

Intercultural Literacy and the International School

by

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This thesis contains no material which has been accepted for a degree or diploma by the University or any other institution, except by way of background information and duly acknowledged in the thesis, and to the best of my knowledge and belief no material previously published or written by another person except where due acknowledgement is made in the text of the thesis.

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Abstract

In this study a new developmental model describing the nature of intercultural literacy and how it is learnt is proposed and trialled. Intercultural literacy is defined as the understandings, attitudes, competencies and identities which enable effective participation in a cross-cultural setting. As such it is presented as a crucial literacy for the globalised world of the twenty-first century.

The Multidimensional Model for the Development of Intercultural Literacy is developed on the basis of theory from social psychology and international education, is checked for validity against reference groups in the field – practitioners in international schools in Indonesia, Singapore and Thailand - and is modified in the light of inputs received.

The model is then trialled in the context of a case study of the Tanjung Bara International School and its community in East Kalimantan, Indonesia. The case study seeks to map the school and community in terms of intercultural literacy, evaluate the school's intercultural literacy curriculum and explore the relationship between the community and school in relation to intercultural literacy learning. The broad aim is to determine the extent to which the proposed model is useful in helping to describe the case and to answer the questions posed by the case study.

The case study concludes that the school and its community is predominately at a monocultural or 'distancing' level with a smaller group moving into the more positive learning stage characteristic of the cross-cultural level in the model. The community is found to have been deeply divided on cultural lines between the Indonesian and the largely Australian expatriate communities. The international school contributed to this divide through reinforcing the status of expatriates as privileged and separate. The objectives of the curriculum and non-core school programs to facilitate intercultural literacy were found to have been seriously hampered by this cultural divide, among other factors. The school was not found to have played a significant role in facilitating intercultural literacy learning in the broader community.

The thesis concludes that the proposed Multidimensional Model for the Development of Intercultural Literacy is useful in this case study and is potentially useful in a wide range of contexts, particularly in international schools and their communities. It provides a tool which may assist educators in understanding intercultural literacy and facilitate the development of policy and practice including curriculum, extra-curricular programs and assessment.

Table of Contents

Acknowledgements	4
Abstract	5
Table of Contents	6
Figures	9
Tables	10
Photographs	11
Glossary of Terms	12
Chapter 1	15
Introduction	16
The Context of Globalisation	20
Defining the International School	29
A Changing Context for International Schools	33
Research Approach and Outline of the Thesis	39
Chapter 2	43
Introduction	44
Defining Key Terms	45
Defining Intercultural Literacy	50
The Theoretical Context	52
Research into the Cross-Cultural Experience: A Brief Historical Overview	55
Modelling the Cross-Cultural Experience: A Survey of Theoretical Models	59
Children and Intercultural Literacy	86
A Multidimensional Model for the Development of Intercultural Literacy	94
Intercultural understandings	98
Intercultural competencies	104
Intercultural attitudes	108
Intercultural participation	113
Intercultural language abilities	117
Intercultural identity	125
Cross-Cultural Contact and the Development of Intercultural Literacy	129
Culture status and the outcomes of cross-cultural contact	131
Conditions for intercultural literacy learning	134
Cultural distance	140
Intercultural Literacy and the International School Student	147
Conclusions	160
Chapter 3	165
Introduction	166
The Research Problem	167
The aim of the study	167
The research problem and issues	168
The research approach	170
Reference Groups	171
The Tanjung Bara Reference Group	172
The Study Tour Reference Group	174
Outcomes of the reference group discussions	177
The Case Study	187
The choice of a case study approach	187
A qualitative approach to case study	189
The choice of Tanjung Bara as a case	190
Limitations and weaknesses of the case study approach	192
The Tanjung Bara Case	195
Indonesia and East Kalimantan	195
The community	198
The expatriate community	208

The Indonesian community	210
Status in Tanjung Bara	214
The school in the community	219
Research Questions.....	232
Conceptual Frameworks	234
The developmental model for intercultural literacy as a conceptual framework	236
The school and the community	237
Stake's model of contingency and congruence.....	243
Data Sources	249
Participant selection.....	251
Documents	255
Observations	255
Methods and Instruments Employed in Gathering and Analysing Data.....	257
Funding and support, gaining permissions and entering the field	258
Ethical issues	260
Research assistants	263
Interview design and implementation techniques	268
Observations and documents	278
Translations and cross-cultural issues in the research	280
Data analysis	282
Logistical weaknesses and method problems	288
Validation and triangulation	291
Conclusions	294
Chapter 4	297
Introduction	298
Phase One Participant Group Profile	300
Mapping the Community's Intercultural Literacy – Phase One	308
Intercultural literacy levels - children	312
Intercultural literacy levels – expatriate adults	329
Intercultural literacy levels – Indonesian community.....	338
Summary: Intercultural literacy levels in the Tanjung Bara community Phase One	351
Phase Two Participant Group Profile	354
Mapping the Community's Intercultural Literacy – Phase Two.....	362
Self-Assessments – Phase Two	362
Perceptions of Community Intercultural Literacy Levels – Phase Two	372
Conclusions	377
Chapter 5	382
Introduction	383
Intercultural Literacy in the Curriculum	384
The Congruence of the Curriculum	387
Antecedents	388
Transactions.....	393
Outcomes	403
The Logical Contingency of the Curriculum	413
The Impact of the School Program on Intercultural Literacy in the Community	425
The school's profile in the community	426
The impact of the curriculum and non-core programs on students and the wider community	432
Summary.....	453
The Impact of Community Activities on Intercultural Literacy	460
The context for cross-cultural contact and engagement.....	460
The impact of community activities on intercultural literacy in international school students and the broader community	469
Conclusions	472
Chapter 6	483
Introduction	484
The Utility of the Multidimensional Model for the Development of Intercultural Literacy.....	485
The surface validity of the model	486

The utility of the model	487
Intercultural literacy learning; a dynamic and recursive process.....	488
The Nature of Intercultural Literacy	491
Intercultural Literacy Learning and Cross-Cultural Engagement	495
Intercultural literacy learning and social needs	496
Intercultural literacy learning and the cross-cultural mediator	498
Monocultural Level III; a critical point in the development of intercultural literacy	499
Intercultural literacy learning and culture status.....	503
Intercultural Literacy and the International School	504
The ambiguous and problematic position of international schools.....	505
Supporting intercultural literacy learning with a pluralist school culture and an interculturally literate teaching staff and parent community.....	509
Intercultural literacy learning, the international school curriculum and extra-curricular programs ..	511
Summary, Recommendations and Final Conclusions.....	515
References	520
Appendices	548

