal interactions, traits underpinning learning and performance are also of interest. Conscientious people are known to be efficient, organized, thorough and industrious (McCrae & John, 1992). These traits are generally associated with better learning and performance outcomes (Kappe & van der Flier, 2010). Meta-analytic reviews have reported that Conscientiousness is related to better transfer of training (Blume, Ford, Baldwin, & Huang, 2010), and longitudinal research has shown that it leads to increased domain-specific self-efficacy (Caprara, Vecchione, Alessandri, Gerbino, & Barbaranelli, 2011).

Self-efficacy is known to affect cognitive processes and contribute to positive learning outcomes (Bandura, 1993). Meta-analytic research has documented a positive relationship between self-efficacy and performance in a wide variety of domains (Stajkovic & Luthans, 1998), including intercultural encounters (Long, Yan, Yang, & Van Oudenhoven, 2009). In contrast, Neuroticism impedes learning and performance and is negatively related to skills and proficiency in domain-specific areas (Tett, Jackson, & Rothstein, 1991).

Overall the meta-analysis confirmed Ward's theorizing about sociocultural adaptation and has implications for the development of intercultural competence. In line with Culture Learning Theory cultural knowledge, language skills, training and cross-cultural experience, and intercultural interactions enhance intercultural competence. Beyond that, it is now known that personality factors play a key role in intercultural effectiveness. Traits that are associated with good interpersonal relations, such as extraversion, openness and agreeableness, are linked to better intercultural skills as is cultural empathy. The same is true for those personality characteristics that are more generally associated with performance outcomes such as conscientiousness and cross-cultural self-efficacy.

Sociocultural Adaptation: New Horizons

The chapter has maintained that the concept of sociocultural adaptation, set in a Culture Learning framework and assessed by the

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Sociocultural Adaptation Scale, offers a reliable and valid means of examining and predicting intercultural competence. To these ends, Ward's program of research has been reviewed and summarized, and her theorizing on sociocultural adaptation has been tested within the broad field of intercultural relations. A meta-analysis of studies employing the Sociocultural Adaptation Scale has not only supported Ward's theorizing, but has also shown that personality makes a significant contribution to intercultural competence. In this section new insights into the theory and measurement of sociocultural adaptation are described, and preliminary work on a revised Sociocultural Adaptation Scale is summarized.

At present the Sociocultural Adaptation Scale is based on a versatile collection of items from which researchers may choose the most relevant statements and topics for their research sample and context. Over time the scale has been used with as little as three and as many as 32 items (Ward & Kennedy, 1999; Wilson et al., 2013). The core items are behavior-based and include activities in everyday life, such as "making yourself understood," "making friends," and "finding your way around." More cognitive-oriented items were trialed in later versions, such as "being able to see two sides of a cultural issue," and "understanding the local value system;" however, the scale has generally been used as a uni-dimensional measure of intercultural competence.[1]

In reviewing the underlying assumptions and measurement techniques employed in the original version of the SCAS, three major shortcomings become apparent. First, the SCAS is intended to be a self-report behaviorally-based measure of intercultural competence, yet respondents are asked to rate the amount of difficulty (*no difficulty* to *extreme difficulty*) experienced in connection with various activities. The evaluation of difficulty puts an affective complexion on the measure and detracts from its behaviorally-based conceptual underpinnings. Furthermore, the scale is scored in a way that higher scores are indicative of greater difficulties, that is, poorer sociocultural adaptation. This has been a source of some confusion, particularly as a number of researchers has employed reverse scoring. Finally, as the original scale was based on the Social Situations Questionnaire (Furnham & Bochner, 1982), it relies heavily on intercultural interactions. Other domains, such as climate and context, were added, but the additions were based largely on face validity rather than a systematic appraisal of competency domains or a theory-based model. A more strategic approach to item generation and test construction would be preferable.

To address these concerns, Wilson (2011, 2013) commenced work on the construction and validation of a revised measure of sociocultural

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adaptation (SCAS-R). Beginning with the assumption that sociocultural adaptation is a multi-faceted construct, she proposed four broad domains to establish the measure's content validity: Interpersonal Communication; Ecological Adaptation; Community Involvement; and Domain-specific Performance. Interpersonal Communication is at the core of Culture Learning Theory and formed a large part of the original SCAS (e.g., making friends, talking about yourself with others), due to its origins in Furnham and Bochner's (1982) Social Situations Questionnaire. Aspects of Ecological Adaptation were incorporated in the original SCAS (e.g., dealing with the climate, getting used to the pace of life), but this domain was expanded by Wilson on the basis of Berry's (1976) Eco-cultural Framework, which highlights the importance of both environmental and socio-political influences on behavioral outcomes (see also Georgas, van de Vijver, & Berry, 2004). Both Culture Learning Theory and the Eco-cultural Framework contributed to the inclusion of Community Involvement, which reflects integration and embeddedness within the community, providing a vital resource for culture learning and shaping individual-level behaviors through contextual influences. The original SCAS included a limited number of Community Involvement items (e.g., understanding the local political system, dealing with bureaucracy), but these were not systematically developed. Finally, Domain-specific Performance was incorporated into the measure. As sojourners are most likely to travel abroad for career or educational purposes, work and school domains were included. Ward and colleagues had previously investigated academic adaptation in a separate measure modeled on the SCAS (Ward & Masgoret, 2004), and models of expatriate adjustment typically include work adjustment as an important domain (see Black 1988, 1990). As such, items were adapted from the original SCAS, the Academic Difficulties Scale (Ward & Masgoret, 2004), and the sub-scale measure of Job Adjustment in the Subjective Adjustment Scale by Black and colleagues (Black, Mendenhall, & Oddou, 1991; Black & Stephens, 1989). Additional items were generated with reference to work on emotional and cultural intelligence (Earley & Ang, 2003; Mayer, Salovey, & Caruso, 2002), Hammer et al.'s (1978) model of intercultural competency, and intercultural communication theory (Gudykunst, Ting-Toomey, & Chua, 1988).

A 54-item pool was administered online with criterion measures to 316 international research participants. Inclusion criteria were status as an international student, expatriate, immigrant, or refugee; aged 16 years and older; and residence in a host country for five years or less at the time of the study. The data were collected between March and July, 2010. After subjecting the survey responses to psychometric analysis, including

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exploratory factor analysis and parallel analysis, a five-factor solution emerged. There was support for the four proposed domains: Interpersonal Communication (7 items); Ecological Adaptation (4 items); Community Involvement (4 items); and Domain-specific Performance (4 items); however, Language Proficiency (2 items) emerged as a separate factor, rather than falling within the Interpersonal Communication subscale.

The construct validity of the revised Sociocultural Adaptation Scale (SCAS-R) was supported by correlations with the original SCAS (r = -.60), Black and Gregersen's (1990) Subjective Adjustment Scale (r = .67); the behavioral subscale of the Ang et al.'s (2007) Cultural Intelligence Scale (r = .37) and Riggio's (1989) Social Skills Inventory (r = .35). The SCAS-R was also significantly related to measures of psychological adaptation, including Diener, Emmons, Larsen, and Griffin's (1985) Satisfaction with Life Scale (r = .51) and Zung's (1969) Self-rating Depression Scale (r = -.49).

The results of preliminary research with the SCAS-R look promising, and we believe that it will in due course offer a more robust measure of sociocultural adaptation. Nevertheless, more work is required. The factor structure remains to be confirmed, and its utility with more culturally and contextually diverse samples must be tested. There are a number of studies in progress that are further examining the psychometric properties of the SCAS-R as well as testing models of the predictors and outcomes of sociocultural adaptation.

Sociocultural Adaptation and Intercultural Competence: Concluding Comments

The chapter has offered one perspective on conceptualizing, measuring and predicting intercultural competence. A behavioral approach has been adopted with competence defined primarily in terms of the skills required to function effectively within a new cultural context. The process of skills acquisition has been set in the context of Culture Learning Theory; the measurement of intercultural competence has been grounded in the Sociocultural Adaptation Scale; and a program of research has largely supported the utility and validity of this approach. Despite these advances, the theory and measurement of intercultural competence continue to evolve. In the end, we hope that we have taken some small steps to counter Dinges and Baldwin's (1996) contention that "The ambitious, sometimes grandiose models of intercultural competence that have been proposed in the past… have not been matched by an equally ambitious empirical research program…" (p. 106).

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Notes

1. An attempt to expand the SCAS to include cognitive domains resulted in a two factor solution: one based on cognition and communication that Ward and Kennedy (1999) termed Cultural Empathy and Relatedness, and a second factor related to the management of interactions and behavior titled Impersonal Endeavors and Perils. This version was not used in Ward's subsequent research.

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CHAPTER THREE

COMPETENCE IN INTERACTION: CULTURAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS

DONAL CARBAUGH AND SUNNY LIE

Introduction

Competence has been understood abstractly as a cognitive capacity of human beings and as a universal set of species-wide ideals. This chapter addresses competence differently, as a socially-grounded, situated practice, in particular cultural scenes. Drawing on recent developments from the ethnography of communication, competence is understood as a communication practice which is tied intimately to social interactions, speaks broadly about cultural meanings, and is applied variously by individuals. Competence as situated interaction can be understood through a rigorous scientific theory and methodology called cultural discourse analysis (CuDA). This approach employs five distinctive modes of analysis which are discussed and partially illustrated. Implications are drawn for understanding intercultural competence and the development of intercultural dialogue.

Situating Competence in Communication Practices[1]

An American professor was invited to Linacre College, one of the graduate colleges of Oxford University, to be part of a research team in linguistics and social construction. Part of the task of that team was to study how language and social processes structured beliefs about identity and the environment. In the late afternoon, after a long day of study and reflection, the professor would visit a local pub where Oxford faculty and students would share some social time. The American professor repeatedly experienced an event while there as he met others who would ask him where he was from ("Massachusetts in the USA"), what he was doing at Oxford ("studying language, identity"), whether he was a member of a

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college (“not sure about that”), all of which seemed not quite satisfying to his English interlocutors. In this type of event, the professor is exhibiting some competence in American English, but not quite satisfactorily saying who he is, at least as it is done more intelligibly from the view of his English interlocutors. Why is that?

A second case involves an American couple who are visiting friends in Finland. After a nice lunch, the two couples move to a living room where they sit together. Having been in Finland for some months, the American couple anticipated a type of event which could took place. The couples sat down, the room turned silent as the couples sat together in silence. After several minutes went by, the woman of the Finnish couple, Liisa, turned to her American friends and asked: “when you are with your American friends, do you speak almost all the time”? The American couple admitted, “well yes, we do.” Liisa exclaimed, through a muted chuckle, “that must be exhausting!” In this type of event, there is a competence presumed and expected in being silent together, a competence unknown and unpracticed by many from America and elsewhere, but well-known in Finland and other places as well. Competence is then, not only linguistic, but knowing when and when NOT to use the linguistic channel, to know the place of language in social and cultural lives.

An international gathering had been convened among US Americans and Russians. The goal of the meeting was to discuss Schools of Business which are housed in universities and how they could be managed in good ways. The Russians had come to America to learn about American business schools; the Americans had gathered to address directly the difficulties the Russians were having. During the discussions, the American participants found themselves discussing the difficulties and problems with their schools. They were describing how funding had not been quite adequate, space needs were insufficient, and technological advances in the school had not kept pace with current trends. The Russian participants listened carefully and responded, on the other hand, by describing the considerable credentials of their faculty, the achievements of their schools in their homeland, and how their program had been a trendsetter. The Russians had gathered to hear the good qualities of the American schools but were hearing about all of their problems; the Americans had gathered to address the problems of the Russian schools but heard all about their virtues and achievements. Two different standards of competence were active in this event, each frustrating the other.

Consider one final case. A professor in an American class room was teaching a group of students, some of whom were Native American, public communication. After lecturing about how to use language appropriately

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to structure the introduction, the body, and the conclusion of a public presentation, the students were expected to give their first presentation. The goal of the presentation was the demonstration of a basic point or principle. The first few presentations went well. The students had studied the book, the lecture notes, had practiced their presentations and were effectively meeting the requirements of the assignment and the interests of the audience. On the third day of presentations, the first Native American, White Bear, gave his presentation. He used a martial arts tool, moving it slowly, then rapidly, showing how it can be used, exhibiting something of an artful dance. Yet, the student paused about three minutes into the presentation and uttered his only three words, "like an eagle," then went forward to complete the presentation nonverbally. In this event, we have different standards of competent communication active. One, an artful use of verbal proficiency, was set by the professor through readings and lectures; the other was used by a student effectively commanding the attention of the audience. Yet again, we see a clash between presumed competencies. The professor could easily exercise his power by carelessly declaring his one verbal standard over the other used by the student, in spite of its effective use on this occasion. Yet this act would not only misunderstand the student's standard, but moreover be a failure of education in a democratically pluralistic society.

What is it to be competent when engaged in social and cultural life? How are we to understand competent actions such as these, sometimes with one set of competencies clashing with others?

Classic Views of Competence: Noam Chomsky and Jurgen Habermas

Traditional western views of competence may be well-known to readers of this volume. One highly influential view was presented by Noam Chomsky (1965).[2] Chomsky's starting points are the limited grammatical properties of any one language and the human ability to create unlimited, grammatically correct sentences within a language. Competence, from this standpoint, means that one has mastered an abstract rule system (with one's biologically given language organ), which enables the production and interpretation of an infinite number of sentences, including some that have not been previously produced. It means further that the standard speaker has acquired the ability to discriminate one set of sentences that are grammatically correct or sensible, from others that are incorrect or non-sensible. On these bases, the competent production of linguistic sequences and sentences requires transformations of underlying,

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deeper structures. Competence, as a grammatical universal, is grounded in a universal linguistic and biological apparatus, inside the minds of people, with specific and actual speech situations, interactional dynamics, and socio-cultural fields being wholly elided. We want to emphasize here how the theoretical site of this conceptual machinery is out of view, away from lives people lead, inside the heads of individuals.

In response to Chomsky's views, Habermas (1970a, 1970b, 1976) suggests alternate starting points. Rather than beginning with universal grammatical properties of language and human creativity, Habermas begins with universal validity claims for the existence of speech action, and the attendant universal domains or dimensions of the world that these claims foreground. Claims of a universal sort about reality, self, and society are presupposed for the existence of, and addressed in the expression of, any speech action. Dimensions of communicative action that are predicated on such claims are its comprehensibility, appropriateness, truthfulness, and sincerity. Realization of such claims in dialogue, and adjudicating counterclaims through means of the dimensions, provides for "idealized features of speech situations in general" (1970b, p. 372), something, Habermas argues, we do not typically realize but can only anticipate. In fact, according to Habermas, communication is typically "systematically distorted." Competence becomes a universal pragmatics that hovers over actual speech situations, an ideal standard or abstract system of rationality that is presumed by the ideal speaker, and through which communicative actions may be somehow produced, with systematic distortions of these, through Habermas' system, recognized and critiqued (cf., Huspek, 1991). We want to emphasize here that competence is again hovering way above the grounds of actual human action, in an ideal set of criteria that people can invoke, yet in doing so, according to Habermas, typically fall to earth through mundane and actual human distortions. The theoretical concern with competence, then, is largely an ideal, set beyond human situations, perhaps momentarily invoked in them, but difficult if not impossible to realize for long.

Some of the parallels between Chomsky's and Habermas' theories of competence are notable and remarkable. Each posits a universal standard from which communication is viewed, these being abstractions of a mental linguistic (grammatical) and abstract universal (pragmatic) type; each locates the site of explanation outside of social interaction, within either an innate language organ (Chomsky), or a species-wide system of ideal claims and dimensions (Habermas); each suggests a view of competence that is situated in a presumably abstract, aseptic, out-of-this-world environment; each relegates actual, situated, concrete communicative

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action into a contaminated order of errors (Chomsky, 1965), or a corrupted order of distortions (Habermas, 1970b); and each ignores (Chomsky) or gives minimal attention to (Habermas) the meaningfulness of communication to those who create it, the various means by which those people actually conduct and evaluate their communicative lives, and the cultural bases guiding communicative action such as the intercultural encounters that we described in the beginning of this essay.

An Ethnographic Twist and a Communication Focus: Dell Hymes

As a response especially to Noam Chomsky, Dell Hymes (1981) proposed yet a third set of starting points for the study of communicative competence. Hymes suggested starting with grammatical knowledge (as does Chomsky) AND tacit societal knowledge of communication conduct (similar to Habermas' dimensions of intelligibility and appropriateness), but moreover focusing on ability of use for specific communication practices in actual scenes of ongoing social interaction. Rather than view competence in the abstract, Hymes takes concrete communicative action in its socio-cultural context to be the basic datum of concern, the rendering of it from the vantage point of those who produce it to be—at least in part—a primary theoretical concern. Hymes (1981) elaborates four "sectors of competence" that operationalize and suggest questions about competence in concrete scenes of communication: "(1) whether (and to what degree) something is formally *possible*; (2) whether (and to what degree) something is *feasible* in virtue of the means of communication available; (3) whether (and to what degree) something is *appropriate* (adequate, happy, successful) in relation to a context in which it is used and evaluated; and (4) whether (and to what degree) something is in fact done, actually *performed*, and what its doing entails" (p. 281; italics in original). Each sector can be applied at the level of an individual in a context (e.g., whether possible, feasible), at the level of a specific interaction or interactional routine (e.g., what makes it possible, feasible), or at the level of a communicative system.

Hymes (1972) proposed an analytic vocabulary that is designed to produce such studies, what he calls "ethnographies of communication", and several such studies have been produced (Bauman & Sherzer, 1989; Carbaugh, 1990a; Gumperz & Hymes, 1972; Philipsen & Carbaugh, 1986). Foregrounded in such studies are concrete social interactions, in which "the systematically possible, the feasible, and the appropriate are

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linked to produce and interpret actually occurring cultural behavior" (Hymes, 1981, p. 286).

Intercultural Competence: Cultural Discourse Theory

Recent research trends in the ethnography of communication have drawn attention to the ways competent language use—what is possible, feasible, appropriate and actually performed—can vary by situation, community, and speaker. In the ethnographically-based data which we use to introduce this chapter, we note several variations which revolve around the hub of competent communication. One has to do with varieties of a single language as in the pub and the ways American English differs from one English variety. Similarly, there are variations in the contexts in which language is to be used, and to what degree relative to other means of communication, including nonverbal channels and uses of silence as a means of communication. We see this dynamic in a Finnish living room and also in a university class room by a Native American communicator. Additionally, we see variation in what is to be said and in what ways, even as the same language is being spoken by native speakers of English and non-native, Russian-English speakers. Across situations like these, there is great variety in what is deemed competent in the use and interpretation of a language. Our studies must be designed to embrace and explore communication as such, as a situated, cultural practice (Carbaugh, 2005, 2007). What is competent must be understood to vary by social situation and means of communication, by cultural meaning and interactional scene.

Two dimensions of competence are active in such situated interactions. One addresses, as with Hymes above, what is deemed *appropriate conduct*. If we look at these data in one way, we find that the sentences are indeed linguistically well-formed, and they do conform to universal standards of an ideal speech situation, as when the American professor says in the pub, "I am from Massachusetts; I study language and identity; and I am not sure if I am a member of a college." But these sentences are not entirely appropriate as a way if identifying oneself as a member of the larger Oxford University community in England. Or similarly, White Bear speaks a phrase of well-formed English, "like an eagle," but this is not aligned with a traditional standard of proper university linguistic performance in this class room occasion. These data are evidence, then, not only of slightly or grossly inappropriate conduct, from one point-of-view, but moreover in lacking what is *effective conduct* as a means to achieving an interactional goal. The Professor has not quite effectively said who he is, and the Native American student has not effectively

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completed the terms of the class assignment. Utilizing language in ways both *appropriate* and *effective* are cornerstones of competent interactional conduct, with these dimensions being, always to some degree, locally tailored and designed.

Rather than placing competence out of site, in heads or in ideal abstractions, this way of understanding competence is based upon several empirical findings from several field studies: Competence is housed *in actual communication practice*, in the situated interactional lives of people. Communication practice is lived at least partly and prominently, at a local level, through *local means of expression*; local means of expression carry *deep cultural meanings*; these meanings revolve around *dimensions of appropriate and effective conduct*; these meanings reveal a *cultural discursive commentary*, or coding, about being a good person, doing the right actions alone and with others, feeling properly about things, and dwelling well in the larger world of nature. These clauses of competence summarized here, about the means and meanings of being, acting, relating, feeling, and dwelling, are immanent in language use, and are being conceptualized here through our cultural discourse theory, the goals of which we turn to next (Boromisza-Habashi, 2012; Carbaugh, Lie, Locmele, & Sotirova, 2012; Molina-Markham, 2011, 2012).

Given the realities of cultural variation in competent communication and the necessity of understanding it, we use CuDA with five central goals, each of which implements rigorous analytical procedures, which we only briefly sketch here. The first is *communicational theorizing*, to understand the phenomena of concern as a situated communication phenomenon. In this case, we conceptualize competence as real-world interaction, with the site of concern among people, rather than in an individual or corporate mind, or in an abstract, universal, or species-wide ideal. We have written recently about “discursive reflexivity” as a central theoretical ability for this type of theorizing (see Carbaugh & Hastings, 1992; Carbaugh, Nuciforo, Molina-Markham, & van Over, 2011).

Second, our studies are based in rigorously *descriptive inquiry*. We collect, preferably, naturally occurring data, identifying patterns of language use within it. This is a discovery procedure which responds to the question: How is communication practice done here? We commit an essential part of our studies to rigorous descriptive analyses so we can see explicitly how, for example, people communicate in a pub, a living room, class room, business meeting, court room, offices of health, politics and so on. A crucial objective here is the fixing on paper, or in video form, actual instances of the practice being analyzed. This, then, becomes publicly

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available in the research and the research report, thus grounding our studies in instances of real-world social living.

Third, we devote a detailed and multi-phased stage of analysis to *interpretive inquiry*. This stage of analysis addresses the question: what range of meanings does this practice hold for those who do it? Here we develop interpretive claims—about cultural propositions, premises, dimensions, rules or norms—which capture participants' beliefs, values, and moral sensibilities in what they are doing. Elsewhere we have written specific procedures for this sort of analysis (Carbaugh, 2005, 2007), drawn also from Speech Codes Theory (Philipsen, Coutu, & Covarrubias, 2005) with the excellent work of Cliff Goddard and Anna Wierzbicka through their fine grained semantic meta-language being invaluable for key parts of these analyses (Goddard, 2011; Wierzbicka, in press).

A fourth commitment, typically, has already been exercised throughout the above and this focuses on *comparative inquiry*. The important question of how this phenomenon is like, and unlike, others elsewhere is central to our studies. How one speaks in a pub (if there is one) may be similar to, yet also unlike others. How one teaches and takes a class in Chinese, in English, in Physics, and so on may be like yet unlike others. How one socializes in a home, or conducts business with others, may be similar yet different. As one theorizes phenomena as communication, describes them in detail, and interprets their meanings, analysts of cultural discourse also ask about similarities and differences in the central phenomenon of concern.

A fifth commitment is *critical inquiry*. This phase of analysis is optional, but distinct from the others as the analyst asks: to what degree, with what ethical standard, does this communication practice move toward something better, or worse, and for whom? This introduces an ethical stance into the study which must be made explicit. As a result, the criteria for this evaluative dimension are brought to the fore, with the preferred ones being first, at least, from the social and cultural field, the local scene, in which the practice resides. Various dimensions and types of critical assessments for these sorts of analyses have been discussed elsewhere (Carbaugh, 1990a).

If we revisit some of the dynamics introduced to begin the chapter, we find competence tied to dynamics that are related to social classes and colleges (in Oxford), to individual interests and personal residence (of the American professor), to silence as a means of competent communication (in Finland) or the lack thereof (in the United States), to appropriate linguistic themes such as problems and acts of problem solving (in the US) to themes of achievement and virtue (in Russia), to class room

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requirements of verbal performance (in a US university) to nonverbal performance (a native American tradition).

Each of these communication practices is part of a larger cultural discourse which endows it with deep meanings about acting properly, being a good person, feeling well, and dwelling according to the nature of a place. In other words, each competent action, when adequately analyzed, exhibits its own standard of appropriateness, its own effectiveness, as it carries forth its tradition of practice through linguistic and non-linguistic expression.

Truth, Proper Relations, and Competent Communication: Onward to Intercultural Dialogue

For the past several years, with students and colleagues from several places around the world, we have been exploring one form of communication which, people say, exhibits desirable conduct and with it, when realized, a high level of competence. This type of communication is often couched in the word or a word somehow similar to "dialogue." We have examined dialogue, its linguistic kin, and the communication events it makes relevant in several languages including Chinese, English, Finnish, Hungarian, Japanese, Korean, Russian, among others (see Carbaugh, Boromisza-Habashi, & Ge, 2006; Carbaugh, Nuciforo, Saito, & Shin-shin, 2011). We have discovered a wide range of features in what is deemed proper as dialogue in these languages and events. In other words, dialogic competence varies by language as well as within a language, by social situation, discursive task, relational circumstance, and societal place.

We found among several features, one discursive division that we noted as potentially and particularly powerful when these standards for competence were placed in cross-cultural perspective. This is evident at the beginning of our chapter in the fourth event we recount. American professors are speaking truthfully about problems and suboptimal facts of their business college, while Russians are speaking earnestly about the virtues and achievements of theirs. Similar dynamics transpire as one standard foregrounds a value in speaking honestly, directly, to another, about the facts of a matter, whether this strains and stresses face concerns and social relations. This standard for speaking is linguistically marked among Israelis as a "dugri"—straightforward and direct—style (Katriel, 2004). Among Finnish speakers, an "asiallinen" speaker is one who speaks about the facts of the matter at hand and is not distracted by feelings, relational and face concerns (Wilkins, 2005). In American English, a similar style is identified and cultivated as "being honest" and is captured

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in a national story about the nation's forefather, George Washington, through his honest and truthful confession to his father of cutting down the English cherry tree in their front yard (Carbaugh, 1988). The act of truth-telling may be discreditable to a speaker, and strain social relations, but it is nonetheless valorized through these various terms, events, and stories.

But at the same time, there are other forceful dynamics designed to maintain harmonious relations, to ensure one's interlocutor is well-cared for. In Arabic the word "musayra" identifies the proper style of deferring to others and attending to their face concerns (Griefat & Katriel, 1989; Katriel, 2005). In Chinese, for example, perhaps the terms "jiaoliu and goutong" identify communication events in which proper relations are maintained; with these identifying events as something more than a simple exchange of "duihua."

Placing these two lofty interactional goals together, telling the truth and creating harmonious relations, reminds us how complicated competent action can be. Especially when one is caught between the goals of truth-telling or maintaining good relational ties, which can and should be given priority? We can understand how some participants given their history and current circumstances are resolved to speak nothing but the truth to others, even if this might strain or tear relations with them. At the same time, we can understand how others work tirelessly to create good relations with others, even if this might mean the truth cannot now be told.

This sort of dialectical dynamic is merely one instance of a general challenge, the interactional management of competing, cultural standards of competence. These tug at actions, relations, feelings, and dwellings in local and situated ways with the forces being magnified at times in unknowing ways in intercultural communication. Because of this, our teaching, our research, and our conduct with others would do well if based upon knowledge about the range of actual competencies in use, within and across our cultural spheres for competent communication.

So often we mean well, yet do not grasp well the means and meanings of others, even as we both seek dialogue with one another. We propose cultural discourse theory and analyses as one way to advance our understanding and action along these lines, and propose further that we gather again, perhaps for ICC (intercultural communication conference) 2014: Intercultural Dialogue! Let us discuss actual and possible practices.

Notes

1. The data presented in this section are presented more fully and analyzed in detail elsewhere (Carbaugh, 2005).

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2. The following four paragraphs are extracted and slightly revised from an earlier paper on intercultural competence (Carbaugh, 1993a, pp. 169-171. That paper complements another published on competence (Carbaugh, 1993b).

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CHAPTER FOUR

BECOMING COMPETENT IN INTERCULTURAL COMMUNICATION: AN ORGANIZATIONAL PROCESS IN THE GLOBALIZED ENVIRONMENT*

LING CHEN AND JUAN DU

Scholars have been studying communication competence as a capability, a state or a trait of an individual as a communicator, demonstrated in effective, appropriate and adaptive acts of communication, and involved cognitive, affective and behavioral dimensions (Spitzberg & Cupach, 1984). One may be communicatively competent in general to have "communication competence" as a social member, or be a competent communicator in certain contexts and have acquired e.g., interpersonal communication competence, intercultural communication competence, or organizational communication competence, and so on. In the organizational context, communication by definition involves activities at multiple levels, so does the notion of organizational communication competence, applicable to the level of individual, group and organization, while the influence of ecological system that is the environment of which an organization is a very small part should also be considered (Jablin & Sias, 2001). To date, thinking on organizational communication competence largely stays on the individual level to approach competence as individual member's knowledge, sensitivity, skills, and values (Staley & Shockley-Zalabak, 1985) and is based on an elemental understanding of the importance of membership to an organization: members' effective communication may decide the ability of an organization to respond to its environment with all stakeholders (Shockley-Zalabak, 2012). As such organizational communication competence does not consider interactivity beyond individual or possible synergy emerging, or lack of, in the process. Studies of organizational communication in general, on the other hand,

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have been exploring relevant topics at all levels, which paves the way for extension of the attention on communication competence to more levels, as the study on organizations by and large has paid scant attention to either intercultural communication or communication competence.

An immediate question is when the concept of communication competence is about an organization, do we approach it as an entity structured by a set of interrelated roles into which individuals are systematically placed as members or as an ever changing process constituted in communication. Moreover, can communication competence be conceptualized as a process as can be the concept of organization? In this chapter we explore ways intercultural communication competence (ICC) may be an ongoing learning process, an organizational process that moves the organization toward a desirable state in culturally diverse contexts of today's globalized world. To be considered are interactions and communication among diverse organizational members and with others from another culture often in another society at both individual and organizational levels.

Studies on Intercultural Communication Competence and Organizations

Albeit in indirect ways, two bodies of scholarly work outside of communication represent current general understanding of intercultural communication competence in relation to organizations. One has grown in the area of social services with the general public as clientele that include persons of diverse cultural/ethnic backgrounds. The other has been developing in international business and management as globalization expands and deepens to involve more and more peoples. This section includes a brief overview of relevant conceptualization and related issues in the literature about cultural competence and cultural intelligence, and about intercultural communication and organizations.

Cultural Competence

The term "cultural competence" has been in circulation among US service agencies and relevant research and policy bodies since the early 1980s, reflecting an increasing and spreading awareness of cultural diversity in the population as social service users and their culture-dependent needs, of relevance for other societies experiencing social diversity. Cultural competence refers to the ability of systems and organizations to interact effectively with people of different cultural backgrounds. An earliest

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definition, widely adopted within mental and health service sector, deems this ability to show in "a set of congruent behaviors, attitudes and policies that come together in a system, agency or among professionals that enable effective interactions in cross-cultural situations" (Cross et al., 1989, p. iv). By late 1990s organizational cultural competence has become a widely accepted and supported approach to physical and mental health care systems in face of societal diversity so as to recognize and be responsive to the related needs (e.g., Harper et al., 2006; Yeo, 2009). In line with this trend, cultural competence is formally and legally described as representing "a set of values, behaviors, attitudes, and practices within a system that enables people to work effectively across cultures" (US Department of Health and Human Services, 2000), and the locus of this ability is organization, or institution, since social services such as education, health/mental care, welfare, etc. typically are provided by non-profit organizations and government agencies whose members/employees work with persons of diverse cultural/ethnic backgrounds. US Department of Health and Human Services further specifies, by way of major cultural elements, "the beliefs, language, interpersonal styles and behaviors" that cover "individuals and families receiving services, as well as staff who are providing such services."

Conceptually, cultural competence is regarded as a developmental process, whereby a system or organization is learning to be culturally competent, starting to value diversity and engage in cultural self-assessment, and gaining consciousness of the dynamics of cultural interaction, so as to achieve institutionalization of cultural knowledge and development of adaptation to diversity (e.g., Cross et al., 1989; Fung et al., 2012). Clearly, these present sequential and somewhat overlapping steps that start with awareness of the need of adaptations to diversity and subsequent resolves for actions step by step to meet the demand, as an organization develops to be competent culturally. Assessment of the need to learn, about cultures/ethnicities as well as intercultural interactions, comes next, while actual learning and accumulation of cultural knowledge follow. All this would be part of organizational adaptation to diversity in the social environment to become culturally competent. Specific goals of adaptation are for organizations to incorporate the acquired cultural knowledge into concrete aspects of organizational operations such as policy making, infrastructure and day-to-day practice, which enable them to work effectively cross-culturally and to uphold the principles of equal access and non-discriminatory practices in service delivery (Cross et al., 1989). Wells (2003) in advising job-seekers looking for a cultural competent organization to work in suggests paying attention to indications

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that the organization embraces, integrates, and applies cultural knowledge in workplace processes, policies, and interactions. The end result of cultural competence is improved understanding and development of the organizational environment, capabilities and services to be suitable for social diversity.

Once the adaptation needs of an organization are identified, acquisition of cultural/ethnic understanding and intercultural interactions takes the form of cultural competence learning or other system intervention, aiming to improve cultural competence of the organization. Anderson et al. (2003) described several interventions that have been identified throughout the social service sector. The list includes recruitment and retention of staff members who reflect the cultural diversity of the community served, use of interpreter services or bilingual providers for clients with limited English proficiency, cultural competency training for healthcare providers, use of linguistically and culturally appropriate health education materials, and culturally specific healthcare settings. All this pertains to organizational behaviors and skills guided by relevant knowledge. Training directly upgrades the knowledge and skills and betters attitudes of personnel as part of the system and has proven promising in improvement of cultural competence of health care professionals, thus that of associated organizations (e.g., Beach et al., 2005; Hasnain et al., 2011).

Cultural Intelligence

The variability of culture has long been of vital importance to business corporations and more recently multinational enterprises (Wilkins, 2008, 2009), which experience first-hand culture's impact on business ventures and market expansion overseas and must deal with culture-specific, and often unfamiliar, styles and ways of carrying out routines in business negotiation, management, strategizing, etc. The demand for better understanding of the situation in such international business dealings leads to many contemporary efforts focusing on cross cultural research (e.g., Hall, 1959; Hofstede, 1980; House, Javidan, & Dorfman, 2001) and contributing to establishment of intercultural communication studies as an area of specialty after World War II (e.g., Rogers, Hart & Miike, 2002). The notion of cultural intelligence, also called CQ, came into circulation in the business and management circle in early 2000s century. The term is used to refer to individual's ability to adapt effectively across cultures (Earley, 2002; Earley & Ang, 2003), akin to other types of human intelligence such as IQ and EQ. Conceptualized as comprising meta-cognitive, cognitive, motivational and behavioral dimensions as a system

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of interacting elements with specific relevance to functioning in culturally diverse settings, cultural intelligence equips and enables a businessperson to learn and improve cultural perception so as to distinguish behaviors particular to a culture from those specific to an individual and to develop appreciation of the difference. Recognition and appreciation of culture-specific ways will guide responses and result in better business practice (Earley & Mosakowski, 2004; Thomas, et al., 2008). Motivational CQ has been found a good predictor of employee performance in cross cultural situations (e.g., Chen et al., 2010). Similar outcomes may follow when cultural intelligence is residing in the top management team of a business organization to display managerial capability of CQ (Ang & Inkpen, 2008). Since operational, marketing, research & development, financial resources, embodied in the process and routines in the firm and decided by the top management, are crucial for contributing to a firm's competitiveness, the culturally intelligent company is said to be one that fully understands the type of resources necessary and the competitive risks associated with strategic decisions in the international marketplace. This culturally intelligent competitive capability is aided by a firm's capability to structure and develop procedures for routinely integrating and combining various and diverse knowledge assets within the firm and between the firm and its international business partners. Clearly, competitive and structural aspects of cultural intelligence are organizational features present in multiple levels (e.g., Chen & Kanfer, 2006).

Moon (2010) specifies corresponding organizational level cultural intelligence as three component capabilities that interact with one another: processes, positions and paths. Processes are capability of internal integration/coordination, of learning new ways and of reconfiguration of a firm, all to accommodate and adapt to an intercultural environment, which are about knowledge, or know-how, and correspond to the meta-cognitive and cognitive aspects of individual CQ. Positions are a firm's capability from possession of internal and external assets fit for intercultural environments that amounts to managerial capability in intercultural situations associated with competitive edge. Paths are the firm's strategic alternative in an intercultural environment and its experience of similar circumstances. Positions are motivational in nature and, by directing efforts and resources toward where there is need, drive actions taken by the firm, while paths are behaviors at the firm level about what it can and does do and what it has done with respect to organization and development of routines. This conceptualization about two-level cultural has received support from at least one study. Chen, Liu, & Portnoy (2012) reported

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finding positive correlations between employees' motivational cultural intelligence and productivity and performance in intercultural contexts. Moreover, this positive relationship at the individual level was enhanced by the firm's motivational CQ, the firm's capacity to attend to and work to learn about effective functioning in cross-cultural situations and by the firm's diversity climate, or employees' shared perceptions about the extent to which their firm valued diversity by utilizing fair practices and socially integrating all personnel (offers additional contextual cues for individual motivational CQ).

Intercultural Communication Competence as an Organizational Process

The works on cultural competence and cultural intelligence have reminded the communication scholars that ICC is a concept highly relevant to organizations today and there is the need to rethink the concept and to integrate it into organizational studies. The focus of these endeavors, however, is largely on culture to understand and manage diversity domestically or internationally, whereas intercultural issues and related communication are either implied or taken for granted, as something that follows naturally. Communication being a process and, for communication scholars, at the very center of anything social including ICC, it makes better sense for us to conceptualize ICC as a process as well as a capability, which is discussed next. The focus is to be on the organization level to explore this less visited aspect of ICC in organizations. Furthermore for a complete picture of the process, we also need to understand the link between the levels, which is discussed second.

Learning and Becoming

Thinking of organizational ICC as a process brings attention to its dynamic and changing nature and also highlights the fact that it is always on-going and never-ceasing; even communication competence, the very goal itself, is being propelled forward and upward by the very process. Talking about process, the process of learning, particularly cultural learning, as discussed above, is integral to cultural competence and intelligence of organizations. Interestingly, about two decades before the new millennium a learning perspective emerges to help understand and explain organizational phenomena, from strategic alliances, innovation to market orientation and technology adoption (see Bapuji & Crossan, 2004 for a review); the decade since has seen attention turning to organizational

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learning in MNCs, for which intercultural encounters are a fact of organizational life (e.g., Martin & Salomon, 2003). Organizational learning is taken as the adaptation or reconstruction of existing knowledge by incorporating new knowledge gained in interaction with others leading to organizational change and transformation (e.g., Espejo et al., 1996) and by gaining new knowledge. Organizational learning is commonly triggered by perception of a difference between the desired and existing states (Sanchez & Heene, 2004). The learning perspective of organizations in a way corresponds to the developmental approach to cultural competence conceptualization, such that as learning in the organization takes place so does ICC simultaneously and moving toward the desired state and echoes the emerging interest on the communicative nature of organizational knowledge that focuses on the interactive elements in knowledge development, management and utilization (Canary & McPhee, 2011).

Taking this further, organizational ICC is a process of processes, a process of becoming competent in intercultural communication through processes of learning and adapting of the organization as a whole. The communication literature has established communication competence to include cognitive, affective/motivational, and behavioral elements functioning and interacting in a way for communication to be effective, appropriate and adaptive (Spitzberg & Cupach, 1984). From this perspective, organizational learning is motivated by the organizational goal to succeed as well as survive and by the related need for know-how, and aims to be effective and appropriate in communicative activities. Organizational ICC thus is set in motion by the organizational value of and commitments to cultural diversity and interculturality needed for goal achievement and by the need to know how so as to succeed. The learning to know how is doing, or being cognitive and behavioral at the same time. Past studies have shown that organizational learning is not a feature of organizations but an ongoing process that occurs in most of the day-to-day organizational activities and actions and may be purposive or purposeful (e.g., Du, 2011a). Approached as a process, the paradox of communication competence is no more, which arises as standard prescription of communication competence excluding some verbal strategies that deviate from acceptable norms yet prove effective and appropriate in certain circumstances, e.g., being silent and non-responsive in communication of ineffable experience (Branham, 1980). As a process, organizational ICC not only utilizes strategies inclusively, all to be selected and employed in response to particular circumstances, but all are also being learned, formulated, revised and tested regularly.

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Fung, Lo, Srivastava, and Andermann (2012) specify an "Organizational Cultural Competence Framework" with eight domains of activities: Principles, Leadership, Human resources, Communication, Product/service, Community involvement, Environment and resources, and Evaluation/planning. The framework is developed for assessment and cultural competence planning in health care organizations and, with some modification and reorientation, may describe other organizations as well. These dimensions may be juxtaposed with cultural intelligence specifications and serves to illustrate organizational ICC as a process involving all eight activities, to be discussed next.

The *principles*, i.e., the value of and commitments to interculturality and the common good, are at least partially learned in and of communication, to be integrated in policies and procedures, and included as a performance indication of the organization and members. Related learning entails adaptation to organizational needs and perceived gaps, and is continual, changing in the actual doing to become interculturally competent. *Leadership* is recognized with the principles upheld even in hardship, with management at all levels actively involved in the relevant learning, incorporating the knowledge in policies, procedures and structural configuration, and following it through with implementation. All this requires continual engagement of acts of various nature as part of the process. Principles and leadership are related to the "managerial capability" of cultural intelligence (Ang & Inkpen, 2008). *Human resources*, instead of being simply materials and personnel, follow the lead of the principles and are being produced and realized in recruiting and training activities to ensure members' interculturality consciousness and ICC in practice, all part of practicing ICC. These again require relevant learning and adjustment in the process. *Communication* is constitutive of all dimensions, through specific communicative activities in routines as well as particular events and matters to materialize the value of and commitments to interculturality. *Product/service* is the ultimate outcome when an organization attempts to achieve its goal and purpose, be adaptive and catering to diverse constituencies and clientele. Thus product and service are being produced and provided in diverse ways for diverse needs that are never quite done. *Community involvement* helps connect the organization with parties associated with diverse constituencies and clientele through communicative activities at different levels to ensure effective and appropriate mutual understanding of organizational goals and community needs. The organization adjusts for its goals to somewhat align with the community needs and adapts operation accordingly wherever appropriate and, in so doing to become involved regularly in diverse

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communities. *Environment and resources* are often external to the organization and may be utilized to complement and enhance organizational efforts for better results, at the same time bringing changes to the environment in the organization ICC process. *Evaluation* is a constant and regular activity taking stock of the knowledge and its integration into the system for needed modification in any aspects and continuing learning. Evaluation is relevant and feeds back to all other seven activity dimensions in the process. Human resources, product/service, community involvement, environment/resources and evaluation contribute to the "competitive capability" for success. Competitiveness, the combined outcome of activities in all ICC domains, is effectuated with "structural capability" put in place by leadership to organize and channel to the right direction and the process continues; the organization is moving toward intercultural competence.

Individual and Organizational Levels

Organizational processes must involve organizational members individually, sometimes also collectively in subdivision of groups or teams and in the organization as a whole. In the sense that organization is the system, teams are subsystems and individuals actual points of contact. Although three levels of operations are conceptualized for organizations, levels that matter in particular contexts may vary to be more or less complex. The connection between the organization and individual and groups/teams is of particular interest for a better understanding of the process of ICC in organizations. Of the three levels, the group/team level may overlap with each of the other two levels and are also relatively less distinctive empirically when it comes to intercultural communication in organization. Research on organizational learning in MNC, for example, has found it to be a two-level construct, including individual learning and system/organizational learning (e.g., Du, 2011b; McDonnell, Gunnigle, & Lavelle, 2010). Moreover, organizational learning is not the simple accumulated results of individual learning though it is closely associated with and benefits much from individual learning in organizations (Du, 2011a). In the discussion below we attend to the two levels.

As the levels in the organization are embedded in and interconnecting with one another (Jablin & Sias, 2001), any one level implicates and is implicated by other levels in an organizational process. Organization level ICC is related to that of individual members in several ways. Regarding ICC, the levels may be related vertically in a top-down fashion through organization inputs and messages for relevant learning and guidance

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(Chen, Liu, & Portnoy 2012). In the domain of principles, for instance, organization communicates core values and beliefs to members through vision/mission statements, to convey the motivation and determination to strive for intercultural communication. The leadership and management promote cultural awareness and encourage intercultural interaction also through policies and resource allocation to create a learning environment for members to involve in the ICC process as a person as well as a member, while learning occurs and sustains as opportunities will keep arising for members and the organization alike in the process, so the organization will accumulate, digest and produce knowledge on how to thrive in a diverse society and in a variety of cultures.

Levels are also related in a bottom-up fashion through individual-members' input in various ways (Chen, Liu, & Portnoy, 2012). Members, for one, influence one another through exchange of intercultural communication experience/lessons, which may impart knowledge and/or pique mutual interest to learn more, so as to develop capability in interacting with people of different cultural and ethnic backgrounds and to become competent in intercultural communication. In so doing, individual members contribute to the ICC of the organization as a whole. Organizations may be perceived to be competent in communication on base of perceptions of organizational members' communication competence in interactions with them (Monge, Bachman, Dillard, & Eisenberg, 1981), which would also be true of organizational intercultural communication competence, a perceived capability as a result of ICC impressions about organizational members. Members' knowledge may also pass upward to reach management to be taken up and incorporated in decision making and policy, or be added in accumulation of new information and knowledge, or become updated interpretation of knowledge for re-absorption anew.

Another somewhat different relationship may emerge, as learning that takes place at different levels does not necessarily converge toward a single frame of understanding, but may bring about differences or even contradictions at times (e.g., Du, 2011a), which creates knowledge incongruence in the organization. This is yet one more reason or advantage for ICC to be seen as a process, whereby competing knowledge and views can be tested respectively and something gets worked out so the organization and members may more or less adapt in similar ways to particular intercultural situations and contexts in a particular time frame in order to achieve some of if not all organizational goals.

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Two Final Considerations

Two more issues for consideration are about relevance of ICC process to audiences and stakeholders inside as well as outside of the organization. First, conceptualization of cultural competence and cultural intelligence is made with eyes on the clients, consumers, business partners, which are all external parties and external stakeholders. Organizational members and employees are not really in the consideration as potential interaction partners, although not excluded either, who are internal stakeholders no less important to organizations. Members are a tangible element in the organizational process, being the actual contact points of and for the organization, yet are also diverse culturally or ethnically and thus would expect ICC on part of the organization. As they themselves are a part of the organization, they participate with dual role. Members' relations and communication with the organization on one hand, and relations and communication with one another as co-workers on the other, may variously affect their motivation, knowledge and behaviors in intercultural communication and the organizational ICC process in dealing with external stakeholders. Conceptualization of ICC and related theory thus need not only to include the internal stakeholders, but also attend to possible particularity of this internal constituent.

Another consideration is the power/status disparity between communication parties of different cultural origin or background, which further complicate matters in intercultural situations by evoking identity issues on top of that of domination at all levels, from macro to micro, and of various concerns ranging from ethnocentric, racist suspicions to nationalistic, protectionist allegations, to hegemonic, imperialist or discrimination accusations. This is most likely where intercultural communication competence meets its limits at some point. Issues about power and status differential may be analyzed, explained or understood, yet very difficult or close to impossible to resolve, especially in a competitive environment. On the other hand, ability to successfully address and manage the issue may be a litmus test for ultimate determination of intercultural communication competence. It is, thus, all the more reason for us to seriously and critically explore the matter and all related issues for a better understanding of intercultural communication competence as an organizational process.

In conclusion, treating intercultural communication competence in organization as an ongoing process of learning and becoming makes relevant all routine day-to-day activities in organization to be part of purposive and purposeful processes to gain intercultural understanding and the needed communication competence. The organization's intercultural

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communication competence spans communicative and learning activities in eight domains across individual and organizational levels for an organization to be moving toward a desirable state of being competent in communication internally and externally in culturally diverse contexts.

Notes

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CHAPTER FIVE

ETHICAL ISSUES IN INTERCULTURAL COMMUNICATION COMPETENCE: A DIALECTICAL APPROACH

THOMAS K. NAKAYAMA
AND JUDITH N. MARTIN

Scholars from a variety of disciplines (sociolinguistics, language educators, communication, etc) have investigated the notion of competence in intercultural communication interaction for many years, addressing complex issues and proposing culture-general models as well as culture specific models. This research, primarily from a postpositive research orientation has advanced our understanding of the components and dynamics in competent intercultural communication; however, there has been a recent call to problematize the issue of competence and move beyond the rather static "list approach" to integrating more critical perspectives in investigations of this research topic.

In this chapter we will first briefly review the extant literature and then present a critical approach to intercultural communication competence guided by ethical considerations and proposing a framework of dialectical tensions (and challenges).

Intercultural Communication Competence

Early (postpositive) Approaches

Early US American communication research investigating intercultural competence approached the topic from a postpositive, variable analytic epistemological and culture-general perspective. Scholars were primarily interested in identifying the variables or dimensions which comprised the construct of competence, usually focused on US sojourners in overseas

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contexts (Gudykunst, Wiseman & Hammer, 1977; Ruben, 1976). In the following years, research on the topic proliferated, focused on a variety of contexts (language education, study abroad, international student roommates, overseas development projects, business, etc.) from a variety of theoretical foundations, and employing various methodologies, with a range of nomenclature (competence, effectiveness, appropriateness, etc.). Also, there were (and still are) a number of related, overlapping, often confounding constructs and notions: intercultural adaptation, communication competence in foreign language learning (Byram, 1997, 2009), relational competence, intercultural competence (Deardorff, 2009, Rathje, 2007), interpersonal communication competence (Spitzberg & Cupach, 1984), relational communication competence (Cupach & Imahori, 1993; Imahori & Lanigan, 1989), authentic communication, rhetorical sensitivity and so on. Let us be clear that in this chapter we are focusing primarily on research conducted by communication researchers on the topic of *intercultural communication competence*.

Over the years, the majority of this work aimed at developing lists of competences: respect, tolerance, interaction management, to name only a few. And some scholars have noted the theoretical and methodological challenges (and limitations) of this "list approach" in developing universal, culture general conceptualizations of intercultural communication competence from within the functionalist/postpositive paradigm (Chen, 1989, 1990, 1992, 1995; Chen & Starosta, 1996; Hammer, 1989; Martin, 1989, 1993; Wiseman, 2002; Wiseman & Koester, 1993). Some have attempted theoretical integration and offered conceptual frameworks. For example, Chen and Starosta (1996) reviewed and synthesized the extant literature and proposed an integrated model of intercultural communication competence, aimed at "promoting interactants' ability to acknowledge, respect, tolerate, and integrate cultural differences, so that they can qualify for enlightened global citizenship" (p. 396). Their model comprised three processes: (1) *Affective* process (intercultural sensitivity)—self concept, open-mindedness, nonjudgmental attitudes and social relaxation. (2) *Cognitive* process (Intercultural awareness)—concern with social appropriateness, attention to social comparison information, the ability to control and modify one's self-presentation, use of this ability in particular situations, modification of one's expressive behavior to meet situational requirements (3) *Behavioral* process (intercultural adroitness)—message skills, appropriate self-disclosure, behavioral flexibility, interaction management, and social skills. Subsequent scholarship has noted and accepted this "ABC" framework and, as Spitzberg & Changnon (2009) point out, this framework originated with earlier models of general human

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competence (Bloom, 1956). Subsequent empirical research following this ABC "list" approach added motivation to the mix, as a separate category or as included in the attitudinal dimension (Wiseman, 2002) as well as *outcomes* and *contexts* as important dimensions of intercultural communication competence (Spitzberg & Changnon, 2009). Bradford, Allen, and Beisser (2000), after reviewing the chaotic state of research at the time, conducted a meta-analysis on the varying nomenclature and findings of 71 separate studies. They concluded that "competence" and "effectiveness" seem to measure conceptually equivalent constructs—and that competence includes effectiveness and appropriateness.

Chen and Starosta (1996) also reiterated some of the conceptual challenges identified in the previous literature (Is competence a trait or a set of skills? Is it a knowledge or performance? Confusion between effectiveness and competence? Culture-general vs. culture-specific models?) as well as the operational challenges (Where does competence reside—self, other, dyadic? How should it be assessed? (Self-report? Observations? How should it be measured?)

They noted the limitations of the then-current models, including the overemphasis on the goal-oriented self ("I the communicator"). In addition, they point out that the emphasis on the sojourner context and focus on individuals trying to adapt to foreign cultural contexts no longer made sense in an increasingly global multicultural world with citizens of multiple identities. They suggested alternative approaches, ones that highlight, the 'we" of intercultural competence and relational harmony. As we will see, these suggestions presaged the moves toward culture-specific models and the critical turn outlined below.

More recent empirical research has met some of the conceptual challenges of prior research and developed more sophisticated quantitative methodologies, employing the same general "list" approach, identifying similar dimensions—including empathy, interaction involvement, respect, motivation, global attitude—continues, although expanding to include multicultural populations (Arasaratnam, 2006, 2007; Mackenzie & Wallace, 2011).

Interpretive Culture Specific Models

At least three groups of scholars advocated culture specific-models of communication competence and intercultural communication competence. First, Collier (1989) and colleagues noted the difficulties of developing culture-general models and conducted a number of careful, qualitative studies investigating various culture-specific notions of competence, e.g.,

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conflict competence (Collier, 1991). A second line of culture specific inquiry were the Ethnography of Communication studies, conducted by Donal Carbaugh and colleagues (see Carbaugh, 1988, 1990a, 1990b, 2005, 2007; Carbaugh & Berry, 2001). While not investigating intercultural communication competence, *per se*, they advocated studies that focused on understanding communication norms (presumably commonly accepted practices) within specific cultural communities—adding to our knowledge about culture-specific models of competence.

A third call came from Asian and Asian-American scholars, as well as other scholars who carefully explicated the western and Eurocentric bias of communication scholarship, including competence research, critiquing both theorizing and methodologies (Kim, 2002; Miike, 2007, 2010, 2011). In addition to the critiques, these scholars have presented alternative views of communication competence including both country-specific models, e.g., Korean perspective on communication competence (Yum, 2012), Thai (Komolsevin, Knutson, & Datthuyawat, 2010) as well as more regional perspectives, e.g., Latino (Torres, 2009) and Arab (Zaharna, 2009) (more on this later). [See Deardorff's (2009) comprehensive edited anthology of intercultural competence scholarship which includes a number of culture specific approaches to intercultural competence].

The Critical Turn

Along with a call for culture-specific, less Eurocentric models came a call for investigating the role of power differentials in understanding competence in intercultural encounters. In the 1990's Hecht and colleagues conducted a series of studies investigating culture-specific notions of intercultural effectiveness of African Americans and Latinos in the US, expanding the definition and concept of competence to include issues of stereotyping, powerlessness, and authenticity. For example, African American participants reported that they use stronger, more assertive, aggressive and divergent strategies in *some* intercultural encounters—dimensions not identified in previous competence literature (Martin, Hecht, & Larkey, 1994; Martin, Hecht, Moore, & Larkey, 2001).

Collier (1998) also called for more critical conceptualizations of intercultural communication competence, noting that competence is inherently based on privilege and needs to be problematized because all criteria of competence are situated within particular ideological frameworks and sociohistorical contexts. She reflected on her own earlier research perspective:

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> I have come to see that competence, a central issue in my early work, is a construct that is based on implicit privilege …. Relevant questions from postcolonial critics include, "Competence and acceptance from whom? Who decides the criteria? Who doesn't? Competent or acceptable on the basis of what social and historical context?" (p. 142)

Other scholars, influenced by the critical/postcolonial scholarship (see Collier, Hegde, Lee, Nakayama, & Yep, 2002; Hegde, 1998) joined in, questioning the "traditional" (postpositive) approach to intercultural communication competence that emphasizes appropriateness, conventions and cooperation—noting that these all assume a relationship of equality and mutual assistance between speakers. As Moon (2000) asserted, assessments of competence are themselves a locus for contestation in which "more marginalized groups seek to resist, subvert and make use of dominant perceptions of competence" (p. 230) and Curtin (2010) concludes: "therefore, any consideration of ways in which communicative competencies are performed and evaluated must take into account competing discourses of history, processes of identification/differentiation, as well as immediate interactional contexts" (p. 279). These critiques lead to questioning of previous specific conceptualizations/elements of competence, e.g., empathy. DeTurk (2001) argues that any conceptualization of empathy across cultures or social groups of any kind must take into account power differentials. Rathje (2007) also outline similar critiques in the intercultural competence literature, particularly in the context of European scholarship—including calling into question the very definition of culture.

However, despite the growing influence of critical and postcolonial scholarship (See Halualani, Mendoza, & Drzewiecka, 2009; Nakayama & Halualani, 2010), few scholars have taken up the call for research that employs a more critical view of competence. Perhaps due to a conviction that the topic itself is not appropriate for study? As Collier notes—who of the interactants gets to define competence? Even though some postpositivist scholars would agree that any conceptualization of successful (whatever that means!) intercultural encounters needs to be negotiated and relational (Spitzberg & Changnon, 2009).