Figures

Figure 2.1:	Anderson's (1994) Cross-Cultural Adaptation Model	80
Figure 2.2:	First Iteration: A Multidimensional Model for the Development of Intercultural Literacy	96
Figure 2.3:	Berry's Categorical Model of Acculturation	132
Figure 3.1:	Reference Groups - Coded Responses to the Draft Model by School Type	180
Figure 3.2:	Final Iteration: A Multidimensional Model for the Development of Intercultural Literacy	183
Figure 3.3:	Map of Sangatta including Tanjung Bara (KPC 1992)	200-201
Figure 3.4:	Status Within the Tanjung Bara Community – a Map	219
Figure 3.5:	The School in the Community - Actors	242
Figure 3.6:	The School in the Community - Activities	243
Figure 3.7:	Stake's Program Description Matrix (1967)	245
Figure 3.8:	Core Activities in the Tanjung Bara Case - Stake's Program Description Matrix	246
Figure 3.9:	Non-Core Activities in the Tanjung Bara Case - Stake's Program Description Matrix	247
Figure 3.10:	Community Activities in the Tanjung Bara Case - Stake's Program Description Matrix	248
Figure 3.11:	Components of Data Analysis: Flow Model (Miles and Huberman 1994)	286
Figure 3.12:	Components of Data Analysis: Flow Model Adapted from Miles and Huberman (1994)	287
Figure 4.1:	Age Profile – Phase One	300
Figure 4.2:	Gender Distribution – Phase One	301
Figure 4.3:	Marital Status – Phase One	302
Figure 4.4:	Subgroups – Phase One	303
Figure 4.5:	National and Religious Background – Phase One	304
Figure 4.6:	Previous International Experience – Phase One	306
Figure 4.7:	Year Arrived On Site – Phase One	307
Figure 4.8:	Intercultural Literacy Scores: Children – Phase One	312
Figure 4.9:	Disaggregated Intercultural Literacy Scores: International School Children – Phase One	315
Figure 4.10:	Mean Intercultural Literacy Scores: Expatriate Adults – Phase One	329
Figure 4.11:	Disaggregated Intercultural Literacy Scores: Expatriate Adults – Phase One	331
Figure 4.12:	Mean Intercultural Literacy Scores: Indonesian Community – Phase One	338
Figure 4.13:	Disaggregated Intercultural Literacy Scores: Indonesian Community – Phase One	340
Figure 4.14:	Intercultural Literacy Levels: Total - Phase One	352
Figure 4.15:	Intercultural Literacy Levels: Phase One - Children	353
Figure 4.16:	Intercultural Literacy Levels: Phase One – Adults (Indonesian and Expatriate)	353
Figure 4.17:	Age Distribution – Phase One	355
Figure 4.18:	Gender Distribution – Phase Two	356
Figure 4.19:	Marital Status – Phase Two	357
Figure 4.20:	Subgroups – Phase Two	358
Figure 4.21:	National and Religious Background – Phase Two	359
Figure 4.22:	Previous International Experience – Phase Two	360
Figure 4.23:	Year Arrived On Site – Phase Two	361
Figure 4.24:	Intercultural Literacy: Self Assessment	362
Figure 4.25:	Intercultural Literacy - Self Assessment: Phase Two Adults (Indonesian and Expatriate)	364

Tables

Table 2.1:	Three-Stage U Curve Model	60
Table 2.2:	Four-Stage Culture Shock Model	62
Table 2.3:	Adler's (1975) Five-Stage Transition Experience Model	64
Table 2.4:	Hanvey's (1976) Model of Cross-Cultural Awareness Development	66
Table 2.5:	Berry, Poortinga, Segall, and Dasen's Five-Stage Adaptation Model	69
Table 2.6:	Christensen's (1989) Developmental Model for Cross-Cultural Awareness	71-72
Table 2.7:	Meyer's (1991) Developmental Model for Intercultural Learning	73
Table 2.8:	Kordes' (1991) Developmental Model for Intercultural Learning	74
Table 2.9:	Bennett's (1993) Developmental Model of Intercultural Sensitivity	75
Table 2.10:	Grove and Torbiorn's (1993) Adjustment Cycle	77
Table 2.11:	Gudykunst (1994) Concept of Culture Learning	78
Table 2.12:	Elliot and Baumgart's (1995) Hierarchical Model for Intercultural Awareness	81
Table 2.13:	Allan's (2003) Intercultural Learning Continuum	159
Table 3.1:	Tanjung Bara Reference Group – 1996	173
Table 3.2:	Categorisation of Reference Group Schools	179
Table 3.3:	Schooling Provision for Children in Tanjung Bara	212
Table 3.4:	Tanjung Bara International School Student Population by Age at January 1996	221
Table 3.5:	Tanjung Bara International School Student Population by Gender – January 1996	222
Table 3.6:	Tanjung Bara International School Student Population by National Background – January 1996	222
Table 3.7:	Phase II Group Discussions Conducted On Site – 1996	278
Table 4.1:	Coding of Intercultural Literacy Levels	309
Table 4.2:	Average Intercultural Literacy Score by Group	310
Table 4.3:	Disaggregated Intercultural Literacy Scores – Children Phase One	314
Table 4.4:	Disaggregated Intercultural Literacy Scores – Expatriate Adults Phase One	330
Table 4.5:	Disaggregated Intercultural Literacy Scores – Expatriate Adults Phase One	339
Table 4.6:	Comparison between Phase One and Phase Two Assessment	366
Table 4.7:	Comparison between Assessments of Children in Phase One and Phase Two	370
Table 5.1:	Perceived Impact of Non-Core School Activities on Intercultural Literacy – Self	440
Table 5.2:	Perceived Impact of Non-Core School Activities on Intercultural Literacy – International School Students	440
Table 5.3:	Perceived Impact of Non-Core School Activities on Intercultural Literacy – Expatriate Community	441
Table 5.4:	Perceived Impact of Non-Core School Activities on Intercultural Literacy – Indonesian Community	441
Table 5.5:	Community Activities involving Cross-Cultural Interaction between Children and Families in Tanjung Bara	461
Table 5.6:	Community Activities involving Cross-Cultural Interaction between Adults in Tanjung Bara	446

Photographs

Photograph 1:	Sangatta Lama	202
Photograph 2:	Sangatta Baru	204
Photograph 3:	Tanjung Bara coal stockpile area and coal terminal	204
Photograph 4:	Tanjung Bara coal stockpile area and coal loader	205
Photograph 5:	Open cut mine, Sangatta	205
Photograph 6:	Tanjung Bara Club	207
Photograph 7:	Football field and golf course, Tanjung Bara	207
Photograph 8:	Pool bar, golf course and single accommodation, Tanjung Bara	209
Photograph 9:	Tanjung Bara International School - a	223
Photograph 10:	Tanjung Bara International School - b	223
Photograph 11:	Tanjung Bara International School - c	224
Photograph 12:	1996 Junior One class group	225
Photograph 13:	1996 Junior Two class group	226
Photograph 14:	1996 Junior Three class group	227
Photograph 15:	1996 Junior Four class group	228
Photograph 16:	Assembly, Tanjung Bara International School	229
Photograph 17:	Tanjung Bara children visiting local Dayak community	230
Photograph 18:	Parents, staff and children, Tanjung Bara International School	230

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Glossary of Terms

acculturation	The process of learning a second or non-primary culture. Cultural change that it is initiated by the conjunction of two or more autonomous cultural systems. (Berry, Trimble and Olmedo 1986: 292)
<i>angklung</i>	Traditional baboo musical instruments from West Java
Anglo-American	An ethnic and cultural background originating historically from Britain or America, including former British colonies with a dominant 'Anglo' culture, such as Australia and New Zealand.
Anglo-Australian	An Australian with an ethnic and cultural background originating historically from Britain.
attribution	An individual's attempt to explain other's behaviour through reference to traits, disposition or situational factors
<i>Bahasa Indonesia</i>	Indonesian Language – the national language of Indonesia
<i>Batak</i>	Ethnic group from North Sumatra
<i>batik</i>	Traditional Indonesian technique for dying fabric with wax releif
<i>Batu Putih</i>	'White Rock', senior KPC housing area in Tanjung Bara
bicultural	Individuals, families or other contexts in which two parallel, equal-status cultures co-exist
<i>Bontang</i>	City to the south of Sangatta on the east coast of Kalimantan
BP	British Petroleum
<i>Bugis</i>	Ethnic group from Sulawasi
<i>bule</i>	From the term ' <i>kerbau bule</i> ', a white-skinned buffalo, a mildly derogatory term for a 'white' person
CRA	Conzinc Riotinto of Australia, the Australian parent company of KPC.
cross-cultural	Any situation, relationship or event which involves more than one cultural group, or individuals representing more than one cultural group
culture	Culture is constructed, it defines groups within and between societies, it is fluid and changing, and it is learned. It is '...the shared way of life of a group of people.' (Berry, Poortinga, Segall and Dasen 1992: 167)

<i>Dani</i>	Ethnic group from West Papua (formerly, Irian Jaya)
DEA	Department of Education and the Arts (Tasmania) subsequently renamed Department of Education, Culture and Community Development (DECCD)
enculturation	The process of learning one's primary culture, the culture '...in which one develops' (Berry, Trimble and Olmedo 1986: 291).
expatriate	A person who has left their country of birth or official residence to take up residence in a foreign country. 'The majority of expatriates and their families come from "first world" countries and are stationed abroad on assignment for the companies that employ them' (Meldenhall and Wiley 1994: 606).
<i>IKIP</i>	<i>Institut Keguruan Ilmu Pendidikan</i> or Teacher Training Institute
intercultural	Any situation, relationship or event which involves more than one cultural group, or individuals representing more than one cultural group
international education	Education for participation in an international world
international school	A school self-defined as 'international' which offers an international or foreign education to expatriate and sometimes local students
Islamist	Relating to political and religious movements based on philosophies of fundamentalist, puritanical Islamic revival. Islamists believe that all problems faced by Muslim societies can be solved only by adhering to the strict tenets of Islam. (Word IQ Internet Dictionary 2004)
<i>jam karet</i>	Literally 'rubber time', an expression to denote flexibility in keeping schedules and time commitments
<i>Javanese</i>	Of the ethnic group from Java
<i>kasti</i>	Traditional Indonesian sport similar to baseball and played with a curved bat
KPC	'Kaltim Prima Coal' (' <i>Kaltim</i> ' is an abbreviated form of <i>Kalimantan Timur</i> , East Kalimantan, the name of the province.)
LOTE	Languages Other Than English
<i>mandi</i>	Indonesian-style bath using a large basin and dipper
<i>Minahasan</i>	Of the <i>Minahasa</i> ethnic group from North Sulawesi

<i>Pancasila</i>	Official State ideology of Indonesia
<i>Sangatta</i>	Local village in East Kalimantan (a local term with unclear meaning). Used to refer to the KPC mine-site area.
<i>Sangatta Baru</i>	New Sangatta, the company town for Indonesian employees
<i>Sangatta Lama</i>	Old Sangatta, the original village area
<i>Sasak</i>	Of the predominate ethnic group from Lombok
SOSE	Studies of Society and the Environment
SPSS	Statistical Package for the Social Sciences
<i>Suarga Bara</i>	‘Fire Heaven’, new name for <i>Sangatta Baru</i>
<i>Sundanese</i>	Of the <i>Sunda</i> ethnic group from West Java
<i>Tanjung Bara</i>	‘Coal Point’, the senior camp for KPC and contractors
<i>Teluk Lingga</i>	<i>Lingga</i> Bay (‘ <i>Lingga</i> ’ is a poetic term from the Sanscrit referring to a sacred female symbol)
transcultural	Individuals or contexts in which more than two cultures co-exist and an independent, mutual ‘third culture’ exists. A conceptual move beyond the confines of one or two cultures and towards a global or transnational context
<i>Yogyanese</i>	From the Yogyakarta area in Central Java
YPPSB	<i>Yayasan Prima Pendidikan Sangatta Baru</i> – or, literally, ‘Prima Education Foundation, Sangatta Baru’

Chapter 1

Introduction

Globalisation presents humanity with both its most significant opportunities and its most significant challenges at the start of the twenty first century. Whilst developments in communications and transport technologies promise a bold new world of global cooperation, the reality of widespread conflict along cultural divides suggests a more sober vision. These parallel trends provide a powerful rationale for study into intercultural literacy.

As the human world becomes increasingly interdependent and the communities of which it is composed – local, national and international – become increasingly pluralist, the cross-cultural experience is becoming pervasive. It can be argued that in this new world, the individual and the human community as a whole require new understandings, competencies and attitudes, and a new sense of identity. If we are to prosper, even to survive, as individuals and as a species, we will need to carefully define these understandings, competencies, attitudes and identities - and how they can be learned. This study is a response to that need.

In this introductory chapter, the context for the study – globalisation and the international school – is explored, and the rationale for the study is explained. The research approach and structure of the thesis is also briefly described. The aim is to introduce the study by establishing the context and the problem that the study addresses, the aim of the study, and the research approach taken to achieve that aim.

International schools provide a unique opportunity for the development of relevant educational understandings and practice. International schooling has developed over a fifty year period since the first international schools were established in response to the needs of a growing global expatriate community associated with foreign missions, international business and military, missionary and development aid organizations. It has been estimated that somewhere between 1000 and 2000 international schools, or schools that describe themselves as international, exist in the world.¹ This represents a significant network of schools, teachers, administrators, curriculum developers, parents and students. Notwithstanding this development, little is known, and little serious research has been conducted, on intercultural learning in these schools.

Research into cross-cultural contact in other contexts has been gathering momentum over the last fifty years, along with changes in patterns of global mobility and demography. Cross-cultural contact research has produced a series of models for describing the development of intercultural awareness and competencies. Early cross-cultural adaptation models arose from a range of social imperatives and theoretical backgrounds. Social psychologists, for example, have been concerned with the adaptation of sojourners to a foreign setting - expatriate business people, aid workers, foreign students and tourists - and with the influence of desegregation on attitudes and behaviour amongst school children. Models have also been developed from an education

¹ Hayden and Thompson (1995) estimated 1000. The 1997 *International Education Handbook* (Findlay, 1997) listed 1724. The current *ISS Directory of Overseas Schools* (International Schools Service 2004) lists over 500. This is only one directory, however, and is confined to English medium schools that opt to register with the US-based *International Schools Service*. The current *ECIS International Schools Directory* lists 436 schools in membership of the European Council of International Schools (ECIS) (2004).

perspective focusing on cross-cultural attitudes and understandings as an outcome of foreign language and culture learning.

The focus in this study is on intercultural *learning* rather than adaptation. The acquisition of intercultural literacy is conceived as an additive, expansive process in which both cultures (or individuals) involved in a cross-cultural exchange are enriched. In line with recent models (e.g. Berry, Poortinga, Segall and Dasen 1992) this study suggests that the integration of two or more cultures provides the solution to problems of adjustment to a new culture rather than assimilation. In societal terms, this may be thought of as pluralism rather than assimilation. Culture is, for the interculturally literate, not a limiting construct, but a field of choice and creativity.