So where to go from here? Adherence to a critical perspective on intercultural communication competences requires a commitment to understanding intercultural encounters (and competence) through the lenses of history, political hierarchy and power relations, along with a commitment to working toward a more just and equal global world. One useful recent concept, that infuses history and power relations into a view of intercultural competence is the notion of *interculturality*. For example,

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Medina and Sinnigen (2009) describe the contrast between *intercultural competence* (individual set of skills that can be acquired and learned) and *interculturality*, a historic condition. They draw from Latin American philosophy emerging from indigenous groups' experiences of "500 years of struggle against hegemonic world powers, from Spain in the 16th century to the US in the 21st" (p. 254) and note that they have much to teach us about their intercultural competence—advocating mutual respect and economic and political equality of all cultures—rather than just focusing on the acculturation of the oppressed. They go on to outline the Latin American philosophers and thinkers who have influenced the processes of political and cultural democratization. Interculturality argues against essentialism, views culture as a process, and identities as in flux, and an idea of cultural hybrids that take into account globalization of economic and cultural processes. Further, interculturality is not the simple coexistence of different cultures, but the sharing of experiences and physical and imaginary spaces, and "can only be successful if equal participation in all decision-making process is guaranteed" (p. 258). They describe two case studies—Ecuador and Bolivia—where leaders and educators have implemented these ideas. Strengthening of ethnic cultural identities of marginalized group occur simultaneously as identities are created in relation to the "other" and power relations between the official national culture and the indigenous/marginalized cultures.

Adherence to a critical perspective also with its commitment to working toward a more just and equal global world—propels us toward an emphasis on ethical issues in intercultural communication competence.

Ethical Intercultural Communication Competence

It should be noted that there has been little discussion of ethics in the intercultural communication literature or the broader field of communication (exception: Casmir, 1997; Johannesen, Valde, & Whedbee, 2007; Makau & Arnett, 1997), and some of the intercultural textbooks, (e.g., Samovar, Porter, & McDaniel, 2012). Scholars acknowledge the importance of the topic but few scholars dare to tackle it, it seems. In an earlier essay, we noted principles for ethical intercultural communication: (1) The Humanness principle, (2) the Dialogic principle and (3) the Principle of Speaking "with" and "to" (Martin, Flores, & Nakayama, 2002). A more recent review of literature reveals that these principles still stand—particularly the first two (one could argue that the third principle could be incorporated into the second). In addition, there has emerged congruence between some of the culture-specific approaches to intercultural

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communication competence and these ethical principles. All rest on the moral imperative of being human and living in a world filled with humans who are different from us.

The Humanness Principle

This principle equates the notion of being human with ethical behavior; that is, part of being human and living with other humans in the world requires ethical behavior. This position is advocated by a number of philosophers (see Johannesen,Valde & Whedbee, 2008). In the recent edited book *Communication ethics: Between cosmopolitanism and provinciality*, (Roberts & Arnett 2008), various communication scholars reflect on Appiah's (2006) call for an ethical response to being human in a multicultural world. Appiah frames it as the tension between the global and the local: how we can realize our moral obligation to others "who are not our kith and kind" and also "take seriously the value of particular lives, take interest in the practices and beliefs that lend them significance?" (p. xv). While this work focuses on the implications of this moral imperative for communication practices in general, Sobre-Denton and Bardhan (2013) explicate more specifically how the ethical (critical) intercultural communicator can strive for cosmopolitanism—through a macroframework that integrates some of the elements of intercultural communication competence—e.g., empathy, respect, intercultural personhood, etc.

It is interesting that this Humanness principle is advocated by many cultural groups around the world, reflecting a cultural belief that *part of being human* means to behave (communicate) in an ethical manner. One example is the Asiacentric world view outlined by several prominent intercultural communication scholars. While we need to be cautious when generalizing about "Chinese" or "Asian" cultures" (Dragg, 1999; Kenney & Akita, 2008), these scholars agree that Confucian beliefs have a tremendous influence in the world view of many Asians, much like the Enlightenment of the 1800 permeates current European and US thinking and education. [They also note that Confucian beliefs in modern day China have been filtered by Taoist, Buddhist, Maoist, as well as Anti-Confucian beliefs (Chen, 2011).

For example, communication scholars Xiao and Chen (2009) criticize the Eurocentric and ethnocentric conceptualization of communication competence (defined as goal-oriented, self-oriented, lauding assertiveness), noting that these characteristics are the opposite of what millions of Chinese (and other Asians) have considered as communicatively competent for centuries! They propose instead a model of communication

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competence based on Confucian cosmological concepts that views the human way of being in the world in a holistic connected way—an epistemological and ontological foundation shared by many Asian cultures (Chen, 2011; Fuse, Land, & Lambiase, 2010; Vasuratna, 2010; Yum, 2012). [This general orientation is also shared by many African cultures, as outlined by Nwosu (2009) and Fuse, Land, and Lambiase (2010)].

This notion of interconnectedness is expressed in the Chinese concept of *gan-ying*—a general form of interaction that is present in all life processes (responding and acting) and presupposes the presence and interaction of two interdependent cosmic forces of life generally called *yin* and *yang*—that fundamentally interconnects the organic parts into a harmonious whole. The ethical component is that *Gan-ying* assumes a *feeling or sympathy towards other living beings* and the organism as a whole. This is similar to the humanness principle—we act morally, with respect toward other humans, because we are human.

There are specific moral guidelines that grow out of this philosophy: Goodness, righteousness, wisdom, faithfulness, reverence, courage. However, as internal goodness and sincerity can be expressed only through words and deeds, Confucianism has also developed a system of communication rules and codes to secure and facilitate the practice of good and sincere communication. To behave morally is to follow the *li* (appropriate rituals/rites/traditions) within a systematic hierarchy of relationships (Dragga, 1999). And the ultimate goal is to preserve harmony in relations. Xiao and Chen (2012) assert that Confucians are as concerned about the effectiveness and appropriateness of communication as are Westerners. How to judge communication competence from a Confucian perspective? The answer: "Any words and deeds that contribute to maintaining and promoting the *harmonious* growth of a social body are considered effective and appropriate" (p. 67).

In a more recent essay, Chen (2012) describes the behavior of the *ethical competent communicator*: (1) accepts and realizes interdependence through communication; (2) disciplines and cultivates oneself without being overly self-centered; (3) develops altruistic sensitivity to the suffering of others; (4) remembers obligation to others, acts on reciprocity; (5) speak up for greater harmony and morality.

Chen makes it clear that these guidelines are not superior to Eurocentric ones but is "protesting that they are not inferior to them" (p. 76), and in the humanness principle, there is room for Asiacentric and well as Afrocentric and other non-Western contribution.

A second communication response, related very closely to the first, is the recent work on communication ethics and dialogue, outlined below.

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The Dialogic Principle

In our earlier essay we described the dialogic principle, which builds on the humanness principle, and is based on many different strands of philosophical thought, but in essence stresses the centrality of *relationships* in the human experience, and how humans meet and relate to others—especially others who are different. [See Anderson, Baxter, & Cissna (2004) for a description of the historical contributions of the most influential "dialogue" philosophers—Buber, Gadamer, Habermas and Bakhtin—on communication scholarship as well as a discussion of current thinking in the field].

Perhaps most relevant is the recent work of communication scholars engaged in exploring, from a *critical paradigmatic position*, how humans can most productively engage with others in meaningful dialogue—where dialogue goes beyond conversation, or even simple understanding. Arnett (2004) defines dialogue as "humble or particularly narrative standpoint engaging the Other and the historical situation, inviting learning from clarity of position, attentiveness to the Other and responsiveness, to the historical situation, ever propelled by a commitment to learn, shift and adjust" (p. 72). In his work, he addresses the "responsive ethical "I"". He compares and contrasts Buber's rather self-oriented I-Thou focus with Levinas' focus on the ethical mandate of attending to the Other. "Phenomenologically, the Other makes an "I" possible. Ethics as responsibility for the Other is an act that make possible human life—without the "Other" there is no "I"". (p. 80). According to Arnett, Levinas offers "an alternative to the self as the guiding metaphor" and in contrast to Buber's emphasis on reciprocity, privileges ethics and responsibility irrespective of reciprocity. Arnett concludes by accepting the voices of both Levinas and Buber, in the spirit of *la difference* (Derrida). He embraces a unity of contraries, rejecting and accepting reciprocity—offering different but equally important insights. He describes the contributions of both in the search for the "responsive ethical I" that Buber's relational "between" place is a place of "real living" which is, unlike the everyday *concrete*, is fluid, temporal, responsive to unexpected intrusion, like holding sand. The "I" finds identity in the trace within the face of the Other that calls one into responsible action…" a dialogic ethic offers phenomenological conviction, the necessity to learn, and the importance of the attentiveness to the "between," finding answers among the "responsive ethical "I", the historical situation and the Other" (Arnett, 2004, p. 89).

Deetz and Simpson (2004) further develop the postmodern dialogic approach, [distinguishing it from earlier liberal humanist model (founded on Maslow, Rogers work)] emphasizing principles of empathy,

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understanding whereby diverse community can comfortably coexist and Critical hermeneutic (Gadamer and Habermas) focuses more on interaction but still supposes rational, civic engagement. In contrast, the postmodern approach based on Bakhtin, Derrida and Levinas acknowledges conflict, resists closure and "opening new opportunities for people to be mutually involved in shaping new understandings of the world in which they live and work" (p. 143).

Dialectics, Ethics and Intercultural Communication Competence

We have established that the traditional postpositive approach to intercultural communication is limiting, as it seems based on an ahistorical, a self-centered, goal-oriented, control-centric conceptualization, assuming a social equality that actually rarely exists in human relations. As communication scholars, we are striving for a more critical view of intercultural competence (interculturality?), one that is inclusive, one that considers historical realities of centuries of cultural struggles, oppression and dominance as well as contemporary realities of globalization and transnationalism with shifting borders and shifting identities. In addition, when we ask the question what does it mean to communicate competently in this multicultural world?, we assume that the answer must include an ethical competent and accept the Humanness principle—that to be human, to communicate competently requires an ethical approach. And finally, we look to "dialogue" scholars and philosophers for guidelines—exactly how to conceptualize this critical ethical dialogic approach.

In our search for answers, we have encountered complex contradictions: self vs. other orientations in both conceptualizations of competence and in the dialogic endeavor, reciprocity vs. non-reciprocity, global universal concerns vs. local, particular cultural practices. These contradictions lead us to take a dialectical approach.

The dialectic approach is well established in communication research. Based on Bakhtin's (1982) work, the dialectic approach emphasizes the processual, relational, and the contradictory nature of human interaction and relationships. Baxter and colleagues have established a solid dialectic approach in interpersonal relationship dynamics. In previous work, we have indentified six intercultural dialectics and other scholars have built on our foundational work (Martin & Nakayama, 1999, 2010). According to the dialectic view, intercultural relating is a dynamic, fluid and ongoing process.

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For Bakhtin (1982), the essence of dialogue is its simultaneous *fusion with, yet differentiation* from another. Participants may form a unity in conversation, but only through two clearly differentiated voice, or perspectives. In a similar vein, Baxter (2004) notes that relational dialectics presupposes that "the business of relating is as much about differences as similarities" (p. 111) and relating is a "complex knot of contradictory interplays, including but not necessarily limited to integration-separation, certainty-uncertainty, and expression-nonexpression. These bipolar forces do not exist in parallel to one another but interweave in ongoing dialectical interplay" (p. 115).

Applying Dialectical Approaches

What would a dialectical approach look like when we apply it to specific cases? In order to begin exploring the potential of a dialectical approach to thinking about intercultural competence, we decided to look at a contemporary case that highlights the complexities at hand. One of the key elements to thinking about ethics and intercultural competence is the role of judgment (Sloop & McDaniel, 1999). Judgment has a long history that we cannot recount here, but judgment plays a critical role in making ethical decisions and informing ethical actions.

Judgment remains a key concept across a number of fields, e.g., business, healthcare, law, that must deal with ethics, particularly in an era when "truth" can no longer form the basis for ethical decision-making. In a cross-cultural context, in particular, "truth" seems to be less stable than ever.

Case Study: Chinese in Italy

The migration of Chinese immigrants to Italy is an example of intercultural contact that is driven by economic opportunities in an increasingly global world. While Chinese immigrants have been migrating to Italy (and Europe) since the 1930s (Rosenthal, 2007), even more have arrived from the late 1980s (Donadio, 2010), Chinese immigrants—legal and illegal—have settled in a number of cities in Italy, now one of the largest Chinese communities in Europe. The Chinese have gained a foothold in Italy to work in the manufacture of clothing which would have the "Made in Italy" label—a desired label for marketing and sales. The economic shift away from traditional Italian produced goods to Chinese made goods in Italy has had tremendous impact on the social and cultural scene in Italy. As part of the global economy, "Made in Italy" labels have

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a value that circulates globally. Yet the tensions between the Italians and the Chinese have arisen over the displacement of Italian workers for lower-paid Chinese workers (Donadio, 2010).

A traditional perspective might focus on the Italians as the host culture and, therefore, it is incumbent upon the Chinese immigrants to adapt to Italian culture, language, and ways of social interaction. The focus would be on the responsibility of the Chinese to adapt with little attention paid to the ethical responsibilities of the Italians and ways they might adapt to the new immigrants. If we take a dialectical approach to understanding this situation, we need to identify the primary tensions over the Chinese in Italy. In order to understand and lay the groundwork for discussing intercultural ethics we need to identify the main dialectical tensions at work here. With empathy and the dialogic as guiding ethical principles, we identify the following dialectical tensions.

In April 2007, the first major violent contemporary protest by an ethnic community against the Italian police took place in Milan. One journalist reported that the riot "started with an everyday dispute over a parking fine" (Kington, 2007), although it isn't clear how that conflict spontaneously erupted into a riot. The Chinese immigrants have previously complained about police harassment or police enforcement of rules over pushcarts and other practices that are used in everyday business transactions (Rosenthal, 2007). In the aftermath of the riots, both Italians and the Chinese communities in Italy were shocked by what happened. This particular event exposes some of the ways that both sides attempted to understand what happened and how they might adapt to this changing situation.

In his study of the media coverage of the riots, Gaoheng Zhang (2013) noted that the mainstream press focused on the violence, but did not attribute blame to either the Chinese or the police. In contrast, the right-wing media clearly blamed the Chinese. In a different reading of the media coverage, Matteo Tarantino and Simone Tosoni (n.d.) see the mainstream Italian media as confirming the stereotype of the Chinese immigrants as not assimilating into Italian society and setting up separate Chinatowns that are not being integrated into Italy. They note: "This almost uniform stance of Italian media also ratified a definitive fracture between Chinese migrants' identity project and Italian representation of the Chinese, which called for a sudden re-definition of both terms. Especially in its early stages, this process has been highly conflictive, with both parties engaging in the rapid and massive mobilization of symbolic resources across a highly complex mediascape, as well as in the enactment of competing processes of meaning attribution to the eventi" (n.d.).

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The riots were framed by the Chinese immigrant media around the themes of European colonization, Chinese feudalism and the treatment of Chinese people (Zhang, 2013). The violence of the police officers and the images that circulated reinforced this theme. Yet, as the Chinese community also reflected on their role in the adaptation process, one wrier suggested: "first, they should do more to integrate into the resident culture by

> overcoming the language barrier and obeying the laws; second, they should avoid being opportunistic like others in the past who have tarnished the reputation of the entire community; and third, they should refrain from behaviours that are considered uncivilized by members of the resident culture. These measures were meant to counter what the Italian sources often called the nagging cultural behaviours of Chinese merchants." (Zhang, 2013, p. 29)

At this level, we can see that the members of the community are balancing the dialectical tension between being who they are and how the other sees them. The focus on how the Italians view the Chinese is an important influence in the dialectical self-other tension over identity as it emphasizes the communal aspect of their identity as well as its construction from inside and outside the community. Ethical judgments about how the media should respond and report on the riots must be framed within these dialectical tensions.

In an effort to reach out to Italian-speaking people, a group of second-generation Italian-Chinese posted messages on their webpage: www.associna.com. They describe themselves as a new generation of Chinese-Italians who grew up in Italy. Here, we must also pay attention to the internet as an additional outlet for reaching across the cultural divides.

The need for the Italians to accommodate is driven by their place in a global economy. Here the dialectical tension between the global and the local comes into view. On the global level, Italy is facing financial crises and has been trying to sell bonds to finance their debt (Gatt, 2011). Now that Italy has gone to China to borrow money to avoid a fiscal crisis (Dinmore, 2011), the dialectical tension between a wealthy China and a poorer Italy has changed the relationships between a previously poor China and a wealthier Italy. As the economic dialectic shifts from one to the other, how does this impact intercultural competence and the ethics of accommodation and dialogue? Who has to accommodate to whom? And how could the subsequent dialogic encounter unfold?

On the local level, this has also meant that Chinese migrants' small businesses that are fueling the current Italian clothing manufacturing industry are both helping the Italian economy, while also hurting the

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traditional Italian fashion manufacturers who are unable to compete—both financially and in terms of delivery time: “Their ability to meet big orders on short notice by having workers put in long hours has fueled their business opportunities” (Ito & Sawamura, 2012). It is important to keep in mind these larger economic contexts that shape the interaction on the ground in Italy.

For example, when a 9 month old baby and her 31 year old Chinese father were gunned down in Rome, “the Chinese Embassy urged Italian authorities to protect Chinese citizens in Italy” (Messia, 2012). The Chinese government has influence fueled by its economic position to put pressure on the Italian government in such cases. On the local level, this double murder is tragic, and, on the global level, the larger context of Sino-Italian relations shapes how responses are made. Any judgment about ethical decisions to be made in this case, needs to be situated and grounded in the global and local dialectical tensions.

Conclusion

In this chapter, we have tried to give an overview of contemporary approaches to intercultural communication competence from a number of approaches. We have situated the dialectical approach with the critical approach to help turn attention to another way of thinking about the ethics of intercultural communication competence. By highlighting the dialectical tensions at work in the relationships between cultures, we can see how thinking about the ethics of communication responses requires judgment that is attentive to the dialectical relationships.

As the European crisis has deepened, many Chinese emigrants to Italy (and other parts of Europe) have returned to China. They bring with them many cultural influences from Italy. One returnee “recently founded a new social club called *Chiacchiere Aperte* (Open Chatting), with other lovers of Italy who gather once a month to talk about their common experiences, and of course, to share an authentic plate of pasta” (Sala, 2011). Some of the returnees now have Italian passports and family still living in Italy. The dialectical tension here opens up between the returnees’ identity and those who never left China. The returnees bring Italian culture, cuisine and products to sell as well as a hybrid cultural identity. As Italian culture is changing with the Chinese immigrants, so is Chinese culture with the returning Chinese emigrants from Italy (and elsewhere).

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CHAPTER SIX

A FACE MODEL OF INTERCULTURAL COMMUNICATIVE COMPETENCE

BETH BONNIWELL HASLETT

Working toward intercultural communicative competence is a daunting task. At the present time it is even more challenging because our views on what constitutes culture are changing. In developing models of intercultural communicative competence, we first need to specify what we mean by the term culture. Because of the forces of globalization, transportation, migration and telecommunication, the traditional model of cultures as nation-states is no longer adequate or complete. I suggest that social groups, such as those based on gender, age, or ethnicity, can also be viewed as cultures (See also Chen, 2011, and Norris, 2007). In what follows, I will be discussing some viewpoints on culture and identity, and then focusing on face as providing a basis for intercultural communicative competence. More specifically, I use face as an underlying etic framework for establishing a cooperative basis for intercultural communication. And I will be relying on Goffman's conceptualization of face and facework rather than alternative frameworks.

Not all groups, of course, are cultures. A neighborhood softball team or a parents' school group would not be cultures. To define social groups as cultures, I believe the following conditions need to be met. Such groups must (1) have a wide scope of influence on the group's behavior, attitudes and values (constituting the group's lifestyle); (2) these lifestyle practices must be transmitted from generation to generation; (3) these lifestyle practices must influence group members over their lifespan and (4) this group must have a shared communication system (not necessarily a shared language). This view of culture does not necessarily imply control over a territory, or political or economic control, although in the case of viewing nation-states as cultures, this may be part of defining nation-states. Some examples of cultural groups include gender, age, health status, religion and ethnicity. Such groups influence one's beliefs, behavior and lifestyles over

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one's lifespan. While cultural groups vary in their social practices, there will be a set of core values and social practices that uniquely define them—that all group members will recognize and honor, although to varying degrees (Carbaugh, 2007). In my view, such groups qualify as cultures and their core beliefs and social practices that are transmitted across generations of group members (Haslett, 2012a, 2012b). However, it should be noted that there is considerable controversy about what creates cohesion among group members and that porous boundaries exist within and across groups (Morley, 2000). As Hall notes, some people "inhabit more than one identity… and have learned to negotiate and translate between cultures… [and] because they are irrevocably the product of several interlocking histories and cultures, have learned to live with, and indeed to speak from, difference" (cited in Morley, 2000, p. 209).

With this expanded view of culture in mind, how do we begin to address the issue of intercultural communicative competence? It becomes an issue of coping with multiple differences across individual identities (it is on the individual level that personal, relational, social and cultural differences—and similarities—are experienced). In addition to dealing with more overt, limited behavioral differences, such as in dress or food, dealing with cultural group differences involves understanding the underlying, tacit, taken-for-granted assumptions that underlie one's lifestyle and behaviors. For example, "knowing how to get along" in a fluent, fluid fashion involves understanding what topics can be discussed, what distance separates people, what touch may be appropriate and so forth—usually taken-for-granted knowledge in one's own cultural group but not necessarily applicable to another cultural group.

Further complicating intercultural communication is that most of us belong to and identify with multiple cultural groups which intersect at different times and in different ways throughout our life span (Giddens, 1990). For example, how does individual identity change as a function of gender and age? How is work viewed differently across generations and cultures? Across different occupations? A key feature of intercultural competence then becomes to what degree individuals identify with these multiple, intersecting cultural groups and how these identities (or identifications) influence communication?

Identity

Cultural identifications may vary as a function of how relevant and salient that cultural group is to a given individual but we cannot assume that all individuals in a group identify to the same degree and with the

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same aspects of that group (Haslett, 2012a, 2012b; Norris, 2007; Spencer-Oatey, 2010). Cultural identities may also be important in some situations, and not relevant in others (Chen, 2011). In short, we need to appreciate how identities are constructed when coping with cultural differences. Thus, looking at intercultural communicative competence means appreciating multiple group identities, differentially relevant across different situations and at different times in one's lifespan (Deardorff, 2009; Stadler, 2011). As Scollon and Scollon (2001) note, we need to understand "how and under what circumstances concepts such as culture are produced by participants as relevant categories for interpersonal identity negotiation" (p. 544). They further argue that "all social actions make implicit or explicit claims to the social groups and positions of all participants—speakers, hearers, and those talked about or in front of" (Scollon & Scollon, 2001, p. 264).

Discussions of identity implicate three levels of identity: individual, relational and collective (group) identity. These levels of identity will always be present in encounters and thus face needs address all levels. In cross cultural communication, group or collective identity is likely to be very salient because the cultures may differ from one another and there may be different evaluations and emotions reflected in such interactions (Carbaugh, 2007). An example cited by Spencer-Oatey (2007) concerns bad feelings that arose in a British-Chinese business setting. Failure to give the Chinese an opportunity to speak and introduce themselves via a designated group leader was viewed as a loss of face by the Chinese because there was no reciprocity (in a business relationship among equals); this resulted in a collective loss of face by the Chinese because this was interpreted as the Chinese being of lesser status. Later discussions with the British chairman of the organization revealed that no disrespect was intended, he did not want to pressure the Chinese into making a formal presentation.

Various identities help constitute one's self over time. The self reflects the continuing narrative that an individual is able to establish over his or her lifetime (Giddens, 1990; Goffman, 1967, 1974). The self is a core identity that is present in all interactions and in all identities assumed across cultural groups and social settings (Erikson, 1950; Goffman, 1961). Spencer-Oatey (2007) suggests that there are three levels of self-representation: the individual, interpersonal and group. Goffman suggests that communication is based upon social selves which have "multiple attachments and commitments to multi-situated social identities" (1961, p. 141). It is in social situations, according to Goffman, "that the individual can signify what he takes to be his social identity and here indicate his

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feelings and intent—all of which information the others in the gathering will need in order to manage their own courses of action—which knowledgeability he in turn must count on in carrying out his own design" (1979, sec. VI).

Similarly, Chen (2011) suggests that cultural identities are multiple, and may become complementary or conflict with one another. Such identities are always in a dialectical, evolving process. Her study of Hongkongers' identities reveals a tension between identifying with Hong Kong vs. China in different contexts. It is through social interactions that the self, groups and cultures form. As Patriotta and Spedale (2009) conclude "face constitutes the visible, transactional and processual aspect of identity" (p. 1232). Bogdanowska-Jakubowska (2011) suggests that culture, via one's experience, rights and obligations, and the like, "combine in shaping self and face" (p. 240). Face and self are "value-laden and conceptual and social frames, evoked in evaluative judgments of self and/or others" (Ruhi & Isik-Guler, 2007, p. 682). Norris (2007) argues for simultaneously construction of identities: this is, more than one identity may be salient in a given context. Her study reveals the discourse strategies by which interactants negotiated several identities simultaneously during an encounter (e.g., a community leader negotiating a Columbian as well as Hispanic-Latino identity). Norris contends that some identities may be foregrounded, while others may remain more in the background, depending upon how individuals develop their identities in particular situations.

Our identities give us distinctiveness, a sense of social place and belonging (Spencer-Oatey, 2007). Giddens (1990) also suggests that one's social positioning varies throughout one's lifespan, and reflects different social contexts as well as different sociohistorical positions. Based on Giddens' structuration theory, Spreckels and Kotthoff (2007) argue that "the construction of identity is no longer bound to locality… [and that] the globalization of social relationships has far reaching consequences for individuals' life goals and identity formation" (p. 140). Globalized sources of images and information influence identity formation. Like Giddens, Kim (2007) acknowledges the importance of historical placement for a sense of continuity and one's embeddedness in a broader collectivity. As such, the self is a coherent theme of identity that runs throughout the various identifications one experiences throughout the lifespan. We can distance ourselves from various identities and roles, but the self remains the cohesive core of identity and different aspects of the self are highlighted in different contexts.

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Given this complex view of cultures and identity, how can we begin to address the question of intercultural competence? Intercultural competence broadly defined, I suggest, is the ability to interact effectively with members of other cultures. I would begin by suggesting, perhaps rather obviously, that one model does not fit all. That is, given cultural differences, what is effective in interacting with one culture does not necessarily apply to another culture (Park, et al., 2012). Bennett (2009) claims that there is an "emerging consensus around what constitutes intercultural competence which is most often viewed as a set of cognitive, affective, and behavioral skills and characteristics that support effective and appropriate interaction in a variety of cultural contexts" (p. 97; see also Deardorff, 2009). The INCA model, developed in Europe, focuses on six components of intercultural competence (tolerance for ambiguity, behavioral flexibility, communicative awareness, knowledge discovery, respect for others and empathy) and specifies motivation, skill/knowledge and behavioral measures for all components (Prechtl & Lund, 2007).

Intercultural Communicative Competence and Interaction

What I would like to propose is that a driving force behind intercultural communicative competence is, quite simply, honoring face. Communication is fundamental in any culture, and face is a condition for interaction. Face is an excellent basis for intercultural communicative competence because it is arguably a cultural universal (Goffman, 1967, 1974; Ho, 1976; Hu, 1944). That is, face is indispensable for social order and every culture is sustained by social order. And underlying any social order is an interaction order in which structure and agency are interwoven (Giddens, 1984). When interacting, agents produce actions and these actions subsequently confirm or alter existing social practices as well as setting up future encounters.

Imahori and Cupach (2005) suggest that face is an important aspect intercultural communicative competence. Interactants' ability to maintain face in intercultural interactions is one measure of interactants' intercultural competence. In contrast to Imahori, Cupach and others, I am arguing for face as communicative universal, not just situationally invoked.

The importance of face in communication is acknowledged by many scholars. O'Driscoll (2007) argues that "reciprocal face maintenance is a universal norm" (p. 407). As Haugh (2009) notes, face is constitutive of as well as constitutes interaction (see also Ho, 1994). Ting-Toomey (1994) posits that "Face constitutes the ritualistic basis of everyday social

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interaction" (p. 308). Ho recognizes face as the "reciprocated compliance, respect, and/or deference that each party expects from, and extends to, the other party (1976, p. 883). Ho (1994) further argues that "concern for face is a pervasive social sanction… it is a powerful mechanism underlying other-directedness, that is, acting in ways that reflect a high degree of sensitivity for how one's actions are perceived and reacted to by others… to maintain face, to avoid losing face, and to regain face lost are essential for effective social functioning" (pp. 272-273). As Goffman notes, "Maintenance of face is a condition of interaction, not its objective" (1967, p. 12). One of the themes identified across scholarship by Ting-Toomey (1994) is that most authors "conceptualize face as a universal social phenomenon. Face involves the claimed sense of self-respect or self-dignity in an interactive situation. Facework involves the verbal and nonverbal negotiation aspects of face maintenance, face claim, and face expectation" (p. 3). Chang and Holt (1994) observe that "If social interaction is unavoidable, then so is mutual concern for face" (p. 95). Sifianou and Tzanne (2011) suggests that face also applies to groups and the group face may, at times, take precedent over individual face (as it may in Asian countries) (see Haugh, 2007, 2009). And Goffman notes that if interaction is disrupted, then "the illusion of reality will be shattered, the minute social system that is brought into being with each encounter will be disorganized, and the participants will feel unruled, unreal, and anomic" (1967, p. 133). This reflects the universal, deep structure nature of face.

How face is enacted, however, varies across situations, participants and cultures. Goffman argues that face is the positive self-image one projects during interaction which is supported by others (1961, 1983a, b). Face is "diffusely located in the flow of events" (1967, p. 7); emotions are attached to face and individuals defend their own and others' face. In interaction, a person "protects and defends and invests his feelings in an idea about himself and ideas are vulnerable not to facts but to communications" (Goffman, 1967, p. 43). As such, "Face is the positive social value one assumes during a particular encounter—a self-image delineated in terms of approved social attributes—emerging through interaction and confirmed or disconfirmed by others" (Haslett, 2012b, p. 259). For Goffman, a line is "a pattern of verbal and non-verbal acts by which he expresses his evaluation of the participants, especially himself" (1959, p. 213). In interaction, "A state where everyone temporarily accepts everyone else's lines is established. This kind of mutual acceptance seems to be a basic structural feature of interaction, especially the interaction of face-to-face talk" (Goffman, 1967, p. 11). In addition to establishing situated identities, interactants need to establish lines or self-images as

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competent communicators: “The contributions of all are oriented to these and built up on the basis on them” (1967, p. 42) and participants mutually accept one another’s line to enable orderly interaction to proceed (p. 11).

Face is also relationally oriented: Goffman notes that “What affirms relationships also organizes talk (1983b, p. 42). In fact, “individuals must rely on others to complete the picture of him of which he himself is allowed to paint only certain parts. Each individual is responsible for the demeanor image of himself and the deference images of others, so that for a complete man to be expressed, individuals must hold hands in a chain of ceremony …. While it may be true that the individual has a unique self all his own, evidence of this possession is thoroughly a product of joint ceremonial labor” (Goffman, 1967, p. 11). This chain of ceremony reflects honoring face in interaction. Furthermore, one’s face “is only on loan to him from society; it will be withdrawn unless he conducts himself in a way that is worthy of it. Approved attributes and their relation to face make of everyman his own jailer; this is a fundamental social constraint even though each man may like his cell” (ibid., p. 10). Establishing one’s self as a competent communicator is a basic component of face, underlying situational presentations of face in particular contexts. “Good demeanor is what is required of an actor if he is to be transformed into someone who can be relied upon to maintain himself as an interactant, poised for communication, and to act so that others do not endanger themselves by presenting themselves as interactants to him (Goffman, 1967, p. 77).

For Goffman, face emerges through interaction; it is not a psychological construct of the individual, but relies upon the response of others in the encounter. As Collins (2004) points out, for Goffman, “situations are rituals calling for cooperation in keeping up the momentary focus of attention and thus giving respect both to the persons who properly take part and to the situational reality as something worth a moment of being treated seriously” (p. 24). Through face, these everyday communicative rituals enact social order: participants are treated with respect—with both appropriate deference and demeanor (Goffman, 1967). As Holtgraves (1992) suggests, for Goffman,

> … face is a more basic and more abstract construct that is entailed in the projection of any identity or line …. Face, therefore, is not an objective of interaction but rather a *condition for interaction*, or a ritual constraint. Moreover, because face (and deference) can be given only by others, it is each other person’s best interest to maintain the other’s face. Acting with demeanor (supporting one’s own face) entails acting with deference

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> (supporting the other's face)… facework is (and must be) a cooperative venture. (p. 142)

As Ho (1994) argues, "the concern for face exerts a reciprocated constraint upon each member of the social network… and it is a powerful mechanism underlying other-directedness, that is, acting in ways that reflect a high degree of sensitivity for how one's actions are perceived and reacted to by others" (p. 272).

For Goffman, face is a major component of ritual which underlies the interaction order and is an integral aspect of social order (Haslett, 2012a). Through face, the display of appropriate demeanor and deference in encounters, humans enact the cultural and social practices that constitute their daily lives. As such, face is constitutive of interaction—a necessary condition for interaction itself. Ho (1994) expresses this somewhat differently when he states that face is "far more profound than just politeness, embarrassment, or impression management …. At rock bottom, face as the integrity of one's social being is not something that has to be earned, but is an inalienable right to human dignity" (p. 277). Being treated with dignity, when interacting with others, is the heart of Goffman's concept of face and is how we demonstrate our saneness and competence as social beings. As O'Driscoll (2011) observed, face is "something whose quality can be threatened in interaction but whose existence cannot" (p. 30). And it is this sense of face—its most profound and taken-for-granted aspect—that scholars have largely ignored in their analyses of face. It is at this deep level structure that we can begin to build models for intercultural communicative competence and go beyond the surface level analyses of politeness, impression management and other variations of facework. Thus Goffman's conceptualization of face reflects both a universal and situational dimension of face. I next turn to a more detailed overview of facework, the negotiation of face in varied interactional contexts.

Facework

Face may incorporate a wide range of behaviors, and different face needs may emerge in different contexts. Scholars have developed a range of conceptions of facework that manage face. As Goffman notes, individuals try to sustain a viable image of themselves over diverse contexts, that may change continuously and in order to maintain a viable image "footwork, or rather self work, will be continuously necessary" (1971, p. 185). In fact, Goffman argues that "Each person, subculture, and

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society seems to have its own characteristic repertoire of face-saving practices. It is to this repertoire that people partly refer to when they ask what a person or culture is 'really' like. And yet the particular set of practices stressed by particular persons or groups seems to be drawn from a single logically coherent framework of possible practices. It is as if face, by its very nature, can be saved in a certain number of ways, and as if each social grouping must make its selection from this single matrix of possibilities" (1967, p. 13).

Tracy and Baratz (1994) note that face and facework are interdependent. Some typologies of facework include Penman's (1994) model of the dimensions of respect-contempt and direct-indirect strategies. Lim and Bowers (1991) developed a model of US strategies of facework based on three face-needs including the need for autonomy, fellowship and competence. Ting-Toomey (1998) includes self-face, other-face, autonomy and approval face. Lim (1994) discusses the basic types of face as autonomy face, fellowship face and competence face and their respective facework strategies of tact, solidarity and approbation. And Ho (1994) lists attributes that may contribute to an evaluation of face, such as biographical variables, social position, formal titles and personal reputation. Scollon and Scollon (1995) discuss involvement face (one's face as a normal contributing member of society) and independence face (one's right to not be dominated by group values).

Politeness theory is perhaps the most heavily researched approach to facework with its emphasis on positive face, negative face, power differences and degree of imposition among its dimensions (Brown & Levinson, 1987). However, politeness theory has come under much scholarly criticism for its pre-conceived strategies of face-concerns; for its focus on negative and positive face concerns; for ignoring the multifunctionality of facework strategies, and for failing to be sensitive to cultural conceptualizations of face and facework (see Tracy & Baratz, 1994, and O'Driscoll, 2010), for more extensive discussions of Politeness theory). Very promising research is being done more closely connecting face to communicative strategies, such as that of O'Driscoll (2010), Arundale (2006, 2009, 2010) and Spencer-Oatey (2005, 2007). In particular, O'Driscoll pointed out other factors beyond face may explain politeness and face may explain other behaviors beyond politeness—these distinctions help delineate the two phenomena.

More recently, scholars have begun to incorporate cultural influences on facework, such as Bargiela-Chiappini and Haugh (2009). Scollon and Scollon (2001) note East-West differences in the purposes for communication and the emphases on informational vs. relational dimensions

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of communication. One of the most developed research paradigms using face and facework in cross cultural settings is the pioneering work of Stella Ting-Toomey (1988, 2005; Ting-Toomey & Kurogi, 1998; Ting-Toomey & Oetzel, 2002). Her face-negotiation theory suggests that face is negotiated in all cultures and may be problematic in interpersonal situations. The individualism vs. collectivism cultural dimension influences the type of facework strategies used; facework has also varied as a function of power distance, different types of face concerns, and self-construal. Her research has focused primarily on facework in conflict situations and she has developed some training programs in intercultural contexts.

Spencer-Oatey's (2005) development of rapport management also uses face as part of her model and her model has also been used in intercultural contexts. She suggests that people's behavioral expectations, face sensitivities and interactional wants help us understand how people manage interpersonal relations. As she notes, rapport refers "to the relative harmony and smoothness of relations between people" (2005, p. 96). Behavioral expectations reflect the multiple conventions and protocols across communicative contexts. Two important interactional principles also help determine behavioral expectations: the equity principle suggest that people believe they have a right to personal consideration from others and to be treated fairly (ibid., p. 100). Secondly, the association principle, suggests that people are entitled to be treated in light of their relationships with others (i.e., their involvement, empathy and respect in the relationship) (ibid.). These behavioral expectations are consistent with Goffman's views on reciprocity and tact. With regard to face sensitivities, Spencer-Oatey proposes a respectability face (which is always present and derived from one's position and honor) and identity face (which is derived from situational considerations). Although she claims identity face is consistent with Goffman's face by doing so she fails to recognize the "deep structure" implications of Goffman's face, namely that face is due everyone by virtue of being social—that is, as a human being. Finally, she argues that face sensitivities will vary across aspects of identity face, depending upon their importance and saliency to the individual and/or group.

As noted previously, face also refers to emotion (O'Driscoll, 2010). That is, "if events establish a face for him that is better than he might have expected, he is likely to 'feel good'; if his ordinary expectations are not fulfilled, one expects that he will 'feel bad' or 'feel hurt'" (Goffman, 1967, p. 6). In circumstances in "which the self projected by an individual may be discredited, causing him shame and embarrassment over what he has or

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appears to have done to himself and to the interaction," Goffman (1956) argues that discomfiture may be "contagious" affecting the one discredited, the person doing the discrediting, and the others involved in the encounter (p. 268). If one experiences a loss of face, for example not getting a promotion, other identities might be highlighted and face needs thereby met (for example, telling the individual how creative he is). Face issues are also a function of the individual and the context—perhaps one does not value his or her evaluation by others in a given situation. Thus, face appears to be a function of emotional involvement and relevancy. As Spencer-Oatey remarked, "people may vary in how they evaluate a given attribute, and hence in the face claims they make" (2007, p. 644) or respond to.

Generally, face is supported tacitly, without apparent effort, so that it does not become a focus of attention. Goffman argues that interactants should display respect for the encounter through an appropriate demeanor (attitude) and deference (appropriate recognition of status) in order for an interaction to proceed smoothly. Both interactants are vulnerable to face threats which may create embarrassment and/or shame. As Ho (1994) notes, reciprocity is an integral aspect of face and one may lose face by failing to give face to others (p. 272). When breaches occur, and interrupt the smooth flow of interaction, face repairs are needed to restore the interaction. As Brown and Levinson (1987) argue "In general, people cooperate (and assume each other's cooperation) in maintaining face in interaction, such cooperation being based on the mutual vulnerability of face. That is, normally everyone's face depends on everyone else's being maintained, and since people can be expected to defend their faces if threatened, and in defending their own to threaten others' face, it is in general in every participant's best interest to maintain each other's face" (p. 61). Considerations of face appear to underlie smooth, cooperative interactions.

Although Goffman does not explicitly discuss culture in terms of face, his own acknowledgement of the limitations of his own perspective (e.g., white, male) tacitly recognizes the importance of group or collective identity. In addition, his analysis of gender advertisements is a clear demonstration of his acute observations of gender (group) differences in self presentation. Goffman (1967) argued that any group "must mobilize their members as self-regulating participants in social encounters. One way of mobilizing the individual for this purpose is through ritual: he is taught to be perceptive, to have feelings attached to self and a self expressed through face, to have pride, honor, and dignity, and to have tact and a certain amount of poise" (p. 44). These qualities may be very important in

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terms of intercultural communicative competence—perceptiveness enhanced by knowledge of cultures; identification of feelings and values of others; to understand one's own self; and to behave with dignity, tact and poise.

Although Goffman's work focused on interaction within a culture, he nevertheless acknowledged culture as a basic frame of interaction. Culture is the primary framework that shapes encounters and he further utilizes the concept of frames as a way of establishing contexts for interaction. Goffman noted that "Frames are a central part of a culture and are institutionalized in various ways. They are subject to change historically …. Whatever the idiosyncracies of their own motives and interpretation, they [individuals] must gear their participation into what is available by way of standard doings and standard reasons for doing those doings" (1981, p. 63). Those standard doings and standard reasons characterize cultural practices. Through these actions, individuals are acknowledged as making meaningful, sane contributions to an encounter.

Note that Goffman also refers to social groups as having cultures. It is through interaction "that our understandings of our own long-term relationships and commitments, and of our society's widely institutionalized enterprises, will be subject to confirmation and undermining during these [interactive] occasions" (1981, p. 68). Goffman's frames are like a "filtering process through which societal-level values and principles of conduct are transformed and refocused so as to apply to the situation at hand" (Gumperz, 2001, p. 217).

Through Goffman's felicity condition, interactants demonstrate the meaningfulness and sanity of their actions. That is, we are "tacitly taking something for granted (whether aware of having done so or not) and also unabashedly, even unthinkingly, counting on others in the action doing likewise, at least enough, so they can easily interpret and understand our action accordingly" (1983b, pp. 167-68). We assume that our messages will get across reasonably well so that further interaction or action can proceed. In so doing, we demonstrate that we are competent communicators of a particular group or culture. Like Goffman, Ho (1994) notes the fundamental importance of face in acknowledging the meaningfulness of our actions as human beings: As humans we have a moral right "to the claim of a basic, decent face …. It is the minimum, irreducible, and inviolate face that one must maintain for adequate functioning as a social being. The loss of this basic face would seriously threaten the integrity of one's social being or, worse, one's acceptability as a member of human society" (p. 279). It is in this deep-seated, ritual of interaction that Goffman argues we define ourselves as human beings and through the interaction order, contribute to social order. Through honoring

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mutual face, we ratify ourselves as sane members of society. As Ting-Toomey (1994) concluded, “Face constitutes the ritualistic basis of everyday social interaction” (p. 308).

In intercultural settings, however, many of these tacit assumptions are unknown. We cannot assume others rely upon the same taken-for-granted assumptions which underlie our own social and communicative practices. In intercultural contexts, the degree of uncertainty about social practices is higher than in shared cultural contexts. And in intercultural encounters, for instance when multiple sources of identity such as ethnicity and age are different across participants, then uncertainty is even greater. In order to honor face in such encounters, participants must first understand each other’s social practices and communicative expectations.

In sum, face appears to be essential for establishing social order and a key aspect of interaction. Face incorporates positive support for one’s own line as well as others’ lines in encounters. In addition, face can be extended to individuals, groups and cultures (Spender-Oatey, 2007). Interactants are vulnerable to attacks on face which inhibit smooth, cooperative encounters. Face is central to the presentation of self in interaction (Goffman, 1967). If we argue that face is necessary for competent communication in intercultural interactions, then how do we establish face across varying cultures? Not only do conceptualizations of face vary across cultures, but of necessity facework strategies will also vary.

Although face is a universal component of interaction and that it must be maintained for effective communication (see also Kim, 2007), honoring face in intercultural communication encounters is more complex and difficult than face within the same cultural group. This is so because the underlying tacit assumptions about communicative practices are not shared and indeed, may conflict across cultures. In addition, such cultural practices may be largely hidden and out-of-our-awareness. Past sociohistoric conflicts and antagonism may also complicate honoring face in intercultural communication because such problems may influence present day situations (Giddens, 1984, 1990; Kim, 2007). With this in mind, we can address the complexities of honoring face in intercultural encounters.

Having briefly explored some parameters of culture and the concept of face, I want to focus on the universal sense of face developed by Goffman and suggest this as a basis for intercultural communicative competence. First, I will briefly suggest a conceptualization of intercultural communicative competence, and relate this to a discussion of the underlying premises of universal face and suggest how these premises

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might incorporate communicative practices. Finally, I want to briefly discuss some training programs that facilitate the emic sense of face—that is, coping with cultural differences in intercultural communicative competence.

Honoring Face in Intercultural Encounters

The core of face, as stated earlier, is being treated with dignity. That is, being treated in a manner that acknowledges and respects one's personhood. Face both constitutes and is constitutive of interaction and supports social order and social relationships. As Goffman notes, face reflects the sacredness and sanity of human beings, irrespective of social or cultural groups. How face is conceptualized and how facework is carried out, of course, varies across cultures. Having said that, there nevertheless are core premises that underlie face. I argue that the following premises underlie universal face, present in every encounter. These premises include:

(a) Acknowledgment of *mutual face* by honoring both self and other face; a viable self-other orientation is a marker of intercultural identity (Kim, 2009);
(b) Recognition of the multimodal nature of human communication and that both actions and words negotiate face;
(c) Displaying trust; trust supports the routines of social life and social interaction (Goffman, 1983a);
(d) Displaying respect;
(e) Displaying empathy and affect;
(f) Acknowledgment of a plurality of beliefs, values and behaviors in the search for common interests; and
(g) Acknowledgment of equity across participants—all have voice. Equity implies being aware of privilege/disadvantage across cultures and individuals (Chen, 2011).

These premises underlie the concept of face as an interactional universal. Fundamentally, these premises outline the assumptions for honoring face—the dignity of social beings—in interaction across the wide variation in human behaviors, attitudes and cultural practices. While I am not suggesting that these premises are exhaustive, I believe they represent an excellent developmental frame for the concept of universal face. Furthermore, I believe these premises honor the sense in which Goffman developed the concept of face.

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In what follows, I suggest some communicative practices that support universal face. As a departure point, I want to argue that *mindfulness* is a necessary, but not sufficient, condition for effective intercultural communication. All of the premises outlined above, and the associated practices outlined below, rest on thoughtful, non-judgmental analysis of one's own cultural scripts as well as those of others. Mindfulness brings to our conscious awareness important dimensions of intercultural communication and facework (Spencer-Oatey, 2010). I am relying here on Langer's (1989) conceptualization of mindfulness as being aware of multiple categories or perspectives; being open to new information and being able to form new categories in which to perceive and make sense of the world. After Goffman, I would also argue that facework must be appropriate to be effective—behaving inappropriately usually results in ineffective communication. Finally, I would argue that an overarching goal in intercultural communicative encounters is that of harmony—despite differences we must find cooperative, collaborative ways in which live and interact.

Communicative Practices Supporting Universal Face

1. *Respect*. Respect is supported by the display of appropriate deference (acknowledging the other's face) and of demeanor (the projection of an appropriate attitude toward one's self and toward the situation) (Goffman, 1955). Through consideration and respect, individuals may create a sense of moral obligation for other interactants to reciprocate and thus encourage the legitimacy and support of his/her own face (Patriotta & Specdale, 2009). The ability to display appropriate deference and demeanor rests upon knowledge of the cultural practices of interactants and especially being aware of your own cultural beliefs. Finally, there must be commitment to the relationships present in intercultural encounters—a willingness to persevere across difficulties and disappointments to reach some common interests. Perseverance recognizes concern for the other and our relationship with them. And, of course, communication itself implies a willingness to connect with others (Chen, 2011).

2. *Multimodal communication*. Although this seems obvious, it is worth noting that Goffman's interaction order includes verbal and nonverbal communication as well as appropriately establishing the surrounding physical environment. Many credit Goffman with introducing space and place into the analysis of communication (Giddens, 1988). We also need to acknowledge, as Goffman does, that facework is accomplished

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by one's gestures, tone of voice, dress, choice of setting and the like: Facework is truly a multimodal accomplishment. As Bargiela-Chiappini (2003) suggests, face "at the micro-level of verbal and nonverbal behavior, encapsulates and dynamically displays the manifestations of (macro-level) cultural values" (p. 423). Ruhi's (2010) analysis of face accounts for the multimodal representation of face in a Turkish engagement ceremony through the use of video recording for analysis.

3. *Trust*. Trust is another key aspect of universal face. When we are open to interacting with another, we are trusting that they will treat us with dignity accorded all by virtue of being human. This reflects the most basic bedrock of universal, etic face—we recognize our own and other's personhood and acknowledge a shared sense of social reality. According to Hofstede (2009), trust is present when members of your moral circle behave as upstanding members of that circle. Cultural conditioning forms the most solid moral circle. Hofstede also concludes that people live in groups such that "social life is facilitated by trust and by common expectations among the upstanding members" (p. 98). While the bases for trust will vary across cultures, we must begin any interaction—intercultural or not—with a fundamental trust in mutual dignity and an accompanying mutual vulnerability among participants. Comte (2008), discussing trust in Goffman's work, concluded that "trust… constitutes a universal social datum and an elementary precondition for social exchanges and the cooperation between individuals" (p. 375).

4. *Communion as expressed in empathy and affect*. Face also engenders affect such as shame, embarrassment, pride and so forth (Goffman, 1967). In general, when maintain face, it "is the invisible or unmarked case …. Like housework, it is only noticed when it is not done" (MacMartin & Wood, 2001, p. 231). Breaches that violate normal interactional expectations will result in outrage and/or indignation (Goffman, 1967, p. 23). Some have argued that face relies on affect, not just identity concerns (see, for example, Spencer-Oatey's work on management of rapport among interactants). Matsumoto, Yoo and LeRouux (2010) suggest that emotions are an integral part of relationships and that emotional regulation plays an important role in effective intercultural communication. They maintain that critical thinking, adaptability, openness and conflict resolution are hampered if emotions are not regulated (i.e., if negative emotions are not controlled). After Goffman, O'Driscoll notes that "we are affectively implicated in the affective adventures of others merely by being in their presence" (2011, p. 19; see also Samra-Fredericks, 2010). A key to empathy is the capacity to

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take another's perspective and Goffman's use of frames will be very useful in this respect.

5. *Plurality of beliefs*. Intercultural encounters require a high degree of adaptability because many of our taken-for-granted beliefs and assumptions do not apply in intercultural contexts. Some of the dialectic tensions residing in intercultural encounters, such as the dialectic of privilege/ disadvantage or present-future/past-history, are present within cultures as well (Martin & Nakayama, 1999). As previously noted, significant cultural variation exists in face concerns, the conduct of facework and underlying belief and value systems. Adaptability also implies flexibility in adjusting to differences across diverse participants and situations.

6. *Openness in communication*. Another key communicative practice rests upon open communication. That is, communication should be transparent and all interactants need to be willing to accept the risk and vulnerability implied by openness. Being open to others rests upon being non-judgmental because being non-judgmental lessens vulnerability and risk.

7. *Equity among interactants*. Goffman's etic concept of face is based upon the moral rights and obligations people owe one another by virtue of being human and involved in a social world. That is, we treat others and are treated by others with dignity, tact and reciprocity. Spencer-Oatey's principle of equity also reflects this basic right of consideration and fair treatment.

Deardorff (2009), in her synthesis of conceptualizations of intercultural competence, finds themes that emphasize equity in relationships with others and a recognition of the importance of "reciprocal, complementary and cooperative relations" (p. 265). Bauman (2010) characterizes the present times as a state of liquid modernity in which the value of beliefs can be established in a multidialogue in "which all voices will be admitted, and in which all possible comparisons and juxtapositions will be made in good faith and with good intentions. In other words, the acknowledgement of cultural difference is for the sake of this argument the beginning rather than the end of the matter" (p. 60).

The underlying premises of universal face, and related communicative practices, provide a good foundation for intercultural communicative competence. While such premises and practices are important in all interaction, we must—especially in light of cultural variation—include one more step in this process. This final step involves designing educational training programs that present knowledge of diverse cultures, and the skills and behaviors that enable effective intercultural communication.

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We must find ways to actualize and enact our understandings in effective intercultural encounters. In this concluding section, I want to discuss different conceptions of situated face, or emic approaches to face, as some general guides for structuring such programs. These cultural differences include differing cultural practices in how facework is conducted, and the values associated with face in different contexts. It is to these differences we now turn.

Differences in the Conceptualization of Face

All cultures utilize face in interaction but may vary in how face is established, maintained and repaired. Thus our first task is to understand how face is viewed in different cultures—what are the important components of face? For example, Mao (1994) deems that Chinese concepts of face involve both achievement and personal character, in part derived from one's family ancestry. Cultures may also vary in terms of their concern for self-face, mutual face or other-face (Ting-Toomey, 1988). And Haugh (2009) notes that face can also "involve an awareness of one's position within a network… [and] be associated with groups as well as individuals" (p. 209). In cultures strongly influenced by Confucianism, there are degrees of face attached to different social categories such as priest, teacher or business person. Hu (1944) suggests two aspects to face in China, mien-tzu (achievement or external accomplishments) and lien (moral character, an internal characteristic). Ting-Toomey (1994) suggests that face and facework varies across the cross cultural dimensions of individualism and collectivism. Her own research on conflict strategies contrasts conflict strategies as a function of concern for self-face, other-face and mutual face (Ting-Toomey, 2005). These few examples suggest that there is considerable variation in how face is conceptualized and suggests that communicative strategies to honor face will also vary across cultures. Thus, *while face is universal, the requirements of face are culturally specific*. Knowledge of appropriate face needs is thus a subject for research and rests upon the values of the cultural group being studied.

Spencer-Oatey (2007) argues that value judgments cognitively underlie face. She relies on the work of Shalom Schwartz and his universal framework for value constructs. Schwartz's research (1999) uncovered four broad dimensions of value constructs (self-enhancement, openness to change, self-transcendence and conservatism). Self-enhancement incorporates power, achievement and hedonism; openness to change reflects the values of stimulation and novelty; self-transcendence reflects the values of

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universalism and benevolence, and conservatism reflects the values of security, tradition and conformity. Cultures vary in terms of how importance each value is (e.g., its priority) in influencing behavior. The GLOBE study of values (House et al, 2004) collected value data from countries around the world and uncovered two major dimensions that differ across cultures: secularism vs. tradition, and individualism vs. collectivism. When interacting cross-culturally, we must be aware of our own values and the values of others as a necessary foundation for intercultural communication. Spencer-Oatey concluded that analysis of values reveals the attributes that people may be "face sensitive to, and thereby offer partial reasons for people's sensitivities" (2007, p. 651). It is also critical to acknowledge that different values are weighted differently across cultures, situations and identities (Chen, 2011).

Another importance source for differences in honoring face rests upon the preferred social practices underlying interaction across cultural groups. Honoring face implies awareness of cultural differences in how communication is valued. For example, is verbal communication valued over nonverbal communication? What modalities of communication are most important? Are the goals of communication different—for example, an emphasis on long-term relationships or an emphasis on personal gain? Much of the scholarship in intercultural communication has documented these differences, such as (1) the value of talk versus silence; (2) directness and indirectness of talk, (3) Eastern versus Western views of communication (for example, Deardorff, 2009), has discussed the difference in orientation to communication between East and West); (5) high context versus low context cultures, (6) contrasting styles of rhetoric and reasoning, (7) contrasting styles of conflict resolution, (8) power distance and interaction, (9) formality versus informality, (10) concern for face needs themselves and gender, age, health-status, ethnicity and social class differences in communication. These are just some of the well-documented sources of communicative differences in interaction (Gudykunst & Kim, 2003). Carbaugh (2007) also notes the importance of understanding cultural structures, those "deeply felt," "commonly intelligible," and "widely accessible" tacit beliefs (p. 170). One must also understand cultural propositions, those underlying beliefs of a culture, and cultural premises, which enable one to recognize the significance of what is going on (Carbaugh, 2007).