Despite the fact that many international schools profess educational objectives consistent with intercultural literacy in their mission statements, there is very little evidence of policy or evaluation of outcomes (Allan 2003). Research into cross-cultural contact and intercultural literacy learning in international schools has been scant. No studies have explored the question of how primary/elementary aged children learn intercultural literacy in the context of the international school. A comprehensive survey of stage models describing intercultural learning or adaptation is presented in Chapter Two of this thesis. Whilst a number of these social-psychology and educational models provide a theoretical basis for the model proposed in this study, none attempts to integrate dimensions of understanding, competency, attitude, identity, language ability and participation into one model. None of them is intended to support schools and educators

design and evaluate curricula for intercultural literacy or to assess children for intercultural literacy, particularly at the primary/elementary level.

The aim of this study is to propose and trial a developmental model which describes the nature of intercultural literacy and how it is learned. Intercultural literacy is defined in this study as the understandings, attitudes, competencies, language abilities, participation and identities which enable effective participation in a cross-cultural setting. The definition arose from a survey of similar terms within the literature, which is outlined in the following chapter. It is, however, specific to this study in the way it highlights ‘intercultural’ as a two-way, mutually enriching engagement between cultures, and ‘literacy’ as a broad, multidimensional set of competencies, attitudes and identities that enable effective cross-cultural engagement. One strength of this definition is that it refers to a range of interdependent dimensions which are frequently treated independently and in ways that do not recognise this interdependence in definitions of similar terms such as ‘intercultural competence’ or ‘intercultural awareness’.

The model proposed meets a significant need to address the gaps in current theory and research outlined above. It is developmental and multidimensional, recognising the interdependence of understandings, attitudes, competencies, language abilities, participation and identities. Although it may have a broader application, it is designed for the context of international schooling and is trialled in that context, specifically in the context of primary/elementary schooling.

Effective participation in a cross-cultural setting in this context implies that the individual is able to achieve personal or group objectives in a social context - and to do so in a way that may be perceived as culturally appropriate by members of the second culture. Learning to be intercultural literate can then be said to be learning how to live well in a culture other than one's primary or 'native' culture. These terms require more careful definition which is offered in the following chapter.

The model proposed in this study is validated and refined in the context of reference groups, and trialled in a case study of a primary/elementary international school and its community in Indonesia. It is intended to subsequently assist schools in developing curricula and extra-curricula programs for students to learn the intercultural literacy which is critical for both individual and collective effectiveness in a globalised world. The study also aims to contribute more generally to the development of theory and understandings in the management of cross-cultural contact and minimization of intercultural conflict.

The Context of Globalisation

The need for today's students to develop an intercultural literacy in the broad sense has been highlighted in contemporary business studies literature, educational literature and popular political and social discourse. The world has become an interdependent whole, economically, culturally and politically, and the concept of global citizenship has gained currency since Elise Boulding first wrote of a 'global civic community' (Boulding 1988, Mann 2001). Paradoxically, as nation states, although proliferating in number, are seen by some as declining in significance and the world's political map is changing shape, the

role of culture in defining identity and allegiance is seen by many as gaining in significance (Appadurai 1990; Featherstone 1990; Robertson 1990; Huntington 1993; Griswold 1994; Gundara 1999; Rizvi and Lingard 2000; Mann 2001; Turner with Featherstone 2001).

Appadurai (1990) described the central problem of global interactions as ‘... the tension between cultural homogenisation and cultural heterogenisation’ (Appadurai 1990: 295). These two parallel forces - globalisation and cultural identity movements - provide a powerful twin rationale for intercultural literacy learning as we enter the twenty first century.

Globalisation is defined, for the purpose of this study, as ‘...the widening, deepening and speeding up of global interconnectedness’ (Held, McGrew, Goldblatt and Perraton 1999: 14). Globalisation is evident in the growing economic, political, legal, environmental and cultural interdependence of the world. It has been facilitated by the emergence of multinational corporations, the international money market, and flows of capital, technology, labour, management and technical expertise. These factors are accompanied by the rise of environmental and human rights consciousnesses, the emergence of transnational non-government organisations such as the United Nations, and rapid developments in communications and transport technologies.

Gopinathan (1996) described globalisation as the emergence of a ‘... global culture understood as the near universalisation of such cultural symbols as the extensive use of English, the spread of MacDonalds, Guess Jeans, Coca Cola, Nike, Michael Jackson and

other icons of American culture' (Gopinathan 1996: 74). Featherstone (1990), however, described the process as more complex than the Americanisation or consumerisation of the world suggested by Gopinathan:

This globalisation process which points to an extension of global interrelatedness can be seen as leading to a global ecumene ... A process whereby a series of cultural flows produce both: *firstly*, cultural homogeneity and cultural disorder, in linking together previously isolated pockets of relatively homogeneous culture which in turn produces more complex images of the other as well as generating identity-reinforcing reactions; and also *secondly*, transnational cultures, which can be understood as genuine third cultures which are oriented beyond national boundaries (Featherstone 1990: 6, original emphasis).

Featherstone (1990) and others (Appadurai, 1990; Robertson, 1990, Mann 2001) describe a global world characterised by rapidly increasing interrelatedness and interconnectedness between diverse cultural groups leading to an increasing assertion of cultural identity and intercultural exchange, accompanied by the emergence of cultural diasporas and transcultures or third cultures.

Whilst globalisation has been a force for many centuries (Mann 2001), in the final decades of the twentieth century and now, at the start of the twenty-first century, humanity has entered a new era in which the earth for the first time has become conceptually one world; a shared space. The interdependence of that physical, political and cultural space is now firmly established in human consciousness. The flap of a butterfly's wings in South America may result in an earthquake on the other side of the

globe (Crozet, Liddicoat and Bianco 1999). The OXFAM motto, 'Think globally - act locally', for the first time, makes sense (Willis and Enlow 1990: 178).

At the same time, minorities and cultural groups within and across national borders are reasserting their cultural identities through the media, religion, the arts, politics and sometimes bloody civil unrest, terrorism and separatist movements. The western world is facing a new cultural reality in which post-colonial and indigenous communities are asserting their rights and cultural identities, and governments can no longer assume a single, unifying, mainstream, national culture.

The terms 'western' and 'eastern' denote ambiguous, problematic and contested constructs, suggesting, and perhaps reinforcing, a polarity in the global cultural and political world. This perceived polarity and the intercultural dynamics which create and sustain it are issues at the heart of this thesis. The challenge posed by globalisation and the resulting rationale for intercultural literacy learning was discussed above. The term 'western' is problematic given the changing demographic nature of so-called western nations, and the diversity that exists both within and between them. The terms 'Asia' and 'eastern' are equally problematic in that they denote an ill-defined and diverse collection of nations and peoples, and are themselves western in origin. Both terms suggest an ethnocentric and artificial divide between nations with a predominantly European background and others. Nor does the geo-cultural divide suggested account for the changes wrought by colonialism. One may well ask: East of where? West of where? Is Sydney, for example, west or east; north or south? For these reasons, it is with some reluctance that the terms are used in this thesis. Since the alternatives,

developed/developing; first-world/third-world; industrialised/non-industrialised, north/south and so on, are perhaps even more value-laden, and since there appear to be no readily understandable alternatives available, for ease of communication the terms 'western', and 'Asian' will be employed - although with some discomfort.

The last twenty years have seen the dissolution of the former Soviet Union, the reunification of Germany and the growing European Union, a culturally-based separatist movement in Canada, separatism and religious/communal violence in Indonesia, the end of apartheid in South Africa, fluctuating outbreaks of war and peace in Northern Ireland and Israel/Palestine, genocide in Rwanda, and ethnic cleansing and intercultural bloodshed in former Yugoslavia. At a macro level, the human world is constantly dividing and reforming along cultural boundaries (Smolicz 1998). Perhaps the most significant cultural fault-line at the start of the twenty-first century is reflected in the rise of Islamist militancy,² international terrorism and western military responses. The dramatic violence of what has become known as 'September 11', major terrorist attacks in Bali and Madrid, and the rhetoric and realities of the global 'War on Terror' symbolise this new reality.

Willis, Enloe and Minoura (1994) contrast the global trends – unification and fragmentation - as competing future visions.

Two basic views of the new world order have been articulated since the end of the Cold War; both speak for important roles for transculturals / transnationals. The first is a more

² The term 'Islamist' is used here and throughout this thesis to refer to political and religious movements based on philosophies of fundamentalist, puritanical Islamic revival (Word IQ Internet Dictionary 2004).

or less utopian vision, whereby the market-place, science and good will eventually triumph. Transnationals / transculturals are major facilitators of this vision. The second view is that of an increasingly grim clash of civilisations, battle lines clearly drawn in an Armageddon of beliefs and values (Huntington, 1993). (Willis, Enloe and Minoura 1994: 30).

More recently, Held, McGrew, Goldblatt and Perraton (1999) contrast three ‘tendencies’ in current interpretations of globalisation: the hyperglobalist, which predicts the end of nation states and foresees global civilisation; the sceptic which regards the world as less interdependent than in the 1890s; and the transformationalist, which sees globalisation as transforming world power and politics (1999: 10).

Mann (2001) describes globalisation as:

...consisting of expansions of ideological, economic, military and political networks of interaction, each of which may have differing boundaries, rhythms and results, diffusing distinctive forms of integration and disintegration across the globe. (Mann 2001: 42-43)

One sociological explanation for the paradox of apparently simultaneous unification and fragmentation, integration and disintegration, is that, as new technologies, patterns of mobility and cultural flow make possible a global relational community; so, traditional cultural boundaries are threatened, and ‘... when institutions or meaning systems are threatened or disrupted, it may not be the case that entirely new ones will be created; one response may simply be a greater emphasis on pre-existing cultural traits and distinctions’ (Griswold 1994: 150). This analysis echoes the social psychology theories

of social categorisation and ‘fence mending’ which may be described as a reassertion of cultural boundaries when social categories are threatened (Allport 1954; Tajfel 1978c).

The possibility of multiple cultural identities suggests a more optimistic future: ‘Human beings may well learn to operate simultaneously in global, relational communities and in local, spatial ones. Each community would have its own culture.’ (Griswold 1994:150) Applying this to the current context, including Islamist confrontation with the west, Turner and Featherstone (2001) note that:

...the current political movement is often viewed from the perspective of the loss of cultures and traditions under the effect of globalisation. This situation should also be seen as having a positive impetus to enable not only the redemption of discredited and excluded traditions, but also the creative potential for re-conceptualisation and cultural innovation; the challenge is to see and form the world anew using a new set of categories. (Turner with Featherstone 2001: 79)

The model proposed in this study assumes that individuals possess multiple cultural identities, and that intercultural literacy for the individual involves successfully identifying, interpreting, integrating and navigating these parallel or layered cultural worlds.

The issue of intercultural literacy, then, should be considered in the context of a world in which cultural divisions increasingly determine identity and allegiance - and in which, at the same time, communication and cooperation between individuals and groups as they form relational communities across the globe is becoming increasingly important. Superimposed on this scenario is the phenomenon of transculturals: individuals who

form groups which are oriented beyond national or cultural boundaries (Featherstone, 1990) and have the potential to facilitate the development of cooperative global communities (Willis, Enloe and Minoura: 1994). As defined in this study, the interculturally literate individual will be in a position to manage the cultural diversity created by globalisation to achieve personal or collective goals. Without intercultural literacy, what Edward Hall called ‘... a massive cultural literacy movement’ (Hall 1977: 7), the disintegration of global, national and local societies may become a real threat.

Intercultural literacy can thus be seen to be an issue of increasing significance, even urgency, for schools throughout the world. In Europe, for example, unification has been impacting on educational thinking in recent decades (Buttjes 1991, Meyer 1991, Kordes 1991, Byram 1991, 1999; Woodrow, Verma, Rocha-Trindale, Campani and Bagley 1997; Byram, Nicholls and Stevens 2001; Fennes and Hapgood 1997; European Union: Committee of the Regions 1999). Throughout the western world societies are becoming more pluralist and schools are faced with cross-cultural dynamics in the classroom/playground and with the need to prepare students for a globalised world. Issues such as the wearing of cultural and religious insignia in national schools, particularly the Islamic head-scarf, are becoming divisive in multicultural nations such as France and Singapore. National education systems across the world are developing curricular responses to the challenges of globalisation and the cultural diversification of national societies (Le Roux 2001; Banks, Cookson, Geneva, Hawley et al. 2001).

In Australia a drive for Asia-literacy gained momentum in the late 1980s and early 1990s and political weight went behind a push for Asian language learning and with it

socio-cultural learning about Australia's Asian neighbours (Bullivant 1985, 1987; Garnaut 1989, Kennedy 1990, Viviani 1990, McKay 1990, Fitzgerald 1994; Irwin 1997). The enthusiasm for Asian languages in Australian schools may have waned somewhat in the wake of the Asian economic downturn, unrest in the region and a politically-driven shift away from national engagement with Asia since the late 1990s. Despite this, current policy maintains a focus on study of Asian languages and societies whilst expanding global and Australian indigenous perspectives in social studies curricula (Burney 2001; Curriculum Corporation, Australia 2003).

Notwithstanding this focus in national systems, intercultural literacy, as proposed in this study, goes beyond concerns with regional or national cultural literacies. The development of pluralist conceptions of national societies and patterns of global mobility, communication and interdependence make the concerns with both inter- and intra-national cultures, to some extent, obsolete. The imperative for intercultural literacy learning derives not so much from *national* concerns with internal social cohesion and international competition and cooperation, as from the social and cultural dynamics of a *global* system - within which nations form just one constituent part. The global system implied in this statement may be seen to be equally relevant in local communities such as schools, neighbourhoods, and families; as in national, international, and transnational communities.

Intercultural literacy thus becomes a critical ingredient in the make up of the twenty first century global citizen (Young 1996). If we are to avoid the violent disintegration of societies along cultural fault lines predicted by Huntington (1993) and suggested in the

recent rise of Islamist militancy and the 'War on Terror', and to equip individual students and future citizens to mediate between cultures and live successfully in a pluralistic global community, it may be argued that an understanding of intercultural literacy together with the dynamics of intercultural literacy learning is essential.

Defining the International School

As educational institutions in this context of globalisation, international schools hold an important, if ambiguous, position. Many international schools profess to prepare students for 'global citizenship' and to teach for 'intercultural awareness', 'international understanding', 'international mindedness', or what is termed here 'intercultural literacy'. Few are able to offer agreed definitions for the terms or articulate the programs in place to support these aims (Hayden and Wong 1997; Allan 2003). Little is known of the processes by which students can learn intercultural literacy.