Training programs to develop and nurture these practices are needed; these programs must prove training and education on multiple levels (see for example, Park et al., 2012). Some of the social and communicative practices here parallel the attitudes of multicultural personalities (social

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initiative, emotional stability, open-mindedness, flexibility and cultural empathy) which facilitate effective adjustment to intercultural encounters (Yakunina et al., 2012). The INCA model, developed in Europe, focuses on six components of intercultural competence (tolerance for ambiguity, behavioral flexibility, communicative awareness, knowledge discovery, respect for others and empathy) and specifies motivation, skill/knowledge and behavioral measures for all components (Prechtl & Lund, 2007). These six components emerge in many models of intercultural competence. Spitzsberg and Changnon (2009) provide an excellent overview of different conceptualizations of intercultural competence and conclude that "empathy, perspective-taking and adaptability continue to serve as the hallmarks of most models of intercultural competence" (p. 44). While the purpose here has been to sketch face as an etic, interpretive frame for intercultural competence, we must not forget the dialectic, continuously evolving nature of culture and identity. Above all else, we must be mindful of our own cultural practices as well as those of others. I believe that following face and exploring common interests are central in developing intercultural communicative competence.

In summary, I have suggested that face, especially the etic sense of face developed by Goffman (1967) provides an excellent foundation for a general model for any interaction, including intercultural communicative competence. That is, in interaction with others, we want to be treated with dignity as others do in the encounter. Building up from this universal conceptualization of face are the emic aspects of face—that is, the differing types of face, varying across groups and their concomitant values, beliefs and communicative practices. And finally, based upon those emic understandings, training programs that will educate us on the different skills and attitudes to effectively communicate in intercultural encounters. Wiseman (2002), as do many other models, suggests that intercultural competence rests upon knowledge, motivation and skill. As Kim (2007) suggests that approaches to intercultural communicative competence may vary as a function of how ideal intercultural relations are conceptualized and how cultural differences might be managed. Many approaches to intercultural communication underscore the need for mindful communication and self-awareness on the part of communicators themselves (Spencer-Oatey, 2010). I believe the approaches outlined achieve those goals.

The continuously evolving intercultural communicator, as Kim (2009) notes, reflects an individual's "continual search for intercultural learning and synthesis" (p. 60). She quoted the noted cellist, Yo Yo Ma, "In my musical journey I have had the opportunity to learn from a wealth of

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different musical voices …. Throughout my travels, I have thought about the culture, religions and ideas that have been influential for centuries… and have wondered how these complex interconnections occurred and how new musical voices were formed from the diversity of those traditions" (ibid.). Similar transformational dialectics form new intercultural relationships daily, and thus present us with the significant challenge of becoming effective intercultural communicators.

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CHAPTER SEVEN

INTERCULTURAL PRAXIS: TRANSFORMING INTERCULTURAL COMPETENCE FOR THE 21ST CENTURY[1]

KATHRYN SORRELLS

Today, our world is "home" to nearly seven billion people. Increasingly, we—the seven billion people of the globe—find our everyday lives, our work and our wages, as well as our identities and imaginations interconnected and interdependent. In the past thirty years, revolutionary changes in communication and transportation technologies have coalesced with neoliberal economic and political policies to dramatically accelerate the interaction and inter-relationship among people from different cultures around the world (Appadurai, 1996; Grewal, 2005; Yúdice, 2003). Deeply rooted in the history of Western colonialism, the forces of globalization have catapulted people, symbolic forms, practices and ideas from different cultures into shared and contested physical and virtual spaces in homes, in relationships, in schools, in neighborhoods, and in the workplace.

Globalization is a complicated and contested concept with multiple and layered meanings, which is understood and experienced in a broad array of ways by individuals and groups with different interests, positionalities and points of view. While the term "globalization" came into common usage in the 1990s to describe our rapidly changing world, the various factors and forces that constitute and shape globalization have been in play for a much longer time (Nederveen Pieterse, 2004). Synthesizing various perspectives (Appadura, 1996; Inda & Rosaldo, 2002; Stiglitz, 2002), *globalization* is defined here as the complex web of economic, political and technological forces that have brought people, cultures, cultural products, and markets, as well as beliefs, practices and ideologies into increasingly greater proximity to and con/disjunction with one another within inequitable relations of power. The word "globalization" is used to address both the

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contested processes that contribute to and the vastly *inequitable conditions* of living in our contemporary 21st century world.

In this chapter, I draw particular attention to the context of globalization and reveal the distinctly complex, contradictory, and inequitable conditions in which intercultural communication occurs today. Four key areas to re-theorizing intercultural competence for the 21st century are proposed. First, the way we define "culture" is re-conceptualized and expanded. Second, the continuities between historical and contemporary patterns of interaction, institutional control and representational power are emphasized. Third, linkages between the local and the global are drawn and underscored. Finally, a call to ground the study and practice of intercultural communication in critical engagement and social justice is made (Broome et al., 2005; Yep, 2008).

To transform intercultural competence for the 21st century, I explicate *intercultural praxis*—a process of critical, reflective thinking and acting that enables us to navigate the complex, contradictory, and challenging intercultural spaces we inhabit as individuals, community members and global citizen (Sorrells, 2013; Sorrells & Nakagawa, 2008). Six inter-related points of entry into the process are outlined: Inquiry, Framing, Positioning, Dialogue, Reflection, and Action. The purpose of engaging in intercultural praxis is to raise our awareness, increase our critical analysis, and develop our competence for intercultural communication in the context of globalization.

Intercultural Communication in the Context of Globalization

The frequent and multidirectional movement of capital, commodities, services, information, labor and ideologies in the context of globalization are driven by shifts in international economic policies and global political governance that have taken place since World War II and that have accelerated dramatically since the 1980s (Stiglitz, 2002). Economic liberalization, also known as "free" trade, is the cornerstone of neoliberalism. Neoliberalism is based on government deregulation, a shift of responsibility from the public sector to individuals and the privatization of public space, industries and resources (Harvey, 2005). Characterized by a growth in multinational corporations, an intensification of international trade and international webs of production, distribution, and consumption as well as the displacement of hundreds of thousands of people from their homes, jobs and countries, neoliberal globalization has exponentially increased and dramatically impacted intercultural interactions worldwide.

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As anthropologists Jonathan Xavier Indra and Renato Rosaldo (2002) claim, "… it is a world of culture in motion. It is a world where cultural subjects and objects—that is, meaningful forms such as capital, people, commodities, images, and ideas—have become unhinged from particular localities" (p. 11). Culture, in the context of globalization, is de-territorialized, where cultural subjects (people) and cultural objects (film, food, traditions and ideas) are uprooted from their "situatedness" in particular physical, geographic locations and re-territorialized, or re-inserted in new, multiple and varied geographic localities (Appadurai, 1996).

In the context of neoliberal globalization, wealth concentration has intensified and economic inequity exacerbated both within and across nations resulting in vastly disparate access to resources and deepening racial/ethnic inequities (Toro-Morn & Alicea, 2004). Today, 33% of the people on our planet wake up each morning assured of instantaneous communication with others around the globe (ITU, 2011), while more than 30% of the world's population live below the internationally defined poverty line, starting their day without the basic necessities of food, clean water and shelter (Joshi, 2012). In an era of instant messages and global communication, 20% of the adult female population world-wide does not have the skills to read and write (UNESCO, 2012). Today, for every dollar an average white family owns in the US, the average family of color has less than a dime, magnifying the racial wealth gap accrued from centuries of discriminatory and exclusionary laws and practices (Lui et al., 2006).

In the global context, families, friends, migrants, tourists, business people, and strangers come closer together more rapidly than ever before in the history of human interaction; yet, some have the privilege of experiencing intercultural interactions through leisure, recreation, and tourism, while others travel far from home out of economic necessity and basic survival. Indeed, we live in a world in motion—propelled, disrupted, inspired and constrained by powerful forces. Globalization has dramatically altered the context for understanding, theorizing and engaging in intercultural communication. What makes intercultural communication in the 21st century different from other periods in history? The amount and intensity of intercultural interaction, the degree of intercultural interdependence, the patterns of movement of people, goods and capital, and the inequitable conditions that shape and constrain our intercultural interaction distinguish our current context—the context of globalization—from other periods in history. Clearly, the need for intercultural competence in the context of globalization is critical. Existing theorizing about intercultural competence attends to important components

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such as knowledge of self and other, crucial attitudes and affective orientations such as motivation, tolerance for ambiguity, empathy and non-judgment as well as vital skills and behaviors (Deardorff, 2006, 2009; Mody & Gudykunst, 2002); yet, the complex and contradictory nature of intercultural communication today calls for a deeper and more expansive vision of intercultural competence.

Foundations for Re-theorizing Intercultural Competence for the 21st Century

I propose four key areas for re-theorizing intercultural competence in the context of globalization. First, we need to revisit and expand our definitions of culture. Second, we need to highlight the continuities as well as disjunctures between historical and contemporary patterns of interaction, institutional control and representational power. Third, links between the local and the global, forming interconnected yet fragmented and fractured webs in the global context, need to be drawn and underscored with particular consideration to the interplay among micro, meso and macro levels of interaction. Finally, we need to ground the study and practice of intercultural communication competence in critical engagement, democratic participation, and social justice. While addressed separately in the discussion here, the four areas are all inter-related and necessary to re-theorize intercultural competence in the 21st century.

Redefining Culture

Traditional conceptions of culture have their origins not only in academic disciplines such as anthropology, literature, and the humanities, but in the plethora of definitions shaped by historical, political, social, and cultural forces at work in a given period. Historically, the word “culture” was linked closely in its use and meaning to processes of colonization. In the 19th century, European anthropologists wrote detailed descriptions of the ways of life of “others,” generally characterizing non-European societies as less civilized, barbaric, “primitive,” and as lacking “culture.” These colonial accounts, using European culture as the norm, constructed Europe as superior by claiming to have “culture” and used the alleged lack of “culture” of non-European societies as a rationale or justification for colonization. By the beginning of the Second World War, nine-tenths of the world had been colonized by European powers (Young, 2001)—a history of imperialism that continues to structure and impact intercultural communication practices and theorizing today. Our common and “received”

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notions of culture often mask deeply embedded ethnocentric assumptions that reflect and perpetuate injustice.

While traditional anthropological definitions used in intercultural communication define culture as a system of shared meanings, cultural studies perspectives, informed by Marxist theories of class struggle and exploitation, view culture as a site of contestation where meanings are constantly negotiated (Grossberg, Nelson & Treichler, 1992). This definition reveals how culture can function as a form of hegemony, or domination through consent, as articulated by Italian Marxist theorist Antonio Gramsci (1973). Hegemony operates when the goals, ideas, and interests of the ruling group or class are so thoroughly normalized, institutionalized and accepted that people consent to their own domination, subordination and exploitation. Cultural studies theorists argue that individuals and groups have the potential to challenge, resist and transform meanings in their subjective, everyday lives. Fiske (1992) states, "The social order constrains and oppresses people, but at the same time offers them resources to fight against those constraints" (p. 157) noting that individuals and groups are consumers and producers of cultural meanings and can act in counter-hegemonic ways. Culture, then, is the "actual, grounded terrain" of everyday practices, representations, discourses and institutions where meanings are produced, consumed, negotiated and contested (Hall, 1997).

Given that culture today is inextricably linked to community, national, international and transnational economies and politics, American Studies scholar George Yúdice (2003) defines culture in the age of globalization as a resource. In the 21st century, culture is a resource for economic and political exploitation, agency and power, which is mobilized and instrumentalized for a wide range of purposes and ends. Culture, in the form of symbolic goods such as movies, music and tourism as well as intellectual property, is increasingly a source of global trade and a resource for economic growth. Mass culture industries in the US are the major contributor to the Gross National Product (Yúdice, 2003). Culture is also targeted for exploitation by capital in the media, consumerism and tourism. Additionally, as products are modified and marketed to cultural groups, cultural group differences are constituted and transnational identities constructed (Grewel, 2005). Cultural products, such Hindi and US films and hip hop culture, are commodified and appropriated functioning in complex and contradictory ways as sites of cultural remembrance, economic exploitation and as locations of enunciation, empowerment and opposition (Ram, 2004; Rose, 2005; Shome & Hegde, 2002a). While the commodification of culture is not new, the extent to which culture is "managed" as a resource for its capital generating

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potential and as a "critical sphere for investment" by global institutions such as the World Bank is new (Yúdice, 2003, p. 13).

In the of context globalization, culture is also utilized as a resource to address and solve social problems like illiteracy, addiction, crime, and conflict. Culture is used today discursively, socially, and politically as a resource for collective and individual empowerment, agency and resistance. Diasporic groups and transmigrants engage and dispute collective cultural identities as they negotiate "homes" of familiarity, spaces of belonging and sites for the formation of resistance, agency and political empowerment (Drzewiecka, 2002; Halualani, 2002; Hegde & Shome, 2002a; Mendoza, 2002). Clearly, we need to re-theorize intercultural competence to address the complex and contradictory ways in which culture is negotiated, contested, commodified, exploited and mobilized in the context of globalization. Understanding culture as "a site of contested meaning" and "a resource" expands upon and complicates traditional definitions of "culture as shared meaning," providing a foundation for broadening and deepening our conceptualization of intercultural competence.

Role of History and Power

Martin and Nakayama (1999, 2000) and others have called attention to the importance of situating intercultural communication within historical contexts and relations of power. The broad historical context of the past five hundred years of colonization, Western imperialism and US hegemony, which includes the anti-colonial and independence struggles, the Civil Rights movements and the alter-globalization movements are critical for understanding intercultural communication today; yet, the conditions of globalization also require simultaneous attention to new and reconfigured sites of economic, political and cultural power (Shome & Hegde, 2002a; Wallerstein, 2000). For example, we cannot make sense of the patterns of south to north migration today from former colonies to centers of imperial power without placing globalization within the broader context of colonization; yet, while migrants' experiences vary tremendously based on their differential access to capital, they serve global capitalist interests. We cannot understand the impact on intercultural relations of "free" trade policies and the outsourcing of jobs by more developed, powerful and wealthier nations to less developed, less powerful and poorer nations today without recognizing how these policies and practices re-articulate a 21st century version of the exploitation of labor that built and consolidated the economic wealth and political power of Europe and the

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US during the colonial period (Shome & Hegde, 2002b); yet, we cannot ignore that elites in less politically powerful and economically strong countries promote and benefit from these practices.

We cannot begin to grapple with the intercultural challenges faced by societies around the world today—racial and ethnic discrimination, tension and conflict, intensified economic inequity as well as disputes over immigrant rights and immigration policies or worker's rights and trade agreements—without recognizing how these struggles are embedded in and structured by racist, classist, white supremacist, patriarchal, heteronormative and ethnocentric ideologies forged and institutionalized through the last five hundred years of colonization, Western imperialism and US hegemony; yet, we also cannot disregard how these categories of difference are re-configured in the global context (Shome & Hegde, 2002a; Winant, 2001).

Contemporary intercultural encounters and relationships are deeply embedded in and framed by the symbolic and material conditions of neo/colonization, imperialism and globalization. Yet, the rhetoric of racelessness, claims of color-blindness, multiculturalism and diversity that circulate in the context of globalization serve to erase or neutralize the centuries of historical injustice, exploitation and asymmetrical relations of power that have produced current conditions of inequity across national, racial, class and gender-based groups (Macedo & Gounari, 2006; Shome & Hedge, 2002b). Disowning the legacies of colonization, US imperialism and their links to current global conditions in the study of intercultural communication obfuscates and normalizes US/Western hegemony. Like European colonial cartographers who positioned the West as the geopolitical center of the world and misrepresented the sizes and shapes of continents, de-historicizing and de-politicizing scholarship in the field of intercultural produces systematic distortions of the world (Munchi & McKie, 2001).

Critiques from postcolonial and postmodern perspectives reveal how knowledge construction is an interpretive, invented and value-laden representational process bound by relations of power (Collier, 2002; Mendoza, 2005; Nakayama & Martin, 1999). Thus, it is critical to contest concepts and frameworks that de-contextualize and de-historicize intercultural communication. Theorizing about intercultural competence needs to account for the ways historical and current conditions and relations of power are layered and stitched together in the context of globalization. Multifocal vision that attends to both the legacies of colonization, Western domination, and US hegemony as well as non-

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Western hegemonies and emerging centers of capital and cultural production is required (Shome, 2010).

Local/Global Connection and Multi-level Analysis

Our current global context is characterized by a complex web of linkages between the local and the global and between the past and the present, however fractured and disjointed. People, languages, identities, cultural forms, practices and ideas are situated in particular local spaces and are simultaneously connected through phone, fax, email, text messaging and media, by multiple modes of transportation, as well as through extensive social networks, memories, histories and imaginations with particular and situated places around the globe (Drzewiecka, 2002; Goldring, 1996; Hegde, 2002; Mendoza et al., 2003; Ong, 1999). The processes and conditions of globalization require that we highlight the continuity and ties as well as the fissured and fragmented intersections of multiple global communities, positions and interpretations.

We need to re-theorize areas where intercultural competence is particularly pertinent—identity construction, language use, interpersonal relationships, as well as intercultural adaptation and intercultural conflict—in ways that underscore the connections and disjunctures between the local and the global, highlighting parallel, asymmetrical and shifting positionalities in terms of power. I propose a multi-dimensional framework that emphasizes the inter-relationship among micro, meso and macro frames of experience and analysis (Sorrells, 2013) as follows: (1) The micro-frame focuses on the individual-based interactional dimension highlighting cultural communication styles and conflict orientations; (2) the meso or intermediate frame broadens our view to address group-based issues such as prejudices, ethnocentrism, cultural histories, cultural identities and systemic inequities; (3) the macro or geopolitical frame expands our viewpoint to include the impact of media and discourse, political and economic factors as well as geopolitical power asymmetries.

All intercultural encounters—whether in an interpersonal context where, for example, a Chinese student and a European-American student become friends in a university classroom, an inter-group context where two ethnic groups live together in a neighborhood or on an international/global context where two nation-states engage in conflict—have micro, meso and macro-frame components. Additionally, the frames are interactive, each affecting the other. Thus, intercultural competence requires multi-focal attention that recognizes the impact of macro-level, geopolitical dynamics on face-to-face interpersonal interactions; the effect

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of cultural histories and identities on interpersonal and macro-level geopolitical engagement; and the role of micro-level components such as communication and conflict styles have on both inter-group relations and geopolitical negotiations. An ability to connect the local with the global and shift among micro, meso and macro frames is critical for intercultural competence in the 21st century.

Social Justice

The challenges facing us in the 21st century are tremendous. Neoliberal economic and political polices have re-constituted colonial and imperial relations of power. Inequities in and across countries and cultures have magnified. Inter-ethnic and inter-racial tensions and conflicts have escalated. Poverty and hunger have increased with devastating impact on human health. The environmental health of our planet is in peril. These are real challenges affecting each of us to varying degrees in observable and hidden ways. Possibilities, in the context of globalization, also abound. Potential for democratization and the spread of human rights is at hand. Knowledge to address and ensure the basic human needs of food, shelter, health, education and cultural maintenance for all seven billion people is obtainable. Consciousness of a world where benefits are shared broadly rather than funneled for the advantage of an elite few is rising. Networks to build coalitions that resist injustice and establish new terms of engagement are available (George, 2004). Many opportunities to take socially responsible action in collaboration with others are available.

In her book *Another World is Possible If …*, scholar and activist Susan George (2004) asserts:

> My answer is that another world is indeed possible—but only when the greatest possible number of people with many backgrounds, viewpoints and skills join together to make it happen. Things change when enough people insist on it and work for it. No one should be left out and feel they can not contribute. No one who wants to help build another world should, for lack of knowledge or connections, remain on the sideline. (pp. xii-xiii)

The field of communication studies broadly and intercultural communication in particular are positioned well to provide processes and practices that engage multiple and diverse voices, build alliances and solidarity across various and shifting positionalities and imagine a world where equity and justice are the norm not the exception (Allen et al., 2002; Broome et al., 2005; Collier et al., 2001; Swartz, 2008). As we confront the challenges and mobilize the potential of the context of globalization,

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we need to re-conceptualize intercultural competence as a site of intervention, democratic participation and transformation.

Intercultural competence is commonly conceptualized as a set of affective, behavioral and cognitive skills and characteristics for “effective,” “successful” and “appropriate” interaction across cultural contexts. While informing and useful, a number of critical questions arise. What end or ends does our effectiveness serve? How do we define successful? What larger purpose does our intercultural competence serve? In re-theorizing intercultural competence for the 21st century, we need to couple the development of skills, knowledge and behaviors with proactive engagement and collective action for social justice. “As a critical practice, pedagogy’s role lies not only in changing how people think about themselves and their relationship to others and the world, but in energizing students and others to engage in those struggles that further possibilities for living in a more just society” (Giroux, 2004, pp. 63-64). Intercultural praxis (Sorrells & Nakagawa, 2008; Sorrells, 2013) provides a blueprint for integrating the four areas of focus discussed in this chapter in our scholarly, activist and everyday lives as we re-think intercultural competence in the context of globalization.

Intercultural Praxis: Transforming Intercultural Competence for the 21st Century

Intercultural praxis is a process of critical, reflective, engaged thinking and acting that enables us to navigate the complex, contradictory, and challenging intercultural spaces we inhabit interpersonally, communally, and globally. Intercultural praxis operates as informed and engaged communicative action, suffused with an understanding of the positionality and standpoint of the communicators, whose resources include intercultural knowledge, insight, and wisdom that opens onto a rich and diverse ensemble of interactional choices. Intercultural praxis is exercised within specific and concrete temporal and spatial contexts that engender necessarily historical and sociopolitical, as well as local and global conditions. At all moments in our day—when we develop intercultural relationships and build alliances with friends, co-workers, and strangers, when we engage in intercultural business negotiations or international academic partnerships and when we make choices about what we consume from food to popular culture and from news to social media—we have the opportunity to engage in intercultural praxis. Intercultural praxis accounts for linkages between the present and past, the local and global, relationships among multiple interactional levels and grounds intercultural

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Figure 7-1.

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competence in social justice. Intercultural praxis historicized, contextualizes and politicizes existing notions of intercultural competence transforming it for the 21st century.

The six inter-related points of entry into intercultural praxis are: Inquiry, Framing, Positioning, Dialogue, Reflection, and Action. The purpose of engaging in intercultural praxis is to raise our awareness, increase our critical analysis, and develop our socially responsible action in regard to our intercultural interactions in the context of globalization. These six points or ports of entry into the process direct us toward ways of thinking, reflecting, and acting in relation to our intercultural experiences, allowing us to attend to the complex, relational, interconnected and often ambiguous nature of our intercultural experiences.

Inquiry

Inquiry, as a port of entry for intercultural praxis, means a desire and willingness to know, to ask, to find out and to learn. Philosophically speaking, inquiry is situated in what a number of Continental thinkers have characterized as an "interrogative" mode of being in the world (Gadamer, 1989; Heidegger, 1962; Merleau-Ponty, 1962, 1968). The interrogative mode both opposes and complements the received western tradition of advancing statements or assertions as truth claims. Accordingly, the assertion or statement is regarded as the primary unit of knowledge, taking precedence over the question, which opens hidden meaning and action possibilities through the process of inquiry or interrogation. In a more pragmatic sense, inquiry about those who are different from ourselves leads us to engagement with others.

Operationalized within intercultural praxis, inquiry means that we ask and listen not simply for what we expect to reinforce our preconceived ideas, worldviews and perspectives; rather, we recognize that we deeply need the perspectives and points of view of others to complete or complement our own. When a person from a dominant group engages in a conversation with someone from a non-dominant group—for example, a European American and an African American, a Han Chinese and a member of an ethnic minority group or a French and an Algerian French person—the goal when engaging in curious inquiry is to understand the point of view and experience of the other even if or especially if it challenges one's own worldview. Instead of being offended, put off or reacting to another's perspective as "weird, strange, or unfriendly," take the opportunity to learn more about the person's experience and positionality who is different from oneself. Inquiry requires that we are

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willing to take risks. By taking risks, we are receptive to having our perceptions and our taken-for-granted presence in the world challenged and changed. Inquiry, curiosity, a willingness to suspend judgment and a desire to learn from others can be tremendously rewarding and informing; it can also be extremely challenging. Culture is viewed not only as shared meaning, which privileges dominant meanings, but also as a site of negotiated meaning. Additionally, the intercultural conversations identified above are inevitably situated in the context of historical and current inequitable relations of power. Inquiry, then, as conceptualized through intercultural praxis, requires attention to our positionality and relationships of power.

In the context of scholarly inquiry, the orientation of receptivity to, and questioning of, differences in the fieldwork of contemporary critical ethnographers captures the kind of reflective inquiry necessary for the exercise of intercultural praxis. In contradistinction to the earliest quasi-ethnographers, missionaries and other emissaries of imperial powers bent on colonizing the "primitive" Other, the ethnographic approaches of Rosaldo (1993), Inda and Rosaldo (2002) and Burawoy *et al.* (2000) perhaps exemplify best this interrogative dimension of intercultural praxis. Developing research, curriculum and pedagogical practices as spaces of inquiry and interrogation, scholars may ask whose perspectives are presented and validated. What ideologies are reinforces? Are multiple readings—dominant, negotiated and counter hegemonic readings—of culture as "text" identified, discussed and validated?

Framing

The word "framing" suggests a range of different perspective taking options that we can learn to make available to ourselves and to be aware of in intercultural praxis. First, the concept and action of *framing* (Goffman, 1974; Lakoff, 2004) connotes that our perspectives, our views on ourselves, others, and the world around us are always and inevitably both constrained and enabled by frames. We see things through individual, cultural, national, and regional frames or lens that include some things and exclude others. This process of "highlighting" and "hiding" not only impacts our everyday perceptions of the world, but our frames also represent and advance certain dominant or oppositional interests. Hence, frames serve political ends, as well as sense-making functions. As we engage in intercultural praxis, we need to become aware of the frames of reference from which we view and experience the world.

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Second, at times narrowing the frame and focus on the particular, situated aspects of an interaction, event, or exchange is important. Take, for example, a conflict between two people from different cultures. We need to look at the micro level differences in communication styles, how nonverbal communication may be used differently, the ways in which the two people may perceive their identities differently based on cultural belonging, and the ways in which the two may have learned to enact conflict differently based on their respective enculturation. However, in order to understand fully the particular intercultural interaction or misunderstanding, we also need to back up to view the incident, event, or interaction from a broader frame. As we extend the frame, we may see a history of conflict and misunderstanding between the two groups that the individuals represent; we may observe historical and/or current patterns of inequities between the two groups; we may also be able to map out broader geo-political, global relations of power that can shed light on the particular and situated intercultural interaction, misunderstanding, or conflict. As we foreground the micro level of intercultural communication, the wider background frame must be kept in mind as the context in which meanings about the particular situation are constructed. Similarly, as we examine the larger macro level dimensions, we need to keep in mind the particular, local, and situated lived experience of people in their everyday lives. "Framing" as a port of entry into intercultural praxis entails awareness of multiple, sometimes conflicting or contradictory frames of reference. The capacity to flexibly and consciously shift perspectives from the particular, situated dimensions of intercultural communication to the broader, global dimensions and from the global dimensions to the particular while maintaining awareness of and attention to both sets of frames is an important aspect of framing. As scholars, teachers and practitioners, framing, invites us to contextualize and historicize intercultural encounters as well as knowledge construction across dimensions of time and space.

Positioning

As a point of entry into intercultural praxis, *positioning* invites us to consider how our geographic and spatial positioning is related to historical, social, and political positions. The idea of positionality is closely related to *perspectivity* or one's "standpoint" (Collins, 1998; Harding, 1991; Hartsock, 1998) as proposed by feminist theorists. A *standpoint* is a place from which to view and make sense of the world around us. Our standpoint influences what we see and what we cannot, do

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not, or choose not to see. Feminist standpoint theory claims that the social groups to which we belong shape what we know and how we communicate (Wood, 2005). The theory is derived from the Marxist position that economically oppressed classes can access knowledge unavailable to the socially privileged and generate distinctive accounts, particularly knowledge of, and accounts about, social relations.

The world is stratified by socially constructed hierarchical categories based on culture, race, class, gender, nationality, religion, age, and physical abilities among others. Like the lines of longitude and latitude that divide, map, and position us geographically on the earth, these hierarchical categories position us socially, politically, and materially in relation to each other and in relation to structures and configurations of power. Understanding how and where we are positioned in the world—the locations from which we speak, listen, act, think, and make sense of the world—allows us to acknowledge that we are, as human beings, positioned differently with both material and symbolic consequences. Positionality may shift and change based on one's location and one's interactional partner. For example, one's positionality could vary over the course of a day, from occupying a relatively powerful position at home as the oldest son in a family to having to occupy a less powerful position in a part-time job as a personal assistant. Sometimes the shift may be even more drastic, as in the case of someone who is a doctor and part of a dominant group in her home culture, who then shifts class and power positions when she is forced for political reasons to migrate to a new country. She may find herself not only part of a minority group, but also positioned very differently when her medical degree is not recognized, forcing her into more manual work and part-time student positionalities.

Positioning, as a way to enter into intercultural praxis, also directs us to interrogate who can speak and who is silenced; whose language is spoken and whose language is trivialized or denied; whose actions have the power to shape and impact others and whose actions are dismissed, unreported, and marginalized. Attention to positioning demands that we question whose knowledge is privileged, authorized, and agreed upon as "true" and whose knowledge is deemed unworthy, "primitive," unnecessary, and "false." Positioning ourselves, others, and our knowledge of both self and other allows us—as everyday actors, community members/activists, or communication scholars—to see the relationship between power and what we regard as "knowledge." We must also question what purposes our knowledge production serves and who benefits from it. Our knowledge of the world—whether knowledge of meridians of longitude and latitude or

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hierarchical categories of race, class, and gender—is socially and historically constructed and produced in relation to power.

Dialogue

Dialogue has long occupied a normative place in Western philosophy, theology, and communication studies (Arnett, 1986, 1999; Buber, 1958; Rorty, 1979). Dialogue has been conceptualized in multiple ways: as a counterpoint to individualistic, solipsistic, or even narcissistic forms of "monologue;" as the historical "conversation" between civilizations, cultures, and/or nation-states; as the engagement of self and other, I-and-Thou, in the realm of intersubjectivity, which is achieved only in specific conditions of interaction; and as the praxis by and within which the encounter with the other illuminates our own most fundamental prejudices and claims to truth. The word "dialogue" is derived from the Greek word "*dialogos*" "*Dia*" means "through," "between," or "across" and "*logos*" refers to "word" or "the meaning of the word" as well as "speech" or "thought." As physicist and philosopher, David Bohm (1996) explains: [T]he picture or the image that this derivation suggests is of a *stream of meaning* among and through us and between us. This will make possible a flow of meaning in the whole group, out of which may emerge a new understanding. It's something new, which may not have been in the starting point at all. It's something creative (p. 6).

Anthropologist Vincent Crapanzano (1990) suggests that "dialogue" necessarily entails both an oppositional as well as a transformative dimension. Given the differences in power and positionality in intercultural interactions, engagement in dialogue is necessarily a relationship of tension that "is conceived as a crossing, a reaching across, a sharing if not a common ground of understanding" (p. 277). Intercultural dialogue from initial encounters to the development of intercultural friendships to resolving intercultural conflicts requires an ability to deal with ambiguity. Dialogue offers a critical point of entry into intercultural praxis. Cognizant of differences and the tensions that emerge from these differences, the process of dialogue invites us to stretch ourselves—to reach across and to exceed our grasp—to imagine, experience, and engage creatively with points of view, ways of thinking, being and doing, and beliefs different from our own while accepting that we may not fully understand or may not come to a common agreement or position. For example, Sorrells (2003) introduced dialogue groups facilitated by university students in intercultural communication courses to address escalating racial and ethnic tension in a Los Angeles, California, high

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school in a project called *Communicating Common Ground*. Focusing on topics such as stereotyping, peer pressure, culture histories and identities, conflict transformation and empowerment, the dialogue groups provided a space for “a stream of meaning to pass through and among” participants. While the high school students gained useful knowledge and skills about each topic area, the most valuable outcome was “the stretching across” differences that allowed for creative and new understandings of self and other.

Cultural differences as well as differences in power and positionality in intercultural interactions require us to imagine, experience and engage creatively with points of view, ways of thinking, being and doing, and beliefs different from our own while accepting that we may not fully understand or may not come to a common agreement or position. Structured dialogue among individuals from diverse cultures and positionalities can facilitate intercultural alliances as perspective-taking, personal agency and responsibility develop among people (DeTurk, 2006).

Reflection

While cultures around the world differ in the degree to which they value reflection and the ways in which they practice reflection, the capacity to learn from introspection, to observe oneself in relation to others and to alter one’s perspectives and actions based on reflection, is a capacity shared by all humans. Many cultures, including the dominant cultures of the US, place a high value on doing activities and accomplishing tasks, which often leaves little space and time for reflection. However, reflection is a key feature of intercultural praxis. Consider how reflection is central to the other points of entry into intercultural already addressed. To engage in curious inquiry, one must be able to reflect on oneself as a subject—a thinking, learning, creative, and capable subject. The practices of framing and positioning require that one consciously observe oneself and analyze critically one’s relationships and inter-relationships with others. Similarly, reflection is necessary to initiate, maintain, and sustain dialogue across the new and often difficult terrain of intercultural praxis. The late Brazilian educator and activist Paulo Freire (1998) notes in his book, *Pedagogy of Freedom*, that critical praxis “involves a dynamic and dialectic movement between ‘doing’ and ‘reflecting on doing’” (p. 43). Reflection is what informs our actions. Reflection that incorporates critical analyses of intercultural issues on micro and macro levels, that considers multiple cultural frames of

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reference, and that recognizes our own and others' positioning, enables us to act in the world in meaningful, effective, and socially responsible ways.

As Freire observes, reflection can itself serve a political function. Reflection can intervene in uninformed actions that may otherwise be normalized as "the way things are" and "the way things must be." By disengaging from the taken-for-granted and the non-reflexive flow of everyday actions, knowledge systems, and value commitments, reflection allows one to re-position and re-frame what may well be oppressive conditions or relations of power.

When high school students in the initial sessions of the *Communicating Common Ground* project mentioned above were asked why there was ongoing conflict between Armenians and Latinos at the school, their response was "It's just the way it is. It's always been like that and it won't change." Yet, by the end of the semester of dialogue groups, which were sometimes fraught with tension and verbal conflict, students were reflecting critically on the historical as well as everyday causes of their conflicts and questioning who benefited from the perpetuation of the conflict. From this reflective positive, they were much better prepared for critical, creative and responsible action.

Action

Influenced by the work of Paulo Freire (2000), the concept of intercultural praxis refers to an on-going process of thinking, reflecting, and acting. Intercultural praxis is not only about deepening our understanding regarding ourselves, others, and the world in which we live. Rather, intercultural praxis means we join our knowledge, attitudes and skills into responsible and liberatory action to make a difference in the world—to create a more socially just, equitable and peaceful world. Each of us takes multiple and varied actions—individually and collectively—that have intercultural communication dimensions and implications every day of our lives. We take action when we decide to pursue an education, develop our curricula, and when we pursue research. Our actions in an educational context are influenced by cultural, gendered, national and class-based assumptions, biases, or constraints. We take action when we go to work, when we speak out or do not about inequity, discrimination, and misuses of power. Watching or reading the news is an action that affords opportunities to understand how cultural and national interests shape, limit, and bias the news we receive. Our consumption of products, food, and entertainment are all actions. When we know who has labored to make the goods we consume and under what conditions, we confront

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ourselves and others with the choices we make through our actions. We take action when we decide with whom we want to develop friendships and long-term relationships and when we choose not to be involved. When we feel strongly enough about an issue, we are moved to organize and take collective action. What informs ours choices and actions? What are the implications of our actions? Everyday actions informed by inquiry, framing, positioning, dialogue and reflection engage us in intercultural praxis that can be the catalyst for social justice and global transformation.

Conclusion

Our global interdependences coupled with the inequitable distribution and access to resources present current and future generations an imperative to envision new relationships of engagement and innovative strategies for sustainability for the 21st century. In this chapter, I focused particular attention on the context of globalization to reveal the distinctly complex and inequitable conditions in which intercultural communication occurs today. Transforming the notion of intercultural competence for the 21st century, I explicated intercultural praxis—a process of critical, reflective thinking and acting that enables us to navigate the complex, contradictory, and challenging intercultural spaces we inhabit as individuals, community members and global citizen.

Intercultural praxis, incorporating the re-theorization of four foundational areas, transforms intercultural competence for the 21st century. First, "culture" was re-defined as a site of contestation where meaning-making is a struggle and not a static entity that remains fixed and stable. Understanding culture as "contested meanings," along with more traditional notions of culture as "shared meanings," allows us to question the ways that dominant perspectives, values and practices are privileged. The points of entry of inquiry, dialogue and reflection particularly illustrate how viewing culture as a site of contested meaning enables alternative, non-dominant and competing postitionalities, and voices to be valued and heard through. Secondly, intercultural praxis attends to the ways history and relations of power are interwoven in intercultural encounters in the context of globalization. Third, multifocal vision and the multi-frame analysis, operationalized through "framing" in intercultural praxis, connect the present with the past, the local and global as well as highlight the inter-relationship between mico, meso and macro frames of analysis. Finally, intercultural praxis, from "inquiry" to "action," answers the call to ground the study and practice of intercultural communication in critical engagement and social justice. Transforming intercultural competence

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through engaged praxis, we can build relationships, imagine possibilities and develop intercultural alliances to create a more equitable and socially just world.

Notes

1. This chapter draws from and extends several previously published works including my book *Intercultural Communication: Globalization and Social Justice* (Sorrells, 2013, Sage) and a book chapter entitled "Re-imagining Intercultural Communication in the Context of Globalization" (Sorrells) in *The Handbook of Critical Intercultural Communication* (2010, edited by Nakayama & Halualani, Wiley-Blackwell).

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PART TWO:

THE DEVELOPMENT OF INTERCULTURAL COMMUNICATION COMPETENCE IN CULTURAL CONTEXTS AND INTERACTIONS

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CHAPTER EIGHT

INTERCULTURAL COMPETENCE IN ASIAN CONTEXTS: TOWARD INTEGRATING ASIACENTRICITY AND INTERCULTURAL CITIZENSHIP

MARK SAWYER

Introduction

The goal of this chapter is to make one step of progress toward determining if and how *education for intercultural citizenship* (hereafter EIC) should be pursued in Asia, specifically Japan. Figure 8-1 shows how my starting hypothesis for intercultural citizenship fits into a more comprehensive hierarchy of worthwhile relevant teaching goals.

In Figure 8-1, the teaching goals up to *intercultural communication competence* have been increasingly discussed in the foreign language teaching literature, with some foreign language teachers, programs, and institutions following close behind in practice, while many other practitioners still focus on levels lower on the hierarchy. With the effects of rapid globalization being more widely and vividly felt, however, concern about how to prepare young people to flourish in the world that is to come has compelled thought of even higher level intercultural teaching goals, ones that get further and further away from the traditional purview of foreign language teachers, but which get closer to the purview of teachers in other curriculum areas, most notably citizenship education. Concurrently, the latter group is becoming more conscious of the need to include multiculturalism and interculturality in an effective citizenship education curriculum. EIC is thus an area that both foreign language teachers and many others are starting to see the importance of, but is still relatively unexplored in terms of suggestions for how individual teachers and courses can meaningfully contribute to it, and how serious pitfalls can

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be avoided. This chapter will focus on the latter more than the former, based on my own questions about the appropriateness of pursuing in Asia, specifically Japan, teaching goals and methodologies that have been developed primarily in the European context. The next section will elaborate on those goals and methodologies.

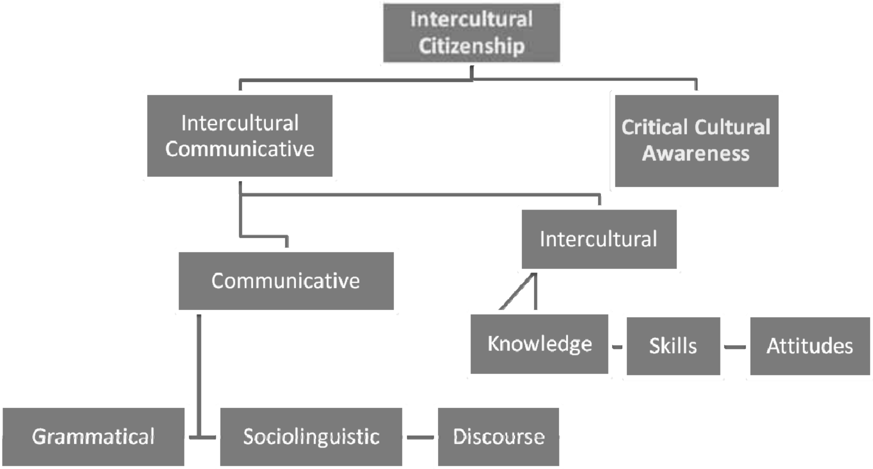

Figure 8-1. A proposed hierarchy of worthwhile teaching goals

Being Intercultural: Six Axioms (Alred, Byram, & Fleming, 2006)

Although proposals for conceptualizing intercultural competence and intercultural communication competence have increased dramatically in the last decade (see e.g., Deardorff, 2009), the work of Michael Byram and colleagues at the University of Durham stands out as the most deeply and broadly developed (Alred, Byram, & Fleming, 2003; Alred et al., 2006; Byram, 1997, 2002, 2008; Byram & Feng, 2005; Byram & Fleming, 1998; Byram & Grundy, 2003; Byram, Nichols, & Stevens, 2001; Byram & Risager, 1999; Feng, Byram, & Fleming, 2009). Much of their work in the 1990s and early 2000s revolved around specifying, elaborating, and fostering the knowledge, skills, and attitudes needed for successful intercultural communication in terms of five *savoirs*:

(1) Knowledge (savoir)

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(2) Skills of interpreting/relating (savoir comprendre)
(3) Skills of discovery/interaction (savoir apprendre/faire)
(4) Attitudes of curiosity/openness (savoir être)
(5) Critical cultural awareness (savoir s'engager)

In Alred et al.'s (2006) discussion of intercultural communication competence, framed in terms of *being intercultural*, or *interculturality*, their thinking has evolved from competence as a set of knowledge, skills, and attitudes to an emphasis on action, i.e., putting knowledge, skills, and attitudes to use. In the Appendix to the volume, they specify the conditions for interculturality in the form of six axioms, as paraphrased below.

(1) Intercultural experience takes place when people from different social groups with different cultures (values, etc.) meet.
(2) Being intercultural involves analysis and reflection about intercultural experience, and acting upon that reflection.
(3) Intercultural citizenship experience takes place when people of different social groups engage in social/political activity.
(4) Intercultural democratic experience takes place as in (3) with democratic activity—not avoiding values and judgments.
(5) Intercultural citizenship education involves facilitating (3) above and reflecting upon it and possible future activity.
(6) Intercultural citizenship education involves creating learning/change in the individual and in relations with Others.

What is important for the present purpose is that Axioms 4-6 imply that intercultural citizenship and education for it are integral parts of interculturality, although in other places in the various earlier works of the three co-authors the three concepts were treated more distinctly. In any case, intercultural citizenship and EIC are both broader, with more entailments, and less familiar than interculturality, so there is a need to focus on them separately here.

Characteristics of Education for Intercultural Citizenship (EIC)

In the second half of the Appendix to Alred et al. (2006), the authors specify six characteristics of EIC, as paraphrased below.

(1) A comparative orientation in learning activities with critical perspective that questions assumptions.

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(2) Consciously working with others through comparison and communication leading to multiple identities.
(3) Creating a community of action and communication including people with different values without expecting harmony.
(4) Awareness of identities and opening options for social identities additional to the national and regional.
(5) Paying equal attention to knowledge, attitudes, and skills.
(6) Commitment to values, and awareness that values conflict, but commitment also to finding cooperation.

The most salient characteristics of EIC as Alred et al. (2006) see it are thus cultural comparison, criticality, identity accretion, community formation, expectation of harmony breach, and commitment to both values and cooperation. If found attractive to foreign language teachers or teachers of other potentially relevant subjects, these characteristics are clear enough to use as specifications in creating new curriculum and evaluating and revising curriculum that already exists. In fact, many of the later chapters in Alred et al. (2006) do just that, for a variety of national contexts. The chapter of most present interest is the one on Japan by Lynne Parmenter (2006b).

The EIC Status Quo in Japan

Parmenter's (2006b) two basic arguments about the promise of EIC for Japan are that (1) EIC characteristics already exist in citizenship education in Japan, but do not apply to levels beyond the nation; and (2) the possibility of supra-national identities is not accepted in Japanese education policy and curriculum. Japanese education features a variety of apparently successful efforts to nurture good Japanese citizens, but with a strong national focus on identity, duties, and other concerns. Parmenter documents her two arguments with a characterization of six areas of Japanese education, as listed below, where citizenship is nurtured.

(1) Social studies
(2) Language education
(3) Moral education and special activities
(4) School life and experience
(5) Integrated studies
(6) (Education for minority children)

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Parmenter elaborates on how each of these forms of citizenship education has the potential to be broadened into a site for intercultural citizenship, but currently is not. The parentheses around number six (education for minority children) are needed because, even in the face of the continuing rapid increase of non-Japanese children in the Japanese educational system, efforts to promote good citizenship still assume a homogeneous Japanese population. Thus, despite the intrinsic multiculturality of the children of non-Japanese residents, their multicultural identities are not recognized or encouraged. Rather, assimilation is the implicit goal.

Looking at Japanese education as a whole in relation to the six characteristics of EIC, Parmenter (2006b) identifies the particular ways that it falls short of its potential. In relation to the first characteristic of a comparative orientation critically questioning assumptions, she points out how the strict textbook authorization system, high-stakes multiple choice tests with one correct answer, and the implicit authority of the teacher and textbook all discourage consideration of alternative points of view. The second EIC characteristic of consciously working with others toward forming multiple identities is lacking in that identity "as a Japanese" is reinforced in many ways. The third EIC characteristic of creating diverse communities without expecting harmony is limited by a strong emphasis on harmony, and exclusion of those who disrupt it. The fourth characteristic, involving opening options for identities beyond the national, is unequivocally discouraged, again through the reinforcement of identity "as a Japanese." Parmenter concedes that the fifth characteristic, equal attention to knowledge, skills, and attitudes, is present in various forms of Japanese citizenship education, but that the successfully promoted nationalist attitudes are likely to work against rather than for intercultural citizenship. Finally, Japanese education embodies well the characteristic of equal commitment to values and cooperation, but avoids of dealing with values in conflict. Parmenter concludes by stating optimistically that it would be relatively easy to transfer all the strong qualities of Japanese citizenship education to the intercultural sphere, but with the important first step of removing the assumption of homogeneity from Japanese government policy. Presumably, by giving up this assumption, the focus on identity "as a Japanese" would also be recognized as counterproductive.

Is EIC Appropriate for Asia?

Indeed, given the solid foundation of Japanese citizenship education, the frequent public acknowledgement by educational authorities, government officials, and the media of Japan's weaknesses in intercultural

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communication, and Japan's longstanding tense relations with its nearest neighbors, the time would seem ripe for introducing measures of EIC. However, there are also reasons to scrutinize more deeply EIC's promise in Japan, as well as in other Asian nations. One of them is the troubling fact that the dominant strands of scholarship on intercultural communication and competence have until now been strongly associated with the United States, and the concept of intercultural citizenship, and education for it, have been strongly associated with Europe. It is natural to wonder if what American and European scholars identify as intercultural competence applies equally in disparate cultures, if intercultural citizenship should be conceived globally the same way as in Europe, and if the proposed characteristics of EIC would be equally appropriate in diverse educational systems. One approach to examining these questions is to dig deeper to the roots of communication that provide the foundations and many assumptions for communicative competence and by extension intercultural communicative competence. In relation to these foundations and assumptions, Asante (1980, 1991, 1998, 2006, 2008, 2010) has done important work for showing the inadequacy of American and European communication scholarship in the context of African communication, and has developed an Afrocentric meta-theory of communication. Informed and inspired by Asante's groundbreaking work, Miike (2002) proposed an Asiacentric metatheory of communication to apply to Asian communication. He has been developing the idea ever since (Chen & Miike, 2006; Miike, 2006, 2007a, 2007b, 2008a, 2008b, 2009a, 2009b, 2010a, 2010b, 2011, 2012a, 2012b). Quite recently, Miike (2012a) has pithily summed up Asiacentricity as follows:

> "Asiacentricity is the idea of centering, not marginalizing, Asian languages, religions/philosophies, and histories in theory-making and story-telling about Asian communicative life." (p. 1)

Miike's statement makes clear that the Asiacentric project is fundamentally one to end the marginalization of Asian communication scholarship. Although Miike goes to pains to acknowledge that western communication scholarship is not wrong or valueless, he does level substantial criticisms about its biases, especially since it often purports to or is assumed to apply universally to communication.

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Asiacentric Communicative Assumptions

In Miike's (2002) original formulation, he offers three assumptions that underlie Asian communication. These are listed below.

(1) Communication takes place in contexts of multiple relationships across space and time.
(2) The communicator is both active and passive in a variety of contexts.
(3) Mutual adaptation is of central importance in harmonious communication.

Although I know of no western communication scholarship that explicitly denies any of these assumptions, it does ring true that these assumptions are rarely acknowledged. Rather, the emphases of western scholarship on communication tend toward immediate dyadic communication for achieving transactional goals, on the speaker and speaking rather than the listener and listening (or communicating through silence), and on the achievement of the speaker's individual communicative goals. Since assumptions are by nature most often left implicit, it is difficult for scholars, and even more for the teachers and communicators who apply their work, to recognize the possible bias and inadequacy of their assumptions.

Eurocentric Communication Theory

Fortifying his argument for the need for non-Eurocentric communication theories, Miike (2007a) has identified five specific biases of Eurocentric communication theory. These are listed below:

(1) Individuality and independence bias
(2) Ego-centeredness and self-enhancement bias
(3) Reason and rationality bias
(4) Rights and freedom bias
(5) Pragmatism and materialism bias

Miike contrasts these biases with characteristics that underlie Asian communication—interdependence, self-reflection and other-orientation, acknowledgement of the importance of affect, recognition of duties and responsibilities, and morality and spirituality—and he elaborates on the philosophical and religious foundations the Asian communication

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characteristics. Although Miike accepts the possibility that the Eurocentric biases may accurately reflect values underlying European communication, he finds problematic the tendency for these biases to be unwittingly or intentionally applied universally to the communication of other cultures with other values. He also suggests that Eurocentric communication theory would be enriched by listening to the hitherto unheard voices of communication scholars working with the resources of their own cultures.

Asiacentric Communication Theory

Based on the contrasting priorities suggested above, Miike (2007a, 2010, 2012) then elaborates on the nature of Asian communication, proposing that it is a process in which we:

(1) remind ourselves of the interdependence and interrelatedness of the universe.
(2) reduce our selfishness and egocentrism.
(3) feel the joy and suffering of all sentient beings.
(4) receive and return our debts to all sentient beings.
(5) moralize and harmonize the universe.

The inverse parallelism of Miike's five propositions with the five Eurocentric biases is striking. Although Miike's arguments are based on traditional Asian wisdom about communication rather than actual observed communication behavior, his goal is to stimulate theorizing and research assessing the actual and the potential (transformative) roles of these propositions in Asian communication.

Characteristics of EIC Revisited

Based on the plausibility of Miike's arguments about the failure of the dominant Eurocentric communication theory to characterize Asian communication, it is worth pondering whether or not EIC, an educational proposal designed in Europe by Europeans at least initially to help European groups cooperate, and based on European ideas of intercultural communication, is suitable for application in Asian contexts. Examining the six basic characteristics of EIC in light of Miike's (e.g., 2002, 2007a, and 2012a) arguments should be instructive for assessing that suitability.

Regarding the first EIC characteristic (a comparative (juxtaposition) orientation in learning activities with critical perspective that questions assumptions), Miike himself suggests that Asians should look critically at

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their own cultures and traditions, and acknowledges the diversity existing in those traditions, which could be best examined though a comparative orientation. Focusing on the first element of the EIC characteristic—comparative orientation—Miike (2010b) criticizes the Eurocentric tendency to unwittingly naturalize US European values and communication styles and then contrast them simplistically with those of dissimilar Others, notably East Asians. His ameliorative suggestions for Asiacentric researchers include exploring the diversity and complexity within non-Western areas, identifying interconnections of values and identity among neighboring non-Western cultures, and projecting non-Western visions of a global village. These suggestions are all very much in the spirit of EIC. Some of the particular non-Western cultural comparisons that Miike suggests are continent-diaspora, within-region, cross-region, diachronic, and co-cultural. Although Byram and colleagues make no such specifications with EIC, since their concern is with intercultural groups working together wherever they find themselves, several Miike's specifications dovetail nicely with EIC because they suggest groups that are likely to need to work together, e.g., the within-region Korean, Chinese, and Japanese cultures, the continent-diaspora mainland Japanese and Latin American Japanese cultures, and the co-cultures of Okinawan and Yamato Japanese.

Focusing on the first EIC characteristic's second element—critical perspective—Miike (2010, p. 209) positions Asiacentricity as being consistent with the agenda of critical interculturalists to reconceptualize the nature and complexity of culture in terms of issues of identity, power, privilege, and structural forces, with an aim of achieving more equal and mutual social relations. However, he importantly adds two important considerations for Asiacentric critical theory: (1) it needs to be critical, not imitative, in relation to the existing Eurocentric approaches to critical cultural theory; and (2) it needs to capture Asian particularities, notably by having a firm foundation in the linguistic, religious-philosophical, and historical content dimensions of Asiacentricity.

Regarding the second characteristic of EIC (becoming conscious of working with Others through comparison and communication leading to multiple identities), Asiacentricity centrally involves a call for Asian communication scholars to develop an Asiacentric identity in addition to their national identities, and it is reasonable to infer that he would advocate the same practice for the wider population of Asian communicators in general. Moreover, Miike's above-mentioned (2010) advocacy of becoming conscious of interconnections of values and identity among neighboring non-Western cultures matches this characteristic well, as does his recognition of the commonalities of African

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and Asian scholars intrinsic to his adaptation of Afrocentricity to the Asian context.

Regarding the third EIC characteristic, (creating a community of action and communication including people with different values without expecting harmony), there is at first glance a potential problem for EIC in that harmony is a cornerstone of the Asiacentric paradigm. However, some of Miike's ideas suggest that Asiacentricity may provide the resources to reconcile EIC with Asian communication. First, Miike (2012b) emphasizes the importance of harmony at the intrapersonal and cosmological levels rather than interpersonal, and continues on to argue, following Chen (2006), that "harmony is the end rather than the means of communication" (p. 75). Later, Miike elaborates on his reading of Confucius' *Analects* as applied to intercultural communication, inferring that Confucius would characterize a global citizen as "a person who can fully recognize diversity as the basis for harmony and take the moral responsibility to make the best of it." This position puts Miike (and Confucius!) very close to Byram and colleagues. Moreover, in light of the current general shortfall of harmony among East Asian neighbors, there is much to be gained by perceiving and using temporary disharmony as a valuable, perhaps essential, stage in a process of seeking greater, longer term harmony through actively negotiating different values and interests.

Regarding the fourth EIC characteristic (awareness of identities and opening options for social identities additional to the national and regional), the Asiacentric project requires exactly that–for Asians to feel a common identity beyond their national borders. It is also very apparent in the actual sociopolitical relations among Asian neighbors–notably but not exclusively Japanese, Chinese, and Koreans–that such an awareness is sorely needed. Although Miike has positioned Asiacentricity as a particularist corrective to unwarrantedly universalist Eurocentric communication scholarship, it seems to fit equally well as an inclusivist corrective to overly exclusive nationalistic approaches that emphasize cultural differences and uniqueness.

Regarding the fifth characteristic (paying equal attention to knowledge, attitudes, and skills), Miike (2002, pp. 3-4) states explicitly as the first of three implications of his definition of Asiacentricity that "Asiacentric communication scholarship does not simply refer to a body of knowledge, either theoretical or empirical, about Asian cultural systems of communication." Asiacentricity exhorts scholars to go much deeper in developing awareness of the philosophical and religious traditions that underpin Asian communicators' values, attitudes, and behaviors, and it encourages transformation of those values, attitudes, and behaviors when

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needed. Skills have been mentioned much less than knowledge and attitudes in the Asiacentric agenda, but since it is essentially calling for a new form of practice, future Asiacentric scholarship can be expected to take up the skills required for successful Asiacentric communication and scholarship.

Regarding the sixth characteristic (commitment to values, and awareness that values conflict but commitment to finding cooperation), the Asiacentric paradigm has an equally strong focus on values and cooperation. In Chen and Miike (2006), Chen eloquently explains it thusly:

> It is here that I see the importance of dialogue between Eurocentric and Asiacentric paradigms (and Afrocentric paradigm, of course) in this globalizing society. The spirit of dialogue is embedded in the practice of tolerance, which leads to a state of active balance between the two parties. Only through dialogue can different centers dissolve the opposition to one another and possibly reach a state of cultural hybridization, while each individual cultural identity is still valued and sustained. This kind of dialogue is similar to the Taoist idea of "reality dialogue," which indicates that the polarization of the two parties is transformed into a state of creativity and harmony through mutuality. It is well reflected in the *I Ching's* discourse "The successive movements of *yin* and *yang* constitutes what is called the *Tao*." The continued interaction between the two polar forces on the basis of equality leads to creativity. (p. 7)

Chen's statement reframes into Asiacentric terms the core spirit of this EIC characteristic.