The growth of international education and curricular movements such as are represented by United World Colleges (UWC), the International Baccalaureate (IB), the International Schools Association (ISA) and the European Community Schools, and the increasing interest shown, particularly in the IB, by independent and state national schools and systems, reflects one response to the need for intercultural literacy learning. In response to this need and to a growing awareness of the challenges and opportunities offered by globalisation, international schools, which in most instances were established to meet the educational requirements of internationally mobile expatriate communities, are increasingly recognising the need for a more authentically international curriculum (Hayden, Thompson and Williams 2003).

The relevance of intercultural literacy to international schools and their communities is even more immediate than is the case in many national schools. Many of the students of international schools are the children of expatriate families and local elites who are likely to be acutely aware of the need for intercultural literacy. Some are the offspring of cross-cultural marriages and many are long-term international citizens for whom the terms 'transcultural' (Willis, Enloe and Minoura 1994), 'global nomad' (Schaetti 1998, 2003) and 'Third Culture Kid' (sic) have been applied. Third Culture Kids were first identified by Useem and colleagues (Useem 1966, 1973; Useem 1966; Useem and Useem 1967, 1968; Useem, Useem and Donoghue 1963; Useem and Downie 1976) as children who identify with a global community of expatriates instead of their passport or 'home' country or their 'host' country. Their lives are defined by cultural difference and mobility (Pollock and Van Reken 1999). Research has shown that these same students are likely to be the internationally mobile citizens of the future (Useem 1976; Fail 1996; Gerner and Perry 2000, 2003). Beyond this it has been suggested that these individuals can facilitate the building of a cooperative global future (Willis, Enloe and Minoura 1994; Willis 1997).

A lack of consensus concerning the definition of international education, international school, and the relationship between the two, makes generalisations difficult (Hayden and Thompson 1995a, 1995b, 1996, 2000; Blaney 1997; Hayden and Wong 1997; Cambridge 2002; Hayden, Thompson and Williams 2003). In many instances, the term 'international' could be more accurately translated as 'foreign' or 'overseas' as the mission of such schools is to provide a specific national education to an expatriate

community off-shore. The implications for intercultural literacy learning are significant. For example, it may be assumed that within the Japanese International School of Jakarta, the American School in London, and the *Lycee Francais de Los Angeles* a range of assumptions about culture and the purpose of international schooling are likely to colour responses to the issue of intercultural literacy.

Aside from differing national orientations, the foundations of international schools vary between those established to serve foreign military bases and embassies, church missionary schools, independent city schools and those established by multinational oil and mining companies to serve their isolated expatriate communities. It is safe to assume that a variety of perspectives on the relevance of intercultural literacy to curriculum would exist amongst these schools and their communities. Whilst it may not be profitable to overemphasise this distinction (Phillips 2002; Cambridge 2002; Hayden, Thompson and Williams 2003), it is none-the-less clear that the vast majority of international schools have been established with a predominately pragmatic rather than 'ideology-driven' foundation (Matthews 1989; Bartlett 1998; Pearce 1998). The implications for intercultural literacy are important to this study and will be explored in context.

A range of definitions have been suggested for the international school (e.g. Leach 1969; Terwilliger 1972; Jonietz and Harris 1991). Matthews (1989), in an attempt to draw the line between distinctively international schools and those offering a transplanted national curriculum, defines an international school as one that has:

1. an international teaching staff,

2. an international student body,
3. a board of governors that represents different cultural views, especially if it has a substantial impact on policy formation,
4. an international academic curriculum, which goes beyond the simple adoption of 'international' programmes such as IB or IGCSE, to encourage international understanding, and
5. a broad based non-academic programme which encourages, facilitates cultural mixing and cross-cultural fertilisation (even though it may not appear to be happening as extensively as desired). (Matthews 1989: 7)

Not all schools which describe themselves as 'international' fit Matthews' definition. Despite this, international schools, as a group of self-defined institutions, are growing in number and are in a unique position to contribute to the development of understandings and a methodology for the teaching of intercultural literacy. For the purpose of this study, international schools are defined as schools which define themselves as such and which exist to provide an alternative to the host country education system, mainly for expatriate children and local elites. These schools exist in cross-cultural contexts, both in relation to their internal and external environments.

The one thing that makes international schools different – that makes them 'international' – is that their educational approach differs from local, national approaches to education. They cater primarily for expatriates and foreigners, and draw together a community of people, either a group of similar nationals in a foreign setting or a more eclectic group of expatriates and foreigners – sometimes with a mix of local families. It

is this unique position that creates the opportunity, and perhaps the obligation, to teach for intercultural literacy.

A Changing Context for International Schools

Those international schools established explicitly to teach an international curriculum, to foster ‘cultural mixing and cross-cultural fertilisation’, and which meet the criteria of Matthews’ definition, are likely to be explicit in their mission statements about the goal of intercultural literacy. However, teachers, administrators and parents from schools established to provide a specific national curriculum to overseas students might well question the relevance of intercultural literacy in their context. Since these schools are likely to exist primarily to minimise the educational disadvantage of an overseas posting; to provide continuity of home national educational experience for expatriate students within their system, a focus on intercultural literacy may be seen as a distraction from the school’s core goals.

However, the new context of globalisation demands that international schools give attention to the issue of intercultural literacy. What made sense in the world of the 1950s, when many international schools were established, no longer makes sense in the early twenty-first century.³ Previously an overseas posting meant real isolation for families and expatriate communities. In the twenty-first century, efficient transport, telecommunications, satellite television, email and Internet make that isolation a thing of the past for most expatriates. Previously, it may be argued, nation states were the most

³ Although Yokohama International School and the International School of Geneva were both established in 1924 and there is some debate as to whether international schools existed prior to this, the growth of international schools greatly increased in the post second world war period

significant unit for structuring global human relations and, in a global context, cultural identity. National borders mattered (Leigh 1999). In the twenty-first century, complex cultural, economic, political and human flows ignore national borders and national cultural identities form just one layer in the multiple cultural identities of human beings (Appadurai 1990; Pearce 1998; Lim and Renshaw 2001). Business in the twenty-first century is conducted between corporations and individuals whose national identity is far from clear. Individuals form non-locational culture-based communities and relationships. Locational communities, those existing in a single location – including nations - are becoming cultural patchworks. Whilst the nation state remains significant, the more significant identity construct in the twenty-first century, it can be argued, is culture rather than nationality – and culture is a far more elusive and complex construct (Morrissey 1997). Globalisation, as described in the section above, is impacting in fundamental ways on the context for international schools.

The significance of these changes for international schools is two-fold. Firstly, the world in which international schools exist, and for which students are being prepared, has changed. The kinds of competencies, understandings, attitudes and identities that might have worked when many international schools were founded are no longer adequate. In fact they may be quite counterproductive in relation to achieving success in a globalised world. Secondly, international school communities, including the teaching faculty, the parents and the students, have changed. Without an understanding of intercultural literacy and its implications for students, international school teachers and administrators neither understand the world of their students nor the students themselves.

Significant developments in curricula for international schools have occurred in recent years. In an increasing number, a genuine attempt is now being made to define and deliver the authentically international curriculum envisaged by Matthews (1989). The International Baccalaureate (IB), which is widely applied in international schools, now caters for students from primary through to senior secondary years and is one significant attempt to internationalise the curriculum of these schools. As at 31st January 2004, the International Baccalaureate Organisation (IBO) had authorised 1,305 schools to offer IB programmes. These schools, known as 'IB world schools', offer a total of 1,523 IB programmes (Diploma Programme, Middle Years Programme and Primary Years Programme) in 116 countries (International Baccalaureate Organisation 2004).

The International Baccalaureate has gained prominence in recent years as the foremost international curriculum. It is now recognised as an entrance qualification in universities world-wide and provides a pathway for students into those institutions regarded as high quality in the western world. Equally, the IB is increasingly regarded as providing a genuinely international curriculum, adding value to a rigorous academic curriculum with foci on international values, thinking skills (e.g. Theory of Knowledge) and community service (Jonietz 1991; Hayden and Wong 1997; Walker 2000; Hill 2002). The IB also aims to meet the needs of schools catering to a multicultural, international student population (Hayden and Wong 1997; Hill 2002).

The IB was devised in the 1960s to provide an internationally accepted pathway for students from international schools to enter the top universities of the western world. Its origins thus mirror the pragmatic foundations of the international schools for which it

was designed. From the outset the IB also aimed to meet ideological goals related to world peace (Hill 2000, 2002) and it has evolved as a significant force for internationalisation of curricula in both the international and the national schools in which it has now been adopted. The mission statement for IB places citizenship in an international context and highlights values consistent with the concept of intercultural literacy.

Beyond intellectual rigour and high academic standards, strong emphasis is placed in the ideals of international understanding and responsible citizenship, to the end that IB students may become critical and compassionate thinkers, lifelong learners and informed participants in local and world affairs, conscious of the shared humanity that binds all people together while respecting the variety of cultures and attitudes that makes for the richness of life. (International Baccalaureate Organisation 1996: i)

Significant developments have occurred with the addition of optional studies in such areas as Islamic History. However, the degree to which the curriculum is genuinely international or remains Eurocentric and western-biased is a matter of ongoing debate within IB circles (Willis and Enloe 1990). Bartlett (1998) argues that the IB Primary Years Programme (PYP) develops competencies such as multiple perspective-taking and open-mindedness. This can be seen as aligning with intercultural literacy. Although the evidence is inconclusive, recent studies do suggest that the IB may contribute towards the development of international mindedness and intercultural literacy in terms of learning outcomes (Hayden and Wong 1997; Hayden, Thompson and Williams 2003; Hinrichs 2003).

International schools and international education exist in a political context. The processes and management of globalisation are increasingly contested, particularly in the context of free-trade and its perceived impact on developing nations (Gundara 1999; Rizvi and Lingard 2000). Whereas in the 1980s and early 1990s the ideals of one world and shared humanity underscored discussion of globalisation (Willis, 1987; Boulding 1988; Willis, Enloe and Minoura 1994; Rizvi and Lingard 2000; Mann 2001), in the early twenty-first century globalisation is often seen by the developing and Islamic worlds and by dissident voices in the west as a neo-colonialist western hegemony serving to further disempower poor nations and groups, and to strengthen the global political controls of the rich (Leigh 1999). Human and cultural capital is increasingly regarded as the most important resource for nations and international groups (Phillips 2002). In this context, international education may be seen as educational imperialism (Wilson 1997) and international schools are a part of this dynamic, as they exist to create educational and social capital and to serve international political and economic elites throughout the world - including those in poor and developing nations. In many cases the distance they place between themselves and host communities is driven as much by the need for security and protection as for cultural distinction.

This political context is important to a consideration of intercultural literacy. Along with the international curricula espoused by many international schools, the model proposed in this study explicitly endorses educational goals which may challenge the politics of globalisation and the mission of the international school. 'Intercultural awareness' is described by Phillips (2002: 162) as '...an attribute invariably promoted by ideology-driven [international] schools'. The interculturally literate, as defined in this study,

possesses a set of attitudes and competencies including the ability to take multiple perspectives, to see things from the point of view of the other, and to identify with a global shared humanity. These qualities may well challenge more narrow nationalistic ideals or the pragmatic economic goals of business. For example, to what extent can an individual be truly 'international' or 'interculturally literate' and still uncritically support the exploitation of poor nations and groups by the rich?

International school students enjoy privileged access to an international education which may ostensibly promote the social justice values of global shared humanity as, for example, are embodied in the IBO mission statement. They are privileged by the position they hold as members of an international elite, the power and economic status of which derives from the contentious dynamics of globalisation (Hylmo 2003). At the local level, many must ignore the reality of poverty outside the school compound whilst they pursue the high ideals of internationalism within the compound.

Within the context of globalisation, the international school provides a fertile setting for the study of intercultural literacy. International schools are born of globalisation and essentially exist to serve the internationally mobile expatriate community which contributes to, and benefits from, globalisation. Many schools express goals consistent with intercultural literacy and recent studies suggest a broad consensus among teachers and students of international schools on the nature of 'internationalism' (Hayden and Thompson 1998; Hayden, Rancic and Thompson 2000) yet it is not clear that all international schools possess the understandings necessary to achieve those goals. The following section describes how this thesis is structured to answer this concern.

Research Approach and Outline of the Thesis

This study addresses the need for understandings of intercultural literacy and how it might be learned in the context of globalisation and the international school. A developmental model of intercultural literacy which builds on existing theory is proposed. It is intended that this model provide a basis for international schools to increase their understandings of intercultural literacy and to design, implement and evaluate effective programs and curricula to meet their objectives in this area. The model is then checked for validity against the expert knowledge of practitioners in reference groups and, finally, trialled in the field by means of a case study of an international school in Indonesia. This is the first study to focus on intercultural literacy learning in an elementary/primary international school. The central question is: Does the model help in arriving at useful understandings of the case?

The aim of the study is to propose and trial a developmental model, which describes the nature of intercultural literacy, and how it is learned. This aim contains two sub-aims: (1) to propose a model, and (2) to trial that model.

This aim addresses a significant need to develop the theory of intercultural literacy learning in the context of the international school. International schools widely profess to teach for intercultural literacy, global citizenship, or similar outcomes. Yet there is little evidence of the understandings required to either articulate or evaluate curriculum or school-wide approaches designed to achieve this objective. No model exists which meets this need and provides the conceptual framework to enable schools to formulate

policy and plan and evaluate intercultural literacy programs, particularly in the context of the primary/elementary international school. This chapter has outlined the context and significance of the study. Intercultural literacy is described as a crucial literacy for the globalised world of the twenty-first century.

The first part of the aim, to propose a model for describing the nature of intercultural literacy and how it is learned, is addressed in Chapter Two. A model which describes the development of intercultural literacy is introduced and developed in the context of relevant theory. The validity of the model is checked and the model itself is further refined through a process of reference to practitioners: specifically, a reference group comprised of teachers and parents in Tanjung Bara, Kalimantan, Indonesia, and a group of administrators from twenty-three international schools in the South East Asian region, which is described in Chapter Three.

The second part of the aim, the trialling of the proposed model, is addressed in a case study of Tanjung Bara International School and its cross-cultural community in East Kalimantan, Indonesia. Chapter Three outlines the research approach taken and introduces a conceptual framework for the case study. Robert Stake's Model of Contingency and Congruence (1967) is employed as a conceptual basis for a study of this community and the role of the school in facilitating or hindering the development of intercultural literacy. Stake's model provides a framework for evaluating the formal and informal programs of the school and community. It separates the evaluation of program implementation from the theoretical basis of the programs, enabling the researcher to determine which factors contributed to the success or failure of the program. The

purpose of the study is to apply the proposed developmental model of intercultural literacy in a specific setting in order to determine whether or not it is applicable and is able to offer useful insights to the situation.