Tentative EIC Teaching Implications

The above analysis suggests that the particular characteristics emphasized for EIC by Byram and colleagues do not necessarily present any points of conflict with Miike's Asiacentric approach to Asian communication. In fact, areas of potential synergy are much more salient. Below are speculations on five ways in which these areas of synergy could be concretely applied in actual educational contexts in Asia, particularly Japan.

(1) Promote awareness of both commonalities and differences among (East) Asians, specifically focusing on history and traditions.
(2) Promote critical reflection on current beliefs about the Other.
(3) Promote the learning of Asian languages.

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(4) Promote awareness of and identification with Asian English.
(5) Promote exploration of the relationship between criticality and harmony connection.

Although Miike's proposals were developed to a large extent as a localized corrective to the universalist claims of Eurocentric notions of communication, the major challenge for Japan, and possibly other East Asian nations, is arguably less one of overcoming the assumption that western ideas apply universally than one of overcoming their assumptions of uniqueness, which hinder them from recognizing their commonalities with their Asian neighbors. Thus, the first teaching suggestion, the augmentation of curriculum toward thinking deeply about both the commonalities and differences, will lead students to become aware of their vast common background, and will very likely enhance their Asian identity in addition to their national one. The deep examination of traditions will also contribute to addressing the problem perceived by some Japanese observers that Japanese students do not know their own culture. The teaching of common East Asian history is more problematic, especially with regard to much of the twentieth century, but if education authorities allow the realistic approach of presenting different points of view, and if students are given the opportunity to look back earlier than the twentieth century for commonalities with their Asian neighbors, the current tensions would be much less emotional and opportunities for conciliation more salient. Taking even a longer view of Asian shared histories would tap into the pride that many people in East Asian nations have of their long histories, while developing an awareness how much of that history is shared history.

The second teaching suggestion calls for students to examine their current beliefs about their Asian neighbors, beliefs that in most cases have been formed independently of, and in some cases in contradiction to, their direct experience with people from other Asian nations. Government, educational authorities, and media in Japan have been unified in creating distance between Japanese and their neighbors by emphasizing difference, most often unfavorable difference. That psychological distance makes it difficult to form broader communities and sometimes even to approach basic communication smoothly. Then, when initial interactions are unpleasant, further interactions are avoided, and stereotypes are strengthened. In Japan, this tendency also perpetuates the phenomenon of "hidden minorities", Asians living in Japan who make strenuous efforts to assimilate in order to avoid being recognized as an "Other."

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The third teaching suggestion calls for Asian teachers and educational authorities to temper their narrow focus on learning English in favor of supporting increased efforts toward learning the languages of their nearest neighbors. To some extent, this suggestion is already being implemented in China and Korea with the learning of Japanese, but it is not yet being reciprocated on a large scale in Japan. Only a small minority of Japanese secondary students have an opportunity to study a foreign language other than English at their schools, and those who do are likely to be conflicted by the overwhelming value of English in high-stakes educational testing.

The fourth suggestion advocating awareness of and identification with Asian English is an Asiacentric variation of the global trend, often referred to as World Englishes or English as a Lingua Franca, toward recognition and valorization of user varieties, as opposed to an overvaluation of the English of dominant groups in nations where it is spoken natively. Although it would be very helpful for intercultural citizenship in Asia for Asians to learn each other's languages, the reality is that most inter-Asian communication will in the near future increasingly take place in English. That being the case, it is very useful for speakers to feel some degree of ownership of the language, even more useful to feel shared ownership of the English they use with their Asian communication partners. Such a reorientation would also contribute to undoing the pernicious effects of mental colonization that Miike (in Chen & Miike, 2006) describes thusly:

> What makes the status quo more complicated is that English-language learning helps this intellectual power structure remain unchanged. At least in the case of Japan, many communication courses are offered in the Department of English. English majors are, by and large, more fascinated with the lifestyles and worldviews of White people. In the world of eikaiwa (literally, English conversation) with White teachers, the racist ideology is often fostered (Lummis, 1977). While some realize that the colonization of mind is taking place in this structured landscape, many continue to familiarize themselves more with the West and less with the East in order to communicate better with "native speakers of English" (i.e., Whites in English-speaking countries). (p. 3)

Finally, the fifth suggestion proposes dealing with the relative roles of harmony and conflict, the area which, on the surface, Asiacentricity and EIC seem most difficult to reconcile. EIC accords much importance to maintaining one's own values while actively communicating and working together with others who are expected to maintain their different, often conflicting values. In such a situation, harmony is likely to be breached in the process of cooperatively finding common ground for a course of action. Asians, perhaps Japanese in particular, often prefer to avoid

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conflictual interaction in the name of harmony, and may refrain from participating. Of course, the thrust of this teaching suggestion is not simply to argue logically to Asian teachers and students, that despite appearances, conflict is actually the path to harmony, but rather to create opportunities for teachers and students to reflect on their thoughts, feelings, and behavioral patterns relating to the value of maintaining apparent interpersonal harmony as opposed to relinquishing it temporarily in the service of a possibly deeper, more lasting harmony.

Conclusion

In this chapter I have attempted to lay a piece of a foundation for promoting education for intercultural citizenship (EIC) in an Asian, specifically Japanese context, by assessing the appropriateness of importing a European-developed teaching proposal into a culturally removed local context. I applied the concept of Asiacentricity as a resource for detecting possible incompatibility of the teaching proposal with the context of application, but no substantial incompatibility was found. In fact, EIC and Asiacentricity appeared surprisingly complementary, and accordingly, I made some preliminary pedagogical suggestions to enhance the synergy of EIC and Asiacentricity, toward preparing Asian young people for a successfully intercultural future. Although the characteristics of EIC seem well designed for revealing and questioning any Eurocentric assumptions, it is also possible that the current analysis was not adequate to reach any firm conclusions. The Asiacentric paradigm is certainly worth considering when seriously discussing communication in Asia, but as a metatheory it is several levels removed from educational policy, and even farther from classroom practice. Moreover, Asiacentricity has not yet been subjected to wide academic scrutiny. Although a few scholars have favorably discussed or used the Asiacentric agenda (Chen, 2006; Gordon, 2007a, 2007b; Yin, 2009), and Miike has assiduously compiled and updated a bibliography of Asian communication research (Miike, 2009a, 2011; Miike & Chen, 2006), it is important for future studies to incorporate additional voices on Asian communication, including at minimum Dissanayake (1988), Kincaid (1987), and Kim (2002). Further consideration from educational viewpoints of the appropriateness and expected challenges of EIC in Asia is also required. Some promising relevant educational viewpoints specifically related to language education are those of Holliday (1994, 2005, 2011), Kubota (2002; Kubota & Lin, 2009), Kumaravadivelu (2008, 2012), Canagarajah (2013a, 2013b), and Pennycook (2010, 2012). Related to citizenship

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education in Asian contexts, some good entry points would be Kennedy (2004); Kennedy and Fairbrother (2004); Kymlicka and He (2005); Lee (2004a, 2004b); Lee, Grossman, Kennedy, and Fairbrother (2004); Parmenter (2004, 2006a); Parmenter, Lam, Seto, and Tomita (2000); Qi and Zhang (2008); Reed (2004); and Roh (2004). Finally, in addition to Parmenter's (2006b) examination of the promise and challenges of EIC for Japan, Alred et al. (2006) also features comparable examinations for Hong Kong (Leung & Lee, 2006), Singapore (Martin & Feng, 2006) and China (Feng, 2006). A lot of work clearly remains to be done, but intercultural citizenship will be one of the high priorities for humans to be able to live harmoniously in the future.

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CHAPTER NINE

COMPETENCE, INTERACTION AND ACTION: DEVELOPING INTERCULTURAL CITIZENSHIP EDUCATION IN THE LANGUAGE CLASSROOM AND BEYOND

MICHAEL BYRAM

Axioms in Foreign Language Education

Let us begin with the basics. Whether we are conscious of them or not, teachers have their axiomatic perspectives and standpoints with respect to the purposes of foreign language education. Those axioms should be worked out in a logical and rational fashion, and I hope I have done this myself in my publications (Byram, 1989, 1997, 2008). Here, I will just make some essential statements which explain the basis on which the rest of my text is founded.

If I begin with the purpose "communication," it is not necessarily because it is more important but because it is the one which has face validity, by which I mean it is the most evident for learners and other stakeholders: the parents of young learners, the politicians who make decisions about education, and people in the business world, among others. It is also the purpose which is most evident and with highest face validity for teachers, precisely because of the demands of society. However even this needs to be presented in a more nuanced way because I would argue that "communication" is a narrow view of the purposes of foreign language teaching because it is often understood as exchange of information. "Communication as dialogue" (Council of Europe, 2008) would be a more appropriate phrase to describe this aspect of language teaching, and I will want to add to that the notion that dialogue should lead to action in the world.

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The second axiom is that language teaching should be language education, that is it contributes to the humanistic purposes of all education, to develop and bring out the potential of the individual and in particular their potential to acquire a sense of criticality by which I mean the ability to analyse, to critique (which is not the same as to criticise), and to take action in the world (Byram, 2008).

Criticality Theory

This notion of criticality is crucial but not always properly understood. The quickest and most effective way to present it is to refer to the work of Barnett (1997) and his book *Higher education: A critical business*. Barnett argues that higher education—but I would also see this as relevant to secondary and, possibly, primary education—can be analysed as dealing with three domains: (a) propositions, ideas and theories, especially as they are proffered in the world of systemic knowledge, and familiar in the notion of university disciplines; (b) the domain of the internal world, that is oneself as a learner and the development of a form of critical thought that is demonstrated in critical self reflection; (c) the third domain is the external world where a form of critical thought is developed that is demonstrated in critical action. He then postulates four levels of development for each of these domains: the first level and lowest level is that of developing critical skills; the second level is to develop reflexivity in learners; at the third level learners begin to engage with what he calls the refashioning of traditions, that is of what is taken for granted in the three domains and needs to be reworked; the fourth level is that of transformatory critique, where knowledge, self and the world around us are changed as a consequence of the learners' learning and action.

This work was the basis for an interesting and important study of language teaching in universities which posed the question whether courses in modern foreign languages develop "criticality" (Johnston et al., 2011). The study was based on interviews with teachers, classroom observations, and analysis of student work. To give a brief example, the authors examined the lectures which students of foreign languages received in so-called "content courses." The example taken was from a course on French film and showed that lectures are not limited simply to providing an apparatus of facts and concepts, but introduce elements of criticality, problematising concepts such as national identity, highlighting the changing nature of theory, emphasising the historically and socially conditioned nature of response to literature and film, evaluating theoretical claims and points of view, and making comparisons and posing questions.

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In these formal lectures the practices of lecturers were to "show how," to model disciplinary critical reasoning.

	Domains		
Levels of criticality	*Knowledge*	*Self*	*World*
4. Transformatory critique	Knowledge critique	Reconstruction of self	Critique-in-action (collective reconstruction of world)
3. Refashioning of traditions	Critical thought (malleable traditions of thought)	Development of self within traditions	Mutual understanding and development of traditions
2. Reflexivity	Critical thinking (reflection on one's understanding)	Self-reflection (reflection on one's own projects)	Reflective practice ("metacompetence", "adaptability", "flexibility")
1. Critical skills	Discipline-specific critical thinking skills	Self-monitoring to given standards and norms	Problem-solving (means-end instrumentalism)
Forms of criticality	*Critical reason*	*Critical self-reflection*	*Critical action*

Figure 9-1. Domains of education and levels of criticality, based on (Barnett, 1997, p. 103)

Analysis of language courses and their potential for developing criticality also demonstrated that these were not narrow skill-based courses, but that learners engaged with the language and its use in critical ways and at many levels. They were encouraged to adopt a critical approach to language use in their own language and that of others, when comparing and contrasting, analysing different genres, registers, translations and so on. They were also made to develop the linguistic skills necessary for critical analysis in the content courses e.g., those dealing with aspects of French cinema or literature, or economy etc.

Analysis of the criteria according to which students' work was assessed by their lecturers and teachers, showed that the assessment of skills and knowledge was augmented by reference to the content of what students were writing, or speaking about, and to matters such as autonomous and reflective use of a wide range of registers and genres.

It was shown that not all students reached the highest levels of criticality however, and one of the questions which arises is how we can

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ensure in foreign language education that learners move up the levels of criticality. My proposal is that this can be done by combining foreign language education with citizenship education.

Citizenship Education

The phrase "citizenship education" is not necessarily the best one but it is the label we can use since it links to developments in education in schools in Europe and North America. The problem with "citizenship education" is that it is in many cases limited in its scope to citizenship at a local, regional and national level, but not beyond. An example from an official website used to introduce citizenship education into the English national curriculum some years ago, posits three elements for citizenship education. This was based on the report of a group set up to analyse citizenship education (Qualifications and Curriculum Authority, 1998). First, there is social and moral responsibility which citizenship education should develop in all learners. Secondly, and this is more innovative than the first one, there is the notion of community involvement, that citizenship education should lead learners to be involved in their community and to offer a service to their community, not just in the future but in parallel with their lives at school. This then is an action-oriented dimension of education, but it lacks any sense of criticality, which is not surprising since education systems are expected to encourage young people to become part of the existing society, rather than to challenge or even overturn it. The third dimension is called political literacy, which involves learning about the society in which learners live, its institutions and its problems and practices, which should be the basis for making themselves "effective in the life of the nation." Political literacy is said to be a wider concept than political knowledge alone. Here however we see the limitations of scope: learners should make themselves effective in the life of the nation, without any reference to the world beyond the nation.

In short there are problems in citizenship education, not only in the English national curriculum but elsewhere too. There is limitation to the concept of the nation and its boundaries. There is confusion about the concept of national identity and its relationship to the concept of citizenship, as we have shown in the example of citizenship education in Hong Kong (Lai & Byram, 2012). There is a lack of criticality in citizenship work at the level of schooling, and a lack of the application of criticality in higher education to the concept of citizenship. On the other hand, citizenship education has a fundamental concept of "action in the community." Foreign language education lacks this objective, focusing

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only on skill and knowledge and critique, or criticality, in the concept of "critical cultural awareness" (Byram, 1997). On the other hand foreign language education has a wider scope than the national community and indeed in its traditional form looks beyond the national frontiers, with the potential in more recent theory and practice of this including critical reflection on learners' own national community too.

Intercultural Citizenship

My proposal is that we should combine the purposes and methods of foreign language education with those of citizenship education. Foreign language education is internationally orientated and critical. Citizenship education has the positive notion of "action in the world" as one of its fundamental purposes and outcomes. "Intercultural citizenship education" would mean therefore that learners would be encouraged to act together with others in the world and that those others would be in other countries and other languages. Their purpose would be to address a common problem in the world. For example, in a project involving learners in Portugal and Bulgaria, it was decided to focus on intergenerational matters, to analyse relationships between the learners' generation and that of their grandparents. They interviewed and talked with the older generation and identified themes in what they said in order to compare attitudes and questions in the two countries, with the ultimate aim of carrying out some "service to the community;" the project is not yet complete.

The example just mentioned is from a current project involving a network of teachers in secondary schools and higher education in several countries and in combinations of bilateral and multilateral projects. The next example is taken from the network, from a project designed by university teachers in Argentina and the England. There are 50 Argentinean university students of English with a high level of competence (CEFR C1) and 50 English students of Spanish doing "honours" courses, that is they too are at an advanced level of language competence. They address the sensitive topic of the Malvinas/Falklands War, a topic which has become part of contemporary discussion again in the two countries since the 30th anniversary of that event in 2012.

The students researched the conflict, which took place before they were born, and talked to each other both synchronously and diachronically using the internet, with a strong focus on developing an interactive and respectful understanding of the event and the need for co-operative conflict resolution. Among other things they created powerpoints about the

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war, interviewed Argentinean and British war veterans, and created collaboratively an advertisement to show the potential for contact and reconciliation. All of these things were done in a foreign language classroom and they developed the learners' criticality to the third or fourth level defined by Barnett. However what is important is that they also took action in the world—bringing into the foreign language classroom the principles of citizenship education, and Barnett's third domain—by creating blogs and Facebook pages and noting and responding to reactions to these. They also produced leaflets presenting the notion of reconciliation which they then distributed in the centre of their city. The Argentinean students also went to teach in a special class on the topic in an English-language school and, in cooperation with an NGO, in a class in a poor neighbourhood of their city. This is ongoing work (see appendix). Other projects in the network are at earlier stages of development but all are trying to follow the basic principles of combining foreign-language education with citizenship education.

Summary

What I have tried to do here is to emphasise that foreign-language teaching is and should be foreign-language education, with all that that means in terms of personal development and societal improvement. Secondly I have argued that foreign-language education should develop criticality and that this should lead to action in the world. Thirdly, empirical evidence demonstrates that foreign-language education can develop criticality and critique in courses in higher education, and that the attainment of "transformatory critique in action" is at least sometimes possible. In earlier projects some years ago, we developed the same criticality at school level (Byram et al., 2001), although at that time we did not have the benefit of the theory which Barnett and others have developed. The question which is yet to be resolved is to what extent and how we can develop criticality and intercultural citizenship at lower levels of language education, where language competence levels too are inevitably lower. There is certainly some evidence that this is the case (cf. Byram et al., in press) but there is a lot more work to be done.

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Appendix

The Malvinas/Falklands War: An opportunity for citizenship education in the foreign language classroom in Argentina and the UK

Melina Porto, Universidad Nacional de La Plata and CONICET Leticia Yulita, University of East Anglia, UK.

The purpose of this project is to facilitate intercultural and citizenship experience in the foreign language classroom for 100 students in Argentina and the UK. Using a comparative methodology, the project addresses the Malvinas/Falklands war fought between Argentina and the UK in 1982. It challenges students to analyse and understand the power of the media in constructing stereotypical images of otherness, and how this influences one's thinking and behavior towards Others.

The classroom context in Argentina is a university setting; 50 future teachers and/or translators of English in their 2nd year of undergraduate studies at the National University of La Plata. This is a prestigious, state, access-for-all university in a developing country. The age range is 18-22. English is a foreign language in Argentina and these students have level C1 in the *Common European Framework of Reference*. The classroom context in the UK is also a university setting; 50 first-year undergraduates undertaking Spanish Honors Language degree courses, aged 18-21, for whom Spanish is a foreign language.

The participants have researched the conflict and have engaged in online communication using a wiki and Elluminate live (asynchronic and synchronic online communication respectively) for two months. They have interacted with Others on the basis of values of respect, mutual understanding, social justice and openness, allowing Others to express their viewpoints, avoiding hostility and confrontation and resolving conflict cooperatively when necessary. They have suspended the perspectives created by their national identity and have acquired a temporary cooperative international identity and perspective. For instance, they have created posters and PPTs about the war, they have interviewed an Argentine war veteran and an English one, and they have collaboratively planned and created an advertisement whose ultimate and general aim was to reflect a point of contact and reconciliation between the Argentine and the English. Finally, they have transferred knowledge of their own context and culture to Others by engaging in civic participation locally. For instance, some groups have created blogs and facebook pages and are currently registering reactions; others have created awareness-raising leaflets about the war and have distributed them in the city center

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of La Plata in Argentina; others have taught a special class about the conflict in a local English language school; and others have done the same in a very poor neighborhood in the context of an NGO called “Un techo para mi país” (an NGO that teaches adults to read and write).

Ads for reconciliation between the Argentine and the English (done in collaboration between students in Argentina and in the UK)

http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=c0twtAmpTno&feature=youtu.be
http://www.glogster.com/sofigeido/malvinas-ad/g-6l5ivb3voi3c1ssvleap1a0
http://youtu.be/clWCcXHMUsw
http://thefalklandsmalvinasproject.blogspot.com.ar/search/label/Home

Action in the community (by Argentine students in the city of La Plata)

1) In an ONG called “Un techo para mi país”
   Video for the class:
   http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=C4fDSJ7yLrw&feature=youtu.be
   Final video of the encounter**:**
   http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Wx3z6FTknyY
2) Blogspot http://proyectodemalvinas.blogspot.com.ar/
3) Flyer
   We designed a flyer in Glogster and we handed them in the streets of La Plata.
   Here's the link: http://www.glogster.com/antomon/malvinas/g-6l5cocsdp21823pfijd5ea0?fb_action_ids=4526447451862&fb_action_types=og.likes&fb_source=aggregation&fb_aggregation_id=246965925417366
4) A lesson in an English school. One of the students is 100 years old.
   http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=UvXTV5ZwQiY&feature=youtu.be

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CHAPTER TEN

ENGLISH ACROSS CULTURES AND INTERCULTURAL LITERACY

NOBUYUKI HONNA

Introduction

The current complexity of globalization has reminded us of the importance of our increased competencies in languages of wider communication and our expanded knowledge about various aspects of language, culture, and communication. At the same time, the role of English as an intermediary language has to be emphasized again and again on a global basis.

And the essential thing about current English is that it is a pluricentric and multicultural language, not a unicentric and monocultural language. There is no "one" English, but there are "many" Englishes. We have to understand these features of contemporary English if we wish to remodel English language teaching (ELT) in accordance with the reality of English as a multicultural language for international communication on a world-wide scale.

This chapter argues that intercultural literacy should be developed in ELT by means of language awareness training in an effort to improve sensitivity to and tolerance of differences and thereby to overcome, mitigate, or lessen inconveniences of zero/miscommunication likely to emanate from English as a multicultural language. These pedagogical efforts are needed to improve our intercultural competence in using English across cultures. [1]

Diffusion and Adaptation

Contemporary English has two major characteristics or tendencies, the extent and magnitude of which no other languages have ever experienced in the history of linguistic dynamism: (1) its global spread and (2) the

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development of a vast number of its national varieties. You can call (1) as the internationalization or multinationalization of English and (2) as the diversification or multiculturalization of the English language. People often find it difficult to comprehend the diversification part, but the diversification of English is the natural outcome of the internationalization of the English language. They are two sides of the same coin. One cannot be obtained without the other.

This phenomenon can be solidly grasped in terms of the general relationship between diffusion and adaptation. If there is to be diffusion, there has to be adaptation. When American English or British English is spread or transplanted to foreign countries, the language goes through an adaptive process of reculturalization or indigenization to get learned and used by local people there. The output of this intercultural adaptive process is the development and the emergence of regional and local varieties.

These trends are conspicuous in countries where English is one of their intranational languages, like India, Malaysia, Singapore, or the Philippines in Asia. But the similar trends are also noticed in countries like Japan, Korea, and China, where English is taught and learned and used as an international language. The localization of English can become more prominent if we encourage our students to speak it, as we must for various good reasons. Japanese could not speak English without Japanese features, or without the foundations of Japanese language and culture. These trends are witnessed in many other countries.

As a result of the global spread of English, it has so happened that non-native speakers outnumber native speakers. English is such a unique language. Remarkably in Asia and everywhere in the world, non-native speakers use English more frequently with other non-native speakers than with native speakers. The interaction between native speakers and non-native speakers is very limited. It is not as frequent as often imagined or assumed in ELT.

Importantly, Asian speakers are taking advantage of this additional language and are exploring new dimensions of English use: phonetically, lexically, syntactically, semantically, and of course pragmatically. Furthermore, they are using English in Asian cultural contexts. So when Japanese speak English with Chinese, there is no room for British or American culture.

What happens in this situation is that Japanese behave like Japanese and speak English in Japanese ways, and so do Chinese, Koreans, Singaporeans, Filipinos, Thais, Indians, and many other nationals. This is the basis of English becoming a multicultural language in Asia and around

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the world, each variety developing its own linguistic and cultural features, or for some people, identity.

English as an Asian Language

Thus, the spread of English as a language for multinational and multicultural communication employed by non-native speakers implies that English is becoming more and more de-Anglo-Americanized all over the world. This creates new structural, pragmatic, and functional dimensions in contemporary English.

As a matter of fact, English has become a very important language in Asia. It is a working language for intranational and international communication in many parts of the region. According to a report, 800 million people speak English for various purposes in Asia (Bolton, 2008), a number that far exceeds the combined populations of the United States and Britain where English is a native tongue for many citizens.

Many Asian nationals are finding themselves using English more frequently with other Asians than with people from the UK, the USA or other "native speaker" countries. As we are expected to have more and more contact with people from other Asian countries in the fields of business, tourism, overseas studies, environmental protection or regional cooperation, it is crucial time that we started exploring issues in English communication in Asia.

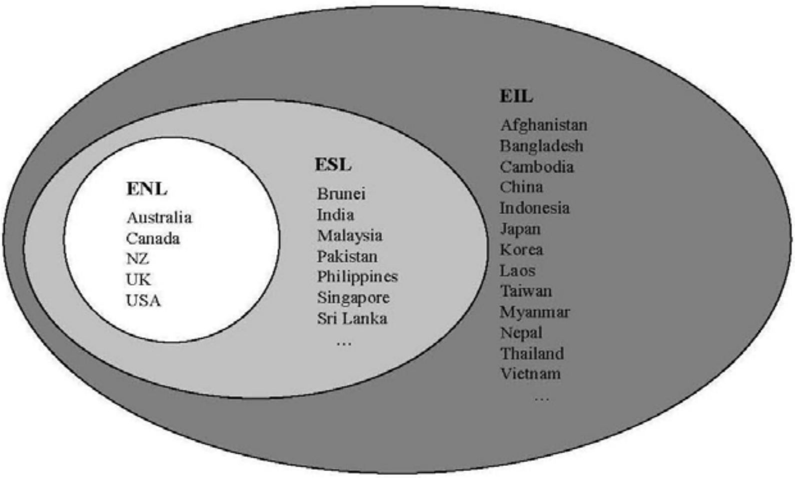

Figure 10-1. Spread of English in Asia

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Yet, Asian varieties of English are tremendously diverse with different social roles attached to the adopted language. Each country has used the language in its traditional cultural and linguistic contexts, thereby producing a distinct variety characterized by unique structural and functional features. Proficiency levels also differ with countries where English is a second language producing more skillful speakers than their counterparts where English is designated as an international language.

The major factor of diversification is languages in contact. As languages come into contact, they get mingled in many interesting ways. The notion of one language as an independent system is only an imaginary creation. This has become increasingly obvious in Asian English studies, where cross-linguistic analysis is a key to a deeper understanding of a wide range of new patterns.

Face Expressions in Singaporean and Malaysian English

As a matter of fact, the forms and uses of English in Asia are enormously influenced by other Asian languages. While the influence often gets blurred in syntactic superposition, it is visible in lexical and idiomatic borrowing. Here are some examples of “face” from Singaporean and Malaysian English, where Chinese features apparently are reflected.

“Face” is extremely important in Asian societies. In the oriental value system, “face” refers to an individual’s pride, dignity, honor, prestige, and even identity. From the Chinese origin, two expressions (namely, losing and saving face) are universally used in English, such as:

(1) I lost a lot of face by being unable to answer this question.
(2) This saved me a great deal of face.

In Singaporean and Malaysian English, however, there are a lot more expressions related to face such as:

(3) You failed again .... I don't know where to hide my face.
(4) Why did you treat me like that the other night? I really got no face now.
(5) You must go to his son's wedding dinner. You must give him face.
(6) Since I don’t know where to put my face in this company, I might as well leave and save what little face I have left.
(7) Just tell him what you really think. There is no need to give him any face.

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(8) Let's ask Datok Ali for help. He knows the right people and he's got a lot of face.[2]

In this connection, it has to be stressed that although these phrases are not part of British English or American English, they are not to be denigrated or stigmatized. If they are useful for certain purposes in Singaporean and Malaysian societies, they tend to get deeply rooted there. Just because non-native speakers do not use English the way native speakers do, does not mean they are wrong or using the language incorrectly. This applies to many other forms of English as an Asian language. Actually, many Asians seem to have little difficulty understanding these Singaporean and Malaysian expressions rendered into English, because they have similar phrases in their regional and national languages.

At this juncture, it is also important to note that teachers do not teach local varieties of English in the school. They teach "International Standard English," whatever it may refer to, in the classroom in Singapore and Malaysia. But if people are compelled or expected to speak English, it is natural that they should do so only in the way best fit for them. The same phenomenon can spring up in countries where English is taught as an international language if we encourage our students to speak English, as we must for various good reasons.

As a matter of fact, while Indian English, Singaporean/Malaysian English, and Philippine English are considered established varieties in Asia, Chinese English, Japanese English, or Korean English can be called a developing variety. Here some examples of Chinese English and Japanese English will be given.

Chinese English

Some Syntactic Features:

(1) Adjacent default tense: Last year, I write a letter ….
(2) Null-subject/object: Sometimes ( ) just play basketball. / We can see movies. Yes, I like ( ) very much.
(3) Con-occurrence of connective pairs: Although it's not as big as Beijing, but I like it, because I was born there.
(4) Topic-comment: You know, I think this society, the people get more and more practical.
(5) Unmarked OSV: I think the love is important, and the money I don't care.
(6) Frequent use of nominalization: an historic leap from having only

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> adequate food and clothing to leading a basically affluent life by the end of last century.
>
> (Xu, 2010, pp. 224-228)

It seems that Japanese English and other Asian varieties share some of these characteristics.

Some Lexical Creations:

Lexical creations are also interesting. Chinese English often reflects Chinese ways of phraseology as is given below.

(1) one country, two systems
(2) two languages and three tongues
(3) breaking the three irons: iron armchair (life-time post), iron rice bowl (life-time employment), iron wage (guaranteed pay)
(4) jumping into the sea
(Many people give up their iron rice bowl jobs and start jumping into the sea.)

Actually, some of these expressions are used in an international publication. Here, "iron rice bowl" appears without italics:

> Unlike Tung, the Shanghai-born heir to a Hong Kong shipping empire, Tsang does not come from a privileged family. The eldest son of a policeman, Tsang joined the civil service… Hong Kong's iron rice bowl… soon after high school. (*TIME* March 21/2005)

Japanese English

Likewise, Japanese English reflects Japanese ways of life:

(1) a paper driver, a hot carpet, a washlet, a taxi service adviser ....
(2) I can do it before breakfast.
(3) Thank you very much for last night. It was a gorgeous dinner.
(4) We drove to Kyoto by car.
(5) I went there. Why didn't come?

So we have a "paper driver" (a driver who has a driving license but does not drive), a "hot carpet" (an electrically warmed carpet), a "washlet" (a toilet stool equipped with an electronically-run rear washing device), or a "taxi service adviser" (an euphemism for a taxi guide assigned to a

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public place such as a railway station), and many other words, phrases, and expressions.

Example 2 (meaning “it’s a piece of cake”) is one of the recent Japanese contributions to American English. Interestingly, West Africans often say, “It’s porridge,” for this expression. Example 3 reflects a Japanese custom to express their gratitude to persons for their kindness even several days or many days after the kindness was extended. Japanese cannot stop saying, “Thank you very much for last night” or “Thank you very much for the other day,” even in English, because this is a very important part of Japanese politeness behavior.

While native speakers may say, “We drove to Kyoto yesterday” (Example 4), Japanese tend to say, “We went to Kyoto by car yesterday,” because Japanese focus on the means of transportation, rather than the acts of transportation. Example 5 is what Japanese say about their presence or absence at a scheduled meeting, while native speakers may say “I was there. Where were you?” Thus, in March, 2010, Australians said to President Obama, “Where the bloody hell are ya?,” when he cancelled his scheduled visit to the country because he had a difficult time with Congress over his medical insurance legislation. Japanese would find it extremely difficult to say this, because it is not what we say in Japanese. We are different in the way we look at what we do, so we say it differently. In many cases Japanese say in English what we say in Japanese.

The popular assumption might state that a common language should be a uniform language. But this is not true. A common language cannot be but a diverse language. A lot of allowances ought to be made, and differences accepted. If American English standards of pronunciation, vocabulary, grammar, semantics, pragmatics, and sociolinguistics were imposed upon all users of English, English would never become an international common language.

World Englishes

The diffusion and diversification of English is dynamically conceptualized as world Englishes. Perhaps, it is the first case of a language being represented in a plural form in the history of linguistic evolution. Behind the plural form of Englishes is an interesting idea about English as a world-wide language The idea suggests that all varieties of English developed or being developed in various parts of the world are equally valid and viable in linguistic and cultural terms—the philosophy of English under constant examination, evaluation, and amendment.

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Kachru (1992, pp. 356-357) classified these plural forms of English into three concentric groups: (1) inner-circle varieties spoken by people in the United Kingdom, United States, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, and South Africa, (2) outer-circle varieties formed by Asian and African speakers whose countries were former colonies of Britain and America, and (3) extended-circle varieties employed by learners in all other countries. Outer-circle varieties in Asia and Africa are often called New Englishes (Platt, Weber, & Ho, 1984; Pride, 1982).

Earlier, Kachru (1976) succinctly depicted the contemporary situation of world Englishes based on his Indian English studies:

> ... It is obvious that in the Third World countries the choice of functions, uses and models of English has to be determined on a pragmatic basis, keeping in view the local conditions and needs. It will, therefore, be appropriate that the native speakers of English abandon the attitude of linguistic intolerance. The strength of the English language is in presenting the Americanness in its American variety, and the Englishness in its British variety. Let us, therefore, appreciate and encourage the Third World varieties of English, too. The individuality of the Third World varieties, such as the Indianness of its Indian variety, is contributing to the linguistic mosaic which the speakers of the English language have created in the English speaking world. The attitude toward these varieties ought to be one of appreciation and understanding. (p. 236)

Here, the logical deduction of the diversification of English from the internationalization of English is precisely elucidated. Various national and local varieties are appreciated and evaluated as contributing to the linguistic tapestry that English speakers of the world have woven. Sources of the linguistic and cultural diversity of English come from our native languages. It is clear from the passage that transfer features from these different languages observed in new varieties are to be accepted as a creative force, not to be discarded as a harmful device.

In the same vein, Smith (1983) covers most essential domains we should address to further substantiate the idea of world Englishes (or English as a multicultural language here). Below we have a summary of his ideas. I have used the following passage and others at awareness training seminars for Japanese business people and teachers of English. Participants are first astonished to read the lines here. But they gradually find these ideas profoundly useful for their professional use and mastery of the language for wider communication.

> When any language becomes international in character, it cannot be bound to any Culture …. A Japanese doesn't need an appreciation of a British

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> life-style in order to use English in his business dealings with a Malaysian …. English… is the means of expression of the speaker's culture, not an imitation of culture of Great Britain, the United States or any other native English speaking country. (p. 5)

Here is what the idea of English as an international language or that of world Englishes is all about. If there is to be diffusion, there has to be diversification. People often pay lip service to English as an international language but still refuse to accept differences in pronunciation, vocabulary, syntax, and other linguistic features of nonnative speaker Englishes. This passage can be a good reminder of what it means for English to be a language of wider communication. Moreover, it is plainly stated that it is not necessary that speakers of English imitate other speakers of English.

Expanding the Capacity of English as a Multicultural Language

As the spread of English progresses, English is bound to reflect a diversity of disparate cultures. Every language has an indefinite capacity of structural and functional modulation and expansion. There is no language that has used up its inherent potentiality. The portion that native speakers have explored is very limited. (See Figure 10-1.) There is still a lot to be exploited by the non-native speakers. Once a language is transferred to non-native speakers, they start exploring certain aspects of the language based on their own linguistic, cultural, and cognitive experiences on a global scale.

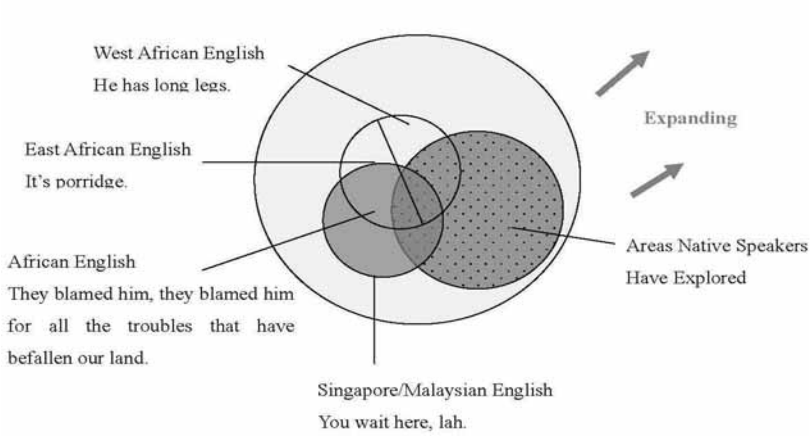

Figure 10-2. A capacity of English

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For instance, Singaporean and Malaysian English, although sharing much with native speaker English, introduces the use of tens of different sentence-final particles, like “Wait here, la.” The rationale for these expletives is that they express a wide range of delicate shades of meaning; in other words, the ethos of the speakers. Japanese speakers of English sometimes add some of theirs, such as “I like sushi-ne,” or “Oh, I like tempura-yo.” This tendency is observed even among native speakers of English, particularly when they are interacting with Japanese.

African speakers also enrich the language with an array of lexical and syntactic creations. While African English shares a lot with native speaker English, it also shows a considerable amount of similarities to other non-native speaker varieties, for example, to Singapore and Malaysian English in its use of syntactic reduplication. “They blamed him, they blamed him” here means “they blamed him” repeatedly and harshly. In African English, as in Singapore and Malaysian English, reduplication (“Everything is cheap-cheap here”) functions as a means of adverbial sophistication. In some cultures, to insert “repeatedly” and “harshly” explicitly would be too direct to be polite and civil. In this way, one could say what he or she wouldn’t be allowed to say otherwise.

The African expressions here are representative of many metaphorical innovations New Englishes can contribute to the English language. “It’s porridge” is their way of saying “It’s a piece of cake.” “To have long legs” means “to wield power and influence.” While native speakers have produced hundreds of body-part metaphors (such as a “bitter tongue,” a “sweet tooth,” and “green fingers”), non-native speakers also have come up with their own (a “black belly,” a “tall nose,” or a “wide face” in Japanese English) on the basis of their understanding of the world.

These local and non-native speaker additions are getting blended into the English language on a global scale. Thus, what is actually happening in English is that non-native speakers are making contributions to the expansion of English as a multicultural language. There are myriads of new patterns constantly being added and the capacity of English is expanding invariably.

English across Cultures and Intercultural Literacy

The world-wide spread of English has not resulted with the global acceptance of American English or British English as the standards of usage. Instead, it has established English as a multicultural language. At the same time, there have arisen some new types of problems.

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One of them concerns mutual communicability among speakers of world Englishes. This is an actual and immediate as well as a potential concern. Cases of zero-communication and miscommunication are abundant among speakers of different varieties of English in the fields of pronunciation, vocabulary, grammar, meaning, pragmatics, and sociolinguistics.

In order to solve these actual and potential problems of communication in many Englishes, two approaches appear conceivable. One is standardization, and the other is diversity management. Actually there are some standardization attempts. One is a return to American English or British English as the standards of usage, as is often emphasized in the conventional ELT programs. The other is a proposal to create a new standard such as Lingua Franca English (Kirkpatrick, 2007, 2010), and Globish (Nerrière & Hon, 2009) and a few others. Whether they will develop into a truly intermediary language on a global scale as they claim to be remains to be seen. In view of the transplantation/transformation relationship, whatever "standard" variety is used as an input in ELT, the output will most likely be its national variety, bringing us back to where we've started.

In order to deal with actual and potential problems of English as a multicultural language, I think it is indispensable that we introduce intercultural accommodation training to our ELT programs. The purpose is diversity management. I have been interested in intercultural literacy as a pedagogical response to these demands in ELT.

Here is my definition of intercultural literacy (Honna, 2008, pp. 76-77):

(1) Intercultural literacy is an attitude, preparedness, and competence to express one's message and understand others' appropriately in a cross-cultural encounter;
(2) It involves an ability to adjust intercultural differences in a mutually beneficial manner;
(3) Intercultural literacy is the literacy of the fourth kind after basic literacy (reading and writing plus mathematics), media literacy, and information literacy; and
(4) It is expected to be introduced to the school curriculums across disciplines from primary, through secondary, to tertiary education.

At the same time, I have placed teaching awareness of language as a fundamental component in intercultural literacy education. Teaching awareness of language has been effectively practiced in Britain and Europe as is expounded in Hawkins (1987, 1992), Donmall (1985), and

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James and Garrett (1991). It is a heuristic program of how language is designed and how people use it. One of its main objectives is to improve students' sensitivity to, and tolerance of linguistic diversity. I think this awareness can contribute to improving, mitigating, or lessening inconveniences of incommunicability stemming from English as a multicultural language.

As Hawkins (1987, p. 17) says, "linguistic tolerance does not come naturally," it has to be learned and practiced. We have to be trained to become aware of linguistic diversity so that we can overcome our disposition toward linguistic complacency. In order to develop such a language awareness program for ELT, I think we need information from cognitive linguistics and sociolinguistics. Cognitive linguistics is about how language is programmed as a cognitive and expressive system in our brains while sociolinguistics is about how people use language in social contexts.

Metaphorical Awareness

Here let me show you an example of what we want to tell our students vis-à-vis linguistic differences from cognitive linguistic points of view. One thing that I would like to see included in our ELT programs is the study of metaphor. The metaphor has a lot to do with our better understanding and practice of world Englishes. Consider these sentences:

(1) That restaurant is very delicious. (Japanese English)
(2) Helen is sharp. (General English)
(3) The Arab street is angry, but the street is honest and sincere and we should listen to it. (*The Japan Times*, July 17, 2006) (Arabian English)

Sentence (1) is always pointed out as a representative of poor Japanese English, because, Japanese teachers say, it is not said by Americans. Some Americans claim it is an illogical and incorrect sentence, because "a restaurant is a building, a building cannot be delicious." But Sentence (2) is never questioned because "it is said by Americans," even if Helen is a human being, she isn't a cutting instrument, and she cannot be "sharp."

The crux of the matter is that these two sentences share the same metaphoric foundation, that is, simply put, THE WHOLE IS THE PART. (Let us disregard technical differences of metaphor, metonymy and synecdoche for simplicity's sake here.) They enjoy the equal correctness status, although Sentence 1 may sound strange to some speakers. The bottom line is that the legitimacy of a sentence should not be judged on the basis of its native or non-native origin or attribution, saying like: Sentence

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(1) is not correct because it is not said by native speakers, but Sentence (2) is correct because it is said by native speakers. We cannot accept this logic anymore. We have to refuse it in accordance with the concept of world Englishes and the general socio-cultural relationship between diffusion and adaptation.

To make sure that this approach really works in the real world, we need be trained in metaphoric awareness in ELT so that we can be more understanding about different and unfamiliar expressions originating from other cultures such as Sentence (3). Hopefully, this principle should be applied to non-native speakers and native speakers alike if English is to be used as an international language across cultures.

Variation Awareness

Sociolinguistic studies demonstrate that linguistic differences are natural and human beings are capable of managing these differences. Human beings are often inclined to dislike differences. They suspect that differences can hinder and diminish order, harmony, and mutual understanding. But differences are everywhere. Every language is a variegated one. Our awareness of this fact should let us see differences in an enlightened perspective. If we are made aware that we, users of our native or first language, need to have many different variables and that we are capable of managing them properly, we will hopefully be able to see intervarietal differences in an enlightened perspective.

Thus, a first awareness issue in ELT in sociolinguistic terms is understanding diversity in language: why we develop different ways of saying one and the same thing in our language. Studies of language in social contexts indicate that linguistic diversity is a reflection of the social reality in which language is used. People use language to express their social position, their social relation with addressees, and their perception and understanding of the social context in which discourse is conducted. Linguistic diversity increases with the complexity of social structure.

Yet, human beings choose the most appropriate unit out of their repertory of a huge number of bundles of different forms meant for one semantic denotation. Every person has chains of these bundles that constitute a wide range of linguistic units characterized by phonological, morphological, syntactic, (dia)lectal, and linguistic features. (See, for example, Labov (1978) for social stratification and contextual variation of a plosive, affricate and fricative choice of the /th/ sound in American English; Huspeck (1986) for in' /ing; Bernstein (1972, 1973) for social class differences of lexical, syntactic, and stylistic forms; Rubin (1968) for

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bilingualism and diglossia; and Platt (1977) for multilingualism and polyglossia.)

The speech act is represented as a consecutive series of constant choices of linguistic formatives. The choice is governed by the sociolinguistic variable rules: Who Says What to Whom When/Where (How) (Hymes, 1974). Socialization is the process in which young children learn these rules, which are incorporated into the socio-cultural norm of behavior in a given society.

For Japanese students of English, Suzuki (1973, p. 148) provides a good example. Unlike English and many other languages, there are several terms for first person singular and second person singular in Japanese. Japanese speakers have always to choose one of them in accordance with the social relation they maintain with their addressee, with the relationship built on the social concepts of family structure, power, seniority (age, position), familiarity, and formality.

A simple pair of *watashi* (I) and *anata* (you) is often taught to foreign students of Japanese as the first person singular and the second person singular, respectively, but it is unlikely that Japanese can get by with them in their daily lives. The Japanese system of personal terms is a symbolization of the social organization with reference to human relationships like kinship, friendship, and others. We need these different words because we are expected to express delicate shades of socio-psychological meaning appropriately. On a daily basis, we are capable of dealing with these differences. We live in linguistic diversity.

The human ability to accommodate intralingual differences can be extended to interlingual and intervarietal situations. Linguistic conformism is not wanted. It is important for students of English to understand, based on their mother tongue experience, that differences are not to be discarded but to be accepted and understood to enlarge our expressive power. This concept of linguistic diversity should be extensively explored in ELT.

As a matter of fact, there are hundreds of differences between American English and British English. These differences can often be a cause of a serious problem. A NATO military exercise is a case in point. An American soldier declaring “We’ve cleared the wood” meaning “the wood is safe” can be interpreted by a British counterpart as “We’ve come out of the wood” (Reeves & Wright, 1996, p. 1). However, differences across the Atlantic Ocean are normally taken for granted. Thus, flat/apartment, lift/elevator, ground floor/first floor coexist in the lexicon of English. Idioms are no exception: a storm (tempest) in a teacup, blow one’s own trumpet (horn). Grammar varies, too: I demanded that he

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should leave/I demanded he leave. The saying "A rolling stone gathers no moss" is interpreted positively in the UK but negatively in the USA.

Differences are conspicuous in many semantic domains. Take automobile terms for example (Table 10-1). To my knowledge, there has been no serious talk about unifying them between American and British peoples. They get along with the differences, simply accepting them as part of their linguistic customs.

Table 10-1. Automobile terms

	American	British
1	hood	bonnet
2	trunk	boot
3	fender	bumper
4	dimmer	dip switch
5	stick shift	gear lever
6	dashboard	fascia
7	blinker	indicator
8	muffler	silencer
9	windshield	windscreen

In this regard, what is happening in Canada is remarkably down to earth. Across the country, British English and American English coexist in the domains of pronunciation, spelling, punctuation, vocabulary, and grammar. Conspicuously, *centre, theatre, metre* are spelled in the British way, while *favor, color, and glamour* are often written in the American way. It often happens that two ways appear in the same sentence.

Chamber (1991, p. 102) presents an interesting survey. The English language situation in Toronto remains authentically Canadian in spite of its proximity to the very American city of Buffalo and the ever increasing influence of American English media. Asked which one of the four pairs of British and American English variants they used in their daily lives, Toronto subjects were found divided in their choices, while Buffalo counterparts all appeared in favor of American English usage (Table 10-2).

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Table 10-2. British English and American English in Toronto, Canada

	British	American
1	ki'lometre (68%)	kilo'meter (32%)
2	exclamation mark (93%)	exclamation point (7%)
3	sleep in (69%)	oversleep (31%)
4	porridge (69%)	oatmeal (31%)

In an attempt to explain this Canadian situation, Chamber (1991) quotes from a 1977 government document titled *A National Understanding*:

> It is precisely the rejection of uniformity, the refusal to accept a homogeneous view of themselves and their country, that constitutes the most authentic and widely shared experience of Canadians …. Our unity—and it is a real and profound unity if we will only bring ourselves to see it—arises from the determination to preserve the identity of each of us. (p. 101)

These attitudes could hopefully be applied to the pedagogy of English as a multicultural language for intercultural communication. It is essential that our students be convinced that intervarietal differences are accepted as a fact of life as well as a resource of mutual self-enrichment. A common language is not a monolithic language. It has to be a multicultural language.

Two Ways of Speaking: Intercultural Accommodation

At this juncture, a case study will clarify some of the points raised here. This case was reported by an Australian linguist who was sitting in the office of a superintendent of the Hong Kong Police Force prior to the territory's handover to China in 1997. The superintendent was British. In those colonial days, almost all the police officers were expatriates and the sergeants and constables were all locals. The story teller found himself there because he worked for a company who had been asked to explain the English-language communication problems that were common in the police force at that time.

There was a quiet knock at the door and in came a young Chinese police constable. He was, of course wearing his uniform. He saluted the

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superintendent and stood smartly to attention in front of the large wooden desk.

> "Yes?," enquired the superintendent.
> "My mother is not very well, sir," started the constable.
> "Yes?," repeated the superintendent, a frown appearing on his brow.
> "She has to go into hospital, sir," continued the constable.
> "So?"
> "On Thursday, sir."
> The superintendent's frown was replaced by a look of exasperation.
> "What is it that you want?," he asked sternly.
> At this direct question, the constable's face fell and he simply mumbled, "Nothing, sir. It's all right," and turned and left the room.
> As soon as the door had closed the superintendent turned to me and said:
> "You see. A classic case. They can't get to the point."
> "So, what would you want him to say?" I asked.
> "Well, instead of beating around the bush, he should come straight to the point. He obviously wants some leave so he can look after his mother. He should ask for leave and not waste my time going on about his poor mother."
> "You want him to say something like, 'Can I have some leave please, sir?'"
> "Yes, exactly," replied the superintendent.
> (Honna, Kirkpatrick, & Gilbert, 2000, pp. 16-17)

Evidently this is a story of communication breakdown. When I asked my students of world Englishes who they thought was responsible for the communication failure, most students expressed sympathy with the Chinese constable. They judged that the British superintendent, not the Chinese constable, because he was not able to accept the Chinese style even though he perfectly understood what his interlocutor said and meant.

What is important in intercultural communication is one's capability and willingness to understand what the other has to say, not the disposition to impose one's values and norms upon the other. Actually, with some degree of intercultural awareness, one is expected to be capable of understanding the other even if the two persons' communication styles are different.

In this regard, the students' reactions were a remarkable departure from the traditional assumption that nonnative speakers should conform to native speakers' communication styles by all means. This was a prominent change in attitude that was made possible by recognizing English as a multicultural language.

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Actually, Asian speakers of English would not have much difficulty handling a similar situation. The frame-main flow (Kirkpatrick & Xu, 2002, p. 274) is shared by many Asians as a fundamental principle in information sequencing. In a hypothetical Hong Kong branch of a Japanese company, it is most likely that an English-language conversation between a Chinese staffer and a Japanese chief (*kacho*) may run like this:

Chinese: My mother is not very well, sir.
Japanese: Oh, I'm sorry. You must be worried.
Chinese: She has to go into hospital, sir.
Japanese: When?
Chinese: On Thursday, sir.
Japanese: If you want to take a leave, I suggest you do not hesitate to ask. Take one when needed.

Furthermore, we could infer our communication partner's request immediately and might even volunteer a solution, such as:

Chinese: My mother is not very well, sir.
Japanese: Oh, you must be worried. Would you want to take a leave and take care of your mother?

Very often, Asian speakers of English deviate from American or British norms of communication and thereby understand each other and establish rapport. We could communicate with each other better when we did not follow the native speakers' norms than when we did. At the same time, it should be repeated here that the real issue emanating from English as a multicultural language is not to require everyone to speak in the same way but to find ways to communicate substantially with intervarietal differences accepted.

However, the concept of English as an American or British language is still ubiquitous in ELT in Japan and around the world. Educational authorities declare explicitly and implicitly that, to acquire a working command of English, one has to learn how native speakers communicate. The fact that non-native speakers use English more frequently with other non-native speakers is more or less disregarded. Nonnative-Speaker Englishes, in which national and regional cultures are reflected, are considered illegitimate.

Under these circumstances, it is natural that student responses to the Hong Kong story should vary from time to time. Attending a series of similar lectures on world Englishes, students of another group expressed

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their opinions in a conspicuously different manner. The number increased of those students who claimed that both the British and Chinese were equally responsible for the communication breakdown.

There appeared to be two reasons for the result reported here about the attitude toward dual responsibilities. One was a Japanese tendency to avoid taking sides or being polemic. Certainly, it is ideal that both participants in a dialog should work together to realize what it is held for since communication is an interactive activity.

The other was the lack of full understanding of English as a multicultural language among students and, for that matter, teachers of English in Japan. Behind the attitudinal conformity to American English or British English is the perception that varieties can cause misunderstandings. Thus, many students still may find it difficult to understand that English is an international language because it is a multicultural language.

Nevertheless, a contradictory trend was observed. When asked how they would react to an imagined Chinese employee at a Japanese company's Hong Branch that they hypothetically managed, those who attributed the communication failure to both the British superintendent and the Chinese constable almost invariably produced a sympathetic scenario to the Chinese in a similar situation. Here are some examples:

Chinese: My mother is not very well, sir.
Japanese: I am sorry to hear that.
Chinese: She has to go into hospital, sir.
Japanese: That's bad.
Chinese: On Thursday, sir.
Japanese: What do you want to do? Go home early, or have some leave?
Chinese: I would like to have some leave for my mother.
Japanese: OK. You can look after your mother.
Chinese: Thank you, sir.

Chinese: My mother is not very well, sir.
Japanese: That's too bad. How bad is she?
Chinese: She has to go to the hospital.
Japanese: Very soon?
Chinese: Yes, on Thursday.
Japanese: So, do you want some leave?
Chinese: Yes, please. Thank you.

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While we find English as an international language palatable, we still tend to think that we should learn how to speak English the way Americans and Britons do because English belongs to them, not to us. Thus, it is extremely difficult to successfully implement teaching and learning English as an international language. To improve this situation, pedagogy plays an important role. In order to recognize English as a multicultural language and to use it as an international language in Asia, it is important we constantly address diversity management in ELT.

One way to do this is to know that differences in communication styles can be managed. As we have seen in the Hong Kong story, there are two ways (or styles) of making a statement or stating a request in this particular case: (1) Frame first, then main, or (2) Main first, then frame. The main is the focus of the topic in the statement, and the frame the context in which the main is embedded. The frame can be a reference to the reasons, social backgrounds, speaker's judgment and attitude, and other conditions, all connected to the main point in some ways.

In the Hong Kong episode, it was clear that the Chinese used the frame- first communication style, while the Englishman was familiar with the main-first communication style. And the Englishman insisted on it as a better communication style. But there is nothing inherent in the system that says that one is better than the other. The frame-first communication style is as good as the main-first communication style. It is important that we should be educationally informed of the fact that there is always another way of doing and saying the same thing and we should be prepared to respect these differences. We have to be trained in ELT to be able to accommodate inter-varietal and intercultural differences so that communication can be maintained and conducted productively and constructively.

Cultural Presuppositions

Apparently English language communication problems that are rooted in cultural presuppositions may be more difficult to address than those that are related to phonology, lexicon, syntax, or semantics. Here is a case that occurred in Japan.

Some years ago, X City of Japan and Y City of the United States were planning to hold a ceremony to commemorate the 50th anniversary of their sister city relationships. But X City surprised its counterpart by suddenly canceling its plan to send its Mayor there. Japanese municipal officers read an email by the American protocol chief and interpreted it as a letter

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intended to cancel the proposed ceremony for emergency reasons. Here is a copy of the letter Japanese officials received.

> Dear Mr. Saito and Mr. Suzuki,
>
> I hope you are having a good week. As you may be already aware, the City of Y has suffered a catastrophe in the past two days due to various fires that have not been contained yet around our City and that have already destroyed hundreds of homes. Our Mayor and our City Staff have been and will be focused in aiding our Citizens in this time of emergency and will be unavailable for most of their scheduled activities throughout this week. At this time, we have to cancel the meetings and the presentations with the waste water department and the economic development department, scheduled with Mr. Saito and Mr. Takeshita. We truly apologize for the inconvenience.
>
> As of right now, Mayor Y's participation at the meeting with Mayor X on Friday and the signing ceremony on Sunday is still on, however, please know that against our desire, and solely depending on our disaster situation, we may have to cancel Mayor Sanders' participation. We greatly regret this, as we have been looking forward to this very special celebration for many months. We truly hope that by Friday our situation will be that of non-emergency and that we will be able to continue forward with the festivities.
>
> Thank you very much for your kind understanding & we look forward to hopefully celebrating our 50th Anniversary at the end of this week.
>
> Kindest Regards.
> Judy Hernandez, Director of Protocol
> The City of Y Office of Mayor Y
> (Persons' names have been changed.)

Although no mention was made of it, Japanese officials interpreted the letter as a message of City of Y's wish to cancel the planned ceremony. They reportedly argued that it should be natural for one dialog partner to infer the other side's "sincere" wish from between the lines. Informed of the calamity developing in the sister city, they also thought that an anniversary ceremony would be a hindrance to the restoration effort exerted across the Pacific Ocean. A significant number of Japanese readers of this letter supported City of X's interpretation and attitude. Asked why officials did not email a confirmation inquiry to their colleagues overseas, most subjects took it for granted that such a move would be impolite under the circumstances.

Thus, to acquire intercultural accommodation competence, it is required that students be educationally informed of the socio-cultural presuppositions that make up the backbone of their own traditional communication styles. Self-understanding is very important for

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intercultural accommodation. Here is what I believe Japan's ELT should take into consideration when developing a language awareness program for its own purposes.

Japanese communication styles emphasize conjecture, or tacit understanding without an exchange of words. So the ability to read between lines is extremely valued. Here is a flow of major linguistic ramifications stemming from this frame of reference (Honna, 2008, p. 171).

Japanese Communication Styles

1. Conjecture (Tacit Understanding)
Based on a Shared System of Communalized Assumptions
↓
2. Role of Language: Limited
↓
3. Form of Expression: Not explanatory
↓
4. Structure of Syntax: Abridged

Language plays a limited role in Japanese society. People generally believe that it is needless to speak precisely and explicitly with one another because they are inclined to maintain that they share a lot of common assumptions. The function of language as a means of social communication in Japan is to emphasize and reinforce the feeling of homogeneity. When a communications failure occurs between close friends, one often accuses the other, saying "Don't you understand my intention unless I express it?" Some of them may think that speech sometimes obstructs harmonious interpersonal relations.

Dependence on tacit understanding endorsed by contextual interpretation discourages the development of a disposition to convey messages in an expository manner. The speakers or writers take their knowledge so granted that they find it extremely difficult and annoying to provide orderly and precise explanation for an unknowing audience. Language education does not train people for how to transmit information or how to express their opinions clearly and precisely. On the contrary, writing classes in Japan emphasize writing "as you think and feel." The underlying assumption is that if there is a will, it is destined to be communicated and understood.

In daily conversations, syntax becomes telegraphic. Time, space, and logical relations are often unexpressed. Even major points are sometimes left unsaid. People are expected to understand meanings in view of the

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context of the situation in which they are embedded. As a consequence, people start looking for clues, other than the words, in order to understand what is actually on the speaker's mind. Listeners focus on the facial expressions and voice tones of the speakers to discover their real intentions. It is the listener’s, not the speaker’s responsibility to ensure successful communication. People who do not use conjecture in such circumstances may be blamed for having the speaker go all the way to say such an” obvious” thing.

However, these traditional styles of communication are becoming inconvenient, even among the Japanese. Their life styles and values are getting increasingly diversified, a development that makes acts of conjecture more and more difficult and ineffective.

This is reinforced by encounters that many Japanese have with people from different cultural background. In intercultural interaction, little is taken for granted. Language plays an important role in explaining and clarifying behavioral differences. So in language awareness training for ELT, it is essential that students should be well informed of the advantages and disadvantages of their traditional communication practice. At the same time, they should be trained to build an intercultural bridge so that they can ask the other party for explanation and clarification when they are not sure of what the other party means by saying what they say.

Conclusion

The concept of English as a multicultural language is based on the fact that English is here to stay as an indispensable language for intranational and/or international communication in Asia and other parts of the world. This chapter dealt with issues in intervarietal communicability among speakers of different varieties of English. As a pedagogical response to these actual and potential inconveniences caused and to be caused by the diffusion of English as a multicultural language, teaching diversity management by means of educated awareness of language was explored as an indispensable component in intercultural literacy/accommodation.

While current English has a centrifugal tendency for intracultural and intranational purposes, it also has a centripetal force for intercultural and international engagements. When speakers of English converge for information exchange and mutual understanding, they are strongly motivated to adjust their respective speech manners. They are eager to learn how they can make it. This is where diversity management training comes in, to help them help themselves in this endeavor.

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Notes

1. Some of the topics presented in this paper were developed in Honna (2010, 2012).
2. The “face” here refers to influence, the meaning apparently derived from the word’s original meaning of honor.

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CHAPTER ELEVEN

LANGUAGE-TEACHING CONTEXT BUILT IN RECENT ENGLISH-CHINESE DICTIONARIES FOR CULTIVATING LEARNER'S INTERCULTURAL LINGUISTIC COMPETENCE

YUANKE TAO

Intercultural communication competence is founded on linguistic competence, and "linguistic competence relates to the knowledge of how to use language properly" (Chen, 2010a, p. 11). Guo-Ming Chen (2010b) gives a definition of communication competence, i.e. "intercultural communication competence can be conceived of as the ability to negotiate cultural meanings and to appropriately execute effective communication behaviors that recognize each other's multiple identities in a specific environment" (p. 7).

Three Basic Components of Intercultural Competence: Pragmatic Competence, Grammatical Competence and Lexical Competence

Chen (2010b) cited Spitzberg and Cupach's seven generic types of competence included fundamental competence, social competence, social skills, interpersonal competence, linguistic competence, communicative competence, and relational competence. And he considers that "linguistic competence and communicative competence relate to language and messages in the interaction process. Linguistic competence investigates how language is known properly" (p. 8). Communicative competence should be acquired in communication practice, which cannot be fulfilled in reading L2 learner's dictionary. However, a L2 learner's dictionary may offer certain communicative contexts embedded in entries for readers to know some typical situations of using lemmas. Linguistic competence,

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which includes pragmatic competence, grammatical competence and lexical competence, is mainly considered by lexicography in making SL learner's dictionary.

Lexical Competence

Lexical competence is an ability of mastering and running one self's mental lexicon, which is established through learning and practice. Especially, it includes correctly comprehending lexical meaning, properly selecting words, and coherently collocating lexical items. So, L2 learner's dictionary should define lexical sense correctly and easily for their comprehension, tell differentiation among misuse-able words and offer sufficient examples for learning collocations in real contexts.

Grammatical Competence

Grammatical competence is a speaker's ability to form and interpret sentence correctly in grammar, which requires to understand grammatical structures of actual sentences and to form real sentences of correct grammar. Especially, it requires master colligations, grammatical constructions, and usage constructions. But as what I investigated in a recent paper (Tao, 2012), colligations are quite different between Chinese and English categories with the same names, either in their grammatical constructions or in usage constructions. Hence, learner's dictionary should exhibit sufficient examples of structures for readers to tell the different colligations and grammatical construction of the two languages with same-named categories of word class.

Pragmatic Competence

Pragmatic competence is an ability to use expressions to achieve a desired communicative effect (Malmkjær, 1995), and is constructed through those contexts embodied in some forms of lexical structures that are studied by pragmatics (Crystal, 1997). So, in order to use a word of L2 properly, one has to acquire its pragmatic knowledge besides lexical senses, included the knowledge such as implicature and presupposition in speech act practice. It demands that a L2 learner's dictionary explain words and usages in real contexts, offer sufficient examples of lemma, or design some context for using the lemma, and so on.

The studies in a perspective of speech ethnography realize that there is interdependency among meaning, action and cultural membership. It

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emphasizes that "communication competence must be contextually defined, and the communicational purpose cannot be achieved unless one can correctly perceive, select and interpret the specific features of the code in interaction, and combine these with other cultural knowledge and communication skills" (Dai, 2011, p. 287). That can be just taken as the rational foundation for interpreting the language-leaching context set in recent English–Chinese dictionaries.

Language-teaching Context Set in Recent English Learner's Dictionaries in Terms of Linguistic Competence Cultivation

For the purpose of L2 teaching, L2 learner's dictionary making has to take cultivation of learner's linguistic competence into consideration. To build an environment of teaching communication and language using, some recent learner's English dictionaries takes their readers as both users of lemma and learners put into their language-teaching context, which changes the basic patterns of explaining senses in learner's dictionaries. We may pick up and analyze three typical components from the learner's dictionaries that compose the language-teaching contexts as follows.

Second Person "You" is Introduced in Language-teaching Context of L2 Learner's Dictionary

Effective reading is most important for readers to comprehend what a dictionary tells them, so as to improve their language competence through reading the dictionary. According to Anderson and Lynch (1988, p. 13), comprehension is dependent on three main sources of knowledge: the schematic knowledge included factual and socio-cultural background knowledge, the contextual knowledge included those of situation and co-text (what has been or will be said), and the systemic knowledge included syntactic, semantic and morphological ones. To lead the readers into the dictionary context, dictionary maker should take the three types of knowledge (factual and socio-cultural knowledge, contextual knowledge, and systemic knowledge of language) into consideration when design its text of defining or explaining senses, therefore, after the rise of pragmatics and cognitive linguistics, the approach to explain lemma has been changed according to the theories and findings of L2 learning studies.

In traditional English dictionary, senses are usually defined with synonyms or synonymous phrases of them, but in recent English learner's

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dictionaries, senses are explained or used directly in other ways. For examples,

(1) **smile** v. relax the features into a pleased or kind or gently skeptical expression or a forced imitation of these, usu. with the lips parted up and the corners of the mouth turned up (Fowler & Fowler, 1995).

smile v. form one's features into a pleased friendly or amused expression, with the corners of the mouth turned up (Soanes, Stevenson, & Hawker, 2006).

smile v. to make a smile appear on your face. n. the expression that you have on your face when you are happy, amused etc. in which the corners of your mouth turn upwards (Wehmeier, 2005).

The Concise Oxford English Dictionary has a great change from its ninth edition to eleventh edition in definition texts, but the basic method of defining keeps as the same, so both editions cited above use verbal phrases to define the lemma, through describing the typical features of (someone else's) "smile". The verbal phrase definitions of "smile" are not only synonymous to it, but also have the same grammatical function of 'smile' to be predicate. However, *Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary* (Wehmeier, 2005) changes the context of definition into a context of teaching readers by using the second person "you" in the context of using the lemma, so to let a "smile" appear on reader's face. For more examples,

(2) **hesitate** v. intr. 1. (often foll. by about, over) show or feel indecision or uncertainty; pause in doubt. 2. (often foll. by *to* + infin.) be deterred by scruples; be reluctant (Fowler & Fowler, 1995).

hesitate v. pause in indecision; be reluctant to do something (Soanes, Stevenson, & Hawker, 2006).

hesitate 1. (about/over sth) to be slow to speak or act because you feel uncertain or nervous. 2. to be worried about doing sth, especially because you are not sure that it is right or appropriate (Wehmeier, 2005).

The eleventh edition of the *Concise Oxford English Dictionary* (Soanes, Stevenson, & Hawker, 2006) compacts the two definitions of "hesitate" of the ninth edition into one sense with two phrasal definitions, but maintains the same angle of defining without reader "you". In the last example from *Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary* (Wehmeier, 2005), the reader "you" is introduced into the context of explaining lemma, and leads the reader "you" to feel what will happen to "you" when "you" hesitate. In the case, the reader "you" is led to recall him self's experience of hesitating and relevant feeling. That means the reader "you" is led to learn the senses of lemma directly through him self's experience and

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feeling, i.e., making use of the social cultural knowledge and contextual knowledge the reader have had.

In the above examples from *Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary*, the systemic knowledge included syntactic, semantic and morphological ones is not mentioned in the explanation texts, except their word class marked as v. (a shortened “verb”) and collocation with prepositions. The meaning of the explanation texts are not equal to that of the lemmas since it is a teaching context that contains a learner character “you”, which is quite different from those traditional definition composed of synonyms or synonymous phrases used in the traditional series of Oxford dictionary.

The Supposed Context of Using Lemma is Set and Guided by “If”

The teaching context is a design of the new learner's dictionaries for readers to comprehend and accept the meaning of lemma; therefore, it is an assumed context to some extent that we can judge by the second person “you” adopted in the context. And an assumed mark “if” is also applied quite often to form the assumed contexts. For examples,

(3) **interrelate** v. relate or connect to one other (Soanes, Stevenson, & Hawker, 2006).

interrelate v.1. Relate (two or more things) to each other. 2. (of two or more things) relate to each other (Fowler & Fowler, 1995).

interrelate v. If two or more things **interrelate**, or if they are **interrelated**, they are closely connected and they affect each other (Wehmeier, 2005).

interrelate: v. If things interrelate or are interrelated, they affect each other because they are connected in some way (Rundell, 2003).

Contrasted to the first two traditional examples cited from two versions of COED above, the last two examples use an assumed mark “if” to set a teaching context respectively, which tell their readers what the lemma means in the virtual context exactly. However, the meaning of the whole explanation composed of the teaching context is not equal to or synonymous to the sense of the lemma. In other cases, “when” is also used as an assumed mark to set the teaching context. For examples,

(4) **dock** v. 1. If a ship **docks** or you dock a ship, it sails into a HARBOUR and stays there. 2. If two SPACECRAFTS **dock**, or are **docked**, they are joined together in space (Wehmeier, 2005).

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dock v. 2. When a ship **docks** or is **docked**, it is brought into a dock. 3. When one spacecraft docks or is **docked** with another, the two crafts join together in space (Sinclair, 2007).

The two examples above cited from different English learner's dictionaries and explain the same lemma “dock” with whole sentences, but one starts by “if” and another by “when”. And a second person “you” is used in its first sense explanation. Contrasted to each other of the two examples, we may know both form virtual contexts that are not absorbed from natural corpus. Actually, *Collins COBUILD English-Chinese Learner’s Dictionary* (Sinclair, 2007) uses both “if” and “when” to set teaching contexts separately in large cases as well. For more examples from it,

(5) **fruition** n. If something comes to **fruition**, it starts to succeed and produce the results that were intended or hoped for.

hangover n. If someone wakes up with a **hangove**r, they feel sick and have a headache because they have drunk a lot of alcohol the night before.

frown v. When someone **frowns**, their eyebrows become drawn together, because they are annoyed, worried, or puzzled, or because they are concentrating (Sinclair, 2007).

The first two examples use “if” to form assumed contexts, while the third one uses “when” to do that. In those assumed contexts from (3) to (5), the designed sentences of explanation describe more typical features relevant to the senses of the lemmas than those from traditional dictionary editions of COED, so that their readers can comprehend the senses according to the typical features but not according to abstract synonyms or synonymous phrases.

Although the fictitious marks of “if” and “when” do not always appear with the second person “you” in assumed sentences, they can be used to form suppositional contexts based on their grammatical functions. However, in the above cases, all suppositional contexts led by “if” or “when” are not composed to be subjunctive sentences, but are simple present sentences so as to be understood more easily.

Lemma (construction) Used in “Definition” or Explanation

Moreover, in traditional English dictionaries, lemma is the item to be defined and called as left item, but does not appear in its opposite part, the right item as its explanation text, in an entry like those shown in (1) to (3). However, in the recent L2 English learner's dictionaries, lemma is quite often used to form its explanation text as a teaching context. For examples,

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(6) **interrelated** adj. things that are **interrelated** all have an effect on each other (Murphy, 2004).
fruity a. 2. A **fruity** voice or laugh is pleasantly rich and deep (Sinclair, 2007).

In the above cases, lemmas "interrelated" and "fruity" appear respectively in their right items to form explanation texts; but actually, they are not explained as a subject by predicate in the explanation sentence. In the first case, "interrelated" is applied as a component of predicate in an attributive clause of the subject, and readers have to comprehend the meaning of "interrelated" through cultural background knowledge and contextual knowledge of the whole sentence. In the second case, "fruity" is a modifier of subject in the explanation sentence, and is explained as a part of subjective by predicate, so, reader has to comprehend its sense through its factual and socio-cultural background knowledge shown in the sentence. In other words, the lemmas are not explained by definition sentences directly, so, readers have to comprehend their senses through the background and contextual knowledge offered by the explanation sentences, which is also an assumed context.

Furthermore, in other cases, collocation construction of lemma is used to form explanation text to explain the lemma itself. For example,

(7) **live** v. **live to fight another day** used to say that although you have failed or had a bad experience, you will continue. **You haven't lived** used to tell sb that if they have not had a particular experience their life is not complete (Wehmeier, 2005).

In example (7), the collocation construction of "live" are explained each by an assumed past participle phrase, which just tell the reader (you) in what situation the collocation construction should be used to express what the user (reader) will do or will think someone else lacks.

In language learning theories, there is a rule-based system and an exemplar-based system. "The former interpretation regards development in terms of the growth and complexity of the underlying system involved, while the latter is more concerned with the accumulation of exemplars, and their utility in performance" (Skehan, 1998, p. 53). And the latter stimulates an active analytic mode of learning, in which language user is adept at shifting in and out of usually. All the teaching contexts shown in the above cases explain lemmas with assumed exemplars instead of synonyms or synonymous phrases, which can be explained by and based on the latter system of language learning theory.

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Treatment of Language-teaching Context in English-Chinese Learner's Dictionaries

In tradition, bilingual dictionary is defined as a dictionary to offer another language's equivalents of lemmas for readers, and their differences, if there are any, have to be revealed to the readers at the same time, so that the readers can use the lemmas correctly in original language environment. However, in recent L2 English dictionaries, the former explanation text has been changed into language-teaching text to a great extent. So, when such a new English learner's dictionary as a source is translated into an English-Chinese learner's dictionary, it is necessary to consider how to make the Chinese definition or explanation text meet with or complement the original English text. Here I would like to present my consideration from three aspects included target definition, explanation, and construction in recent English-Chinese learner's dictionaries as followings.

Defining the Exact Meaning of the Lemma

The recent English learner's dictionaries explain a lemma in an assumed teaching context and describe the typical features of it or relevant to it, so that readers can comprehend its sense and use it directly from the assumed context using it, however, there are lack of a traditional definition composed of synonyms or synonymous phrases. If the typical features of or relevant to the lemma are not so important for L2 learners to understand the lemma through its equivalent in target language, synonym(s) or synonymous phrase(s) in target language will be acceptable. For examples,

(8) **interrelate** v. If two or more things **interrelate**, or if they are **interrelated**, they are closely connected and they affect each other. 相互关联（或影响）(Wehmeier, 2004).

hesitate 1. (about/ over sth) to be slow to speak or act because you feel uncertain or nervous.（对某事）犹豫，迟疑不决。 **2.** to be worried about doing sth, especially because you are not sure that it is right or appropriate. 顾虑，疑虑 (Wehmeier, 2004).

smile v. to make a smile appear on your face. 微笑，笑.n. the expression that you have on your face when you are happy, amused etc. in which the corners of your mouth turn upwards.微笑，笑容 (Wehmeier, 2004).

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Oxford Advanced Learner's English-Chinese Dictionary (Wehmeier, 2004) is a Chinese translated version of *Oxford Advanced Learner's English Dictionary* (Wehmeier, 2000), large entries of which are maintained in its 7th edition like the three cases listed above. In the above cases of example (8), the last three senses are given with Chinese equivalent words (or target language synonyms); while the first two senses are defined with Chinese equivalent words attached with an annotation bracketed to complement the meaning difference between the original language lemma and the target language equivalent. However, the assumed contexts are not considered in each of those Chinese synonymous definitions, which may be presented to some extent in other cases. For examples,

(9) **dock** v.1. If a ship **docks** or you dock a ship, it sails into a HARBOUR and stays there.（使船）进港，停靠码头，进入码头。2. If two SPACECRAFTS **dock**, or are **docked**, they are joined together in space. (使宇航飞船在外层空间) 对接 (Wehmeier, 2004)

dock v. 1. If a ship **docks**, or if the captain **docks** it, it sails into a **dock** so that it can unload.（使）（船）进港，（使）停靠码头。3. to connect two computers using an electrical wire. 把（两台计算机）连接，对接。 4. If two spacecraft **dock**, they join together in space.（两架航天器）对接 (LDCE, 2009).

Connotation bracketed is helpful not only for complementing the meaning differences between lemma in original language and its equivalents in target language, but also helpful for filling the gap between original assumed context and the definition in target language. In the above cases, both the first senses of the entries are defined by synonymous Chinese equivalents with bracketed connotations, which complement the meaning differences between lemmas and its target language equivalents. However, in the last senses of the first entry, the bracketed connotation actually represents the original assumed context as a meaning background in which the equivalent is used. It is more obvious in the last two senses of the last entry that the connotations mention a different specific machine respectively which their Chinese equivalents are the same and can not tell their different collocates as contexts, in which the lemma requires different verbs (joins or connects) to meet with itself in English. But the assumed context, led by the supposition mark "if" in English, is omitted in Chinese translation. For other examples,

(10) **knee-length** a. long enough to reach your knees. 长及膝部的 (OALECD) (Wehmeier, 2004).

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knee-length a. long or tall enough to reach your knees. 长（高）及膝部的 (LDCE, 2009).

The English word “knee-length” is a compound that there is not an equivalent Chinese word correspondent to the original one. Therefore, the two entries translate the original explanation texts of the same lemma from word to word with a Chinese phrase respectively, but omitted only the second person “you” which is a mark of teaching context.

Briefly, the assumed teaching contexts in English learner’s dictionaries explain lemma by typical feature with more details of it or relevant to it for comprehending the sense through exemplar given in the assumed context, while the Chinese translation breaks the assumed teaching contexts and still takes equivalent as a core and fill up the difference of meaning gap, or accept the typical feature description in translation if there is no any equivalent or near equivalent in target language.

Explaining its Pragmatic Use of Register

Pragmatic competence has to be cultivated in communication contexts. However, pragmatic knowledge and meaning of certain words in certain circumstances can be offered in an assumed teaching context in an L2 learner's dictionary. For instance, there are two kinds of speech mark, which pragmatic use should be indicated in an L2 learner's dictionary, one is the speech mark for emphasizing, and the other is that for linking paragraphs. For examples of the speech mark for emphasizing,

(11) **honestly** ad. 2. to emphasize that you are telling the truth and that you want people to believe you. 老实说，说实在的。(*I’ll go if you like. I don’t mind, honestly. 老实说，如果你要我走我就走，我不介意*) (Sinclair, 2002).

honestly ad. 1. used to emphasize that what you are saying is true, even though it seems surprising. 真的，的确 [强调所说的真实性，即使可能让人吃惊。] (*I honestly don’t know how old my parents are. 我真的不知道我父母的年龄*) (LDCE, 2009).

The original explanation in the two entries tells us the meaning of the “honestly” and purpose to use it in speech. However, the translation of the original explanation in the first entry just gives us only Chinese equivalents of the lemma without mentioning the point emphasized in using the word. And actually, the meaning of the Chinese equivalent in the example given after the explanation is not clear and we can not judge the

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exact person of “老实说” (honestly speaking) in the Chinese translated example. Contrasted with that, the translation of the original explanation in the second entry gives us not only equivalents of the lemma, but also the emphasized point in using the lemma with a bracketed connotation, which is actually translated from the original explanation with the second person “you” omitted. Obviously, the translation of the original explanation about the pragmatic key points is needed.

For examples of the speech mark for structuring,

> (12) **briefly** ad. 2. in as few words as possible 概括地，得洁地，简要地。（sentence adverb 句子副词：Briefly, I think we should accept their offer. 简而言之，我认为我们应该接受他们的建议）(LDCE, 2009).
>
> **briefly** ad. 3. You can say **briefly** to indicate that you are about to say a full description or explanation or to indicate that you are about to summarize what you have just been talking about. 简而言之，总之 (Sinclair, 2002).

The speech mark of structuring discourse is an item having some pragmatic function of organizing discourse. The first entry in group ⑿ has translated the function note of the lemma “sentence adverb” from original text into Chinese, but mentions nothing about its function of structuring speech, since the original text does not mention that either. The second entry in group ⑿ is cited from another learner's dictionary *COBUILD English-Chinese Dictionary* (Sinclair, 2002), which explanation of the lemma in original text tells the reader “you” how to use “briefly” to summarize a talk, but the translation offers just two Chinese equivalents here without mention its pragmatic function of organizing speech. Obviously, it is insufficient to translate the original explanation of speech mark with only Chinese equivalents. For further example,

> (13) **shortly** ad. 2. If you speak to someone shortly, you speak to them crossly or impatiently. 粗暴地，唐突地，气冲冲地 (Sinclair, 2002).

The sense 2 of “shortly” also concerns speaking manner and tells the reader “you” some features of it such as “crossly” or “impatiently”. However, the translation text just provides three Chinese equivalents “粗暴地、唐突地、气冲冲地” which could be used to modify “break in” (冲入 or 打断) in Chinese as well. If a reader does not refer to the original English text, the reader may miss the pragmatic requirement of “shortly”. So, a bracketed connotation (对某人说) referring to speaking manner

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mentioned in the original explanation should be attached to the Chinese equivalents in the case.

Presenting Constructions

Lexical construction is a unity of meaning and form for cognition and memory (Zheng, 2012), which can be taken as a lemma of entry or an inner lemma within entry compiled in a learner's dictionary. Just as what the "Preface" of *Oxford FLTRP English-Chinese Chinese-English Dictionary* said: "the dictionary provides… tens of thousands of real-language example sentences that illustrate key points of construction and usage" (Kleeman & Yu, 2010, p. Ⅷ). In other words, the constructions are usually explained or illustrated in examples. For examples,

> (14) **disgust** n. (~at/with sth)|~(for sb) a strong feeling of dislike or disapproval for sb/sth that you feel is unacceptable, or for sth that looks, etc. unpleasant 厌恶；憎恶；反感：*she expressed her disgust at the programme by writing a letter to complain. 她写了封批评信表示对这个节目的反感。◇The idea fills me with disgust. 这个想法实在令我恶心。◇I can only feel disgust for these criminals. 对这些犯罪分子我只感到憎恶。◇He walked away in disgust. 他厌恶地走开了。◇Much to my disgust, they refuse to help. 他们不肯帮忙，令我极其愤慨。◇She wrinkled her nose in disgust at the smell of urine. 她闻到一股尿味，恶心地皱起了鼻子* (Wehmeier , 2004).

The noun "disgust" collocates with different prepositions, such as *at*, *with*, *in*, and *for*, etc., to express different meanings and is illustrated in examples one by one, which are translated sentence by sentence in the above case. Actually, the collocations need to be remembered as constructions independently one by one. Especially, on the other hand, light verb can be used to collocate with so various words to express specific meaning, and their constructions with relevant words have to be illustrated in examples in learner's dictionaries as well. For examples,

> (15) **do** v. make 10. ~ sth (for sb)| ~ (sb) sth to produce or make sth 做出，制作：to do a drawing/ painting/ sketch 作图，绘画，画素描 ◇does this pub do (=provide) lunch? 这家酒馆供应午餐吧？◇Who's doing (=organizing and preparing) the food for the wedding reception? 谁在承办婚宴的酒席？◇I'll do a copy for you. (or: I'll do you a copy.) 我将为/给你复制一份。

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> **dish** n. 2. (the dishes) [pl.] the plates, bowls, cups, etc. that have been used for a meal and need to be washed（待清洗的）餐具：*I'll* ***do the dishes*** *(=wash them). 我来洗碗* (Wehmeier, 2004).

In the entry of "do", there are several examples cited to illustrate its collocation with other nouns such as "painting, sketch, lunch, food, copy" and so on, but the readers still don't know if it can be used to collocate with "dish" or not until they read the latter example above. So, the collocations of light verb should be treated as constructions and illustrated in examples cited in learner's dictionary one by one.

Further more, some other constructions concerning certain context need to be explained in whole context. For example,

> (16) **rain check** n. a ticket that can be used later if a game, show, etc. is canceled because of rain.（比赛、演出等因雨取消时）可延期使用的票 **IDM take a rain check (on sth)** to refuse an offer or invitation but say that you might accept it later （婉辞邀请）下次吧，以后再说: "Are you coming for a drink?" "Can I take a rain check?—I must get this finished tonight.""你来喝一杯吧？" "下次吧，好吗？——今晚我得把这项工作做完" (Wehmeier, 2004).

Idiom is a unit, which needs to be cognized and remembered as a construction. The idiom "to take a rain check (on sth)" is used in colloquial speech in communication mainly between friendly people; so, the entry offers a whole dialogue context for L2 learners to understand its concrete meaning and use in communication. The complete translation of the example set represents the readers every sentence as well as the communicating context, which is needed by L2 learners.

Briefly, since lemma and collocation are different units compacted in an entry; they have to be explained in different level within the entry. Examples cited in the entry form a suitable level to fulfill the task of explaining the collocation as construction with concrete context for L2 learner's understanding and remembering.

Conclusion

Context is the most important element in designing explanation of senses in recent L2 learner's English-Chinese dictionary. The teaching context assumed for reader to communicate with its compiler and to comprehend the sense of lemma through its original English explanation of its use. That is a context of using the lemma in a teaching relationship between compiler and reader. In such a context of using lemma, the L2

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learner has to analyze the typical characters of what the lemma refers to or those typical features of something else relevant to it, so as to comprehend its meaning and use in practice. Although, Chinese translation of the original explanation of senses should offer some equivalent(s) of the lemma, so that the L2 learner can accept its sense depending on his or her available linguistic knowledge in target language; the context for explaining the use of lemma also offers valuable original knowledge as a whole in pragmatics, meaning and colligation, which provides important information for complementing the difference between lemma in original language and equivalent in target language if there is difference between them. Especially, it must be considered to reflect the pragmatic knowledge of using the lemma in the translation of the original text. Furthermore, the context formed in examples cited after the explanation provides a real situation for reader to learn how the lemma is used in collocation and to accept usage construction as a whole unit more directly.

Generally speaking, from the perspective of cultivating linguistic competence, contexts of different levels designed in the L2 learner's dictionaries prepare a cognitive environment with typical characters of lemma or features relevant to it, provide a real environment for accepting and remembering lexical construction units more directly, and offer a using situation for acquiring pragmatic knowledge.

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CHAPTER TWELVE

BUILDING BRIDGES, USING WEAPONS OR MAKING MUSIC TOGETHER? METAPHORIC (RE)FRAMING IN INTERCULTURAL LANGUAGE LEARNING

MARTIN CORTAZZI AND LIXIAN JIN

Introduction

In this chapter we report some of our research into how students in different cultural communities conceive of language as revealed in an analysis of their elicited metaphors. This study shows a wide variety of metaphors: some are common across cultures, others seem more specific. This has implications for how we talk about language in intercultural language learning because the choice of a metaphor in classroom discourse can frame discussion and thinking about intercultural communication competence (ICC): offering a variety of metaphors can re-frame this thinking and help ICC development.

The general rationale underlying this study is that it is important to know how participants think about language in intercultural situations. Language in one way or another mediates so much of communication and social interaction. In foreign language learning contexts, a language is the target for learning but it is also the medium of learning and through the foreign language much else (specific disciplinary studies, cultural and literary studies, besides social and cultural insights) will be learned. Therefore, conceptions of language itself are potentially significant variables in intercultural language learning and ICC development: we need to have some understanding of what these conceptions are, and how they themselves might vary across cultural communities. We use a metaphor analysis as one method to ascertain participants' conceptions of language in different cultural groups.

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Metaphors in Language Learning and Intercultural Communication

It is quite common to find metaphors when people describe language, when they consider its nature and social uses or analyse its functions in intercultural communication. This is a normal occurrence among many populations but, more interestingly, it is noteworthy how linguists—as experts and language scientists—use such metaphors: they are likely to be highly conscious of the extended meanings and productive thinking that the use of metaphors can stimulate.

In introductory language courses, such as might be experienced by language learners and students of linguistics and intercultural communication in higher education, much has been made of key metaphors which have been influential in evolving schools of linguistics. Saussure's discussion of *language is a game of chess* (Saussure, 1960) emphasizes the structural notions of rules and conventions, coupled with variation and creativity; Wittgenstein's "meaning is use" and *language is a game* (Wittgenstein, 1958, para. 43) underline how utterances are explained in relation to social activities, or games, in which they play a pragmatic role. Chomsky's elaborations of *language is growth* or *language is an organ* (Chomsky, 1982) give insights into innatist conceptions of language, whereas Halliday's *language is a resource* (Halliday, 1978) encapsulates a series of ideas about making meaning within systemic networks of language choices.

How this use of metaphors as deeply associated with conceptions of language is readily confirmed in the titles of books written by linguists. This is interesting because book titles must be short and preferably memorable; they are designed to attract readers yet must also summarize major themes of the books. Where there are metaphors in book titles they have obviously been carefully considered as part of the book design. Such titles may employ organic metaphors: language can have *growth* (Jesperson, 1905), *life and growth* (Whitney, 1875) or *seeds* (Aitchison, 1996); it involves *change* and *decay* (Aitchison, 2001), a *rise and fall* (Dixon, 1989) or *death* (Crystal, 2000), and there is an *ecology of language* (Haugen, 1972) or *linguistic ecology* (Mühlhäusler, 1996). These organic metaphors are extended genetically to *the language instinct* (Pinker, 1994) or the complexity of *the language web* (Aitchison, 1997) and textile metaphors of *the loom of language* (Bodmer, 1944) and *the tapestry of language learning* (Scarcella & Oxford, 1992). Yet language can also be a transparent medium, *seeing through language* (Carter & Nash, 1990), *through the language glass* (Deutscher, 2010). On the other

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hand, instrumentally language is a *cultural tool* (Everett, 2012) or can be seen as a machine *at work* (Hunston, 1998). It can be *a loaded weapon* (Bolinger, 1980) and can cause *competition* (Wardhaugh, 1987) and *language wars* (Calvet, 1998); not surprisingly, then, with language's organic strength or as a tool, there is *power talk* (Thornborrow, 2002), *talking power* (Lakoff, 1990), *power in language* (Ng & Bradac, 1993) and even *the power of silence* (Jaworski, 1993).

Similarly, in considerations of intercultural communication, metaphors are commonly used in key contexts by specialist scholars. Thus, Gudykunst (1991) talks about *bridging differences* between cultures, while Fennes and Hapgood (1997) highlight the theme of *crossing cultural borders* in intercultural communication and learning. Sperber (1996) uses the extended medical metaphor of *epidemiology* and *cultural contagion* to attempt to explain communication and cultural transmission of cognitive representations between people and cultures. Gannon takes these functions of metaphors in intercultural interaction further; he claims cultural metaphors can be used to compare cultural communities around the world as a systematic method to develop intercultural understanding (Gannon, 2001a, 2001b). Thus a British *house* can be analysed in its social context as a metaphoric representation of meanings in significant strands in British culture: privacy, restraint, individuality, and social status; while a game of American football as a metaphor can explain significant cultural strands in the USA and can show symbolically how Hofstede's cultural dimensions of individualism and collectivism may apply in teamwork with individual heroism in the USA (Hofstede et al., 2010). Gannon's point is that cultural communities can identify both emotionally and cognitively with a given metaphor and thus the metaphor can represent some underlying values which the community expresses (2001a, p. xv). Such metaphors can be used heuristically by newcomers to a cultural context to gain awareness of some key features of a given culture, but in this intercultural learning the participants should realize that the use of a single metaphor cannot represent more than a part of cultural complexity; ultimately many metaphors are involved.

Our research here is an application of the long-standing research direction taken by Lakoff and others (Lakoff, 1987, 1993, 2008; Lakoff & Johnson, 1980; Lakoff & Turner, 1989) to investigate cognitive representations through metaphors. We consider how metaphors can be selected, adapted, extended and maybe changed to develop intercultural language learning and the development of ICC.

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Metaphors as Frames

The concept of a ‘frame’ in language has been used in sociology as a term about how to interpret a piece of language or interaction (Bateson, 1972) or the alignment that people take up in face-to-face interaction (Goffman, 1974) or in psychology, artificial intelligence, and sociolinguistics as a structure of expectations about situations, events, and the likely kind of language used in different associated contexts (Tannen, 1993). Here, we keep these ideas in mind because metaphors can ‘frame’ our interpretation of a topic, perhaps shaping how we view it by directing attention to some features rather than others, and thus leading to our alignment to others and what we expect from them in a given situation (Kövecses, 2005, 2006). Since discussion about language plays a key role in intercultural communication and in language learning, a metaphor for language can frame the view, alignment, expectations and interpretations of language. In talking about language and communication issues, the use of a metaphor also has affective aspects: it can indicate emotional alignment or distance, emphasis or de-emphasis, and give positive or negative evaluations (Cameron, 2008). It offers a discourse space where participants can align and agree on some common ground. For these reasons the choice of a metaphor in language and communication classrooms can lead learners to understand the role of language in one way rather than another way. The choice of a dominant metaphor for developing intercultural communication competence can influence students’ learning and subsequent practice. Of course, we can—and should—use more than one metaphor and thus shift frames or re-frame how language is conceived and used within a repertoire of metaphors.

Our use of thinking about a metaphor as a “frame” therefore draws attention, via the mediating metaphor of a frame, to what is within a frame: like a framed painting or photo there is a particular focus and background features seen from the stance and perspective of the viewer; like using a camera lens one can “zoom in” or “zoom out” within a frame; and whereas something is selected and highlighted by the frame, others things are left out and therefore are not noticed or are ignored. The possibility of considering, understanding and adopting alternative metaphors for language thus allows us as participants to include previously ignored features and to take up different stances and see language through different perspectives. It seems to be a great mistake to adhere to one major metaphor only, however productive this may seem initially, and given that other cultural communities have a different repertoire of metaphoric conceptions of language it seems wilfully ethnocentric to

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overlook alternative conceptions in intercultural communication once we are aware that they may be commonplace and significant for insiders. Our conceptions of language can shift between several or many metaphor frames, we can hold multiple frames in mind simultaneously, and we can gain insights from the metaphors for language held in other cultural communities and thus expand our own repertoire of frames with fresh ideas. This cross-cultural research offers an exhibition of a gallery of frames within and across specific cultures.

Our Research

Our approach is influenced by cognitive linguistic studies of metaphors which reveal underlying conceptual patterns in everyday language (Lakoff, 1987, 1993, 2008; Lakoff & Johnson, 1980; Lakoff & Turner, 1989) but we follow a cultural interpretation of this (Kövecses, 2005, 2006) in order to investigate students' and teachers' orientations to education (Cortazzi & Jin, 1999; Jin & Cortazzi, 2011).

Participants giving metaphors about language in English	**Number of participants**	**Number of metaphors**
Chinese students	596	1,179
Chinese teachers	258	413
Chinese students in the UK	326	673
Malaysian students	284	555
Iranian students	393	584
Lebanese students	1,146	1,384
total	3,026	3,788

Figure 12-1. Data sets in this study

We have elicited these large databases of metaphors from students by asking them to complete the sentence: *Language is… because…*. Here, the first cue, *Language*, is known as "the target" or what we are trying to understand. The first blank will be completed by participants choosing

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their own metaphor: this is known as "the source"—the comparison (usually less abstract and less complex than the target) that is used to help understand the target. In this study, the topic of language (the target) is held constant since all examples are about language but we analyse many metaphors to examine a wide range of sources through systematic mappings between sources and target. In the second blank, participants are asked to give their own reasons for the metaphor (known as an "entailment"). With the sources and entailments together, from a sufficient number of participants, we can ascertain socio-cultural perceptions in different cultural communities about language. Since this is an open-ended task a huge range of answers are possible, which means that we need an extensive database for this kind of research. The participants' responses here all relate to the same target so they are initially categorized according to the sources and then according to the entailments.

The data examined here are from *Lebanon*, a small country at a geographical crossroads with a highly cosmopolitan population which is multilingual and in which most people are educated first in Arabic and then in English or French or both; *Malaysia***,** a relatively small dynamic country with a multiracial, post-colonial society and associated languages of Malay, Chinese, Indian and aboriginal peoples, *Iran***,** with a distinct long-standing cultural history and a current Islamic republic, with a large population speaking a number of languages besides the national language of Persian, *China***,** with its huge population, dynamic development and social changes, the national language of Mandarin plus other languages. Students in these countries learn English in education and the language is valued in each for international purposes in different ways and the data used here were obtained in English. This presents some challenge and responses show some students are thinking of foreign languages, others are thinking of language in general, including their own. The Chinese data enable us to compare metaphors of students and teachers; since there are not many differences we might argue that this shows some continuity across generations. These data also enable us to examine differences between students in China and Chinese students studying in the UK; arguably this should make a difference but in general we have not found great changes. We also cite some examples from native British students in the UK.

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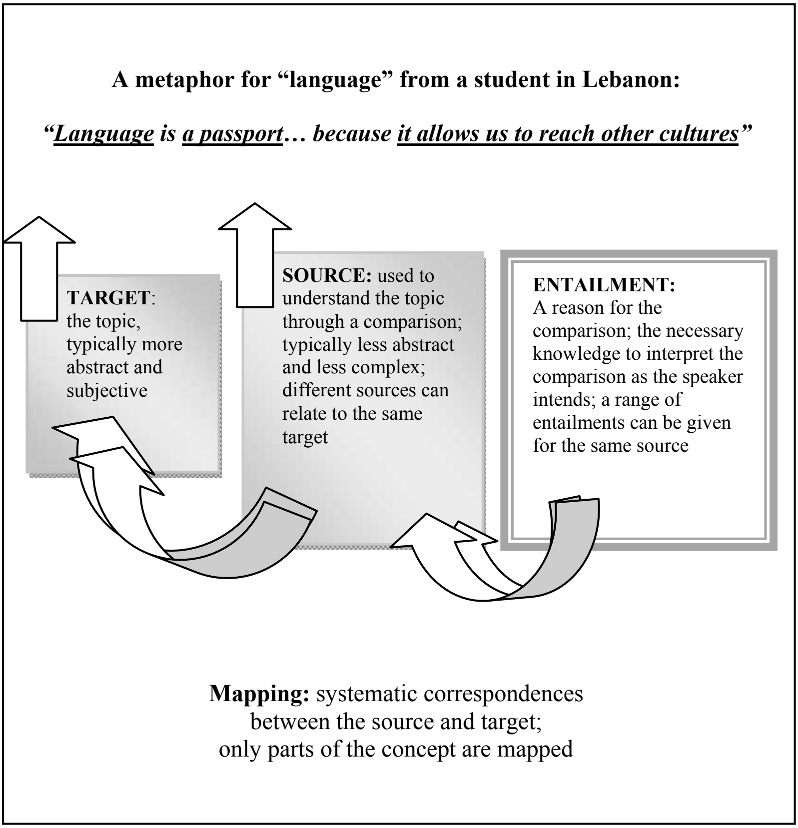

Figure 12-2. Key terms used to analyse cognitive metaphors in culture

Metaphors for Language

The enormous range of entailments can be seen by taking as an example the apparently limited metaphor, *language is a passport*. As a travel document and proof of identity and nationality there are some obvious associations here with how foreign languages can help global movement and access, with intercultural learning, but students in Lebanon give an interesting range of entailments for this metaphor. Such entailments show creative awareness of a range of functions of language in society, with strong cultural connections, and a global reach. This is seen even in a single metaphor if we have a range of entailments, in this case

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from a group of students learning in the same cultural context. This awareness of a variety of functions is seen also in the verbs in the examples cited below: *access*, *allow*, *open*, *help*, *contact*, *reach*, *open*, *define*, *recognize*, *show*, *and reflect*:

EXAMPLES FROM LEBANON

Language is a passport because:
Through it I can have access to all; it allows us to enter a world of opportunities;
It opens opportunities to visit exotic places; you can discuss with many people all around the world;
It is a passport to culture, it reflects the habitual practice of the population;
You can pass through wherever you want culture; only through it can I have access to all cultures;
It helps you communicate and live with people all around the world;
It helps us to visit places and recognize diverse cultures;
It takes you to a world of education; it allows us to adapt to other people;
It lets us in all over the world; it opens doors to many areas;
Each country has its own language; it reflects the country the person belongs to;
It shows your origin; it defines who you are; it is an identity card—with it, you can be more than one person;
You can be another person, because with more than one language you have more than one personality;

The entailments show important themes of identity and "having more than one personality" through language. Perhaps reflecting Lebanese cosmopolitanism, geopolitical context and multilingualism, these passport metaphors for language are reasonably common (97 examples) but interestingly they seem rare elsewhere in our data (Iran 0, Malaysia 1, China 1 but Chinese students in the UK 3, Chinese teachers 1). However, the *passport* metaphor can easily be understood in the context of travel which links up with other metaphors which are very common in all the datasets.

For developing intercultural communication competence (ICC), language as a *passport* represents how identity can be preserved while gaining access by agreement to global spaces and students might extend the metaphor by considering what the ICC analogy is for "getting a passport," "showing a passport" when crossing borders, and what the equivalent of "a visa" might be. Reflection on such images and associated concepts should help students avoid any static conceptions of language and bring dynamic models of language learning to the fore.

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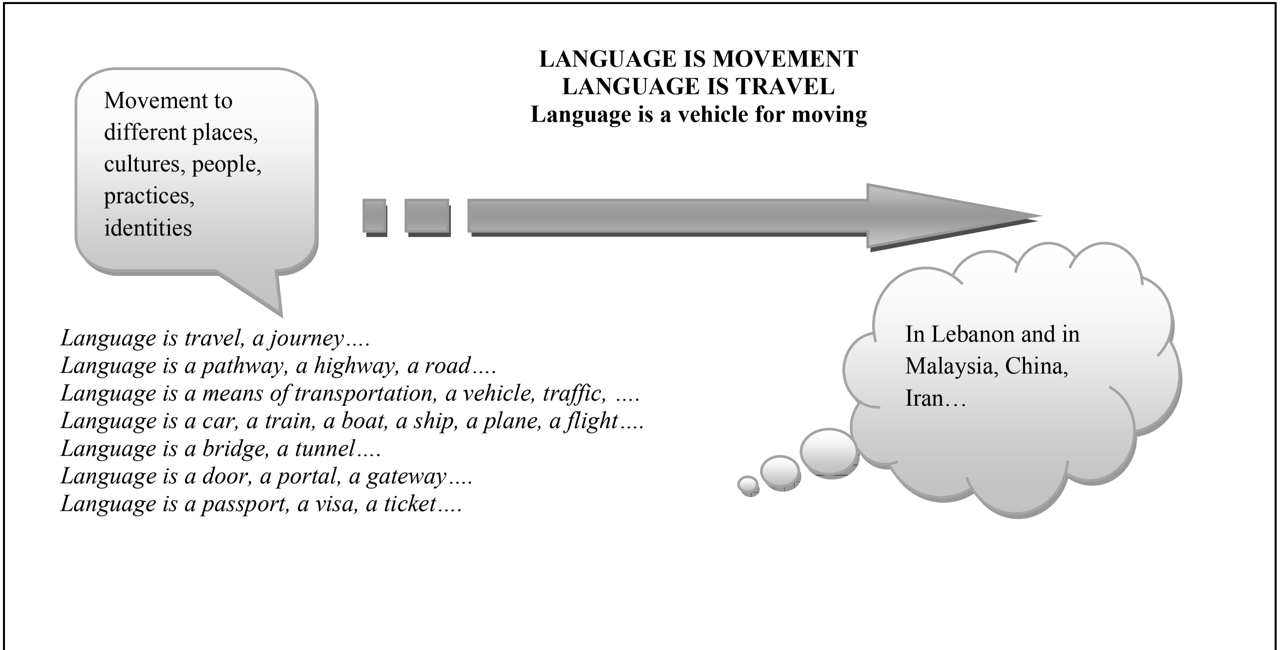

Figure 12-3. Language seen as travel in Lebanese metaphors: LANGUAGE IS MOVEMENT

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Fig. 12-3 shows a wide range of sources for metaphors about language, each one of which has a variety of entailments which in total present a rich picture which can be interpreted as a demonstration of a more general underlying conceptual metaphor (signified conventionally in metaphor research by the capital letters) of LANGUAGE IS TRAVEL or LANGUAGE IS A JOURNEY and the even more general one of LANGUAGE IS MOVEMENT (these are capitalized by convention to distinguish them from actual language examples of metaphors). This can be related to a highly general metaphor of A JOURNEY, such as LEARNING IS A JOURNEY (Jin & Cortazzi, 2011) which reinforces the dynamic idea of language learning. Developing ICC through considering language and communication as *movement*, *travel*, and *a journey* using these examples is also a powerful point of reflection. This conclusion is confirmed by how widespread these metaphors are in our data and by the further Lebanese examples where language is personified as a guide on a journey:

EXAMPLES FROM LEBANON

Language is a guide because:
It guides us when we are lost in different places;
It helps us to understand other people;
It helps you to communicate with others;
It helps us find ways in any society;
It teaches us knowledge;
It guides us through life.

EXAMPLES FROM BRITAIN

Language is a journey, transport or means of travel
Language is a journey *because it can be a frightening process with a fear of the unknown but it is fulfilling;* **Language is a train** *because it takes you on a long journey and introduces you to new experiences;*
Language is a long-haul flight to a new country: *there is a great expectation and much you don't know;*
Language is a cargo ship *because it helps you to get your point across long distances between people;*
Language is a roller-coaster *because there's a steep hill of learning but an easy and fluent ride down;*
Language is a spaghetti junction *because there are lots of confusing criss-crossing roads but in the end they all get you somewhere.*

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The British examples emphasise expectations, exploration, and perhaps excitement with a sense of ultimate achievement after possible difficulty in learning and using language; this frame offers insight for developing ICC and fits the apparently universal metaphor of movement and travel.

For intercultural learning and developing ICC, it is particularly useful to consider *bridge* metaphors, which are potentially universal. These feature strongly in our data from China (224 or 19% from students, 64 or 16% from teachers and 85 or 13% from students in the UK), and are reasonably represented in Iran (42 or 7.2%), Malaysia (47 or 8.5%), and in Lebanon (39 or 2.8%). The verbs often used here are *join*, *connect*, *link*, but also *build*, *offer* and *help*, and deictic verbs *bring*, *take*, *come* which show a spatial orientation and, again, movement. These verbs have a potentially powerful function for reflection on developing ICC: as obviously connecting, but also as building, offering and helping. Examples of entailments in China are similar to those found elsewhere but many have a much stronger emotional tone which could be shared in other cultural groups and, again, can be fruitful for considering ICC:

EXAMPLES FROM CHINA

Language is a bridge because:
It offers a convenient way for us to connect with others; people use it to understand and come closer;
It can put you and me together; it's a link of communication, a connection between people's hearts;
It links different cultures, it can lead us to new cultures, it can bring us to a more wonderful world;
It joins people of different views together to help build friendship, it relies on wisdom and enthusiasm;
It's a bridge of human beings and nature, a bridge of friendship, a bridge of souls, a bridge of all the world;
A bridge which can take you to other people's hearts, it builds relationships between people;
Without it you can only stay in your castle without laughter or happiness, only with loneliness;
It connects people's spirits, it joins their souls, connects minds and emotions; it helps you to fall in love;

Another common metaphor, again potentially universal, language is *a key* appears in the data in China (145 or 12% from students, 27 or 6.5% from teachers and 87 or 13% from Chinese students in the UK), but much less in Iran (29 or 5%) or Malaysia (18 or 3%) compared to Lebanon (226 or 16%). While examples from Malaysia and Iran are often concerned with

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knowledge, information and communication, those from Lebanon frequently stress culture. Many Chinese examples again have an emotional and optimistic tone; entailments often mention the heart, spirit and soul:

EXAMPLES FROM CHINA

Language is a key because:
It can help you to open the door to human cultures, to discover the world;
It unlocks the door to a bright future, the way to many life opportunities, and can lead you to success;
It can open the door to communication with others, to exchange minds and open other people's worlds;
It opens the windows of life, the door of the heart and soul, connecting the inside and outside worlds;
It is a key to the gate of knowledge, a key opening people's heart-door, an expression of spiritual cultures;
It's the key of our heart, it keeps our life and study together; we can open the door of hope with it;
It gives us the chance to revolutionize our ideas and express them; it can unlock the way to dreams;
It can open one's own heart; it's a key to other people's hearts to establish beautiful friendships;

A metaphor barely mentioned among Chinese participants (1 among teachers, 1 in the UK, 5 in China) or Malaysians (1) but more evident among Lebanese (15 or 1%) and Iranians (36 or 6%) is that language is *a new world*. Students in Iran share a sense of discovery, amazement, humility, and of finding others and a new self. Again, here are interesting cognitive and affective features of language which provide food for reflection on developing ICC. These students say:

EXAMPLES FROM IRAN

Language is a new world because:
You can discover so many things in it; it is never ending and every day you can find something new;
You can understand a new nation, new customs and other new happenings in the world;
The instant you reach it, you notice a preponderance of new things in you and in the entire world;
Everything is charming; if we learn we can see some of its amazements; we have a new way of living;
Reading books in the language brings new information and culture that helps us to a better life;

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It's a borderless world: I can communicate with others of any culture;
We encounter all the world's questions in it; you will feel very insignificant once you step in it;
It is the embodiment of a culture; it gives you another personality; you find a new identity;

Again, themes of culture, identity and personality are evident here.

However, students are aware of how language can be used to attack and defend. *Language is a weapon* features little in the Iranian (5 or 0.9%) and Malaysian (6 or 1.1%) data, somewhat more among the Chinese participants (34 or 1.4% among students, with 11 or 0.9% among teachers and 7 or 0.6% among students in the UK) and outstandingly among the Lebanese (226 or 16.3%), showing how, besides the commonalities across cultures shown above, there can also be great differences. As seen below, Lebanese examples include key verbs of aggression: *attack*, *challenge*, *defend*, *fight*, *hurt*, *destroy*, *kill*… how these might apply to language in ICC development is worth discussing with students.

EXAMPLES FROM LEBANON

Language is a weapon because:
You can't fight in life without something that will make you strong and confident;
It can be used to defend our opinion; it can be used to attack communication problems;
You can challenge others with it; you can defend yourself with it against enemies;
It helps you to cut away difficulty, it can hurt people with harsh words, it can destroy people;
It is used by soldiers to fight ignorance; it is a friendly weapon, it can kill enemies without shedding blood;

Chinese students have similar expressions, but they emphasize the two-sided nature of the *weapon*, double-edged for both attack and defence, or for proper and improper uses:

EXAMPLES FROM CHINA

Language is a weapon because:
You can use it to protect yourself and attack others;
Bad words can hurt others deeply; with it you can hurt yourself and others;
The most dangerous weapon that can break other people's hearts without shedding blood;

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If you use it in a bad way it cuts you and others; making others' hearts broken, it is the root of evil;
It's a double-edged sword, used properly it is like a sweet rain which sweeps away other people's agonies, anguishes, pains and unpleasant feelings and cheers them up, used improperly it is like a dagger which penetrates other people's hearts and makes them miserable;
It's a powerful weapon, it can turn black into white and change truth into error and hate, like those people who can talk anything out of nothing;

In all these datasets there are metaphors for language which focus on *food* (Iran 24; Malaysia 28; Lebanon 39; China 42) and on *plants* (Iran 15; Malaysia 28; Lebanon 14; China 21). These are of interest because the entailments connect across categories into different conceptual metaphors giving some validity to these overarching metaphors. Thus in Malaysia, examples of students' metaphors related to *food* are:

EXAMPLES FROM MALAYSIA

Language is eating *because it gives you energy;*
Language is food *because it is an essential part of humanity, every human needs it;*
Language is rice *because most people could not survive without it.*
Language is eating *because if you study languages you can catch up with energy and nutrition;*
Language is honey *because it gives you sweetness and nutrients.*

These and others give the idea that language is necessary for life and health, analogous to nutrition. Metaphors from China about *food* also show this underlying idea of LANGUAGE IS NUTRITION and it can be linked to HEALTH and GROWTH in the metaphors about plants to give some interesting conceptual metaphors: these offer a completely different framing compared to metaphors about bridges, keys or weapons. In this re-framing, language is seen in terms of beauty, happiness and love. LANGUAGE IS HEALTH AND HAPPINESS presents a different image to the utilitarian one to which some students subscribe in which a foreign language is useful for employment and getting a good job for economic success. This re-framing is shown with Chinese examples in Fig 12-4.

Another re-framing may be gained through LANGUAGE IS WEALTH or LANGUAGE IS A TREASURE:

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EXAMPLES FROM MALAYSIA

Language is gold *because we have to earn it every day*;
Language is gold *because the more you learn, the more you earn;*
Language is a diamond *because it is so beautiful;*
Language is money *because we have to use it in some way for it to be useful;*
Language is money *because you need a lot of it for it to be any use.*

EXAMPLES FROM LEBANON

Language is a treasure: *it is priceless; it is very valuable and essential in your education;*
Language is a treasure *because without it you can't be a talented person and advance your life;*
Language is a fortune *it helps us in life;*
Language is a diamond: *it lasts forever.*

EXAMPLES FROM CHINA

Language is gold *because only its owner can feel its value;*
Language is a treasure of humanity *because it is so useful for us;*
Language is a cheque *because it helps you to bring up your kids;*
Language is wealth *because it shows differences between users, how they live, act and die.*

A final example from our rich databases invites a further re-framing in terms of emotions, social contexts and aesthetics through *music* and *the arts*.

EXAMPLES FROM IRAN

Language is an art *because it deals with beautiful aspects of life;*
Language is a picture: *we try to look hard at it every day, even if you have never seen the giant beauty of it;*
Language is musical notes: *the better you know them and put them together, the better you express them;*

EXAMPLES FROM LEBANON

Language is music *because it is a way of expressing what we feel in many ways;*
Language is a universal band *because it binds large groups of people together;*

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Language is a song: *it lets us be more sociable because it lets us enter a different culture;*

EXAMPLES FROM MALAYSIA

Language is an art *because it expresses our own characteristics*;
Language is a painting: *if you know how to look at it, how to use it, you will be able to express emotions with great beauty;*
Language is a musical note *because it helps make a community more entertaining;*
Language is a song *because we are constantly developing it, it is so beautiful;*
Language is music in my heart: *it has variety and is full of fun;*

EXAMPLES FROM CHINA

Language is an art *which makes my life beautiful*;
Language is art: *you can get all the feelings of humanity in it;*
Language is music *because it is full of a spirit of understanding;*
Language is a song *because it makes the world of our spirit full of happiness.*

For the development of ICC, by extending these language metaphors, students could discuss what it means to reframe language and what this implies for the mind, the heart, and in practical action… if language in ICC is *food* (say, rice or honey), *treasure* (gold or diamonds), *art* or *music*, and intriguingly, students could work out what this means for ICC when language is framed—cognitively and affectively—as *beauty*, *happiness* and *love*. At least some of the entailments in the above examples should show us that for the students giving these metaphors these are not simply poetic images but can be seen as desires, goals, and reasoned practice. When these notions are contrasted across cultures with the previous images and implications of viewing language in ICC as *a weapon*, *key* or *bridge*, it should be clear that extending a given repertoire of existing metaphors, through cultural exchange, and working with previously unexplored metaphors, through finding metaphors for language which are common in another cultural community but relatively unknown in more familiar communities and one's own, offers potential for a refreshing discussion of how language works in ICC and what we might by developing ICC, or indeed, what we mean by ICC when we see the concepts and practical processes in these terms.

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Language is ….
A growing tree: it becomes taller and taller and becomes more plentiful;
A garden where there are flowers growing which we need in our hearts;
Flowers that come out everywhere and make the world more beautiful and people more kind-hearted;
An apple tree: it can bring you a sweet and large harvest and you get good friends and a happy life;
A green tree which stands in the yard of love;

LANGUAGE IS HEALTH AND HAPPINESS
LANGUAGE IS BEAUTY, HAPPINESS, LOVE
LANGUAGE IS GROWTH

An egg: it will be tasty and nourishing;
Digestion, the system of changing food to energy;
Salt: without it the world will become tasteless and people won't appreciate the beauty of life;
Basic nutrition: it keeps you alive and helps you to grow
A cake: it will make people happy and full of spirit.

Figure 12-4. LANGUAGE IS GROWTH; LANGUAGE IS HEALTH AND HAPPINESS in metaphors from China

Conclusions and Applications

Evidently there is a range of readily shared metaphors for language among students in different cultural communities. Any of these metaphors might answer the questions, "Why do we learn a foreign language?" or "Why do we need to study our own language?" and "What is language

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within Intercultural Communication Competence?" or "How does language work within developing Intercultural Communication Competence?" The range and diversity of these metaphors shows a variety of different frames; each frame shows a different way to answer such questions.

Notably, all the cultural communities from which we have gathered data have a repertoire of metaphors for language: there isn't a single dominating concept or image. Crucially for the development of ICC, across these cultures there are some common metaphors, so that in some cases the sources and entailments are very similar, which means that framing thinking and discussion about language and ICC in these terms is likely to be on common ground and to that extent productive because differences are minimal. However, we should notice how with some commonly shared metaphors in all the cultures considered the entailment may vary. The range of entailments and affective associations may have different emphases and therefore different nuances of meanings and applications—an interesting point for ICC development since the apparent commonality cannot be assumed to have identical deeper meanings in different cultural communities. Other metaphors which seem common in a given culture may not be common at all in other cultural communities elsewhere. This implies a caution in intercultural communication: that discourse framed by such a metaphor (so easily taken for granted where it seems commonplace) may misalign some participants and could lead to misperceptions or misunderstandings. On the other hand, metaphor re-framing is possible, and once a metaphor is appreciated it can lead to fresh thinking in less familiar or new directions, leading to cultural enrichment and, as we have argued, to different potential ways to develop ICC by discussing the implications and applications of current and extended repertoires of metaphors for language within ICC contexts.

Metaphors invite responses. Responses are required to make interpretations to bridge the target and source; such bridging through drawing systematic correspondences is an active process, even when the source is given. In intercultural language learning, participants could choose and agree upon a metaphor to establish common ground, then they could explore newer metaphors from other cultures, and try to extend the entailments—these are all creative acts and are thus part of much current thinking about intercultural language learning and ICC.

Some applications of this study include the following points:

(1) It is useful to use metaphors with participants to talk about language and intercultural communication as part of intercultural language learning and ICC development. This might well include deducing

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entailments which are not given (If language is *honey*, or *beauty*, what does this mean and what does it imply for ICC?). Alternatively participants could discuss some given entailments and see what specific metaphors imply.

(2) Participants can make their own metaphors as a creative activity and discuss their entailments, while others can extend a metaphor with further entailments; this exercises creative responses and often extends thinking when the metaphor and entailments are explained to others.

(3) For discussion of metaphors, it would be useful first to choose a metaphor which is common across cultures because this will be easier for students to identity with and explore, and it will likely have validity in other cultures. E.g., *language is a…bridge/a key/a window/a door*.

(4) Participants can be given two contrasting metaphors on language or another topic to show them how the choice of metaphor frames the topic and how we think about it; participants can discuss different choices within a repertoire of metaphors in their own cultural community and what this means for ICC.

(5) Participants can discuss different metaphor choices across cultural communities: how would they be interpreted and used? What are some popular metaphors for language in a target culture community? How would adopting one metaphor frame rather than another affect the development of ICC? E.g., *language is…a weapon, a treasure, music, a rainbow.*

(6) Finally, as scholars, researchers, teachers, learners, and intercultural interactants, we should ask: Which metaphors shall we choose for ourselves? Is language building a bridge, is it a weapon or is it making music together? As a British student explains in a metaphor highly relevant to developing ICC:

> **Language is making music** *because it is a unique form of music, it sounds so beautiful, it must be practised and must be interpreted; you only know how it goes, if you listen to it.*

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CHAPTER THIRTEEN

SHYNESS, SELF-ESTEEM AND INTERCULTURAL COMMUNICATION COMPETENCE

QINGWEN DONG, YINGHU LIU,
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Introduction

Intercultural communication competence plays a critical role in today's globalized social environment. People from all of the world tend to have more and more opportunities to interact with others from different cultural backgrounds because they depend heavily on each other for economic exchanges and social advancement. It is vitally important that individuals develop intercultural communication competence, which enables them to work with others and achieve success in the culturally diverse social context.

Many factors affect people's intercultural communication competence. For example, understanding and mastering a foreign language can help individuals communicate well with people from other cultures. Cultural awareness is another requirement for intercultural communication competence development. Moreover, psychological preparation is also a critical component. This psychological preparation process includes developing the ability to overcome shyness, enhance self-esteem and improve self-confidence to achieve mutual respect and mutual understanding.

Previous review of literature shows that research on the relationship between intercultural communication competence and variables of psychological preparation is scarce. In order to deal with the problem, it is then the purpose of this study to investigate the impact of the two psychological variables, namely shyness and self-esteem, on the development of intercultural communication competence.

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Literature Review

Shyness

Numerous studies have examined the concept of shyness and its impact on various social variables. Over the past ten years, hundreds of research articles were published. However, only a few of them were conducted in the Chinese context, and some of which focused on the elderly people in China (Asendorpf, 1993; Chen, Wang, & Wang, 2009). Hardly was there any study that analyzed the effect of young people's shyness on intercultural communication competence development.

According to Zimbardo and Radl (1981), shyness is "a mental attitude that predisposes people to be extremely concerned about the social evaluation of them by others" (p. 9). This definition encompasses two forms of shyness: shyness toward strangers (Asendorpf, 1990), and anxious shyness toward negative social evaluation (Xu, Farver, Chang, Zhang, & Yu, 2007). Shyness toward strangers refers to a fearful and inhibited reaction to unfamiliar individuals. Shyness in this situation is possibly biologically based and is relatively stable over time (Kagan, 1994). On the other hand, anxious shyness refers to passive withdrawal, social avoidance, and a fear of negative social evaluation with familiar peers. This pattern of behavior is also known as anxious solitude (Gazelle et al., 2005).

Buss and Plomin (1984) categorized shyness as fearful and self-conscious. Fearful shyness resembles shyness toward strangers (as mentioned above), and is characterized by social wariness and fear of novelty. In contrast, self-conscious shyness refers to sensitivity or inhibition in response to public attention or scrutiny (Buss, 1986; Crozier, 1999).

Asendorpf (1990) pointed out that shyness could be viewed from a motivational perspective, which suggests that avoiding conflicts is a motive of being shy. From the emotional perspective, shyness is a particular form of fearfulness in social situations. Therefore, Asendorpf divided shyness into two kinds: temperamental shyness and social-evaluative shyness. The former shows that shyness toward strangers appears to be a developing and moderately stable trait that shows consistency across unfamiliar interaction partners. The latter is a form of withdrawing from others via social isolation, and a form of being excluded by others from social interaction.

Zimbardo (1977) further suggested that it is difficult to have an adequate definition of shyness due to the fact that shyness has different meanings for different people. Notwithstanding he believed that shyness is "common, widespread, and universal" (p. 15), shyness does vary from

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culture to culture. People from Eastern cultures tend to show higher shyness than Westerners.

In addition, Xu, Farver, Yu, and Zhang (2008) reported that Chinese people tend to be shy but they seem to manage their social encounter well without showing their assertive behavior. Xu et al. indicated that the Chinese shyness is a type of regulated shyness. The other two types of shyness include shyness toward strangers and anxious shyness. Shyness toward strangers deals with fearful and inhibited behavior toward unfamiliar adults or peers while anxious shyness occurs in familiar peer contexts and shows as anxious withdrawal or an avoidance of social contact.

There are various definitions of shyness and also various attitudes toward shyness in cross-cultural contexts. The Chinese emphasis on being shy represents a unique Chinese cultural orientation which is stressed in interpersonal communication. As the two prominent ideological systems in the Chinese traditional culture, both Confucian and Taoist philosophies consider behavioral restraint and wariness as signs of social maturity and mastery (Yang, 1986). Shyness is positively valued and encouraged and shy children are often regarded as well behaved. In this circumstance, shy children may obtain support through social interaction, which in turn may help them form social relationships, acquire school achievement, and develop positive views and feelings about self and others (Chen et al., 2009).

Xu et al (2008) indicated that this positive view on shyness originates primarily from Confucian philosophy, which dictates self as a part of the whole and considers individual behavior inextricably linked to the responsibility for the group and to the relative status within the social hierarchy. Thus, scholars suggested that the meaning of shy behavior is not only construed at the individual level (e.g., whether such behavior reflects fear or social anxiety) but also understood in terms of the relevance for group functioning (e.g., whether such behavior prevents the person from appearing bold and overly assertive or standing out in the group). Consequently, the Chinese notion of shyness is multidimensional because it encompasses fearful and anxious behavior that is relevant to individual children's psychological functioning (as the Western conception of shyness) and includes modest and unassuming behavior that seems to be particularly important for group functioning.

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Self-esteem

Self-esteem is one of the most popular constructs of psychology (Brown, Dutton, & Cook, 2001). Plenty of self-esteem researches in the 20th century focused on the global self-esteem. These researches tended to view self-esteem as a unidimensional construct and consider the concept of self-esteem as the overall evaluation of self. Rosenberg (1965) defined self-esteem as the individual's global judgments about himself or herself, including levels of self-worth, self-acceptance and self-respect. Lawrence and Bennett (1992) believed that self-esteem includes both psychological and physical characteristics of the emotional evaluation. After 1990s, some psychologists claimed that self-esteem is not a global unidimensional construct. They suggested that self-esteem can be a hierarchically organized and multifaceted construct. It was suggested that self-esteem has different levels. The highest level is global self-esteem, and the lowest is evaluation of specific, concrete behaviors in context, with domain self-esteem, such as academic self-esteem and nonacademic self-esteem, being somewhere in the middle (Shavelson, Hubner, & Stanton, 1976).

Tafarodi and Swann (1995) divided global self-esteem into self-competence and self-like two aspects. They suggested that self-competence comes from individuals in the past to complete the goal directed behavior. Self competence reflects the individual's self-efficacy, which is the internal dimension of self-esteem. Self-like comes from the others' evaluations on the individual value. These evaluations of the behavior of individuals can be determined by others. It is the external dimension of self-esteem.

Gecas (1971), one of the leading researchers in self-concept formation, developed a self-esteem measure based on a semantic differential scale with 13 pairs of adjectives. He pointed out that self-esteem carries motivational properties which encourage individuals to either maintain or enhance their positive view of themselves (Gecas, 1986). This positive view of themselves is expected to motivate individuals to think positively about themselves, and get more involved in various activities which further enhance themselves. As a result, individuals with high self-esteem tend to seek opportunities to maintain and enhance themselves, continuing feeling good and strong about themselves. In the meantime, those with low self-esteem tend to seek fewer or even avoid opportunities to enhance themselves.

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Intercultural Communication Competence

Intercultural communication competence has become one of the key university learning outcomes around the globe. Research findings showed that intercultural communication competence helps individuals overcome ethnocentrism and cultivate mutual respect and mutual trust between people who have different cultural backgrounds (Dong, Day & Collace, 2008).

According to Lustig and Koester (2003), "competent intercultural communication is contextual; it produces behaviors that are both appropriate and effective; and it requires sufficient knowledge, suitable motivations, and skill action" (p. 64). McCroskey and Richmond (1990) defined intercultural communication competence through three communication traits. They are communication apprehension (CA), self-perceived communication competence (SPCC) and willingness to communicate. Research showed that communication apprehension plays a critical role in reducing individuals' intercultural communication competence. Students who are apprehensive about communicating often report a lower level of communication competence (McCroskey & Richmond, 1990). It was also found that students who do not perceive themselves as competent communicators generally are more apprehensive in interacting with others (McCroskey & Richmond, 1990).

Moreover, studies indicated that people in Taiwan tend to perceive themselves as more apprehensive, less willing to communicate, less competent and less argumentative in communication, but have a greater amount and depth of self-disclosure than Americans (Hsu, 2007). Similar findings in these three communication traits were also reported in the mainland China (Lu & Hsu, 2008). Given the importance of intercultural competence within higher education, some researchers proposed models to assess intercultural competence. For instance, Deardorff (2009) proposed a process model. This model focused on internal and external outcomes of intercultural competence based on the development of specific attitudes, knowledge, and skills in intercultural competence. Models like King and Baxter Magolda's (2005) intercultural maturity model outlined the stages of intercultural competence development and the foundation for assessing intercultural competence. Given the complexity of competence development, both the direct and the indirect evidences should be collected to assess students' intercultural competence (Deardorff, 2011).

Chen and Starosta (2000) classified intercultural communication competence into two major areas: intercultural communication awareness and intercultural communication sensitivity. According to the authors,

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intercultural communication awareness plays a fundamental role in helping individuals recognize cultural elements in the social environment, while intercultural communication sensitivity focuses more on the affective dimension, although the concept may be related to various cognitive, affective and behavioral aspects. Research indicated that the higher level of intercultural communication sensitivity individuals have, the more likely they are doing well in intercultural communication settings (Dong, Day, & Collaco, 2008).

Finally, Bennett and Bennett (2004) proposed a Developmental Model of Intercultural Sensitivity (DMIS). This model suggested that people go through a six developmental stages to become interculturally sensitive towards others. The first three stages are viewed as ethnocentric in which people view their own culture more critical than others, avoid cultural differences, and raise defense against the differences (Bennett & Bennett, 2004). The second three stages, including acceptance, adaption, and integration, are viewed as ethno-relative. The model demonstrated that through learning process people can become interculturally competent by going through these developmental stages from ethnocentric to ethno-relative.

Summary and Hypotheses

Some scholars regarded shyness as a trait characterized by tension, discomfort, and inhibition in the presence of other people (Cheek & Buss, 1981). Individuals who have this trait are believed to experience low self-esteem. Any relationship between shyness and self-esteem may be bidirectional. Simply having doubts about social competence may lead to low self-worth. On the other hand, low self-esteem may result in doubts about social competence and increase shyness (Arkin, Lake, & Baumgardner, 1986).

Shyness may cause more problems in adolescence as young people are increasingly required to initiate social relationships with peers. Those with poor social skills, and limited interactions may encounter even more difficulties (Buss, 1980). Based on the review of literature, we propose the first hypothesis as follows:

H1: The higher degree of shyness individuals have, the less likely they are interculturally competent in communication .

Intercultural communication sensitivity has been treated as the core component of intercultural communication competence (Chen & Starosta, 2000; Dong, Day & Collace, 2008), therefore, intercultural communication competence in the current study was measured in the intercultural

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communication sensitivity. Numerous studies have shown that the individual's perception of self greatly affects attitudes, behaviors, evaluations, and cognitive processes. The review of literature suggests that individuals with high self-esteem will engage more in social interaction with others. Research shows that low self-esteem leads to high communication apprehension and less willingness to communicate. Therefore, we propose the second hypothesis:

H2: The higher self-esteem individuals have, the more likely they are interculturally competent in communication.

Methods

Sample

This study was conducted in four universities in two Chinese major cities. Two of them are major state universities and two others are municipal universities. These four universities were selected based on the locations of regional representation of the country and the academic levels of the universities. Following the selection of universities, a convenient sample procedure was adopted for data collection. In order to avoid sampling bias, data were collected in general education classes so that it could develop adequate representation of the population through this sampling procedure.

Procedures

The questionnaire was first developed in English, and then was translated into Chinese. After translation, the questionnaires were translated back to English to assess the quality of translation. At the same time, the questionnaires were tested in both languages in order to assess translation quality and accuracy.

A self-administered online survey questionnaire was given to 389 college students while 334 students completed their questionnaires. Questions covered a range of issues of shyness, self-esteem and intercultural communication competence. The online survey took seven days to complete.

Measurement

The three existing measurements were used in this study including shyness, (Cheek & Buss, 1981), self-esteem (Gecas, 1971), and intercultural

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communication competence which was measured by using intercultural communication sensitivity scale (Chen & Starosta, 2000). Both descriptive and statistical analyses were conducted for testing the hypotheses.

The Revised Cheek and Buss Shyness Scale (RCBS) consisted of 13 items. Respondents indicate their likelihood for each behavior using a scale with points of 1 (extremely disagree), 2 (disagree), 3 (neutral), 4 (agree) or 5 (extremely agree). The self-esteem measure listed 11 bi-polar adjectives investigating how individuals evaluate themselves as being honest/dishonest, good/bad, worthy/worthless. The measure was adapted from Gecas (1971) semantic differential scale.

The measurement of intercultural communication competence was adapted from Chen and Starosta (2000). Exploratory factor analysis generated a 24-item Intercultural Sensitivity Scale with five factors: interaction engagement (e.g., I enjoy interacting with people from different cultures.), respect for cultural differences (e.g., I respect the values of people from different cultures.), interaction confidence (e.g., I often get discouraged when I am with people from different cultures.), interaction enjoyment (e.g., I have a feeling of enjoyment towards differences between my culturally-distinct counterpart and me.) and interaction attentiveness (e.g., I am sensitive to my culturally-distinct counterpart's subtle meanings during our interaction).

Data Analysis

Collected data were entered manually into the Statistical Package for Social Sciences (SPSS) and that was used to analyze the data and generate results. First, descriptive statistics was conducted to get demographic information of the participants. A reliability test was conducted for shyness, self-esteem and intercultural competence. Estimates of internal consistency for each of the subscale were calculated. The alpha coefficients were calculated for the key variables.

Results

The descriptive analysis result in Table 13-1 below showed that the sample had 136 male respondents (41%) and 197 female (59%). The average age of the respondents was 20 years old. The results showed that the respondents viewed themselves as having relatively high self-esteem with a mean of 2.6 in the seven-point scale (one refers to high while seven refers to low). The sample indicated that subjects viewed themselves as having weak/moderate intercultural communication competence with a

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mean of 2.87 in a four-point scale. In addition, people ranked themselves a little bit shy with a mean of 2.8 in a five-point scale.

Table 13-1. Descriptive analysis

Variables	N	Mean	Standard Deviation	Range
Self-Esteem	334	2.57	0.80	6
ICC	334	2.87	0.34	3
Shyness	334	2.84	0.64	4
Age	334	20.37	1.32	16

The correlation analysis of the three key scales (see Table 13-2 below) indicated that there was a statistically significant correlation between intercultural communication competence and self-esteem. It suggested that intercultural communication competence was positively correlated with self-esteem. In addition, the results indicated that there was statistically significant negative correlation between intercultural communication competence and shyness. In other words, the shyer you are, the less likely you will possess intercultural communication competence. The results also showed that there was a statistically significant negative correlation between self-esteem and shyness. People who view themselves positively tend to be less shy.

Table 13-2. Means, standard deviation, correlation, and reliabilities

Variables	Means	SD	1	2	3
ICC	68.86	8.18			(.83)
Self-esteem	28.32	8.76	.42**		(.83)
Shyness	19.50	5.46	-.48**	-.48**	(.85)

Note: N = 334. Reliability estimates in parentheses are alpha coefficients for each scale.
**P< .01

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To test the hypotheses, the step-wise regression analysis was conducted. Research results (see Table 13-3) confirmed the two hypotheses. In other words, the results supported H1, which indicated that shyness hinders the development of intercultural communication competence. The results also supported H2, suggesting that higher self-esteem leads to greater intercultural communication competence.

Table 13-3. Regression analysis for variables predicting ICC (Stepwise regression analysis)

Predicting Variables	B	SE	t	Beta
Self-esteem	.12	0.2	5.22	.27**
Shyness	-.20	0.3	-7.50	.38**

Note: Dependent variable = Intercultural communication competence (ICC); N = 334

Discussion

Shyness has been a unique cultural and social phenomenon in China and it is rooted in the Chinese cultural system. However, in today's globalized world environment, it is imperative for researchers to reexamine this cultural variable and comprehend it in the new social context. Due to more and more communication across cultures, shyness poses an immediate and critical challenge to those who are interacting with people from different cultural backgrounds. As this study shows, shyness leads to the decrease of intercultural communication competence while self-esteem enhances intercultural communication competence. Therefore, it is important to notice that some culturally based variables such as shyness directly affects some competence in dealing with other cultures. Although it is difficult to make an accurate judgement on cultural characteristics, it is important to offer some contextual evidence to show how some cultural variables pose challenges to the new way of communication in today's world.

For example, being shy is not inappropriate. But in an intercultural communication encounter, we now recognize that shyness will reduce people's intercultural communication competence, which produces many challenges to people who are dealing with a culturally diverse counterpart. This recognition of the impact of shyness is the major contribution of this study. Similarly, self-esteem also shows impact on the development of

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intercultural communication competence. It is important to promote individuals' self and self-concepts to cultivate their communication competence.

The present study has several limitations. The first is the non-random nature of data collection. Although the researchers made strong efforts to avoid the selection bias, the generalization of research results should be cautious due to the convenient sampling characteristics. Second, the shyness scale is adapted from the Western measurement in this study. Despite the efforts had been made to enhance reliability and validity of the measurement, we have to admit that this measure may be influenced by cultural emphasis. Third, this quantitative measurement shows a standardized way of examining people's perception, attitudes and behaviors, which may not capture the context and detailed information of how and why Chinese college students self-perceive shyness, intercultural communication competence and self-esteem. These self-reported measures may have some internal problems in their measurement. We should recognize this while applying these results to explain and predict other social and cultural phenomena.

There are three suggestions for future research. First, a qualitative study with in-depth interviews with Chinese young adults can offer rich data to better understand the Chinese and their values, beliefs, and attitudes. Second, a multi-dimensional scale to measure Chinese young adults' shyness and intercultural communication competence can add more to our understanding of Chinese young adults' views and feelings in those measures. Third, a random sample of various students can provide a higher generalizability of the results.

In conclusion, this study offers some significant empirical data to understand the Chinese unique cultural variable, shyness and its impact on the development of intercultural communication competence. It is beneficial to both the individuals and society to evaluate this cultural variable in today's new social context. This study also shows some evidences that those who view themselves positively tend to view themselves to have higher levels of intercultural communication competence. In addition, there is a strong negative correlation between self-esteem and shyness. These research results should help us revisit these two psychological variables and pave the way for further studies.

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CHAPTER FOURTEEN

MEDIA PRODUCTION LITERACY AS A FORM OF INTERCULTURAL COMMUNICATION COMPETENCE: DEMYSTIFYING INDIGENOUS PEOPLES IN THE PHILIPPINE CORDILLERA

JIMMY BALUD FONG

The central and mountainous part of northern Luzon island in the Philippines is known as the Philippine Cordillera. It is the traditional domain of indigenous peoples generically referred to as Igorots. The word Igorot simply means people who live in the mountains but the Philippines' colonial history and nation-state building process endowed the word with connotations that are mostly pejorative: uncouth, dirty, barbaric, savages. Because of their inability to make the mountain people submit to Spanish rule, the Spanish colonizers resorted to divide-and-rule tactics and encouraged the lowland Filipinos to perceive the mountain peoples as different and inferior by deploying pejorative labels. This led several ethnic subgroups in the region to reject the label Igorot, which remains a contested and negotiated identity today.

The American colonial agency Bureau of Non-Christian Tribes further reinforced and emphasized a racial and ethnic difference of the mountain peoples from the lowlanders even if the lowlanders and highlanders always had dynamic relations and interactions including intermarriages and trade. The same Bureau of Non-Christian Tribes was restructured as the Commission on National Integration (CNI) in 1957, a decade after the Philippines' independence from the United States of America. The Presidential Assistance for National Minorities (PANAMIN) created in 1972 by President Ferdinand Marcos would further reinforce exotic representations of the ethnic "minorities." This gold and timber-rich

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mountain region was called by the American colonizers as Mountain Province (1908-1966).

Advocates of indigenous peoples succeeded in including a provision in the 1987 Philippine Constitution, after Marcos was ousted in a peaceful revolution, about the creation of the area as an autonomous region on the the basis of a common history and similarities in cultures. When she took over, President Corazon Aquino created through Executive Order 220 the Cordillera Administrative Region as a transition stage towards the eventual creation of an autonomous region. But the establishment of an autonomous region depended on the ratification of an organic act by the Cordillera residents. The organic act was rejected in two plebiscites because the process was dominated by politicians. This means the Cordillera provinces are still in a state of unconstitutionality.

During the Ramos administration, most of the Cordillera provinces were among the 20 poorest provinces, euphemistically called Club 20, in the Philippines. This, despite the operation of gold and copper mine and logging companies in the area during most of the 20th Century. Today the Cordillera people are trying to improve their economic status by engaging in commercial agriculture such as vegetable farming in Benguet and Mountain Province, tourism in Sagada, Mountain Province, the rice terraces in Ifugao, white water rafting and cultural festivals in Kalinga and Apayao, etc.

This discussion focuses on the socio-cultural development of indigenous peoples in the Philippines and their struggle for a more realistic and fair representation in the various forms of media. The increasing media production literacy of the indigenous peoples themselves could level the playing field of representation. I argue that in learning how to produce media content, they contest colonial representations and present alternative ways of looking at them. Having been introduced to Western education, religion, system of government, media that includes American pop music and movies, and now the Internet, they have developed certain competencies that enable them to communicate with the various cultural groups within the Philippine nation-state, the international community, and the diasporic communities of indigenous peoples from the northern Philippine Cordillera all over the world.

I posit that the Cordillera peoples have now developed the self-confidence, one of the skills identified by Spitzberg (2000) as useful in intercultural communication competence and adaptation.

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Colonial Representations of the Indigenous Peoples of the Cordillera

The indigenous peoples of the Cordillera have been the subject of photographs, magazine articles and books by colonial writers. While the details in each publication may vary, a cursory look at the titles can be very revealing of how the Cordillera people have been represented in the work of mostly American and American-educated authors.

Deploying the power of language, the colonizers referred to the mountain peoples as “non-Christian tribes” (Worcester, 1906, 1913). The word tribe has African origins and its use in the context of the Philippines may not be appropriate. Because of its often unfair constitutive tendencies, the use of tribe to refer to the ethnoliguistic groups in the Cordillera is problematic. It focused on the “paganism” of the people and its use only succeeded in othering the indigenous peoples in the mountains.

Another recurring label ascribed to the mountain peoples is “headhunters” (Barton, 1930; Keesing & Keesing, 1934; Willcox, 1912; Worcester, 1906, 1912). Deeper ethnographic studies on the phenomenon reveal that headtaking always happens in the context of inter-village conflicts and surely not meant to expand a group’s territory (see De Raedt, 1993; Prill-Brett, 2006).

In general, most of these works and publications became the authoritative sources for both academic and popular definitions and representations of the Cordillera people. Unfortunately, perhaps because of the recurrent use of the word “headhunters” in the literatures, the Igorots, or the Cordillera peoples have long been perceived as barbaric and savages.

The use of special laws, agencies and programs throughout Philippine history (Bureau of Non-Christian Tibes, Commission on National Integration, Presidential Assistance on National Minorities, Office of Northern Cultural Communities, National Integration Study Grant Program, Selected Ethnic Groups Educational Assistance Program, Indigenous Peoples’ Rights Act) only continued to mark the Igorots and other indigenous peoples as different from and inferior to the rest of the Filipinos. These have effectively become state instruments to minoritize indigenous peoples.

The programs resulted in many of the Igorots being educated and becoming professionals, including occupying leadership positions in Philippine society. Yet while these programs integrated the indigenous peoples (IPs) into mainstream society in general, it is the larger Filipino nation that still needs to be integrated with the Filipino IPs, as occasionally

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manifested in mainstream popular culture and unguarded comments by lowland Filipinos.

Representations by Philippine Media

In 2009, Zapata established that "the dominant representations of Igorots' television images are metonymical of the other: backward, inferior, passive, eccentric, separate and different." She cites a Coca-Cola advertisement "which showed the Igorot as a mere exotic stop-over who poses for photographs to entertain tourists." The Igorot peripheral voice is also used "to glorify the imagined superiority of the center" in a documentary, and another TV segment dealing with a traditional Ifugao judicial practice, "almost without context, to emphasize their supposed resistance to modernity."

Through the years, the Cordillera people have resented and protested against representations of them by Philippine statesmen and politicians, and by mainstream newspapers, television and cinema. Every now and then, there would be vigorous expressions of protests against representations that the Igorots perceive are not fair or come from ignorant/bigoted minds.

Self-representation through Media Productions

As an American colony, the Philippines easily became an extension of the American technology market. The Philippines became a part of the progress in audio-visual mass media and the international music industry in the second half of the 20th Century, which includes the development of recording technology.

Formal education, radio and recordings spread American popular songs in the northern Luzon highlands, with Baguio City, an American colonial construct, serving both as the conduit and distribution center.

I wish to point out that the modern and post-modern conditions demand the development of several kinds of literacies over and above the traditional reading, writing and arithmetic. Viewing and reading still and moving images are now considered basic literacy skills. The Internet and new media forms also now demand skills in networking, collaboration and creation of content, also intercultural communication skills. The open nature of new media makes it even more a wider site of struggle of competing ideologies and representations. This is where, I think, the indigenous peoples of the Cordillera, or Igorots, continue to build on stereotypes, debunk stereotypes or indeed, create new ones. The following

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cases of media productions in the region demonstrate intercultural communication competencies such as understanding, awareness of culture (of others), cautiousness, coopertaion, flexibility, interest, managerial ability, task persistence, and strength of personailty (Spitzberg, 2000).

Perhaps the very first recorded pop song from the Cordillera region is the Bontoc song *Nan Layad Nenlikhatan* (The love we struggled for) recorded by Pedro Chinalpan, a bus driver, sometime in 1962.

A decade after, in 1973, an Ibaloy, an ethnolinguistic group in the southern Cordillera, by the name of Rod Danggol recorded *Nonta Cauutek Ta* (When we were young), an adaptation of "Blackboard of my Heart," by Hank Thompson.

Some of the other names on extant 45s are those of Morr Tadeo, Rod Danggol, Conrado Dalis, Cole Mendoza and Genar Pacheco. They were the first persons to put Ibaloy songs on commercial discs (personal communication with Rodolfo Danggol, June 2001).

Aside from farming, Danggol also tried jeepney driving in Baguio. His family had a stall at the Baguio Hangar Market which sold mostly bananas, Sablan town's major produce. After a few years of driving, Danggol decided to take a leave to record some Ibaloy songs. He had earlier heard about Chinalpan who recorded a Bontoc song to the tune of the hymn "When There's Love at Home" (written by John Hugh McNaughton [1829-1901] in 1860). The hymn must have reached Mountain Province through the American missionaries. In a way, Chinalpan served as a model to Danggol who contemplated on the possibility of recording his own songs.

Not easily discouraged, Danggol went on to organize the Harmonizers, a five-member band which included three blind musicians. They rehearsed his first two songs in Baguio and got ready to go down to Manila, the Philippine capital. Danggol says he himself had to go and look for a studio. He first went to Alpha and Vicor Records but he was refused and was told that they only produced for the Filipino big stars during that time like Nora Aunor and Victor Wood. They would not waste time producing for the small Baguio audience. At a flood-prone Makati street, Danggol found Carver Studios, a subsidiary of the Hong Kong-based Coronet Records. There they recorded Danggol's first single.

Danggol realized it was no easy task. He said he perspired greatly following a very strict tempo and recording studio procedures and conditions. Once they were done, Danggol felt he did not do very well and wanted to redo the whole thing. He said the studio rental of P60 an hour was not really that expensive, but bound by his limited resources and having to take care of the members of his band, Danggol came home with

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an initial press of 1,000 45 rpm records. He sold some copies to Baguio restaurants with jukeboxes, particularly the eateries that surrounded the vegetable (Hangar) market. Other copies were placed on sale in record stores like Alpha and Tucucan on Lakandula Street, the part of Baguio where the Igorots mostly circulate.

Danggol was surprised with the public response to his songs. He would sit at their market stall, hide his face, embarrassed when people recognized him as the singer.

That was in 1973. By 1976, Danggol had produced five singles. He recalls having to carry each of the blind musicians on his back in order to cross barefoot the flooded streets in Manila. He says there was one time they had to forego a recording session because the studio was deep in flood waters. He says it was just as well that they did not need a piano because the piano in the studio was not spared by the ravages of the flood. Danggol says Igorot singers who record now have it easy because they can now find studios in Baguio or La Trinidad.

Danggol claims neither formal musical nor studio training. It was simply a matter of rehearsing and gaining community approval. He certainly recognizes Gutierrez and other foreign singers as indirect mentors, to be imitated. Frith (1996) explains this lack of formal music training as common practice in pop music production:

> … it is important that we dispose of the myth of the 'untrained' (in a music conservatory)… but they are not "unlearned," even if this is primarily a matter of learning by doing. And learning in all pop genres is a matter of imitation: the "master" is available in the grooves, and nearly every musician to whom I've spoken has rueful stories of teenage years spent listening to sounds on records and they trying to reproduce them, over and over and over again …. Such imitation becomes, paradoxically, the source of individual creativity: without the master there to tell you what to do (as in the conservatory) it's up to the would-be musicians to put together what's heard and what's done, to come up with their own way of doing things (which, given the disparities of home and studio sound technology, is likely to be quiet novel). (pp. 45-55)

In the late 1960s and '70s when Ilokano (a lowland Philippine language) songs were popular in Baguio, an enterprising Baguio-based businessman, Thomas Ngalawen of Tucucan, Bontoc, Mt. Province started scouting for persons who can also sing in the Cordillera languages. Tadeo was recommended by those who knew of his ability to sing and to create lyrics (personal communication with Pungayan, 16 February 2001).

Ngalawen asked Pungayan to record songs from which a selection for possible recording could be made. Among Pungayan's first songs were

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Nanlapoak de Kalahan (Kalanguya, “I came from Kalahan”) and *Enah-khas Malay Saya* (“A Tear Fell,” an adaptation), recorded at Carver Studios under Coronet Records. Pungayan recorded five songs on 45s marked Highland Records, with the help of Manila musicians (the Coronets) and sound engineers. Because his first “single” was in the Kalanguya (another ethno-linguistic group in the Cordillera) language, he now claims to be the first person to record a Kalanguya song.

Pungayan’s first record had an initial press count of 1,000 discs, at a total cost of P3,000 inclusive of the payment for the studio combo. This recording became a hit, so a second and a third pressing were done. In all, Pungayan produced eight records from 1974 to 1976, songs in English, Ibaloy, Kalanguya, Ifugao, Kankanaey, Ilokano and Japanese.

Regarding Thomas Ngalawen, Pungayan was impressed that a person from Bontoc, Mountain Province was taking care of him as his manager. He was inspired and felt loved by his manager. Pungayan said Ngalawen was concerned about Pungayan’s physical well-being as he would often see Pungayan drunk. So he was encouraged to do the recordings “for the sake of the tribe, to sing for them.” In the 1970s, Pungayan was challenged to record the Ibaloy songs to represent the Ibaloy, or the Igorot, in the local music business that was dominated by English, Tagalog and Ilokano songs. Ngalawen’s initiative made sure that Pungayan’s ability should not go to waste. It should instead be channeled towards building pride for his people.

Even Ngalawen himself said that he was encouraged to go into the production of local songs after listening to Chinese songs on shortwave radio, he himself being a radio enthusiast. It was then that he realized he can and should also have on record local songs. Ngalawen also used to operate the music store Tucucan Records on Lakandula Street. He has moved on the dealing antiques when records were overtaken by other recording formats.

Pungayan remembers that his and other local songs were being popularized by local radio stations in the 1970s. The local singers were also featured, singing live in a program called “Midday Jamboree” over radio station RPN-DZBS in Baguio City. As a result of the popularity of Igorot (Cordillera as a label was not yet in vogue), a plan was being hatched to organize an Igorot Fans Club but which did not materialize. Most of the persons who went into recording have not made it as their fulltime job. At most, recording is only a sideline. Pungayan’s recording career was only for two years after which he went into education.

Raul Beray must be the most prolific song writer among all of them. Although he is not into making original melodies, he has already nine

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albums to his name. Rio Cariño and Jun Garcia are now the leading producers of albums of their own songs or the songs of others. They have also moved into music video production and are now recycling previously enjoyed songs by inserting video into them and re-releasing these into the market. Cariño was also reported by Philippine TV GMA journalist Howie Severino selling albums from house to house in La Trinidad town.

Although these singers are trying to produce original tunes, the tunes they come up with are still patterned after country music. Perhaps marketing-wise, using an already popular tune gives an edge to the Ibaloy "version."

Obviously, there are only a few women involved in the production of Ibaloy pop songs. Only Josefa Botangen Ognayon has an all-Ibaloy album ("*Baley Shima Shontog*," Home on the mountain) but the songs were written by Raul Beray, her brother-in-law, and Jun Garcia. Abelyn Luboa sang duets with Roy Basatan who wrote most of the lyrics. Lourdes Gomeyac, Amy Guesdan and Annie Galliega are popular Kankanaey singers who sang a few songs in Ibaloy.

If the credits in the albums of these singers are examined, they will show that these singers actually collaborate with each other in the production of each one's album. One serves as an instrumentalist in one and a vocal back-up in another. Is it possible that they have already developed a mode or system of production from which it is now difficult for one to break free and to explore other musical possibilities?

Invading Radio

Before the dominance of TV as a mass medium in the Baguio-Benguet area with the establishment of the regional stations of ABS-CBN and GMA in the last two decades (1990s to 2000s), radio was the dominant media in the region. The Mountain Province Broadcasting Corporation (MPBC) and its stations DZWT (AM) and DZWR (FM) are probably the pioneers of the radio industry in the region.

The website of the Catholic Media Network (catholicmedianetwork .org) states that as part of their mission to spread Catholicism in the mountain provinces, the Missionaries of the Immaculate Heart of Mary (CICM) established the MPBC in 1966.

The corporation's vision was to provide religious and educational programs to the four mountain provinces of the diocese: Benguet, Mountain Province, Ifugao, and Kalinga-Apayao.

At first, DZWT was broadcasting mostly music and news in English. In the 1970s, entertainment programs such as verse-and-music shows and

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public service announcements were included in the programming schedule. To broaden the appeal of the station, the management decided to produce their own drama programs and to use the Ilokano language in the programs.

It was during this time that the first recordings by Rod Danggol and Eufronio "Morr Tadeo" Pungayan were made and had their debut on the air. Early in the morning, one or two of their songs would be inserted in an entire program of mostly Ilokano (a lowland language but which became the lingua franca in the region) songs. For a long time, DZWT promoted Ilokano, Kankanaey and Ibaloy pop songs by giving them regular air time even if these were not dominant in the playlist. English and Filipino songs are still dominant today.

In May 1995, the CICM turned over the operation of the stations to the Vicariate of Baguio-Benguet. It was also in 1995 that DZWR adopted the folk, rock and country music format and made the claim of being the pioneer of such a format in the entire country ("the forerunner of the folk, rock and country in the Philippines"). DZWR now calls itself 99.9 Country and "The Country Authority" and makes claims like, "We're making history and the rest are catching on." DZWR went mostly "country" when Lourdes Gomeyac, already a popular singer and recording artist, joined the station as a disc jockey. Other radio stations in Baguio also now play some country music, perhaps to attract some listeners from the loyal country music fans.

For many years now, MPBC through its AM and FM stations has been promoting the folk, rock and country music genre in various ways. The popular way this is done is through the verse-and-music and request-and-dedication programs where letters and phone calls are encouraged and received from the audience. DZWT used to receive so many piles of letters that some listeners volunteered to sort the letters out for the DJs. Now, with the ubiquity of the cellular phone, the requests and greetings are done through "texting." On DZWT, a request-and-dedication program has been running for at least 10 years. But even if such programs are called "Music of the North," the songs played are really a mix of American pop, Tagalog love songs, Ilokano and the local songs. The listeners describe their requested songs as "gift" to themselves or to others.

Aside from playing recorded country music on air, MPBC has also been sponsoring country music singing competitions. The groups that now call themselves "The Pioneers" and "Kinnoboyan" are "alumni" of such singing competitions. These groups would also organize concerts on their own that were not necessarily sanctioned by MPBC.

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Bombo Radyo DZWX also has a program called "Balik Harana Live sa Bombo Radyo" (Sundays, 7-9 p.m.) where local, and mostly amateur singers go to the station to sing, live, any song in the Philippine languages. Often, Ibaloy and Kankanaey songs would be sung in the Sunday evening program. Listeners would call in or text to request certain songs, or to criticize or praise the singers (as either "*makapaturog*" [makes one sleep] or "*makapariing ti rikna*" [awakens one's feeling].

K-Lite Radio (96.7), a youth-oriented, top hits music station, unwittingly launched the career of Agi, a band composed mostly of men from Kabayan, Benguet, that participated and won second place in the K-Lite Acoustic Idol competition of the station. The band became popular with the song "Malasmas" that became a "most requested song" for several weeks. The band went on to release a music video album (Liali) and now performs regularly in Baguio bars.

RPN-DZBS (AM radio) on Session Road also played a key role in the 1970s in promoting the records of Rod Danggol, Morr Tadeo and their contemporaries. In the 1990s, disc jockey Lakay Tinong Lardizabal also played the local songs in the same station.

The consumption of Igorot pop music on radio may be related to Appadurai's (1996) contention that the "work of imagination" is a key feature of living in modernity. The radio announcer serves as a virtual companion, which is also a recognized role of radio in general. In most of the radio programs involving the playing of the Ibaloy love songs, the disc jockey often flirts with the listeners. Requesting for a particular song to be played on radio and "dedicating" it to oneself or to a friend somewhere else allows the participants to make connections to other people who belong to, or indeed create an imagined world.

Interaction and the public expression of private emotions are also observable in the text messages and letters that are read on air. This is understandable for people separated by distance. But often people would send SMS or texts about love to friends, class or schoolmates, spouses and other family members, even if these same people are actually together in one place at the time of sending and reading on air of the messages of greeting and/or expressions of affection. This shows that the boundaries between public and private are now being subverted through the media and "public display of affection" itself is promoted by media.

"*Makaliwliwa*" [comforting, soothing] summarizes the audiences' reasons for participating in the radio programs when they text or call in their greetings to others and sometimes for themselves ("May I greet myself"). This "greeting myself" or "dedicating a song to myself" can be interpreted as part of the project of the self in modernity, a form of self-

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promotion or advertising one's self, such as on Facebook and other social media. They send text messages to the announcers to say they listen to the shows because the program and songs comfort them. Comfort could be how the listeners "vernacularize" their experience of being entertained by popular culture. "*Makaparagsak*" is also an Ilokano word, meaning something that brings happiness, which the listeners use to describe their experiences with both the radio programs and the songs that come with them. These two words are also the same words used to describe reasons for going to the "folk house" or music bar.

But why would people want to listen to a bunch of songs that are generally sad (*ma'khes*), songs about unrequited love, about hurts and pains? Rogers (1983) explains that in the United States, "the desire to hear songs about themselves is a key to understanding the country audience… the trials and tribulations of the working man" (p. 161). He says there seems to be no point in seeking reinforcement for happy feelings and success. He clarifies that failures are perhaps more widespread than success so people need more support during such times.

In general, it could also be said that most of the local singers have raw voices or "less than a technically perfect voice" with some unable to hit or hold a note. Rogers (1983) says that this also true among American country singers but that the audience seem to accept them as friends and are more impressed with the singers' sincerity and emotion, and considering them as friends. As for the local singers, it is possible that because they sing in the languages of the audience, they are considered as, "*khait*," [Ibaloy, one of us].

From the examples of the persons who participated in this research, the production of Ibaloy pop songs usually starts with an individual or group who have been listening to much radio and recordings of songs in English, Filipino, Ibaloy, Kankanaey and other languages and who were then inspired to adapt or write their songs. The maker/s of the tune and/or lyrics may decide to record the song by themselves or collaborate with others. The composers often identify their own personal experiences or the experiences of friends and acquaintances, or indeed experiences overheard from others, as the sources of ideas used in the songs. As an album is often composed of at least 10 songs, a person may need to solicit or buy from others additional songs to complete an album.

A producer may also create songs that he does not himself sing but collaborates with another singer who will record the songs for an album. Still the producer may draw from his own experiences or from the stories of others to create the songs. Some of the producers now re-produce by

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repackaging, recombining, or adding video into old, previously released songs.

The actual recording of the songs used to happen in Manila, the Philippine capital city. But the increasing access to secondhand or new sound and recording equipment has led to the establishment of studios in Baguio and Benguet where the recordings can now be done. When the songs were still being distributed in cassette tape format, the master tape was brought down to DYNAPRO in Manila for reproduction. With desktop computers and portable printing equipment now readily available, all these things can now be done in Baguio and Benguet. Digital technology has effectively liberated the Cordillera singers from the nation's center.

The circulation of Igorot pop songs is still dominated by radio because of its ability to transcend geophysical boundaries, but digital technology and the Internet are fast playing supporting roles as many of the songs are now uploaded on YouTube and other sites. The consumption of the songs are both public and private depending on the locations and sites of performances of the songs. While the primary reason for attending to the songs is entertainment, the songs also play a part in imagining what the Igorot has become as a part of a larger, diasporic community. Aside from engaging popular culture for their identity construction, the Igorot communities are also now active in cultural production such as language development, cultural education and economic and social development projects.

Igorots on the Internet

When the local songs came in the form of vinyl records, these were bought by those who were likewise able to buy a phonograph or a turntable system. As the formats changed, people bought the new gadgets needed to play them. Some people continue to build their collections of the local songs stockpiled in their USB. The local music stores now include in their services the downloading of songs and copying these into the USB of customers who pay for every song they download. The distribution of the local songs then remains public yet their consumption can still be mostly private. This private consumption of music is seen in a person who entertains oneself with the songs using earphones.

Ibaloy, Kankanaey and other pop songs in the Cordillera languages are now on the Internet and YouTube. Most of the Igorot songs that have been re-produced and recycled through the addition of video are now on YouTube including those which are sung by other people around the

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world. These Internet uploads receive comments which either praise or criticize the performances. Those who give positive comments often say they are glad that the Igorots are creating songs and video and that these are now on the Internet. The Internet has allowed for a more open expression of thoughts on the "native" songs.

The present is now being dominated by more pervasive communication possibilities through new media particularly the Internet. There is now the possibility of hitherto remote communities having access to globally circulating communications including the possibility of they themselves participating in this global communications flows by uploading their own self-produced contents. Creating audio-visual communications is now recognized as a new and necessary literacy for the present, over and above reading and writing. The Philippine Commission on Higher Education identifies literacy in multi-media communication as a basic competence to be developed by young Filipinos who, starting in 2012, will now go through a 12-year basic education curriculum.

So even before this official recognition of media content production skill as a vital area of competence in contemporary education, the indigenous peoples of the Philippine Cordillera have already been learning the ropes behind media production and they have the vinyl discs, cassette tapes, radio and cable TV programs, CDs, DVDs, and Internet uploads among others to show for it. The local and cyberspace popularity of these media products certainly provide motivation to these communicators. Their long years of engagement in media production also contribute to their body of communicative knowledge and skills. Spitzberg (2000) says these factors contribute to increasing a people's communicative competence.

Aware that their media productions may be heard, seen or viewed by other people in cyberspace, who may not be familiar with the languages used in these products, the media producers also now include subtitles or translations in English of the songs, dialogues and narrations. Requests for such translations are often seen from the comments on uploaded media content. Giving in to such requests to bridge communication gaps due to differences in language certainly show "intercultural sensitivity" (Chen & Starosta, 2000) on the part of the content creators.

Most of the stockpiled media productions by Igorots are now on the Internet, particularly on YouTube. Lively discussions about who and what are the Igorots, or more specific ethnic groups in the Cordillera, often follow such posts. The following are some of the active institutional and individual uploaders of raw audio and video materials: The Living Anitos: Boses ti Ikalinga (voice of the Kalinga); The Linawa Center: linawacenter@gmail.com, www.linawacenter.org; aquarianbongpadz (singing

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and uploading Kalinga songs); igorotna (This is an Igorot); PPM (Paul Masilem) Multimedia Concepts; exodusvideoworks; hbdinumla and Ferdinand Likawen (uploading Ifugao songs and dances); and pilgrimforever.

Igorots on Film by Igorots

The recording of pop songs in the different languages in the Cordillera followed the changes in music market formats: from vinyl discs to cassette tapes, to CDs, VCDs and DVDs, now to YouTube, and possibly iTunes.

Then local music production caught on with the need not only to hear music but also to see it, as led by karaoke/videoke, subtitling and MTV technology. Most of the old songs are therefore now being recycled and reused as music video by inserting video and lyrics into them. Then the same songs are being turned as theme songs of local film productions.

I wish to make special mention of the latest film produced mostly by people of and from Kalinga. KANANA KANU is written and directed by Jocelyn Banasan Kapuno who comes from Pasil, Kalinga. The 108-minute film shows an iPad-clasping Kalinga-Filipino-American teenager who goes home to Kalinga to discover his roots that include the mythical love story between Fanna and Lagunnawa. As he explores his rich cultural heritage, he also finds his love interest in a local lass. The brochure on the film also says that,

> The core message of the movie is the undying aspirations of the community to break free from the shackles of divisions, cultural prejudice and values degradations caused by petty and mundane soci-political conflicts which often result in the purging of progress and development.

In other words, the media productions of the Cordillera people articulate the people's notions of progress and development.

Soledad Reyes (1997) says criticisms can actually be hurled against pop culture. But she wants to redeem the value of pop culture by saying that, while the earlier notions of pop culture were that they are garbage and of low taste, a more careful observation of Filipino pop culture reveals that they actually draw from "many indigenous traditions and methods of creating realities" (p. 326). Reyes (pp. 327-329) submits that pop culture plays certain roles in Philippine society. Among these are: (1) Pop culture expresses or communicates the feelings, ideals, dreams, joys, or fears and other emotions of the people who are no longer tied to nature but who are instead rational beings experiencing complex emotions. As expressions, Reyes says, forms of pop culture serve as resources from which the worldviews and systems of thought prevailing in Philippine communities

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may be discerned. (2) The different forms of pop culture are simplifications or essentialist attempts to understand or make sense of complex experiences and events in and out of a person's society. (3) The different expressions of pop culture serve as a mechanism of "purgation," "therapy" and "identification." As such, pop culture psychologically enables people to survive a complex life. (translation supplied)

Demystifying the Igorots

While modern media insist on representing Igorots as of the past, they have become something else. They have educated themselves, embraced Western religions and the capitalist economic system. Unfortunately first impressions last and these somehow surface every now and then in contemporary instances of discrimination. Igorots seem to always need to keep proving themselves. Miri Song (2003, p. 31) says that, "groups may encounter different kinds of barriers and difficulties in asserting the meanings and images they want associated with themselves, and economic power surely enhances the variety of ways in which they are able to do this… (but this) may not or does not open all doors, nor ensure any form of social acceptance."

Philippine Cordillera cultures remain oral. The colonizers and the Philippine state have not encouraged reading and writing in the Cordillera languages. I believe the publication of pop songs in vinyl discs, cassette tapes and compact discs is not a sudden break from such oral tradition. I submit this is a form of insisting on a difference from a hegemonic Western culture that privileges print. When the Cordillera people sing and use modern recording and broadcast technology, they stage what Martin Stokes (1994) calls an "assault on the ears," one either moves away or dances to the music, even if only in the mind. McLuhan (1964, p. 32) says that in an ear culture, "sound… is the overwhelming fact."

I think that the study of pop culture in the Cordillera will help balance both internal and external efforts to represent the Igorot as still in an unclad, prehistoric state. Poor, backward and undeveloped they maybe, they are "unevenly inscribed in the capitalist economy" and may just constitute what Stuart Hall (1997) calls "vernacular modernity." After more than a century of others talking/writing/languaging about the Igorot, they are now representing themselves in songs produced and distributed following capitalist market trends. In such songs, they tell stories about who they are and what they have become (after Hall), why they do certain things, and what they think of their contemporary experiences among

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other things. Frith (1996) says "to sing a song is to tell a story, and to tell a story is to be a storyteller" (p. 171).

Today, more and more of these songs are being produced that it is hard to catch up with the new titles anymore. More and more tunes popularized by the world's and nation's pop music celebrities, particularly folk, rock and country musicians, are being appropriated in local musical productions without regard for copyrights. Appadurai (1996) says this is due to the global distribution of music where the consumers are free to do what they want with what they purchase.

Today, the dominant discourse in the Philippines still insists on representing the Cordillera people as exotic beings, appropriated by advertising copywriters as the essence of the central northern Philippine region, with glaring inadequacies. The songs of the people are, however, constructing a different narrative that is more reflective of their contemporary everyday lives, about what they are becoming in a rapidly but unevenly globalizing world. In the production of the songs, they stake new claims and entitlements, some of which may not be in consonance with the standards of modern society. Today, the Cordillera singers and album producers are mounting slogans against piracy of their own products, but they also refuse to question their own appropriation of secondhand tunes and rhythms.

Twisting McLuhan's (1964) concept of the "medium is the message," the local production of pop culture has the following message: *We have our own languages and we are using them to best express our thoughts and feelings, to make sense of our contemporary experiences.*

Of course there are music critics who say that music is just being used as background or "sounds" so that the song words don't really matter. My interest in the words is that, at least, the local languages are being used in musical production. I submit that the appropriation of secondhand tunes as theirs is a political act, and the use of Ibaloy is part of the act of appropriation.

There are hardly any state-institutionalized systems of teaching the Philippine public of minority languages. Despite the concept of the Filipino language as developing from all the Philippine languages, there is no aggressive program to do this. Perhaps it is the religious sector that has a longer track record in the active use of the local languages, for evangelical purposes. The academe, of course, has only a limited interest in the minor languages. Rather the Filipino language is taking shape naturally, mostly through the national media. But it is now, more than ever, that the Igorot are using their own languages in public, such as in the production of pop songs and in letters and text messages requesting that

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such songs be played on a limited number of local radio stations. Local and global corporations such as McDonald's only pay token use of the local languages, often only to say welcome to the store that does not at all buy local potatoes.

American pop culture forms have become materials to be appropriated, to produce versions of, to be adapted, reused and recycled. The ability to accomplish these things is certainly a part of intercultural communication competence.

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CHAPTER FIFTEEN

PERCEIVING INTERCULTURAL COMPETENCE IN A BUSINESS CONTEXT

MICHAEL B. HINNER

Introduction

Intercultural competence refers not only to the behavior and communication needed to be competent and effective in an intercultural setting, but also to determining if communicative behavior can be deemed competent and effective or not (Chen, 2007, 2010a, 2010b). This second aspect of intercultural competence involves the issue of assessment and evaluation. In other words, how are we to assess whether a person's communicative behavior was actually competent and effective, and who is to assess this communicative behavior. Is it the person communicating or someone else who observes and analyzes that person's communicative behavior to then determine if it was successful or not? This other person could be one of the interactors of the intercultural encounter or a neutral, third party (Chen, 2007).

This chapter argues on behalf of having a third party assess the communicative behavior to determine if and to what extent this communicative behavior qualifies as having been competent and effective in a business context. This position is based on the evaluation of data from two studies focusing on specific cross-cultural business contexts that also involved issues related to intercultural competence. It seems that business managers tend to overestimate their own abilities and competences and underestimate the influence of culture on their own communicative behavior as well as their ability to correctly assess their counterparts. Such inaccurate assessments could have consequences for any budding business relationship because one could inadvertently say or do something that might hamper the relationship and not be aware that one has done so. Consequently, one might draw the wrong conclusions from business

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negotiations and assume that a deal has been reached when in actual fact it has not. Or one might assume that one has communicated well when in actual fact one's counterpart thinks the opposite.

Numerous studies have revealed how cultural incompetence has had a negative impact on business relationships; even preventing them from being established in the first place (Bovée & Thill, 2010; Chen & Starosta, 1998; Gibson, 2000; Hall & Hall, 1991; Harris & Moran, 1996; Hoecklin, 1995; Hofstede, 1991, 2001, 2007, 2010; Oetzel, 2009; Samovar, Porter, & McDaniel, 2010; Schneider & Barsoux, 2003; Trompenaars & Hampden-Turner, 1998). Most of these studies typically focused on actors ignoring cultural differences or assuming that culture is not relevant and, thus, behaving like they would in their home culture without adapting to the host culture which, in turn, could result in problems. These studies often assume that once it is clear that cultural differences can be the cause for misunderstandings, awareness of these differences would be a first step towards rectifying the situation. But is mere awareness sufficient? And what of individuals who consider themselves to be interculturally competent? Are they truly competent, or are they mistakenly assuming they are when in actual fact they are not? These are important questions that need to be answered as Chen (2007) notes. This chapter takes a closer look at self-assessment and cross-evaluation to see if they are accurate and reliable means of determining intercultural competence in a business context.

Two studies taken about ten years apart and focusing on two different cross-cultural business encounters (one on Germans and South Koreans and the other on Germans and US Americans) reveal that business managers tend to either underestimate the relevance of culture or overestimate their own abilities when it comes to intercultural encounters. This seems to indicate that business managers may be basing their actions on faulty assumptions and assessments which means that they could also be behaving and communicating in a way that might not always be appropriate for the situation at hand. And to make matters worse, they may not even be aware that they are doing so. The consequences of such inadvertent and incognizant communicative behavior can be considerable and far reaching. Why is this? Why are people often incapable of making accurate assessments? The answer lies in how people perceive themselves and the world around them.

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Culture and the World of Business

Business managers tend to typically downplay the role of culture in the world of business (Cox, 2001; Gibson, 2000; Harris & Moran, 1996; Hoecklin, 1995; Hofstede, 1991, 2001, 2007, 2010; Oetzel, 2009; Schneider & Barsoux, 2003; Trompenaars & Hampden-Turner, 1998). The assumption being that business is business and has little or nothing to do with culture; that is, business seems to exist in a cultural vacuum. This is in line with the homo economicus theory which argues that the world of business consists of rational actors driven by the same need to maximize utility and economic profitability (Persky, 1995). After all, so the argument, business revolves around numbers, e.g., production and sales figures, profit and loss; and numbers are not only objective, but also universal. At the same time, though, it can also be argued that numbers have symbolic associations that are grounded in culture and can vary considerably from culture to culture. In fact, even balance sheets or quarterly reports can also convey subjective messages. A company, for example, might have operated at a profit, but the stock market reacted, nonetheless, negatively because it had expected even better news.

Can one truly claim that the world of business is not influenced by culture? Those who argue in this direction claim that a professional business culture has evolved around the globe that is independent of local cultural influences.[1] If this assumption is correct, then one will attempt to explain the behavior and communication of one's counterpart through individual personality traits without considering that that person's culture might possibly have an impact on that person's communicative behavior. People tend to look for what they expect to find and then to interpret the information from that perspective (Hinner, 2005). For example, in the European Middle Ages before the discovery of germs and viruses, illnesses, we now know to be caused by such pathogens, were said to have been caused by witchcraft. So if one considers culture to be irrelevant in the world of business, then one will also interpret information from a perspective that ignores culture as a possible cause.

If, however, one assumes that human beings are also influenced by culture in the world of business, then one can postulate that their communicative behavior is also influenced by their culture. After all, human interaction calls for specific patterns of behavior, norms, etc. which regulate such interaction and communication. Rules of etiquette, for example, guide the way specific interactors greet one another in specific situations so that anyone familiar with these rules will know who initiates the greeting, what verbal messages are exchanged, what gestures

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accompany the verbal messages, how the ritual is drawn to a close, and how to interpret that encounter (Adler & Rodman, 2003; Bovée & Thill, 2010; DeFleur, Kearney, & Plax, 1998; DeVito, 2006; Gamble & Gamble, 2005; Hinner, 2007; Klopf, 1998; Lustig & Koester, 2006; Oetzel, 2009; Tubbs & Moss, 2003). Familiarity with such rituals will allow the interactors to predict approximately how such a ceremony is conducted, i.e., what scripts and schemata are appropriate for and apply to what situations with what interactors (Hinner, 2013). Scripts are the general idea "of how some event should play out or unfold; it's the rules governing events and their sequences" (DeVito, 2006, p. 59). Schemata are the mental templates that help people organize the information they perceive and give what they have perceived meaning (DeFleur, Kearney, & Plax, 1998). Scripts and schemata function as knowledge structures and are, thus, also elements of culture and perception, acting as frames of reference (DeVito, 2006; DeFleur et al., 1998; Hewes & Planalp, 1987).

Many interactions are regulated by such patterns and rituals because people learn directly and indirectly what is considered to be the right or wrong behavior in specific situations through interaction with other people, i.e., culture (Chen & Starosta, 1998; Gudykunst & Kim, 1997; Hinner, 2005; Klopf, 1998; Lustig & Koester, 2006; Martin & Nakayama, 1997; Oetzel, 2009; Samovar et al., 2010). Whenever the interactors are unfamiliar with these expected patterns, though, this can result in misunderstandings because the interactors follow different scripts and attach different meanings (i.e., schemata) to the same situation and context (Chen & Starosta, 1998; Gudykunst & Kim, 1997; Hinner, 2005; Klopf, 1998; Lustig & Koester, 2006; Martin & Nakayama, 1997; Oetzel, 2009; Samovar et al., 2010). This can happen when individuals from different cultures meet and interact. What may be considered right and appropriate behavior in one culture might be improper behavior in another culture (Chen & Starosta, 1998; Gudykunst & Kim, 1997; Hinner, 2005; Klopf, 1998; Lustig & Koester, 2006; Martin & Nakayama, 1997; Oetzel, 2009; Samovar et al., 2010). For example, maintaining eye contact while talking to someone versus lowering the eyes out of respect. In some cultures, staring might be considered impolite or aggressive behavior while in other cultures avoiding eye contact may be associated with shifty or dishonest behavior.

The same is true for business transactions. When people conduct business, they have to communicate (Bovée & Thill, 2010; DeFleur et al., 1998; Hinner, 2005). This communication involves both verbal and nonverbal communication and is associated with specific scripts and schemata for specific business situations (Hinner, 2013). Here, the

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advocates of a global, professional business culture argue that business has evolved its own rules and rituals that transcend local culture, i.e., homo economicus. For example, it is pointed out that business negotiations are typically associated with specific principles and guidelines on how to conduct negotiations and also what the expected outcome of such negotiations ought to be. The basis for such negotiations is carefully planned communication designed to attain similar meanings among the negotiating parties (DeFleur et al., 1998). But the key element in this is that this familiarity is often grounded in local culture so that the interpretation of one's counterpart's communicative behavior in business negotiations is also based on one's own cultural perspective. That is why Imahori (2010) points out that many business negotiations failed between American and Japanese business managers because Americans are low context while Japanese are high context in their communication and both sides did not take this difference into consideration when communicating with one another. Or why differences in time management caused problems in the negotiation sequence and the adherence to contractual timelines and deadlines (Gibson, 2000; Hoecklin, 1995; Schneider & Barsoux, 2003; Trompenaars & Hampden-Turner, 1998). So when business is conducted and negotiated across cultures, it becomes necessary to also consider cultural differences because different cultures have evolved different scripts and schemata for the same business negotiation (Adair & Brett, 2004; Manrai & Manrai, 2010).[2] And if one is unaware of or ignores these cultural differences, then misperceptions are preprogrammed. That is why one needs to also consider culture in the world of business.

Intercultural Competence

While there is some disagreement as to how intercultural competence is to be conceptualized and measured, there is increasing agreement on its fundamental characteristics (Lustig & Koester, 2006). According to Chen and Starosta (1998), intercultural competence is the ability to effectively and appropriately conduct communication behaviors to obtain a desired response in a specific environment. "To be interculturally competent, individuals must hold cognitive ability or intercultural awareness and affective ability or intercultural sensitivity to make accurate judgments, and further infuse these abilities to the behavioral level of interaction depending on different cultural contexts in order to achieve communication goals effectively and appropriately" (Chen, 2007, p. 101). According to Chen (2010a, 2010b), intercultural competence has four

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dimensions: (a) personality attributes, (b) communication skills, (c) psychological adaptation, and (d) cultural awareness. Each dimension, in turn, consists of a number of components. For example, personality attributes include the components self-concept (i.e., how people see themselves), self-disclosure (i.e. a willingness to openly and appropriately reveal information about oneself to others), self-awareness (i.e., the ability to monitor or be aware of oneself and one's actions), and social relaxation (i.e., the ability to reveal little anxiety in communication) (Chen, 2010a, 2010b; Chen & Starosta, 1998).

Intercultural competence is, thus, a multidimensional concept which is composed of cognitive, affective, and behavioral aspects of human interaction. The cognitive area refers to knowledge of one's own self and knowledge one has of one's counterpart. The cognitive area is, thus, represented by intercultural awareness in Chen's (2010a, 2010b) intercultural competence model. Awareness is gained through three stages (Chen, 2007). The first stage is to be aware of the superficial cultural patterns that show the most visible characteristics of a culture. The second stage is to be aware of significant and subtle cultural differences in two phases; namely, becoming aware of cultural differences through conflicts and the subsequent intellectual analysis. The third stage is to be aware of how another culture feels from the insider's perspective (Chen, 2007). The affective area refers to the sensitivity of one's own feelings and those one interacts with. The affective area is, thus, represented by intercultural sensitivity (Chen, 2007). Sensitivity includes the willingness to understand and appreciate cultural differences in intercultural communication. The behavioral area refers to the effective use of communication skills (Chen, 2007).

Chen (2007) notes that intercultural effectiveness—or as he prefers to call it, adroitness—is probably the most crucial skill in intercultural competence. People may consider themselves to be effective but could, in fact, be perceived as ineffective by their communication partner. One may, for example, be aware of the cultural pattern and the requisite, required appropriate behavior for that situation (i.e., cognitive competence), but one may not be able to transfer that knowledge into effective communicative behavior. Or one may be sensitive to cultural differences, but unwilling to transfer it into effective communication (Chen, 2007). Conversely, effective communicative behavior is only possible with awareness and sensitivity (Chen, 2007). That is why interculturally competent individuals need cognitive ability (i.e., intercultural awareness) and affective ability (i.e., intercultural sensitivity) to make accurate judgments and to bring these abilities into a behavioral level of interaction that is capable of

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adjusting properly to different cultural contexts to achieve communication goals effectively and appropriately (Chen, 2007).

Another important aspect of intercultural competence is the question of how to assess it. “The problem is who should be the best person to evaluate or judge whether the interactants’ external actions or behaviors account for being intercultrually effective/adroit” (Chen, 2007, p. 109). That is why Chen (2007) asks: Is the interaction to be based on a self-evaluation, or should it be the counterpart of the interaction, or should it actually be a third party that observes and assesses the encounter and interaction? All three options have advantages and disadvantages because there is a certain degree of bias in all options. The actor may overestimate the effectiveness of his or her communicative behavior. The counterpart’s objectivity might be compromised by his or her subjective bias towards the actor. And the third party may not understand or notice all the subtle aspects of the encounter (Chen, 2007). That is why Chen (2007) calls for further research.

Testing Intercultural Competence in a Business Context

A recent study of German and South Korean business managers (Laumann, 2011) looked at how these managers assessed their own communicative behavior in an intercultural context. As a part of her dissertation, Laumann (2011) studied the concept of face in business negotiations involving German and South Korean business managers. The study was a combination of an online questionnaire and interviews. While the primary focus of the dissertation and its research was on face, the study also revealed as a “byproduct” some interesting insights into assessing intercultural competence; thus, actually providing some answers to Chen’s (2007) questions.

Laumann’s 2011 study found no significant differences in the self-evaluations of the German and Korean negotiators. Independent of one another, the German and the South Korean business managers assigned similar traits at approximately the same degree to themselves including, for example, being independent, conflict avoidant, formal, other oriented, using a direct communication style. Interestingly, not all of these traits are typically associated with Germans or South Koreans (Gibson, 2000; Harris & Moran, 1996; Hofstede, 1991; Laumann, 2011; Samovar et al., 2010; Trompenaars & Hampden-Turner, 1998). So it seems as if both German and South Korean managers orient themselves by similar professional standards and both consider themselves to meet those standards (Laumann, 2011). This indicates considerable self-confidence in one’s own abilities.

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According to the Johari Window,[3] this would suggest a large blind area (Adler & Roman, 2003; Gamble & Gamble, 2005; Tubbs & Moss, 2003). A large blind area tends to indicate that people are very confident in their own abilities, but at the same time unaware of how they are perceived by their counterparts and how they affect their counterparts with their communicative behavior (Gamble & Gamble, 2005).[4] The study also found that both the German and the South Korean business managers tend to downplay the role of culture in their own communicative behavior during business negotiations as perceived by themselves. The German and South Korean business managers also said independent of one another that culture does not play any role in business negotiations.

Laumann's (2011) study revealed further that both German and South Korean business managers did not see a need to adapt their behavior to their counterpart. This response has to be seen in conjunction with the above findings that indicated that the German and South Korean business managers orient themselves along similar professional traits and their assumption that culture does not play a role in business negotiations. Since they perceived themselves to possess the requisite traits of a professional business manager, it is understandable why they then did not see a need to adapt their behavior. After all, they assumed that they already exhibit the required professional behavior for business negotiations which are, in their respective opinions, culturally neutral.

Finally, and most interestingly, Laumann's (2011) study also revealed significant differences in how these business managers perceived their counterparts (Laumann, 2011). The cross-evaluations showed that the German business managers thought their South Korean counterparts to be influenced by Korean culture, exhibiting typical South Korean communicative behavior during business negotiations. And the South Korean business managers assumed their German counterparts to be influenced by German culture, displaying typical German communicative behavior in the same negotiations. Laumann's (2011) study also revealed in the cross-evaluations that both the German and the South Korean business managers believed their counterparts to be less culturally aware than themselves and less capable of identifying the influence of culture on communicative behavior. This means, they recognized a large blind area in their counterparts but failed to see this in themselves; thus, casting the first two findings in an entirely different light.

While in the self-evaluation both the German and the South Korean business managers claim independent of one another to be culturally neutral and both assume that culture does not influence business negotiations, the cross-evaluation shows that the actors do not see their

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counterparts exhibiting this culturally neutral behavior. In fact, they even doubt whether their counterparts are capable of perceiving the influence of culture on communicative behavior. This finding contradicts the results of the self-evaluation. It shows that the actors do see an influence of culture, but not on themselves. This might mean that both sides prefer to have a culturally neutral setting because such a setting is considered to be “more professional” and in line with the homo economicus theory. Since the actors consider themselves to be professionals, it is understandable why they would want to attribute such culturally neutral professionalism to themselves—interestingly, though, both sides do not attribute this cultural neutrality to their counterparts even though both sides see themselves as being culturally neutral. So the cross-evaluation revealed that the interactors are in actual fact aware of culture influencing business negotiations because they ascribe this to their counterpart and their counterpart’s communicative behavior in these negotiations; this contradicts, of course, the earlier claim of the interactors that business negotiations are not influenced by culture. Taken together, this means that both parties are actually creatures of culture and influenced by their respective home cultures, but deny this in their own self-evaluation. Both sides are, thus, not only blind to the influence of culture on their own communicative behavior, but also consider themselves to be more professional than their counterparts without actually being so because their counterparts see it the other way around. And both sides do not think that their counterparts have the same intercultural insights and understanding.

The tendency of business managers to downplay the role of culture in the world of business was also noticed in a study conducted by Rülke (2006) in 2001/2002 among German business managers doing business with American companies. When the German business managers were asked in the first part of Rülke’s (2006) questionnaire whether culture plays any role in the way business is conducted, the majority of the respondents considered culture to be irrelevant in a business context. Less than a quarter (23.2 %) thought it was necessary to consider cultural differences (Rülke, 2006). So it is not surprising that only 10.1 % of the surveyed companies had actually adapted their publications to the US American market—this despite the fact that 76.8 % of the respondents considered the American market to be important or very important for their company (Rülke, 2006). When, though, the German business managers were asked in the last part of the questionnaire to name problems they typically encountered with their US American counterparts, they mentioned problems associated with business negotiations, different work styles, different goals, and problems with differences in “thinking”

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(Rülke, 2006). These problems clearly reflect cultural differences in behavior and communication. So Rülke's (2006) study reveals a similar paradox: While business managers did not consider culture to be relevant in one part of the questionnaire, they did mention and list elsewhere in the same questionnaire specific problems that clearly reflect cultural differences.

Summary of the Findings

Taken together, both studies reveal that business managers:

(1) Tend to downplay the role of culture in the world of business
(2) Tend to consider their own behavior and communication to be culturally neutral
(3) Tend to consider their counterparts to be influenced by their home culture
(4) Tend to assume that they are better at identifying cultural differences than their counterparts
(5) Tend to overestimate their own abilities to behave and communicate correctly and effectively
(6) Tend to perceive their counterparts differently than the counterparts perceive themselves
(7) Tend to be unaware that their counterparts are actually perceiving themselves differently
(8) Tend to overestimate their own abilities to properly assess their counterparts' behavior and intentions
(9) Tend to perceive themselves inaccurately
(10) Tend to perceive their counterparts inaccurately

So it does seem that individuals overestimate their own abilities to behave and communicate in a culturally neutral manner and underestimate their counterpart's abilities to identify the influence of culture on human behavior and communication. If business managers assume culture does not play a significant role in the world of business and they assess themselves as being culturally neutral, then these managers will consider themselves to be competent in communicating across cultures in a business setting. And if one assesses oneself to be competent, then there is no need to improve one's own behavior. At the same time, these business managers do not think that their counterparts are capable of being culturally neutral. But it seems that the cross-evaluation comes to a different conclusion. Yet these cross-evaluations may also be inaccurate

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because each actor ascribes certain communicative abilities (or the lack thereof) to his/her counterpart without being cognizant of how his/her counterpart actually perceives the same business situation that both had interacted in. So it seems that these business managers overestimate their own abilities to exhibit culturally neutral communicative behavior and underestimate the ability of their counterpart to accurately assess the communicative behavior of others. Consequently, both self-assessments and cross-evaluations can be inaccurate. Why is this?

Self-Evaluation and Assessment

Studies on self-evaluation have shown that such assessments are more likely to be inaccurate than not. For example, the University of Trier analyzes self-assessment tests on a regular basis. In June 2012, they analyzed 6,500 psychometric tests and came to the conclusion that it is difficult to establish the validity of such tests. "So far, no empirical proof exists that there is a significant relationship between a candidate's test results and his/her performance outside the test situation" (European Language Competence, email, 2013, March 18, para. 3). Other studies have come to similar conclusions. Morgeson, Campion, Dipboye, Hollenbeck, Murphy, and Schmitt (2007) note after having conducted an exhaustive analysis of self-assessment tests used in personnel selection that "there is considerable evidence to suggest that when predictive validation studies are conducted with actual job applicants where independent criterion measures are collected, observed (uncorrected) validity is very low and often close to zero. This is a consistent and uncontroversial conclusion" (p. 1046). Moregson et al. (2007) note people tend to be more often wrong than right when it comes to self-evaluation and assessment and people tend to be overly optimistic about their own abilities. This means, people tend to consider their performance to be much better than it actually is. Tousignant and DesMarchais (2002) had found the same to be true for third year medical school students when these students were asked to self-assess their own performance. In other words, it is more likely that people will overestimate their abilities in self-evaluations and self-assessments. This would explain the responses of the business managers in Laumann's 2011 study.

Consequently, one can conclude that the self-assessment of intercultural competence is fraught with danger and ought to be avoided. The systematic analysis of self-assessment tests has shown that it is probably necessary to have others evaluate the degree of competence because self-evaluations are not very accurate. Since the interactors may both be

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misperceiving the behavior of their counterpart, it would probably make sense to use external observers to provide more accurate assessments. This is what the study of Tousignant and DesMarchais (2002) indicated.

The Role of Perception

So why are people performing so poorly in self-assessments? A possible answer to this question may be found in the perceptual process. It will be recalled that the perceptual process consists of the following steps:

Stimulation → Selection → Organization → Interpretation → Storage → Retrieval

In order to understand the perceptual process, it is necessary to also understand knowledge structures because they help guide and explain the perceived stimuli. Knowledge structures guide the focus of attention to events, are the basis for inference, serve as frameworks for organizing, interpreting, storing, and retrieving information while also providing a basis for formulating and implementing action plans (Hewes & Planalp, 1987; Mitchell, 1982; Reiser, Black & Abelson, 1985; Salzer, Burks, Laird, Dodge, Pettit, & Bates, 1999). Comprehension of phenomena is virtually impossible without the appropriate prior knowledge and cues that provide clues as to how something may be interpreted, stored, and retrieved from memory (Adler & Rodman, 2003; DeVito, 2006; Gamble & Gamble, 2005; Tubbs & Moss, 2003). Knowledge structures include schemata, scripts, story grammars, and frames (Hewes & Planalp, 1987).

People tend to select specific sensory stimuli to which they are exposed at any given moment in time. People sometimes even look for specific stimuli while ignoring others, i.e., selective perception (Adler & Rodman, 2003; DeVito, 2006; Gamble & Gamble, 2005; Hinner, 2007; Klopf, 1998). Selective perception means that people often expect to encounter specific stimuli and actively seek out information that supports their opinions while also avoiding information that contradicts their existing opinions, beliefs, values, and attitudes (Adler & Rodman, 2003; DeVito, 2006; Gamble & Gamble, 2005; Hinner, 2007; Klopf, 1998). For example, if one considers business to be culturally neutral, then one will look for evidence of this neutrality and ignore other, contradictory evidence. Selective perception also explains why in one context (i.e., in one set of questions in the study) the same business managers stated that culture does not play any role in business negotiations and in another context (i.e., in a different set of questions in another part of the same

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survey) they did acknowledge culture to be present in business negotiations because they had said that their counterparts were influenced by their respective home culture. Knowledge structures, thus, direct people's attention to specific, expected phenomena.

Once the information has been selected, it is organized so that it can be handled, interpreted, stored, and retrieved (Adler & Rodman, 2003; DeVito, 2006; Gamble & Gamble, 2005; Hinner, 2007; Klopf, 1998). The selected information is organized into specific categories so that the information can be put into specific contexts to simplify data management and retrieval (Adler & Rodman, 2003; DeVito, 2006; Gamble & Gamble, 2005; Hinner, 2007; Klopf, 1998). These categories can include schemata and scripts (DeFleur et al., 1998; DeVito, 2006) which allow people to organize the information they come into contact with in such a way that it conforms to the information already stored in their memory. Schemata and scripts, for example, are developed from people's experiences and provide a general idea of how events should play out or unfold (DeFleur et al., 1998; DeVito, 2006).

The organizational categories include grouping and closure. Grouping refers to putting stimuli into categories that appear to be similar or close to one another (Hinner, 2007; Klopf, 1998). The business managers in Laumann's study obviously grouped their perceptions into different categories which is probably why they said in one part of the study there is no influence of culture in business negotiations but in another part of the survey said that their counterparts in these same business negotiations are creatures of their home culture. Closure is another organizational pattern and refers to the tendency to fill in missing pieces of information (Hinner, 2007; Klopf, 1998). Sometimes, people hear some information that is assumed to be incomplete. They will then attempt to fill in the missing information. This information could be right or wrong; thus, possibly allowing people to jump to the wrong conclusion (Adler & Rodman, 2003; DeVito, 2006, Gamble & Gamble, 2005; Hinner, 2007; Klopf, 1998). Very often, cultural differences can cause people to fill in the wrong information which then leads to potential misunderstandings (Klopf, 1998; Samovar et al., 2010). This is obviously what happened in the cross-evaluations when both sides assumed their counterparts would not be able to perceive the influence of culture.

Once the information has been organized, it is interpreted so that meaning is attached to what people perceive (Adler & Rodman, 2003; DeVito, 2006; Gamble & Gamble, 2005; Hinner, 2007; Klopf, 1998; Samovar et al., 2010). Interpretation is based on past experiences, expectations, needs, beliefs, values, as well as physical and emotional

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states (Samovar et al., 2010; Hinner, 2007; Klopf, 1998). That is why two people exposed to the same situation interpret it differently. This difference can be slight or considerable. Three factors influence interpretation: (a) disconfirmed expectations (i.e., anticipating something to happen in a particular way), (b) predisposition (i.e., being predisposed to behave in certain ways), and (c) attribution (i.e., seeking explanations for the behavior one observes) (Hinner, 2007; Klopf, 1998). People expect things to happen to them in a particular way because it has happened to them before, or it happened to people they know, or it happened to people in accounts they read or saw (Adler & Rodman, 2003; DeVito, 2006; Gamble & Gamble, 2005; Hinner, 2007; Klopf, 1998). Needs, emotional states, beliefs, values, and attitudes allow people to decide what is good or bad, right or wrong, important or unimportant in what they perceive (Adler & Rodman, 2003; DeVito, 2006; Gamble & Gamble, 2005; Hinner, 2007; Klopf, 1998). These factors and knowledge structures are relevant for the meanings people assign to the stimuli they sense (DeVito, 2006; Hinner, 2007; Klopf, 1998). Because people try to make sense of the behavior of others, they attribute causes to that behavior. Even though one may not actually know why another person behaved the way they did, one still assigns a probable cause to that behavior. Most of the time, people are actually guessing because they do not know the facts, so they speculate about the potential cause (Adler & Rodman, 2003; DeVito, 2006; Gamble & Gamble, 2005; Hinner, 2007; Klopf, 1998; Samovar et al., 2010). This could create problems as we saw in Laumann's study.

Often, an attempt is made to understand why the other person behaves the way he or she does so that one can understand the motivation and the reason for that behavior (Adler & Rodman, 2003; DeVito, 2006; Gamble & Gamble, 2005; Hinner, 2007; Klopf, 1998). People use attribution to help reduce uncertainty and attempt to make the behavior of the other person more predictable in the future (Berger & Calabrese, 1975). Reducing uncertainty is very important in the world of business because it reduces risks and increases the possibility of successfully completing a business transaction. Consequently, the German and South Korean business managers might have assumed that business encounters are culturally neutral when in actual fact they are not. But they prefer the situation to be culturally neutral because that then removes the uncertainty of cultural differences from these encounters because all negotiations are always surrounded by a certain degree of uncertainty to begin with. With grouping and closure, people often jump to conclusions that are false (DeVito, 2006; Gamble & Gamble, 2005; Klopf, 1998). "Once perceptual rules for establishing category membership are acquired, generic

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knowledge derived from prior interactions with category members can provide a rich source of inference about the properties of newly encountered individuals… [because] the mind transforms the world from chaotic complexity into predictable order" (Bodenhausen, Kang, & Peery, 2012, p. 319). If, however, one is unfamiliar with the complexities of another culture, then one can easily and quickly jump to the wrong conclusions (Chen & Starosta, 1998; Gudykunst & Kim, 1997; Klopf, 1998; Lustig & Koester, 2006; Oetzel, 2009; Samovar et al., 2010); namely, that business is business and all practices, needs, motivations, and decision making processes, etc. in the world of business are universal and culturally neutral.

In fact, Bodenhausen et al. (2012) point out that if people have certain expectations (i.e., culture does not influence the world of business), this can result in a self-fulfilling prophecy. "Pressing psychological needs can sometimes trump epistemic accuracy concerns, leading perceivers to seek motivationally satisfying conclusions, even if this requires parting company with a realistic view of the world" (Bodenhausen et al., 2012, p. 320). Because people tend to categorize stimuli (i.e., group them) and then jump to conclusions (i.e., closure), they tend to align observed information with "expected category characteristics, so the situation will seem to be an intergroup context, rather than one in which interpersonal distinctions are pre-eminent" (Bodenhausen et al., 2012, p. 325). That is, people tend to reduce differences which create assimilative interpretative biases in the interactors so that consistent meaning is given to observed phenomena (Bodenhausen et al., 2012). In other words, people tend to assume there are fewer differences than actually exist (Adler & Rodman, 2003; DeVito, 2006; Gamble & Gamble, 2005; Tubbs & Moss, 2003). This would mean that the German and the South Korean business managers did not perceive any cultural influences even though there might have been such influences present in business negotiations which, as pointed out above, they had noticed when asked a different set of questions for the cross-evaluation. According to Bodenhausen et al. (2012), people are likely to view their impressions as "having been objectively validated after the operation of these confirmatory biases" (p. 329). In other words, if people believe in culturally neutral business negotiations, then they will convince themselves that this is the case. At the same time, they can claim that their counterparts are influenced by their home culture and, thus, incapable of acting in a culturally neutral manner. Such a claim, if taken to its logical conclusion, should, though, indicate to the actor that the negotiation is not culturally neutral. After all, the counterparts had been said to have been

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influenced by their home culture in Laumann's 2011 study. But then again, perception is not objective.

Bargh, Chen, and Burrows (1996) found that people have behavioral responses that are linked to and triggered by specific situations such as, for example, business meetings or negotiations. People actually have a high degree of consistency over time in their behavioral responses to the same situation when this situation is defined in terms of specific sets of features (Bargh et al., 1996). In other words, once a situation has been identified as a business negotiation, then people respond to that situation like they always do regardless of where this negotiation is being held. They will then also categorize that negotiation as being like other events that are also identified as business negotiations. This phenomenon is explained by the final steps of the perceptual process, i.e., storage and retrieval.

Knowledge structures also serve as a basis for reconstructive memory of the original event even if it is separated in time and context from the original event. Knowledge structures guide integration, inference, and memory (Hewes & Planalp, 1987; Mitchell, 1982; Reiser et al., 1985; Salzer Burks et al., 1999). And they also act as gatekeepers that allow only certain information to be stored in relatively objective form (Hewes & Planalp, 1987). These patterns may also distort or prevent information from being stored (Hewes & Planalp, 1987; Mitchell, 1982; Reiser et al., 1985; Salzer Burks et al., 1999). People might actually not be able to store information that is considered to be inconsistent because memory is not reproductive (Adler & Rodman, 2003; DeVito, 2006; Gamble & Gamble, 2005; Tubbs & Moss, 2003). In other words, if the business managers assumed that they are operating in a culturally neutral realm, then any evidence of culturally influenced behavior will be ignored.

People typically only reconstruct (i.e., retrieve memories) what they perceived if it is meaningful to that person (Adler & Rodman, 2003; DeVito, 2006; Gamble & Gamble, 2005; Tubbs & Moss, 2003). And this depends to a large part on the knowledge structures, e.g., schemata and scripts, a person has internalized (DeVito, 2006). People are likely to recall information that is consistent with a particular schema; in fact, they may not even recall the specific information of what really happened during a past event but actually just the schema that is associated with that information (e.g., business negotiations are culturally neutral). People can also fail to recall information that is inconsistent with the schema because if there is no place to store the information, it can be lost (DeVito, 2006; Reiser et al., 1985). That is why retrieval is often not as accurate as people think. Because most people are unaware of the automatic behavior impulses, this "usually translates into a lack of monitoring or attempt to

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control them [i.e., automatic behavior impulses]—as well as a tendency to misattribute them to possible (and justifiable) causes of which the individual is aware—which also increase the likelihood that the activation of automatic behavior responses will find expression" (Bargh et al., 1996, p. 241). This means that people will probably not be capable of accurately assessing given situations, such as business negotiations. According to Bargh et al. (1996) "control over automatic influences requires three things: (a) awareness of the influence or at least the possibility of the influence, (b) motivation to exert the control, and (c) enough attentional capacity (or lack of distractions) at the time to engage in the control process" (p. 241).

Bargh et al.'s (1996) last above criterion (c) could provide a further clue as to why business managers might not be good evaluators of their own and their counterpart's intercultural competence. Jeong, Zhang, Fishbein, Davis, Bleakley, Jordan, and Hennessy's (2010) study revealed that people performing multiple tasks at the same time while simultaneously being exposed to multiple messages, as frequently happens during international business negotiations, are often incapable of accurately perceiving all the sensory stimuli in such situations. In other words, people will only be able to partially focus on the multiple messages they are exposed to and, thus, not perceive all the potential sensory stimuli they are actually exposed to at any given moment in time. Since selective perception influences awareness, one can well image how much information is not perceived when people are multitasking and/or exposed to multiple messages. That is why people cannot exert sufficient attentional control which, though, is needed in order to properly perceive any given event, including international business negotiations, from one's own perspective and that of other's.

Conclusion and Outlook

Consequently, self-assessment of intercultural business encounters is not very accurate. Laumann's 2011 study demonstrated this. Cross-evaluation could be problematic in a business context as well because the interactors are subjectively biased especially if they are unfamiliar with one another and/or each other's culture while also being exposed to multiple messages and multitasking as noted above. They are, thus, more likely to misperceive their counterpart and their counterpart's communicative behavior and possibly assign incorrect attributes to the perceived communicative behavior of their counterparts as Laumann's 2011 study revealed. That is why it would probably be best to have a third party assess

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the interaction. Future research might look into this possibility to see if it is a viable option. But using third parties bears its own risks. If, for example, the third party is unfamiliar with one or both interactors, it might be difficult to notice, understand, and interpret the perceived communicative behavior or the actual intentions of the interactors and, thus, assign the wrong attributes to the perceived communicative behavior of the observed interactors (Adler & Rodman, 2003; DeFleur et al., 1998; DeVito, 2006; Gamble & Gamble, 2005; Klopf, 1998; Lustig & Koester, 2006; Oetzel, 2009; Samovar et al., 2010; Tubbs & Moss, 2003). And the use of third parties might not be realistic in a business context because very often confidential information is exchanged and/or discussed by the company representatives and third parties could compromise this confidentiality.

So caution is advisable when it comes to assessing intercultural competence in a business context and more empirical research is needed to shed light on the matter to determine how to accurately assess intercultural competence. This, in particular, in light of the fact that this analysis is based on two studies which did not have their primary focus on intercultural competence. That is why it is necessary to test the assumptions of this paper in empirical studies to determine which is the most accurate means of assessing intercultural competence in a business context.

Notes

1. Please see Laumann's (2011) discussion for details.
2. For more details, please see Laumann's (2011) discussion of this topic.
3. Joseph Luft and Harrington Ingham developed the so-called Johari Window in 1955 to analyze how people perceive themselves and others in human relationships.
4. It would probably be in the interest of a company to send someone to international business negotiations who is confident enough to believe that he or she will reach a deal. Since self confidence is associated with a larger blind area in the Johari Window, one could assume that such a business manager would probably have a larger blind area than someone with less confidence in his or her own negotiation abilities.

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CHAPTER SIXTEEN

REFLECTIONS ON GLOBAL ENGINEERING DESIGN AND INTERCULTURAL COMPETENCE: THE CASE OF GHANA

PATRICE M. BUZZANELL

For over a dozen years, I have been teaching in Purdue University's Engineering Projects in Community Service (EPICS). EPICS is a vertically integrated, service-learning course that is multidisciplinary, multi-semester, and design focused. Being vertically integrated means that student team members range from first semester, first year students through senior undergraduates, with some graduate student team members. As a service-learning program, these teams bring together community service, reflection, and co-construction of knowledge with diverse project stakeholders into university curricula. These stakeholders are essential to EPICS and include project partners, that is, people who represent or are actual users of designs. Because EPICS designs are start-to-finish processes, EPICS—as a university program and as individual teams—develops long-term partnerships with not-for-profits in local communities that involve work cutting across multiple semesters. These partnerships have resulted in technical and other solutions for these not-for-profit or community associations' needs at little or no financial cost to communities themselves. However, these not-for-profit members do contribute in terms of their interest, time, energy, and involvement with EPICS students throughout the design process.

According to ABET, the Accreditation Board for Engineering and Technology (for overview see www.abet.org), engineering design is "a decision-making process (often iterative), in which the basic science and mathematics and engineering sciences are applied to convert resources optimally to meet a stated objective" or need (see http://www.me.unlv.edu/Undergraduate/coursenotes/meg497/ABETdefinition.htm).

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Created in 1995 in Purdue's College of Engineering, EPICS is an award-winning engineering design program that now has about 30 teams with over 400 undergraduate students from over 70 different departments at Purdue. To date, there have been over 3,000 students involved in EPICS and over 200 projects have been deployed. EPICS has spread to 21 different universities as well as to secondary school levels with EPICS High. There are EPICS partnerships in Asia, Africa, South America, and Europe with some multi-university EPICS projects.

My own work in EPICS started in 2000 when I began co-advising/co-instructing the Anita Borg Institute for Women and Technology (ABIWT) team with EPICS co-founder and co-director at the time, Leah Jamieson. This team was designed to give voice and empower girls and women by encouraging them to contribute to engineering designs (see Buzzanell, Meisenbach, & Remke, 2008). The ABIWT team members also educated girls about engineering as a career and about different kinds of engineering. Our projects included a laptop shell or cover for girls aged 9-13 years (range of 7-15 years), software games to encourage girls to use science, math, and engineering, and a bracelet that lit up when friends came within close proximity. In Fall 2008, I co-advised the Bio-Inspired Nano-Manufacturing (BINM) that resulted in online and print magazines for junior high school students about nanotechnology, instructions and materials to build a models of what nanoparticle threads might look like and of the equipment used to see nanoparticles (i.e., Contact Angle Meter, CAM), and an experiment through which students could extract and view DNA. Throughout, our team members sought to educate the younger students about engineering design and real-world application. My last team before my Ghana team was a new project and mission for a preexisting EPICS team, the Lafayette School Corporation (LSC). The LSC team's mission was to: track school waste and recycling, gather student data and promote recycling (through school-based, mass media, and new media campaigns and social networks), and create educational materials. We wanted to institute recycling and environmental consciousness at the local high school and then throughout the school corporation. We documented our waste tracking systems as well as the savings from both cutting back on waste removal costs and recycling cardboard and other materials as a revenue center. We hoped that our work would offset the budget cuts during the global economic recession.

So now I am on my fourth EPICS team. In each of these teams, there have been differences in key stakeholders—my students, our project partners, other individuals and organizations interested in and contributing to our designs—in nationalities, underrepresented minority group (UMG)

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membership, gender, class, and so on. My teams had not, however, collaborated globally. Key challenges for engineering and other fields include developing cultural awareness, intercultural competencies, and global competencies.

In spring 2012, Virginia Booth Womack and I began a new global engineering team for EPICS. The mission for the Transforming Lives, Building Global Communities team (TLBGC, see http://epics.ecn.purdue.edu/tlbgc) is to improve girls' and women's empowerment and better quality of life for all in rural Ghana, West Africa (for women's needs, see Sossou, 2011). Our plan is to develop a multiphase sustainable design that can affect health, educational opportunities, and general well being. We are developing an integrated water-energy-education system for rural Ghanaian villages that then can become a template for change in other villages. We operate in collaboration with NSBE (National Society of Black Engineers) chapter members in Kumasi, Ghana, at the Kwame Nkrumah University of Science and Technology (for NSBE at KNUST, see http://nsbe.knust.edu.gh/pages), and at Purdue, the founding institution for NSBE in 1975 (see http://www.nsbe.org/topmenu/About-Us/NSBE-History.aspx) for which Virginia was the first female president. In short, we want to enhance quality of life for women, men, and children through women's empowerment and solutions to everyday needs.

In this chapter, I first discuss the (a) bases of engineering design in EPICS which is called Human-Centered Design (HCD) or empathic design. In this section, I describe our team and its mission as well as the importance of intercultural communication and competence. In the second part of this chapter, I present the (b) case study of the TLBGC team. Throughout, I discuss intercultural communication competencies but from the lens of global engineering design projects. I do want to express a caveat. My goal is *not* to establish our team and our practices as the ideal experiences in which to develop intercultural competencies and global engineers but to describe some of the unique opportunities and challenges in developing multidisciplinary, multinational, and multipronged (water-energy-education-women's empowerment) teams that can embrace intercultural communication competencies as key processes for success and life-long learning. We are learning as we go along—the essence of design processes in everyday life!

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Engineering Design in EPICS: Human-Centered (HCD) and Empathic

To understand human-centered (HCD) and empathic design, I first describe the EPICS design process and our team's mission. I then present critical aspects of HCD and empathic design. I close this section with a discussion about the importance of intercultural communication and competence processes in HCD and empathic design.

EPICS Design Process

At the very heart of the EPICS design process are the stakeholders (for EPICS design model phases, see overview at https://engineering.purdue.edu/EPICS/About). In the EPICS engineering design process figure, stakeholders are at the center. Surrounding these stakeholders are early project design phases aligned with project identification, specification development, conceptual design, and detailed design. These phases are key to understanding the problem with which designers and other stakeholders are faced. These phases also are key to understanding the layers of context in which design is embedded. Throughout these early phases, there are needs assessments, user analysis observations, brainstorming, and research. As prototypes become designed, tested, and modified (or scrapped before beginning anew), the design process encourages ongoing problem solving with the final aspects being delivery, service maintenance, redesign, and "retirement" or the deliverable phase. Even after achieving a deliverable project, team members or other stakeholders still may need to revisit the project for long-term sustainability.

The design process is not geared solely to technical and/or service-learning processes. We map communication and ethical reasoning into this process. On a practical level, we mostly incorporate communication as a tool or conduit (see Axley, 1984; Putnam & Boys, 2006) in terms of developing capacities for greater depth and breadth in information and opinion seeking and giving.[1] Communication skills also are essential for prototype testing including think aloud protocol processes in which you ask potential users to talk through the challenges and the ease with which they use prototypes (http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Think_aloud_protocol). Onto this process, we also map ethical processes—individual ethical development and team ethical culture and its development (see Zoltowski, Buzzanell, & Oakes, 2013)—and intercultural communication and intercultural competence processes, particularly because ours is not an immersive experience into different cultures. We believe that these

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processes of communication skill building, individual ethical development and ethical team climates, and lifelong intercultural competence learning are key to effective design and to student understandings about how to nurture relationships. We work with partner(s) who are committed to design processes and we monitor students' experiences to move them away from aspects where failure could cost lives.

The TLBGC team is one of the first EPICS teams at Purdue to do global work and we are learning as we go along. However, there already are teams that are part of the Global Engineering Programs at Purdue (GEP, see https://engineering.purdue.edu/GEP) and there are teams that are at other universities and associations, like Engineers Without Borders (http://www.ewb-usa.org). Our TLBGC work differs from other teams and programs because of our combined socio-technical process around water and energy, embedded in an engineering design course that also is service-learning, entrepreneurial, interculturally oriented, and built upon educational needs and women's empowerment through long-term sustainable relationships and commitments. The educational component is a prime consideration according to our visits with the Ghanaian Minister of Education and the Provost of Engineering at KNUST.

Human-Centered Design (HCD) and Empathic Design

Design is a fundamental process within most if not all disciplines because design focuses on problem-setting and problem-solving. Although this definition is acontextual and rather simplistic, it does emphasize "problem" and implies "users." The issue of figuring out what the problem(s) is/are and how to articulate the problem(s) are significant concerns in HCD. Perhaps the stakeholders' needs are not defined as problems per se or perhaps they are able to articulate only surface concerns and not the fundamental issues with which they struggle on a daily basis. Perhaps, too, the power dynamics involved in the ongoing construction of lived experiences as problematic are so deeply embedded in their workplaces, home lives, communities, and/or other contexts that sorting through, explicating, articulating, and focusing attention on the problem may in itself be the primary effort in design.

Just as "problem" can be problematized, so too can the concept of "users" be scrutinized so that assumptions can surface and be discussed. In many situations, the users might be simply those for whom designs are created and delivered. However, there are many others who are implicated in design solutions and who might appropriate the solutions for practices and reasons never even considered by the originators of the solutions. In

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these cases, solutions might be ironically, inadvertently, ingeniously, and resistively appropriated. They might be modified without credit to the originators and to intellectual property rights. They might not actually solve the problem or might do so in such a short-term sense that new design processes are activated immediately to handle the “real” problems. Furthermore, the proposed and actual solutions might not be sustainable or might prompt unethical consequences that are difficult to foresee, such as in the case of intercultural ethics (see Ting-Toomey, 2010).

For HCD, engineering design can be described as “examining the needs, dreams, and behaviors of the people we want to affect with our solutions” (IDEO, n.d.). The process invokes, albeit not always explicitly, processes of self-reflection, fairness considerations, common good, and values. Indeed, in the 2011 TED talk on “What Your Designs Say About you,” the speaker, Sebastian Deterding, talks about design being fundamentally about ethical-moral considerations and human values (see www.youtube.com/watch?v=h1Yg1rURKR0). Without consideration of our own values, we cannot design appropriately for ourselves and others. For IDEO, design is a process of creating solutions for better life quality and happiness.

In empathic design, we emphasize the processes of becoming, of empowering voice, and of developing capacities to generate designs for and with others—using our technical or other expertise on behalf of others’ needs and hopefully in these individuals’ and communities’ best interests. Fundamentally, we create processes that acknowledge that setting the problem is often the most difficult aspect for designers in general and especially for multidisciplinary teams (for corporate engineering design teams, see Leonardi, 2011). Setting the problem becomes even more complicated when working with multidisciplinary global design teams that have intercultural communication, particularly intercultural competence, challenges and opportunities.

Importance of Intercultural Communication and Competence in HCD

In some ways, empathic design is movement from self-interest to loss of self and technology as focal points. This emphasis is different from traditional design that is engineering-, science-, and/or technology-centered. It can be very difficult to go from technical design considerations where one can be expert, one can operate within disciplinary knowledge, and one can work through a “template” for design projects to empathic design considerations where deep understanding of potential users’ lives,

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values, interests, needs, advantages, and limitations in very specific socio-political-economic and cultural contexts affect every decision. In empathic design, cultural humility (also known as critical empathy) can keep us honest. These concepts of cultural humility or critical empathy indicate that we can never truly know or fully understand others' lives (see Buzzanell, 2011; Remke, 2006; Tervalon & Murray-Garcia, 1998). As a result, we must return constantly to our potential design users and other stakeholders for their input. Regarding critical empathy, Remke (2006) writes:

> Critical empathy acknowledges the methodological attempt to understand another's experience but does not demean the subject's experience by trying to duplicate it or adopt it as the researcher's own—which again, I suggest is ultimately impossible. Additionally, critical empathy does not try to downplay or explain away the distance between researcher and participant. Rather, the researcher uses the distance and difference in an analytic way to help reveal and illuminate taken-for-granted forms of oppression and constraint. The research analysis develops out of the researcher's relationship to her participants, informed in part by her descriptive understanding of the participant's experience. Empathic awareness is thus present. But by sustaining a critical distance, the researcher remains attuned to forms of oppression that might otherwise be obscured were she to literally assume the participant's point of reference. (p. 101)

In addition to growing cultural humility or critical empathy, there is another process that assists individuals in creating viable designs. Reflection helps make design a continuous learning and cultural as well as intercultural process.

As implied earlier, in HCD and empathic design, the goal is to encourage designers to become empathic to the needs, interests, and lived conditions of potential design users (see Zoltowski, 2010). In traditional engineering, the focus was on technical expertise. However, recognition of potential users' diversity as integral components for quality designs and as essential for business became prominent with changes in markets. At that time, the need to understand and integrate users more fully into design processes became important. This integration is much easier said than done. The movement into empathic design often is not linear and may not go through readily identifiable phases, meaning that some phases may be skipped or be so abbreviated that they are not noticeable in designers' empathic design development.

According to Zoltowski (2010), empathic design phases operate at the intersections of two axes: understandings of the users; and design process

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and integration. In understandings of the users, designers move from a technology-centered approach in which users are not appreciated or incorporated into the design, to phases of increased complexity and contextualization. In developing empathic design capacities, individual designers see users as more than information sources; users become valued collaborators in the design process. For the other axis, design process and integration, phases proceed from linear design processes, to integrated and iterative design process and empathic design. Empathic design learning does not end when potential users have been engaged in particular design processes. There always is more to learn about how to interact with, understand the lived experiences, and derive the interests of potential users. When different knowledge is respected and validated through incorporation in design, designers approach empathic design and reflect upon their relationships with potential and actual users.

Case Study of TLBGC

In this section, I discuss our (a) descriptive case study approach and how case development encouraged me to consider design as a contested site. After this opening, I next discuss (b) partnerships and team work and (c) intercultural competencies and interactions developed through global HCD.

Descriptive Case Study Approach

Yin (2009) highlights that case study is relevant for investigating phenomena in context especially when these phenomena and their context(s) are intertwined. A descriptive case study can explore the intersections of engineering design, service-learning, and intercultural communication—especially intercultural competence—from interpretivist perspectives. As such, researchers try to gain insider perspectives by focusing on data that are embedded in participant observations, interviews, short conversations, storytelling and the stories that are constructed, as researchers construct meaning in the spatio-temporal, historical, cultural, and political-economics of the present as well as the past. Interpretive case studies rely on reflection by researchers to understand multiple and perhaps conflicting subjectivities. Moreover there are always ethical and relational dimensions—voice and reciprocity—involved in generation of findings (see Lim, 2011).

Case studies are advantageous for design discussions because they enable researchers and designers to ask questions that center on the

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meaning making that is occurring among different stakeholders in the design contexts. Questions that TLBGC team members, advisors/instructors, and advisory board members would ask include the following: How can we engage with our potential users productively even though we live thousands of miles away? What would or should we do differently? What can we do about different languages and levels of proficiency? How long will teams last, meaning our NSBE-KNUST collaborators as well as our own TLBGC team and the village water and sanitation committees? In developing this discussion as a case study, I began to see more fully that design is a site of contestation. Design requires negotiation about vested interests in offline and online formats especially given the global reach of our work. Multiple stakeholders have their own interests in this project—navigating these multi-institutional and -associational interests as well as the needs of the villagers is a priority in our design considerations. Finally, it is of great importance that we not approach our involvement in our Ghanaian villages as us being experts coming to fix things and deliver resources. Instead, we are involved in a long-term collaborative enterprise with ongoing communication exchanges, relationship building, and intercultural learning opportunities.

As mentioned earlier, these layers of complexity make our TLBGC team different from other groups who focus on one goal for a limited time. When we are able to travel to Ghana, we are not simply visiting villages, not just taking a trip to learn about a culture and feel good about building something over a short period of time and then leaving. We have been strengthening our KNUST-Purdue linkages, but we still do not have strong connections to villagers in face-to-face or mediated contexts that HCD seems to demand. Of utmost importance is asking ourselves and reflecting upon the question: How do we work with all parties in ways that are respectful and sustainable, and that incorporate different kinds of knowledge and expertise?

Partnerships and Team Work

Our TLBGC mission seemed straightforward to our team members and advisors/instructors but putting it in motion for global design was much more complicated! In this section, I first talk about our mission then discuss specific HCD and empathic design features. The third issue in this partnerships and team work section has been our work in selecting sites, gaining entry, beginning to develop sustainable relationships, and detailing specifications for problem identification phases of EPICS design. This work has meant that the two advisors/instructors for TLBGC, myself and

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Virginia, needed to visit, learn about, and begin relationship building with the Bekwai Municipal Assembly and members, particularly the chiefs, of the Wioso and Nerebehi villages.

First, our mission was threefold. The first two goals have been mentioned earlier and the third has been implied throughout this paper. To start, we wanted to design and implement sustainable projects that encourage education and women's empowerment in a rural Ghanaian village. We also wanted to collaborate with villagers and university students on projects throughout design processes. Finally, we planned to travel to the villages and conduct needs assessment to build sustainable relationships.

Second, with regard to our processes and practices, we could not develop any type of HCD or empathic design process without having partners or local collaborators in Ghana. We visited with key government officials in Ghana and those from several universities before deciding to pursue a partnership with one institution of higher education. Specifically, when Virginia and I visited Ghana, we met with the Chief Justice, Minister of Education, university leaders, and engineering students, NGO leaders, others. We learned the procedures or protocols for community entry and the participatory decision-making processes at the local or village level in Ghana. At each step, we reiterated our interest in pursuing a long-term relationship in which we could engage in globally integrated design processes not to fix things but to work with villagers and students on key areas of concern. Our emphasis on engineering design was critical in establishing KNUST officials' interest in our project. KNUST's vision is to be a global university of engineering and pursue industrial development in Ghana. As the premier technological university in Ghana, KNUST offers several different engineering degrees and already had their own design courses. KNUST also required student volunteer work in underserved areas through vacation practicums and service-learning courses.

We needed to create venues for constant collaboration with KNUST so that there was a continuous flow of information seeking and cultural understanding for all parties. Although the KNUST students with whom we interacted came primarily from Ghana, that did not mean that they understood the lives and needs of people living only 20 miles away from their campus in rural villages. Moreover, just because these students expressed interest, without course credit or other external motivator, we feared that they might lose interest in our project. As a result, we created connections through NSBE headquarters and NSBE Ghana with whom most of the Ghanaian university students were affiliated. We also created

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connections with individuals and offices with power in Ghana, such as the Provost of Engineering, Chancellor, and faculty members at KNUST. Their commitment and the engagement of their students with our own students provided a good basis for co-learning about students in our two universities and about the Ghanaian villagers.

To continue with our mutual learning and relationship building, we questioned how we might better connect on a regular basis. We set up Google docs file sharing, skype visits, regular email exchanges, parallel team structures (like a buddy system) replicating our team structure in Ghana, shared Facebook pages, and other correspondence. We followed up our initial survey on basic criteria—gleaned through surveys through Twitter, Facebook, and email blasts the previous semester to elicit key needs in the rural villages such as clean water and power—with the development of more comprehensive needs assessment occurring during 2013. We sought and secured funding to assist our student and faculty partners in the information gathering trips. These information gathering trips could not occur until 2013. At KNUST, our Ghanaian team leader was a recent graduate of KNUST in agricultural engineering who had the time, interest, ability, connections, and university support to devote to being the team leader. She was actively involved in WINE (Women in Engineering) and NSBE-Ghana. She agreed to travel with other students to villages to collect data, build relationship with villagers, and act as a liaison with KNUST professors and Ghanaian contacts.

Our Ghanaian contacts helped us to identify rural villages that Virginia and I could visit prior to our second semester of TLBGC. These villages had to meet several criteria: (a) rural village not connected to the power grid, (b) population size of 200-500 men, women, and children, (c) English speaking insofar as an English speaker would be available to translate and interpret, (d) village leadership structure would welcome and engage with the TLBGC team, (e) the community would welcome women leaders and women's empowerment initiatives, (f) village would be open to the support of reliable partnerships and NSBE partnerships within and near the community that can devote time and effort through project design phase and beyond, (g) close proximity to community partners and partner university, (h) open to NSBE/WINE student and professional mentoring within the village during and after project completion, and (i) preferably has a school and/or clinic[2] that can beneficially participate in and achieve impact through project implementation and sustainability. The one criterion that was not met by the two villages that we visited and selected was the tenth one: (j) preferably has an affiliation with one or more students/partners within the project community.

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A brief sketch of the Bekwai Municipal Assembly and the Wioso and Nerebehi villages indicates that we met most of our criteria:

(1) Wioso = 560 people; Nerebehi = 414 people
(2) Located approximately 20 miles from KNUST
(3) Schoolhouse shared between the villages
(4) Translator available in Nerebehi
(5) Inadequate water, energy, sanitation, education, health care, and other resources

Although these preliminary parameters have been useful, we needed to and still need to work on the most difficult aspects, namely intercultural communication, intercultural competencies, virtual team collaborations, and reflections that can enhance our knowledge and connections with others. Based on feedback from our advisory board,[3] we expanded our needs assessment and community survey from working primarily toward community entry deadlines and more toward building relationships with the villages and with our KNUST student and faculty partners.[4]

As examples of how our advisory board members have helped us, I discuss two advisory board members' contributions. These members are our team's anthropologist and a well-known Ghanaian woman advocate for girls' and women's empowerment in rural villages. For instance, the anthropologist recommended Chambers' (1981) article and would ask us questions like "what keeps you up at night with regard to this team? (i.e., what worries you about your team work?)." The article by Chambers (1981) offered an eye-opening glimpse into our own potential biases.

Specifically, Chambers (1981) reflects on the point that those who are neither poor nor rural misperceive poverty when they encounter it in rural, particularly developing country settings. One reason for these misperceptions is rural development tourism in which people from developing countries make brief visits. Biases that occur include: spatial and project biases (not visiting or speaking with rural and poor individuals, particularly women and children, because visits focus primarily on project rather than non-project areas), user and new adopter biases; biases aligned with observing or meeting those who are living, present, and active; dry-season biases; and politeness and professional biases in which only some aspects of rural poverty are noted.

With regard to our project, we do not yet know what was concealed from our view, how large the villages are, and how people outside of the central area near the water pump live. We do not know what the women and children who greeted us thought about our entry into their villages

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with tribal and municipality leaders directing our gaze and activities. In other words, as of the end of 2012—two semesters into our project—those whom we most want to serve do not yet have a voice in our project. We are writing them in through our needs assessments and through our continued commitment; we also are respectful of the power dynamics and structures that enable us to do our project.

This dialectic tension of encouraging voice to uncover ways of empowering women on behalf of the community and of operating within systems of power without recreating the interlocking power regimes that stifle women's empowerment is a key issue. Conducting research, taking our time in problem identification and relationship building, spending longer periods of time than are typically part of week-long or month-long visits (through our Ghanaian project partners) may help. Finally, ours is not an easy project that can be considered successful or not within the course of a semester or other short-term time frame. Ours is a messy, complicated project, with more unknowns than known aspects at this point in time. Ours shares some but not all of the potential biases about which Chambers writes.

The second advisory board member, the expert on women's empowerment initiatives in Ghana, also has been a director of gender and human resource development. This woman explained to us that women are challenging gender inequality in Ghana in everyday village interactions and by elections or appointments to key governmental roles. She visited our team during one of our regular two-hour weekly lab sessions. She noted that over 60% of women in Ghana do the farming but do not own land. There have been projects that have helped women grow and process cashews. However, when the crop has been ready to harvest, the men have come back and said that they wanted the land and crop. The women did not feel as though they had any recourse. They felt disempowered and cheated. In addition, our advisory board member explained that there are family planning needs, girls' and women's rights to education, health care rights, and widow's rights (i.e., women often are thrown out of their homes after the deaths of their husbands). There also is child trafficking, human trafficking, prostitution, property right issues, and female genital mutilation. Echoing our other advisory board members' and Chambers' (1981) content, our Ghanaian woman advisory board member cautioned us against biases and urged us to engage in advocacy for girls and women on a continuous basis. Even just encouraging girls to go to school and doing a "girl count" can be helpful (i.e., counting girls at the age of puberty who remain in the village because there is a tendency for fathers to marry them off to relatively rich men).

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In addition to cautions, our advisory board members bring encouraging news and productive strategies. Our initiatives resemble strategies that already are working in Ghana. For instance, Ghanaian girls have been encouraged to continue their educations. Prior to these educational initiatives, girl typically did not go beyond 6 years of education. People working on these girls' behalf took them to Accra—the girls had never been to the city or to other places in Ghana—and showed them engineers at work. This 10-day workshop focused on encouraging Ghanaian girls to obtain higher education. To do so, the workshop organizers brought in women role models to meet with the girls (e.g., lawyers, journalists, officials). Because assessment is critical to showing that there were measurable benefits to educational initiatives, the workshop organizers conducted a pretest prior to the workshop and prior to girls' meetings with Ghanaian women professionals. They asked the girls what they would like to be when they were older. In the pretest, the girls responded that they wanted to be wives, teachers, or nurses. After the workshop, the posttest revealed that the girls said that they now interested in learning how to become lawyers, engineers, journalists, and Ph.D.s.

Throughout our TLBGC team work, we have sought to better understand the expectations of the village members, knowing full well that until we could spend time on location and could have contextualized interview transcription,[5] we would not understand the nuances and local political dynamics of the situation. For instance, Virginia and I had noticed that the water pumps were locked in the village and the person with the key was hesitant to unlock the mechanisms and allow water to be collected.[6] But what we did not and still do not know is how this person is situated within the formal village leadership structure and informal power dynamics. We do not know how this man was designated as the key keeper. We do not know what the repercussions of unlocking water pumps at unscheduled times does for water distribution, villagers' expectations, or other issues. We do not know if the pump is on common land or if the pump was constructed on this man's land. We do not know what "owning" or "having" land might mean in the villages or what the kinship structure might be.

As we develop greater understanding of villagers' needs and expectations, we also seek to identify new design and repair projects. We reiterate throughout our discussions with multiple stakeholders that we are not simply coming into villages with material resources but want to develop long-term relationships. In an area of the world marked by postcolonial and colonial tensions that still play out in everyday interactions, we seek to dissuade villagers from gaining impressions that

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we think we know everything and would do things for, rather than with, them. We also seek to capitalize on local materials and insights rather than assuming that our way—the western scientific and technical way—would be best. As such, we strive to listen with our minds, hearts, and bodies to the needs of villagers from villagers and village leaders themselves with an attitude of cultural humility and a self-reflexive stance (see work on "the reflexive engineer" by Robbins, 2007; see also global engineering competencies and global engineering team work by Jesiek et al., 2012 and Patterson, 2012). We also rely on photos and videos that Virginia and I took of the village. Our qualitative and quantitative data collection is being designed for many years to come.

As we worked on partnerships and team work, we constantly revisit our projected and actual time lines. It seems as though our strategies and time frames change from moment to moment. For team members who are accustomed to norms of efficiency, importance of clock time and deadlines, and other routines for project management and task accomplishment, the shifting spatio-temporal Gantt charts are not simply frustrating, they are inconceivable.[7] Our team leader and Ghana liaison provide our TLBGC team members with regular updates on strategy, needs assessments, community surveys, strikes among local workers, KNUST university breaks, exam schedules, and holidays, missing wired funds, and so on.

Our needs assessment has changed from a rigid form with requests for specific measurements (e.g., numbers of houses, inhabitants, trails and roads to and between villages) into details about processes such as community entry. For community entry, the KNUST students have visited the villages and have had conversations with village leaders and villagers about their needs. The villagers and their leaders are very straightforward with their overall needs and interests. They have noted that they need palm oil extractors so that they could sell this product and bring funds into their village. We also have incorporated knowledge and members from a water collection and retention project group affiliated with a different EPICS team. Members of this water collection and retention project group have been willing to share their research and designs with our team. We have welcomed them into our team partnerships.

Intercultural Competencies and Interactions Developed Through Global HCD

We remain humble learners in this process. As we have detailed previously, we are learning from the multiple challenges we face. These

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challenges include: continuously revised time tables, inaccessibility of information, differences in what information means, the nature/meanings/politics of community entry, wiring money, integrating engineering/technical and communication, and understanding cultural differences.

We recognize that we are operating in a disciplinary context where knowledge, skills, and abilities needed for global design are not part of the traditional curriculum or professional image for engineers. Although there have been repeated calls for real-world team experiences for engineering students, making such experiences happen can be difficult. We recognize that we are limited by the nature of our global process. We operate as a "transitional" rather than as an immersive experience. As a result, figuring out our place in the scheme of global design and partnerships over which we cannot have full control is part of our team sense-making and intercultural communication design. However, we build on our rich (EPICS) tradition of local partnerships and the knowledge gleaned from such partnerships over many years. We find that our periodic design reviews and feedback through the assistance of our local ←→Ghanaian ←→global advisory board members helps us. We are, in these and other areas, changing the intersections of problem-setting and problem-solving, that is, the very heart of design.

Despite challenges, we remain optimistic and enthusiastic about the uniqueness of our experiences and the relative newness of global engineering design. Although not recognized fully, we are engaging in intercultural competence design processes that combine engineering, service-learning, and empowerment through education. We note that these practices, when incorporated in engineering curriculums, can foster growth in critical thinking skills, as documented in the November 30, 2012 report on recent empirical scholarship in *The Chronicle of Higher Education*.

Conclusion

In TLBGC, my collaborators and I try to create the capacity in designers for human-centered empathic design, this constructing the space for empowering users to develop their voice and ultimately, perhaps, user-generated design. We work on how to create intersections of these design processes, acknowledging that setting the problem and learning the intercultural communication aspects with humility and self-reflexivity are often the most difficult aspects for multidisciplinary global teams.

To close, many universities offer study abroad, co-op, global design team, semester overseas, and other experiences to develop students' reflexive cultural processes and global intercultural competencies. In

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engineering, student numbers in such cross-cultural and intercultural experiences often lag behind those in other disciplines because of heavy course loads, prioritization of technically driven courses, industry co-op or internship work, and extended time to degree completion and associated expenses, among other reasons. However, today's global engineer must develop intercultural communication sensitivity and skills not only for personal development but also for more effective human-centered design (HCD) that meets potential users' design specifications, particular contextual demands and sustainability, and long-term intercultural ethical requirements. This case study describes how a global engineering design team has begun working toward both integrated water-energy-education and women's empowerment systems in rural Ghanaian villages as well as toward lifelong learning in intercultural communication for participants.

Notes

1. Although I focus here on communication as a means of doing design effectively, I recognize that our design processes take a communication as constitutive of design perspective, meaning that we co-orient ourselves and co-construct design during talk-in-interaction (e.g., Putnam & Nicotera, 2009).
2. In Ghana, most village members go to the cities for better educational and health care systems.
3. Our advisory board is not easily categorized so we divided members into Purdue, KNUST, Ghanaian, engineering, and cultural specialists such as an anthropologist and a Director of a NGO (nongovernmental organization) who both had extensive experience in Ghana. Each board member provided support to our team in a different way. Furthermore I wish to acknowledge the support of EPICS and GEP at Purdue, the work done by our students at Purdue and at KNUST, and the boundless energy and enthusiasm that Virginia Booth Womack has for our team, for our Ghanaian and NSBE contacts, and for her work as Director of the Minority Education Program for the College of Engineering at Purdue (see https://engineering.purdue.edu/MEP/Features/minority-engineering-program-director-is-coadvisor-for-a-new-engineering-projects-in-community-service-epics-class-engaging-a-community-in-ghana-west-africa). Many project details reported here have been discussed during our design review presentations that occur twice each semester and are open to the public.
4. Needs assessment items ranged from the numbers of children and ages to such questions as: Do villagers ever need water when the pump is locked, or before the allotted time? Do they think that the surface water (stream) is good enough for cooking and other uses? There were open-ended questions whereby interviewers asked villagers what they thought the main concerns were—these questions were divided by men, women, and children as interviewees.
5. We intend to use a process of contextualized transcription and translation similar to that used by Berkelaar, Buzzanell, Kisselburgh, Tan, and Shen (2012) and

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Buzzanell, Berkelaar, and Kisselburgh (2011, 2012), as described by Kisselburgh, Berkelaar, and Buzzanell (2010). This research discussed how to engage in deep translation when gathering and analyzing data from young children in four different countries. The process could be replicated for our work with Ghanaian villagers and also for our interactions with our Ghanaian student partners given the differences in English as a multicultural language. In these original materials on work with children, we described how members of our research and/or implementation teams literally sat with translators and talked to interviewers and focus group facilitators to learn the literal translations as well as how the participants and translators might make sense of and add contextual details to the words. For instance, discussions about testings and extracurricular activities in urban China cannot make full sense unless researchers learn about the testing levels to indicate competence in and mastery of areas. Similarly, when children talked about television programs, our translator would remark to us about linguistic choices, the history and nature of the TV shows, and how the children's reported activities might be evaluated by parents. In the case of Ghanaian village members, we would work with translators on the spot and/or with KNUST students who have entered the village.

6. A civil engineering professor from Ghana asked a series of questions in our December 2012 final design review for the semester. These questions proved very helpful: Did you ask why the villagers didn't have adequate depth for their water pumps? Who dug the pumps? We learned that if we don't know why the wells are shallow, then we cannot fix them. At the same design review session, our advisory board anthropologist asked: Is the weather table dropping? If the water table is dropping, then we would need to call in a geologist. However, the bigger issue is that we need a deep understanding of the context, people, and problems.
7. We established a series of mini-projects to keep momentum on the team but also to develop greater cultural awareness. Mini-projects allow us to make mistakes insofar as we can try out ideas and connections with potential users and learn more about the culture.

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CHAPTER SEVENTEEN

A STUDY OF INTERCULTURAL COMPETENCE OF VOLUNTEER CHINESE TEACHERS IN CONFUCIUS INSTITUTES

RAN AN

Introduction

With the quick development of Chinese economy, Chinese government realizes that global understanding of Chinese language and culture was becoming increasingly important. To promote the appreciation of Chinese language and culture, the government has created an international network of Confucius Institutes (CI) and Chinese Classrooms (CC). Both types of centers teach Chinese language and provide experience of Chinese culture, but cater to different target groups. The underlying principle of each CI is to establish sustained cooperation between a Chinese university and a foreign university. The CC's focus on activities in a foreign primary or secondary school, partnered with and supported by one Chinese university or secondary school.

According to the statistics of the headquarters of the Confucius Institute, in 2012 there were 400 CIs and 502 CCs spread across 108 countries. Each year over ten thousand Volunteer Chinese Teachers (VCTs), sponsored by the CI headquarters, are working in these CIs. Their purpose is to teach Chinese language and introduce Chinese culture to local people. That is to say, the effective function and influence of CIs depends on the competence and performance of these VCTs.

This chapter looks at three categories of VCTs among CIs and CCs. These categories are Chinese Directors, Chinese Teachers, and Chinese Volunteers. The Chinese Director is responsible for the management of Chinese staff, the arrangement of Chinese teaching, and organization of Chinese cultural activities. Chinese Teachers are responsible for teaching Chinese language and running various cultural events. Volunteers are

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Chinese university students who will spend one year in each CI to assist with teaching and associated activities. These three groups of people are selected by and receive special training from the CI headquarters before they are posted to a CI or CC. In this research, data were collected from both CIs and CCs. Hereafter, as in the chapter title, the term Confucius Institute is used to encompass both types of institutions. VCTs will normally work abroad for 2-4 years. They are given a clear purpose, that is, to teach Chinese and promote Chinese culture. Each CI will have a budget and receive sponsorship from CI headquarters in Beijing. While being sent abroad with a clear common organizational objective and clear tasks, these VCTs show individual differences in their communication within the institution, in their classroom teaching, and in their personal intercultural adaptation. The CI headquarters has sent VCTs abroad since it was established in 2004. In the approximate 10 year history of CI's there has been no systematic exploration of VCTs' effectiveness, particularly their intercultural competence. This chapter addresses the intercultural competence of VCTs in CIs by studying their intercultural awareness, their skills in intercultural adaptation and communication within CI and in an intercultural classroom. It provides a theoretical framework for the exploration of VCTs intercultural competence.

Literature Review

Competence of Intercultural Adaptation

For more than 50 years, researchers have explored many dimensions of intercultural adaptation. Brislin (1981) classified people engaged in intercultural interactions into 14 different groups. Mansell (1981) concludes that there are four specified dimensions for acculturation and adaptation. They are alienation, marginality, acculturation and duality. With respect to the mode of transfer learning in the process of intercultural adaptation, Taylor (1994) points out that there are three steps: conditions before transfer, process of transfer and results of transfer. Intercultural adaptation is a complex process and may involve assimilation, integration, adaptation, and cultural study, etc. (Begley, 2006; Berry, 1997; Berry, 2005; Ward & Rana-Deuba, 1999). Ward, Bochner and Furnham (2001) propose culture learning, stress and coping, social identification as the three broad theoretical dynamics involved in the culture contact process, encompassing the affective, behavioral and cognitive (ABC's) processes of intercultural adaptation.

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According to Ward (2004), "Affective components of cultural contact are highlighted in the stress and coping approach; behavioral elements are featured in the culture learning approach, and cognitive variables are emphasized in social identity approach" (p. 186). Ward and colleagues (1994) also classified intercultural adaptation as psychological adjustment and socio-cultural adaptation. Psychological adjustment, based predominantly on affective responses, refers to feelings of well-being or satisfaction, while socio-cultural adaptation is situated within the behavioral domain and refers to the ability to fit in.

Chen (2012) argues that intercultural adaptation is a continuous process of communication by two groups of people with different cultures. In this context intercultural adaptation refers to a harmonious and balanced state between two groups through verbal and non-verbal communication. That is to say, intercultural adaptation is a dynamic process, where mutual understanding and respect are established while in communication, and the space of understanding and acceptance could be further extended. Consequently, using this framework, "understanding—respect— acceptance" will be the outcomes of intercultural adaptation.

My earlier interview-based study (2011), indicated that the intercultural adaptation of VCTs affects their intercultural teaching. In other words, intercultural competence is the outcome of intercultural adaptation. Therefore the measurement of the intercultural competence of VCTs in CIs must firstly focus on dimensions of intercultural adaptation.

Van der Zee and Van Oudenhoven (2002) developed a Multicultural Personality Scale to test skills of cultural study and personal management in intercultural adaptation from the perspective of intercultural effectiveness. Five dimensions are posited. They are cultural empathy, open-mindedness, stability of feelings, interaction initiative, and behavioral flexibility. Chen (2009) also stated six factors that influence intercultural effectiveness: message skills, self-disclosure, behavioral flexibility, interactional management, identity maintenance and respect. Chen and Starosta (1997) describe the three components of intercultural competence. They argue that intercultural sensitivity relates to affect, intercultural effectiveness is linked with behavior, while intercultural awareness is linked with cognition. This is consistent with Ward's ABC theory referred to earlier.

Practical needs often drive the development of theory. The rapid growth of CIs and each with their own development style, and the characteristics of VCTs in their intercultural adaptation, demonstrate a need for expanded research and new theoretical frameworks that respond to the special aspects of the development of CI and the effectiveness of

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VCTs. In this chapter, in order to assess the intercultural competence of VCTs, I apply the ABCs framework, Berry's acculturation strategy, and Chen's dynamic process in adaptation to the design of the first part of the questionnaire to be completed by VCTs.

Existed Models of Intercultural Competence

Scholars (Hammer, Gudykunst, & Wiseman, 1978; Ruben, 1976) divide intercultural competence into different dimensions and focus on the micro phenomena and details, such as identity (Kim, 2001), global leadership (Chen & An, 2009; Pusch, 2009), and intercultural conflict management (Ting-Toomey, 1988), etc. These scholars identify and study intercultural competence from different perspectives. Other scholars study intercultural competence in more specific domains, such as human resources management, business management, foreign language learning, and international education (Deardorff, 2009).

Spitzberg and Changono (2009) emphasized that "to be a 'conceptualization' of intercultural competence, a core concept of 'competence' or 'adaptation' must be explained, either by narrative forms that are or could be stated in propositional form (e.g., X = fY; or as X increases, Y increases) or represented in visual form that implies causal relationships". (p. 5).

Spitzberg and Changono (2009) review of models of intercultural competence is summarized below:

1. Compositional Models that "identify the hypothesized components of competence without specifying the relations among those components" (p. 10) such as Intercultural Competence Components Model by Howard-Hamilton et al. (1998), Facework-Based Model of Intercultural Competence by Ting-Toomey and Kurogi (1998), Pyramid Model of Intercultural Competence by Deardorff (2006), Global Competencies Model by Hunter, White and Godbey (2006).
2. Co-orientational Models is "a term that summarizes several cognate concepts relevant to comprehension outcomes of interactional processes, including understanding, overlapping perspectives, accuracy, directness, and clarity" (p. 15), such as Intercultural Interlocutor Competence Model by Fantini (1995), Worldviews Convergence Model by Fantini (1995), Intercultural Competence Model by Byram (1997), Intercultural Competence Model for Strategic Human Resource Management by Kupka (2008), Coherence-Cohesion Model of Intercultural Competence by Rathje (2007).

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3. Developmental Models that have in common a recognition that competence evolves over time, either individually or relationally, or both. These models attempt to identify the stages of progression that would mark the achievement of more competent levels of interaction, such as Intercultural Maturity Model by King and Baxter Magolda (2005), Developmental Intercultural Competence Model by Bennett (1986), U-Curve Model of Intercultural Adjustment by Gullahorn and Gullahorn (1962).
4. Adaptational Models "extend compositional approaches from relatively monadic models into more dyadic models. These models tend to emphasize the process of adaptation itself as a criterion of competence" (p. 24). Such as Intercultural Communicative Competence Model by Kim (1988), Intercultural communicative Accommodation Model by Gallois, Franklyn-Stokes, Giles, and Coupland (1988), Attitude Acculturation Model by Berry, Kim, Power, Young, and Bujaki (1989), Relative Acculturation Extended Model by Navas et al. (2005).
5. Causal Path Models that attempt to represent intercultural competence as a theoretical linear system, which makes it amenable to empirical tests by standard cross-sectional multivariate techniques. These models tend to conceive variables as a downstream location, which successively influence and are influenced by moderating or mediating variables that in turn influence upstream variables. Such models include, the Model of Intercultural Communication Competence by Arasaratnam (2008), Intercultural Communication Model of Relationship Quality by Griffith and Harvey (2000), Multilevel Process Change Model of Intercultural Competence by Ting-Toomey (1999), Anxiety/ Uncertainty management Model of Intercultural Competence by Hammer, Wiseman, Rasmussen, and Bruschke (1998), Process Model of Intercultural Competence by Deardorff (2006), Relational Model of Intercultural Competence by Imahori and Lanigan (1989).

Spitzberg and Changnon (2009) emphasized that "intercultural competence is the appropriate and effective management of interaction between people who, to some degree or another, represent different or divergent affective, cognitive, and behavioral orientations to the world" (p. 7). They also argue that most of the theoretical models in intercultural competence come from the West. Is it possible to take factors of Eastern collectivism, empathy, sensitivity, etc. into consideration while thinking of a model of intercultural competence. The author's earlier research (An,

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2011) claimed that Chinese cultural characteristics influence the intercultural awareness of VCTs and reflect in their intercultural competence. In this way, the intercultural adaptation of VCTs has an embedded group characteristic of collectivism.

Study of Intercultural Competence of VCTs in China

A survey of literature on VCTs reveals that research in this area has just started. The website of Chinese academic journals ("http://www.enki.net), over the period from 2004 (the first CI established) to 2012 was searched using the following keywords "Chinese Director," "Chinese Volunteer Teachers," "intercultural adaptation," "intercultural competence," and related data on Chinese Journal Articles, Chinese Ph.D. Thesis, Chinese Distinguished MA Thesis, and Chinese Newspapers were surveyed. After filtering out news reports and other unrelated articles, this study found only 12 relevant research papers, and among those, six papers are master degree thesis. One relevant journal article was found in an international journal, *Intercultural Communication Studies*. This was an earlier study by the author and a research assistant.

All research in this area is influenced by the Western concept of intercultural adaptation and intercultural competence. This is demonstrated in topics included: factor analysis of VCTs intercultural adaptation (W.-C. Chen, 2009; Zhu, 2010); study of adaptation strategies (Sun & Li, 2012); specific country-specific adaptation (Huang, 2010; Li, 2010; Dai, 2012); psychological adaptation/acculturation (Huang, 2011; An & Wei, 2012); social-cultural adaptation (Lv & Ru, 2012); comparison of social-cultural and psychological adaptation (Lilasetthakul & An, 2011); and intercultural communicative competence (Du & Dong, 2011).

VCTs themselves are aware that their effectiveness in teaching is determined by their intercultural competence. Li (2011), according to her personal experience as a VCT, she argues that the successful personal adaptation is the key to successful intercultural teaching. Identifying the intercultural problems of VCTs in CIs according to her personal perspective, she noticed that conflicts occurred frequently between VCTs and local students in a CI in Mid Asia, due to cultural differences. She points out that the intercultural competence of VCTs should be displayed in an appropriate way to deal with conflicts; being aware of stereotypes and avoiding prejudices in order to build a sound relationship between teachers and students. She emphasizes that for VCTs, the effectiveness of their intercultural teaching is closely related with their intercultural competence.

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The Literature review matches the author's earlier research which shows that VCTs see achieving their working task as the result of their positive intercultural adaptation and competence. This earlier research sponsored by Headquarters of CI, entitled "study of intercultural adaptation of Volunteer Chinese Teachers in Thailand," involved a large amount of interview analysis. Interviewees consistently mentioned that their intercultural teaching capability depends upon effective intercultural adaptation and their intercultural competence. If they feel satisfied with their teaching, they believe they have achieved intercultural adaptation and have gained the intercultural competence. In addition, the research noted that effective organization and negotiation within the CI affects the intercultural adaptation of VCTs (An, 2011).

This leads to the proposition that the intercultural competence of VCTs is the result of the combination of personal adaptation ability, organizational negotiation ability and intercultural teaching ability.

Model of VCTs Intercultural Adaptation and Competence

Design of the Model

Looking at other research papers on VCTs, most of them follow the standard factors of intercultural adaptation to describe and analyze, that is the psychological and the socio-cultural perspective, but my earlier interviews with VCTs suggest new perspectives could be used to look at the factors of intercultural competence for this special group, such as intercultural teaching ability and organizational negotiation ability. The new perspective comes from the VCTs personal experiences and reflections, which deserve more attention when studying the intercultural competence of VCTs in a CI. Setting new perspectives also addresses the Spitzberg and Changnon (2009) notion that "although the core concept of adaptability may necessarily underlie the concept of intercultural competence, any comprehensive measure would undoubtedly be multidimensional in nature. The question was which dimensions, and why" (p. 9).

Each CI has its own character. For a VCT, intercultural adaptation is the foundation for their intercultural competence. In order to understand the dynamic intercultural competence, it is essential to first study intercultural adaptation. Based on the ABC theory in intercultural adaptation (Ward, 2001) and theory of intercultural awareness, intercultural sensitivity and intercultural effectiveness (Chen & Starosta, 1997), the author designated the first dimension of VCTs intercultural competence as ***personal adaptation ability***. Success in intercultural adaptation is displayed via

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effective and appropriate communication (Wiemann & Backlund, 1980). This dimension made up of psychological adaption and social-cultural adaptation raised by Ward and her colleagues (1994).

VCTs are sponsored and sent by Headquarter of CI. They are actively managed by a designated management unit. According to the author's report on VCTs intercultural adaptation in Thailand (2011), harmony within a CI influences the intercultural competence outcome. Therefore, the second dimension of "***organizational negotiation ability***," and the third dimension of "***intercultural teaching ability***," appeared as critical factors in the mission success of VTCs. Thus the intercultural competence of VCTs is defined in this study as a composite of personal adaptation ability, organizational negotiation ability and intercultural teaching ability.

After conducting interviews with VCTs, the author's earlier research observed that personal adaptation ability and organizational negotiation ability will influence the intercultural teaching ability. We believe, this is the process of "individual person" and "in-group" affecting "out-group." The model can be represented as follow:

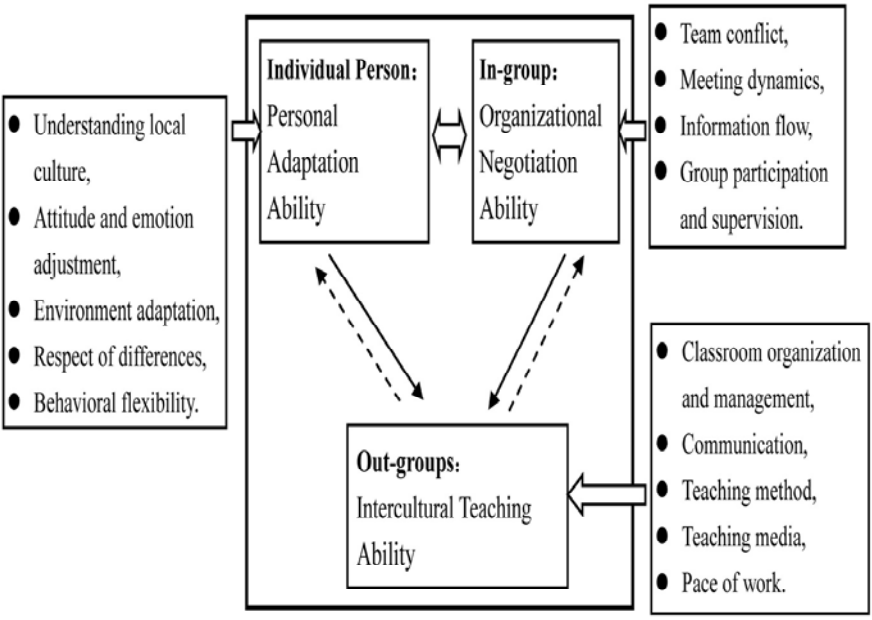

Figure 17-1. The model of intercultural competence of VCTS

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There are three dimensions in this model: personal adaptation ability, organizational negotiation ability and intercultural teaching ability. The influential factors of each dimension which can be measured are listed in the outer boxes above. Individual and organizational components are correlated, which is indicated by a two-way arrow. Both individual factors and organizational factors affect the teaching outcomes as indicated by the solid lines with arrows. Intercultural teaching ability will, in turn, influence the personal adaptation ability and organizational negotiation ability. However, this kind of influence may appear delayed. That means that one may evaluate the personal adaptation and organizational negotiation ability after conducting an action of teaching. The dotted lines above represent this delayed response, which therefore requires a delayed observation. The proposed diagrammatic model potentially provides a framework for further studies of intercultural competence research.

Meanings of the Three Dimensions

Personal Adaptation Ability

VCTs go abroad to teach Chinese language and disseminate the Chinese culture to foreigners. First of all, it requires VCTs themselves to understand and go through the process of intercultural adaptation. If a VCT is to achieve self-satisfaction with the volunteer experience, he or she needs to develop intercultural sensitivity and intercultural effectiveness necessary in order to meet the challenges of the daily life within the unfamiliar environment.

Intercultural sensitivity includes an individual’s psychological balance and social identity. Bronfenbrener et al (1958) raised the concept of interpersonal sensitivity, which means the awareness of differences in behavior, cognition and affect differences towards other across social groups.

Hammer, Gudykunst and Wiseman (1978) identify three dimensions for of intercultural effectiveness: coping with psychological stress, effective communication and interpersonal relationships. This chapter proposes that intercultural sensitivity is the precondition for intercultural adaptation. Intercultural effectiveness is the outcome of intercultural adaptation, as well as the intuitive reflection from intercultural communication.

Each VCT needs to develop their own strategy for personal adaptation across social adaptation and psychological adjustment (An, 2011). According the author’s earlier interviews, the dimension of personal adaptation ability of a VCT embraces the following: (1) Understanding of

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local social values, social customs. (2) Attitude and emotion adjustment ability. (3) Environment adaptation. (4) Respect for culture difference, behavioral flexibility, self-disclosure and identity maintenance.

Thus factors of intercultural sensitivity, intercultural effectiveness and intercultural strategies were calibrated to test the first dimension, the VCT's personal adaptation competence.

Organizational Negotiation Ability

There has been much earlier research on the concept and theory of organizational culture (Pettigrew, 1979； Gudykunst, Stewart, & Ting-Toomey, 1985). Glaser、Zamano and Hacker (1987) maintain that organizational culture is based on the foundation of management and communication, which includes six aspects: team conflict, organizational climate, information flow, group participation, supervision and meeting. Due to that VCTs are sponsored and sent by the CI headquarters, they already have an affiliation to the larger organization of CI. However, in each CI, the harmony between VCTs members directly affects the intercultural adaptation process of each VCT.

Therefore, organizational negotiation ability becomes one of the important parts of intercultural competence of VCTs. This competence which emphasizes organizational negotiation and communication, also covers most of the aspects that Glaser et al (1987) identified.

Moreover, each CI is a group established by individuals, the situation of communications inside the group will directly affect the reputation and external communication capacity of CI. Each individual VCT needs to show self-discipline and try to harmonize the communication inside the group. This builds the collective ethos of each VCT, which, in turn have impacts on their intercultural adaptation, in different ways from other forms of intercultural competence. Thus, researchers need to give attention not only to the adaptation of VCTs in a CI, but also the extent to which the VCT is capable of contributing to creating and maintaining harmony within each CI. Based on the above analysis, the second dimension tests factors such as team conflict, respect, participation, negotiation, meeting dynamics, etc.

Intercultural Teaching Ability

One of the most important factors indicating intercultural competence of a VCT is the ability of teaching in an intercultural classroom. That is, facing the out-group. This intercultural teaching task places a great emphasis on communication skills. We call it intercultural teaching ability. On the level of behavior, this is a special adaptation of teaching method

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and media by a VCT and an ability to communicate to a group, the purpose, method, strategy and effectiveness of activities, when organizing group activities. During the adaptation process, a VCT needs to adjust him/her-self to meet the communication requirements, and achieve success in intercultural teaching. Since a VCT will demonstrate their communication ability via teaching language and organizing cultural activities, inspection of these functions requires attention to be given to the VCT's classroom organization and management, teaching methods, understanding of different cultures, using modern educational techniques, work pace, and communication ability. As effective language teaching is a crucial determinant of a VCT's mission success, special attention needs to be given to the intercultural teaching methods and theory available to and applied by VCTs.

This competence contains its own characteristic in behavior and immediacy in effectiveness. Individual adaptation and organizational negotiation reflect in two dimensions of "person" and "in-group" of a VCT. These two dimensions will affect the third dimension—intercultural teaching ability. The third dimension is the goal of a CI.

It should be noted that, there is no given sequence between those three dimensions of intercultural competence in VCTs. That means, they have the possibility to appear separately or all together.

Test of Model of VCTs Intercultural Competence

Hypothetical Questions

We conducted a questionnaire survey to test this model. The first hypothetical proposition of this chapter is that the "intercultural teaching ability" and the "organizational negotiation ability" are two critical intercultural competencies for a VCT to achieve mission success; however, they are related to personal adaptation ability. This model is consistent with the ABC theory of the previous research.

Based on the first hypothesis and drawing on the earlier VCTs intercultural adaptation interviews, I propose that, the three dimensions are correlated. It presumes that, "personal adaptation ability" and "organizational negotiation ability" have a direct impact on "intercultural teaching ability."

Summary of the hypotheses:

1. "personal adaptation ability," "organizational negotiation ability" and "intercultural teaching ability" are interrelated.

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2. "Personal adaptation ability" and "organizational negotiation ability" jointly predict "intercultural teaching ability."

Method and Process

The development of the methodology used to test this model of intercultural competence of VCTs was inspired by the related scales devised by Chen and Starosta (2000), Glaser, Zamano and Hacker (1987), Van Oudenhoven and Van der Zee (2002), and Ward and Rana-Deuba (1999). The resulting questionnaire contained two sections. The first section, using 18 questions, collects personal and demographic information. The second section contains 49 questions, covering the three dimensions posited in the model above. On the second section, there are three parts as follows:

Part 1. Seventeen questions explored the "personal adaptation ability" dimension. For example: "How do you get along with local people?", "Commonly, I do not express my opinion to other people actively."

Part 2. Fourteen questions explored "organizational negotiation ability." For example: "Every member of CI can participate in discussion and speak out inside the group."

Part 3. Seventeen questions explored the dimension of "intercultural teaching ability." For example: "I can adapt to the environment and use what I available to conduct my teaching activities;" "I could find out the weakness of the students and design an appropriate teaching method for them."

In each part research participants responded to items on a 1-5 agree/disagree scale: (1 means "completely disagree," 5 means "fully agree," 3 means "uncertain.")

Questionnaire Survey

The survey was conducted by sending out questionnaires through the CI headquarters to 54 CIs (including Confucius Classrooms). The survey began in late March, and ended in late April 2012. 321 questionnaire returns were received, of which 314 were valid. The effective rate of the questionnaire response was 97.8%. The reliability test shows that the scale Cronbach alphas is 0.92, among which, the variable of personal adaptation ability is 0.78, organizational negotiation ability is 0.92, intercultural teaching ability is 0.80.

The survey respondents were divided into three groups: 1) Chinese director of CI, 19.4% of respondents; 2) Chinese teachers, 34.1%; and 3)

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VCTs, 46.5%. Of the VCTs, 26.8% hold bachelor degree, while 59.4% have post-graduate degree, and 11.5% hold Ph.D. degree. In the total response, 224 are females, and 90 are males. The average age is 33.3 years old. See Table 17-1.

Table 17-1. Means and standard deviations

Identity	Mean	N	Std. Deviation
Directors	47.85	59	9.732
Teachers	34.67	101	7.926
Volunteers	26.14	139	4.173
Total	33.31	299	10.677

Tests of Hypothesis

Hypothesis 1: "Personal adaptation ability," "organizational negotiation ability" and "teaching adaptation ability" are correlated.

Table 17-2. Correlations across competence domains

	2	3
1. Personal adaptation ability	0.342*	0.612*
2. Organizational negotiation ability	-	0.478*
3. Teaching adaptation ability		-

Note: $p < .01$

As it shows in Table 17-2, "personal adaptation ability," "organizational negotiation ability" and "intercultural teaching ability" of VCTs are significantly correlated. This confirms hypothesis 1.

Hypothesis 2: VCTs' "personal adaptation ability" and "organizational negotiation ability" predict their "intercultural teaching ability."

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The theoretical hypothesis of this study posits that, "personal adaptation ability" and "in-group: organizational negotiation ability" affect "intercultural teaching ability." A multiple regression is used to test the hypothesis where the "intercultural teaching ability" is dependent variable, and the "personal adaptation ability" and "organizational negotiation ability" are independent variables. The regression model is as follows:

$$Y = \beta_1 X_1 + \beta_2 X_2 + \varepsilon$$

Y means intercultural teaching ability, which is measured by the overall average score. X_1 indicates personal adaptation ability. X_2 reflects in-group organizational negotiation ability, they are measured by the scores of the questionnaire. The result of regression is presented in Table 17-3.

Table 17-3. Personal adaptation ability and organization negotiation ability affect intercultural teaching ability

	ß
Personal Adaptation Ability	0.510 ***
Organizational Negotiation Ability	0.305***
R^2	0.675

Note: *** means that p value is less than 0.001.

The empirical evidence positively confirms the hypothesis 2. The R^2 indicates that 67.5% of the variance in "intercultural teaching ability" was explained by "personal adaptation ability" and "organizational negotiation ability." Table 17-3 also shows that the "personal adaptation ability" has a stronger effect on "intercultural teaching ability" than "organizational negotiation ability."

Discussion

According to the analyses, the two hypotheses listed above are confirmed.

1. Personal adaptation ability, organizational negotiation ability and intercultural teaching ability are positively correlated.

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2. Personal adaptation ability and organizational negotiation ability predict intercultural teaching ability.

The VCTs' task is to teach Chinese and promote Chinese culture abroad. This chapter indicates that VCTs firstly must achieve personal intercultural adaptation as a foundation for effectiveness in these tasks. That is, VCTs need to achieve a satisfactory state of cognition, affection and behavior. Thus, irrespective of which facet (individual, in-group or out-group) it appears, the result of intercultural adaptation and the outcome of the communication will eventually show up as intercultural competence.

For each VCT, their intercultural adaptation ability includes communication conducted with another individual, the in-group and the out-group. It means that, those three aspects of the competence are for the VCT themselves to control and reveal. The factors of individual adaptation ability of each VCT are reflected in intercultural teaching ability. This is why the factors of intercultural adaptation ability of VCTs differ from the others. Therefore, personal adaptation ability, organizational negotiation ability and intercultural teaching ability are correlated.

Each CI has its own position and goals. Thus, teaching adaptation become the main task for VCTs and reflects their intercultural adaption competence. In order to achieve this, VCTs should pay attention to the communication between individual and in-group, to make sure that intercultural teaching ability is progressed successfully.

There should be a clear awareness of VCTs that, whether the adaptation belongs to the dimension of the individual "person" or "in-group," it has direct influence on the "out-group." This indicates that, a VCT is required to achieve the intercultural competence within specific outcomes. This competence contains its own characteristic features in behavior and immediacy in effectiveness. Individual adaptation and organizational negotiation reflect in two dimensions of "person" and "in-group" of VCTs. These two dimensions influence the third dimension—"intercultural teaching ability," the goal each CI attempts to achieve. Therefore, having intercultural teaching ability as a goal for VCTs, will eventually reflect and impact on their intercultural adaptation.

After the test, the model of intercultural competence of VCTs in CIs is established. Although the underlying factors remain as defined in other intercultural adaptation and competence research, the work goal of VCTs in terms of intercultural adaptation ability has its own dynamic. Therefore, future research should focus on this differentiating set of factors when

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studying the intercultural adaptation and competence for VCTs, rather than just using factors defined in other research on intercultural competence.

Conclusion

This research analyses the intercultural competence of Volunteer Chinese Teachers (VCTs) in Confucius Institutes (CI). Due to the special characteristics of each CI, VCTs intercultural competence differs from other forms of competence. Given the working purpose of VCTs, as well as their intensive intercultural work environment, this study extends the concept of intercultural competence by mapping out its three levels of ability—"personal adaptation ability," "intercultural teaching ability" and "organizational negotiation ability." After reviewing the correlation of these three dimensions, this study finds that the intercultural teaching ability is the most important indicator of VCTs intercultural adaptation ability. This is consistent with the broader intercultural communication mission of the Confucius Institute to teach Chinese and disseminate Chinese culture globally (An, 2011).

This study extends the ABC theory of intercultural adaptation (cognitive, affective and behavioral) to include the coordination and communication within and outside the organization, which reflects the characteristics of intercultural behavior in the era of globalization. While there are also some findings according with Western conventional theory in this area, this study identified some new aspects of the development of Confucius Institute, that warrant further study.

Our study is only a tentative step in analyzing intercultural competence of VCTs in the CI. It demonstrates that there is a correlation between the three dimensions of intercultural competence in VCTs. However further studies need to be conducted, especially the longitudinal research to test the model.

According to the earlier interview-based research on VCTs (An, 2001), the outcome of intercultural teaching affects personal emotions and the reaction to the things in the host culture. This means that intercultural teaching competence influences the personal adaptation ability and organizational negotiation ability. We believe that it is a delayed effect that occurs retroactively, which indicates that personal adaptive competence and organizational negotiation ability need to be addressed after looking at observable outcomes of intercultural teaching behavior. This phenomenon merits continued observation, whereas the data of this research is a snapshot collected at a point of time in a VCT's mission

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experience. The current study provides a useful starting point for follow-up researches.

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CHAPTER EIGHTEEN

OPENNESS AS A FACTOR UNDERLYING SUCCESSFUL EXPATRIATION: A BRIEF REPORT OF PROJECT iGOES

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Project iGOES

Organizations that conduct business globally feel an increasing need to send employees on international assignments (Brookfield Global Relocation Services, 2009). Such international assignments are a challenge both for the organization and its employees. Reports from the applied and also the scholarly community reveal that reliable, valid, and easily applicable methods for selecting, preparing, and developing expatriate workers are crucial to the success of international assignments in general.

The goal of project iGOES (international Generalizability of Expatriate Success Factors) is a systematic investigation of the demographic variables, background characteristics, and individual differences traits that are relevant to expatriate adjustment and success. While the topic of expatriate success has received quite a bit of attention in recent years (see Mol, Born, Willemsen, & Van der Molen, 2005; Sinangil & Ones, 2001a), no large-scale studies exist that have systematically investigated whether relevant success factors differ across world regions expatriates are active in. Project iGOES set out to fill this gap. To date, we have surveyed, assessed, and interviewed more than 2,300 expatriates living and working in more than 28 countries. In many cases, partners/spouses, peers, co-workers, and supervisors contributed information and data on these expatriates, making project iGOES not only one of the largest, but also one

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of the most comprehensive studies on work success in international settings.

Background

Upon reviewing the scholarly literature on expatriate success in general, and expatriate selection in particular, several gaps become apparent. Research on expatriates has neglected the role of many important demographic and biographic factors, as well important individual differences in personality and cognitive ability, even though many of these factors have been shown to be central to work success in domestic settings. More importantly, in addition to neglecting certain expatriate characteristics, the generalizability of relevant relationships has not been investigated to a satisfactory degree. That is, it is unknown to what degree the specific host countries expatriates are active in might moderate relationships between key variables. For example, openness to new experiences as well as stress tolerance might be relevant for German expatriates working in culturally dissimilar countries such as China, but might be less relevant in closely related countries (from both a geographic and cultural perspective), such as The Netherlands. With only a few exceptions (e.g., House, Javidan, Hanges, & Dorfman, 2002; Spector et al., 2001), there are few truly systematic "cross-cultural" studies in applied psychology or the managerial sciences. Instead, many studies get classified as cross-cultural simply by including samples from more than one country. Project iGOES is the first study on expatriates and work success that specifically investigates the role of cultural context, and in doing so follows what Ones et al. (2012) have described as an "intercontextual" approach.

In addition to the neglect of key variables and the issue of cultural context, another problem in expatriate research is that sample sizes of individual studies have tended to be small, at least in relation to comparable work conducted in domestic settings (the same is true for the existing quantitative summaries on the topic). This dilemma is mostly due to the difficulties associated with recruiting international as well as high-level samples (the majority of expatriates world-wide hold managerial or high-level professional jobs). This has further hampered the scholarly community to draw firm conclusions regarding the importance of individual factors that contribute to expatriate success.

In addition, the very criteria of expatriate success have often been measured with varying psychometric quality. Among these criteria are adjustment (both from a personal and employment perspective), as well as

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job performance (both task-performance and other aspects); both of which have been explored with more rigor in domestic settings. Moreover, much of the prior expatriate research on these issues has relied on self-ratings provided by expatriate subjects, which (at least for job performance, arguably one of the most important criteria), do not always yield desirable measurement properties. Finally, many facet level criteria are either poorly differentiated and distinguished, or not based on comprehensive or empirically developed taxonomies of performance. Instead, the focus has often been on narrowly defined intercultural competence, rather than core aspects of job performance or adjustment.

As a result, many multinational organizations that depend on expatriates in supporting their international operations lack strategic and science-based staffing solutions for this employee population. Without knowledge of which characteristics reliable distinguish successful expatriates, and whether these characteristics differ by country of origin or across host countries employees operate in, these organizations need to "place bets" on employees without knowing the odds. This provides the ground for a comprehensive and systematic investigation of expatriate success factors, such as the project described here.

Goals

The needs for more comprehensive expatriate research identified above guided the selection of key goals of the iGOES project. The project's research questions are concerned with the specific personal characteristics that make international assignments successful. However, our team also investigates whether any of the relevant characteristics might be more valid predictors of success in particular cultural regions of the world. For example, does emotional resilience predict adjustment of expatriates abroad? If so, is this the case in all cultural regions, or is this employee characteristic only required in regions known for their uncertainty and instability? Consequently, does the potential "fit" of a given employee for an international assignment have to be evaluated for specific cultural regions, or can general evaluations be provided for suitability for such assignments?

To investigate the cultural ambit of expatriate success (i.e., is it culturally specific or generalizable?), we first need to distinguish the different cultural regions in question. For this purpose, project iGOES utilized the well-established GLOBE framework (House et al., 2002). This large scale, cross-cultural research project identified ten cultural clusters, each consisting of several subcultures and national cultures: Anglo,

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Confucian Asia, Eastern Europe, Germanic Europe, Latin America, Latin Europe, Middle East, Nordic Europe, Southern Asia, and Sub-Saharan Africa. For example, the “Germanic European” cluster comprises The Netherlands, Austria, the German speaking parts of Switzerland, as well as Germany. “Confucian Asia” is said to include China, South Korea, Taiwan, Singapore, Hong Kong, and Japan. The GLOBE model has proven tremendously useful in cross-cultural research, as collecting data in all of the world’s countries and territories (while ensuring minimum sample sizes for meaningful analyses in each country), is seldom if ever feasible in the behavioral sciences. Instead, GLOBE allowed us to focus on meaningfully similar clusters of countries in our sampling plan. As part of project iGOES, we collect a significant amount of data within each GLOBE cluster in order to ensure adequate representation of all cultural regions.

Another goal of project iGOES was to provide improved conceptualization and measurement of the relevant criteria of expatriate success. Our group applied knowledge and standards of criterion measurement developed in domestic settings (e.g., Campbell, 1990; Campbell, McHenry, & Wise, 1990) for this purpose. This represents a major development in expatriate research, where performance measurement has been either overly narrow (e.g., focused on adjustment to new work routines), overly broad (e.g., measured only with a few general items), based on self-reports (neglecting expatriates’ supervisors or co-workers as potential sources), or focused solely on distal outcomes of performance (e.g., early termination of assignments). Thus, a broad spectrum of performance facets was measured with carefully calibrated scales, both for performance and adjustment criteria, and self-report data were supplemented with reports of supervisors, colleagues, as well as partners/spouses (for adjustment).

Measures

Measures administered as part of project iGOES can be grouped into two broad categories: Predictors aimed to forecast the suitability of employees for international assignments, and criterion measures which assess the success the expatriate displays on such assignments.

The list of predictor variables included several broad-spectrum personality measures as well as a cognitive ability test, two of the most popular type of tools administered for staffing purposes in domestic settings. Personality was assessed using several measures; this chapter summarizes some results from the NEO PI-R, which measures the Big Five as well as a differentiated list of facet traits. Cognitive ability of

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expatriates was assessed using the Wonderlic Personnel Test. In addition to these standardized psychometric tests, demographic and biographic background questionnaires were administered that included information on education, prior international experience, and many other relevant characteristics and preferences. All of these measures used self-report information, and some measures were also administered in other-rated formats where appropriate. The expatriates' assessments were conducted in one-on-one, in person interview sessions, at the expatriate's place of work or a neutral location, and always within the respective host country while the expatriate was still on assignment.

The first aspect of performance measurement was based on Sinangil and Ones' (2001b) working taxonomy of expatriate performance. Adjustment was measured using scales of Black and Stephens (1989) as well as Deller and Albrecht (2006). To increase the quality of measurement, and to supplement the self-report perspective, other sources were solicited for all of these measures. Such other-ratings for performance and adjustment are not only important to capture success criteria with higher reliability, but they also allow us to incorporate "cultural experts" into the evaluation process. Often, cultural experts (such as long-term successful expatriates or local supervisors and coworkers), have a unique perspective on the performance and adjustment of the expatriate that goes beyond self-reported assessment of these criteria. As a result, the dataset of project iGOES is particularly rich with regard to these variables. In the personal domain, partners (predominantly spouses) of expatriates were asked to provide their perspective on employees' adjustment. These assessments were conducted using both paper-based and computerized surveys, which raters provided directly to the research team.

Selected Results

This brief overview of project iGOES includes a summary of selected results to illustrate the type of knowledge that can be gained by systematic cross-cultural investigations in work psychology. Specifically, we summarize results that relate the personality dimension of openness to expatriate adjustment abroad. This personality dimension was chosen as an illustration for two reasons. First, openness is a construct that has frequently been associated with expatriate adjustment in the scholarly literature. Second, facet level relationships for this trait, which are available within project iGOES, are particularly interesting with regard describing the expatriate population in general. The basic questions are as

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follows: What motivates employees to seek and accept international assignments? Once working abroad, what is the relationship between the factor and facets of openness and expatriate adjustment?

Table 18-1 summarizes results from our investigation of these relationships, first reported by Albrecht, Dilchert, Deller, & Paulus (in press). In sum, there is a moderately strong and positive relationship between overall adjustment and the personality domain of openness. However, it is notable that the relationships between openness and individual aspects of adjustment differ. The openness factor relates much more strongly to interaction adjustment (relating to other individuals in the host country) than to adjustment to the foreign environment in general or the work environment in particular. The latter two effects were indeed negligible. The potential for facet level measurement to further explain the relationship between the general constructs is illustrated when examining lower-order openness traits. The six facets of openness assessed with the personality instrument employed here relate differentially to the four aspects of expatriate adjustment. Openness to actions (being willing to try different activities, visiting new places, trying unusual foods, see Costa & McCrae, 1992) is the openness facet that is most relevant to expatriate adjustment. Similar results were found for openness to feelings and openness to values. Most of these relationships hold not only for the overall adjustment criterion, but also its lower-order facets. The remaining openness facets (openness to aesthetics, ideas, and fantasy) are weakly related to adjustment across the board.

The results of project iGOES, as briefly summarized above, show that the personality trait of openness relates to adjustment of international assignees regardless of cultural context. This conclusion is independent from the sign or absolute magnitude of the effects reported here. Rather, it is based on meta-analytic analyses conducted on project iGOES data. In order to investigate cross-cultural generalizability of effects systematically, results from individual country samples collected as part of this work were meta-analyzed. The variability across observed and corrected effect is often as important as the magnitude of mean effect sizes. If, after accounting for sampling error and other statistical artifacts, variability around the meta-analytic estimates is small or zero, we conclude that the relationships generalize across settings. As such, psychometric meta-analysis contributes greatly to our knowledge of expatriate success and its generalizability. We have described this approach in detail elsewhere (Ones et al., 2012), and refer interested readers there.

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Discussion

Many individual differences factors determine the success of employees on international assignments, and many do so generalizably across cultural regions. Overall openness, as well as openness to actions, feelings, and values play a significant role in the successful adjustment of the expatriate worker within foreign cultural settings. Openness attracts individuals who value new and unique experiences provided by such assignments. This knowledge can be used in strategic staffing, and as early as the recruiting stage. Based on more than 2,300 expatriates assessed as part of project iGOES to date, we know that individuals who accept international assignments differ notably from the general working population in terms of their openness. Several openness facets are good predictors of whether employees accept international assignments once presented with the opportunity. In this regard, our results seem to support the conclusions of Griffin and Hesketh (2004), which postulated that openness consists of two subdimensions with slightly different qualities: Openness for internal versus external experiences. In our research, openness for actions, ideas, and values relate to employees' interests to explore new options. These aspects of openness play a crucial role when deciding whether to accept an international assignment. While expatriates score particularly high on openness to external experiences compared to the general population, we also showed that in contrast, they score lower than the norm on openness facets that relate to internal experiences (Albrecht et al., in press).

In addition to the selected results summarized here, based on project iGOES we can draw several conclusions regarding the generalizability of predictor-criterion relationships among expatriates in general. With regard to generalizability (i.e., the question of whether relationships between variables of interest are consistent across cultural regions), openness (and, where relationships with criteria were notable, also other Big Five traits), relate consistently to criteria of expatriate success. While differences can be observed in effect sizes across individual country samples, most of these can be attributed to sampling error or other statistical artifacts, and thus are resolved when country results are investigated meta-analytically. These findings represent positive news for the selection and development of expatriates in organizations. They provide an indication that assessment and appraisal systems do not necessarily have to be developed individually for different markets organizations operate in. Instead of interpreting each international assignment as a culturally bound and very specific endeavor,

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we might think of each expatriate assignment as new project that require much of the same skills, but that happen to be international in scope.

In line with an increased interest in competencies in HR in general, so-called cross-cultural competencies have gained attention in research and practice alike. Nonetheless, as with competencies in general what actually constitutes cross-cultural competencies still appears to be debated. De Fruyt, Bockstaele, Taris, and van Hiel's (2006) model of behavioral competencies offers help in disentangling the construct. In their model, personality traits (such as openness) constitute one of the building blocks of what—following attentional and emotional processes—results into behavioral competencies. Following their model, openness could be considered one building block of cross-cultural competencies.

In the context of selection, we see a clear advantage of relying on openness (rather than so-called cultural competencies) as the basis for selecting expatriates: During the last decades a tremendous amount of knowledge has been accumulated (a) fostering our understanding of what constitutes the trait openness and (b) leading to the development of well-established measures one can use to assess the trait. This sophistication in measurement, however, directly translates into more reliable and valid predictions of outcomes relevant to expatriate assignments.

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Table 18-1: Relationships between openness and its facets with other-rated expatriate adjustment

	Openness	Fantasy	Aesthetics	Feelings	Actions	Ideas	Values
Overall adjustment	++	+	+	++	++++	+	++
General adjustment	+	+	-	++	+++	-	+
Interaction adjustment	+++	++	++	+++	++++	+	++
Work adjustment	-	-	++	+	+	-	++

Note. *N* from 511 to 522. Symbols represent true-score correlations (corrected for sampling error and attenuation due to reliability in both measures); - = -.10–.00, + = .01–.10, ++ = .11–.20, +++ = .21–.30, ++++ = .31–.30.

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Communication, *Intercultural Pragmatics*, the *Journal of Applied Communication Research*, and the *Journal of Linguistic Anthropology*.

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Colleen Ward is Professor of Psychology and Director of the Centre for Applied Cross-cultural Research, Victoria University of Wellington, New Zealand. She received her Ph.D. from Durham University (UK) and has held research and teaching appointments at the University of the West Indies, Trinidad, Science University of Malaysia, National University of Singapore, University of Canterbury (NZ), and Victoria University of Wellington. Her areas of research expertise include identity, acculturation, adaptation and intercultural relations, topics summarized in The psychology of Culture Shock (3rd edition to be published in 2012) and featured in over 150 journal articles and book chapters. Professor Ward was the former Secretary General of the International Association for Cross-cultural Psychology, and Past President of the Asian Association of Social Psychology and the International Academy for Intercultural Research. In 2010 she was awarded the Te Rangi Hiroa Medal by the

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Royal Society of New Zealand for her research on cultural diversity. In 2012 Professor Ward assumed the role of Editor of the *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*.

Jessie Wilson recently obtained her Ph.D. in Psychology within Victoria University of Wellington's Centre for Applied Cross-cultural Research (CACR). Jessie's doctoral work examined the operationalization and various antecedents of sociocultural adaptation, a behavioral component of cultural competency. Whilst undertaking her Ph.D., Jessie also participated in various research projects with the CACR involving topics such as cultural and emotional intelligence, time perspective and environmental engagement, and in-group/out-group perceptions. Jessie received her M.A. in Psychological Research from San Francisco State University, where she supervised research on emotion recognition training and intercultural adjustment. Her professional experience involves work with refugee and foreign service populations, facilitation of various cross-cultural communication seminars, and the development of intercultural leadership capability.

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