In Chapters Four and Five an account of the case study and results is provided. In Chapter Four the level and type of intercultural literacy within the school and its community is mapped using the proposed model. Chapter Five then explores the dynamics of intercultural literacy learning in the school and community. It aims to determine the factors within the school and community which contributed to the levels and types of intercultural literacy described in Chapter Four.

The developmental model proposed and trialled in this study is an attempt to usefully interpret the world, rather than portray an objective reality. A model is a tool; an instrument to assist in making sense of a more complex, dynamic and ‘messy’ reality – that may be construed as multiple. A model necessarily simplifies this world. In order to make reality to some extent comprehensible, predictable and manageable, a model offers a conceptual construct. Although it may be felt to more accurately portray a complex reality, a model that is in itself too complex is likely to be less useful than one which is simple and ‘workable’. The question to be asked is whether the model is useful; whether it is helpful.

In taking this epistemological and ontological stance, this study rejects the more radical approaches to post-modern research. An external reality is, in this approach, assumed. It is also assumed that this reality is essentially unknowable in an objective sense. The

researcher's task is to develop theory which helps us to manage reality, rather than to uncover truths about an objective reality.

Finally, in Chapter Six, conclusions are drawn with reference to an analysis of the case study depicted in Chapters Four and Five. A number of conclusions are drawn relating to the nature of intercultural literacy learning and the role an international school may play in facilitating that learning. This final chapter evaluates the usefulness of the proposed model. The study concludes that the proposed model is useful; that it has surface validity and was clearly of use in the context of a study to address the issues and problems faced in the real world of an international school and its cross-cultural community. On this basis it is concluded that the model is likely to be of use in other settings, particularly in international schools aiming to support intercultural literacy.

Chapter 2

Introduction

In Chapter One the aim of the study was outlined showing the context and significance of intercultural literacy and of the study. The broad context of globalisation and the more specific context of the international school were described, and an outline of the thesis was provided. This chapter aims to evaluate the literature, establishing the theoretical context for the study. In this context the proposed Multidimensional Model for the Development of Intercultural Literacy is introduced and a range of theoretical issues and implications arising from the model is discussed.

Key terms are defined and the definition of intercultural literacy is discussed in context. An overview of the theoretical context is provided, followed by a brief historical overview. This provides a basis for the discussion which follows. A number of alternative models for acculturation and culture learning drawn from the literature are discussed and the proposed model is presented and outlined. The proposed model is informed by a discussion of child development in relation to intercultural literacy. Each of the dimensions in the model is discussed in detail providing a picture of how intercultural literacy develops in stages or levels in relation to understandings, competencies, attitudes, language abilities, participation and identities.

The chapter concludes with a discussion of relevant theory and implications arising from it for international schools. This includes theory relating to the outcomes of cross-cultural contact, the conditions for intercultural literacy learning and the influence of cultural distance. The nature of international school students is discussed and implications for intercultural literacy learning in the international school.

Defining Key Terms

Cross-cultural studies have proceeded in a conceptually and methodologically fragmented manner. Studies in anthropology, sociology, social psychology, communication theory, sociolinguistics, and education have all informed the development of theory. As a result of this diversification, the proliferation of terms to denote similar phenomena from a variety of perspectives is a problem.

Intercultural literacy is defined in this study as the understandings, competencies, attitudes, language proficiencies, participation and identities which enable effective participation in a cross-cultural setting. The definition, whilst it is helpful in integrating these multiple dimensions, suffers in some measure from the lack of clarity and consensus in terminology in the literature (Landis and Wasilewski 1999). Whilst intercultural literacy has been defined with reference to effective engagement with a second culture or successful participation in a cross-cultural setting, definitions of 'second culture', 'cross-cultural' and 'culture' require clarification. From the many and varied definitions of culture available in the literature, four prominent definitions are offered here as a basis for this study.

Taylor (1891) was influential in first defining culture for anthropology in the nineteenth century in terms broader than 'high culture' or 'Culture with a capital C' as '... as a complex whole that includes knowledge, belief, art, morals, law, custom and any other capabilities and habits acquired by man [sic] as a member of society' (Taylor 1891: 1). This definition paved the way for twentieth century understandings of culture as the way of life of a group or society.

Clifford Geertz's (1973) conceived of anthropology as focussing on relationships and their meanings rather than on one-dimensional inventories of cultural elements. Geertz remains an influential figure in the development of thinking in anthropology and culture studies, defining culture as primarily a state of meaning. This new definition revolutionised the field by shifting the focus from a reified sense of culture as somehow external to the participant to a new focus on the subjective meaning state of individuals.

The concept of culture I espouse ... is essentially a semiotic one. Believing, with Max Weber, that man [sic] is an animal suspended in webs of significance he himself [sic] has spun, I take culture to be those webs, and the analysis of it to be therefore not an experimental science in search of law but an interpretive one in search of meaning (Geertz 1973: 5).

Edward T. Hall (1977) promoted the significance of culture studies across a range of disciplines including education, management, psychology and sociology, and added the concept of cultures as defining group boundaries. Hall drew together the common features of anthropologists' conceptions of culture as follows:

... in spite of many differences in detail, anthropologists do agree on three characteristics of culture: it is not innate, but learned; the various facets of culture are interrelated - you touch a culture in one place and everything else is affected; it is shared and in effect defines the boundaries of different groups ... Culture is man's [sic] medium; there is not one aspect of human life that is not touched and altered by culture (Hall 1977: 16).

More recent definitions highlight the socially constructed nature of culture, suggesting that culture is constructed on a daily basis through the interaction between individuals and their environment (Segall, Lonner and Berry 1998). The definition by social psychologist John W. Berry and colleagues (1992), commonly cited in contemporary literature, again stresses the role of culture in identifying groups. Berry and colleagues neatly demystify the concept by defining culture in plain language as ‘...the shared way of life of a group of people.’ (Berry, Poortinga, Segall and Dasen 1992: 167).

The essential elements to be drawn from these definitions for the present purpose are that culture is constructed, it defines groups within and between societies, it is fluid and changing, and it is learned.

A post-modern perspective may conceive of culture as ultimately unique to each individual - fluid, changing, fragmented and essentially unknowable. A contrasting perspective suggests a unifying culture of humanity – global citizenship, one world. These competing notions of culture, reflecting alternative paradigms, are contrasted in recent analyses of culture learning in international contexts (Hylmo 2003; Pearce 2003). Pearce (1996, 2001, 2003) contrasts the convergent tendencies of what he describes as ‘new world’ theorists with the divergent, pluralist tendencies of ‘old world’ theorists, arguing that, from an ‘old world’ perspective, an idealised end-point of culture learning is likely to be divergent and pluralist, whilst from a ‘new world’ perspective it is likely to be convergent – a single pan-human identity; a ‘transculture’ (Willis, Enloe and Minoura 1994) or ‘third culture’ (Pollock and Van Reken 1999).

The key to understanding culture, and its role in defining identity in contested personal and social spaces in the context of intercultural literacy, is the notion of multiple cultural identities. Individuals typically identify with a range of social groups – some of which may be described as cultural groups. These can range from small, local, subcultures, through larger ethnic, political or gender-based cultures and collective national cultures to broader international cultures based on regionalism, ethnicity or religion, and ultimately to a unifying human culture.⁴ In social psychological terms, cultures from each of these layers may become salient in differing contexts – dependent primarily on contrasts with other cultural groups. In this study, cultural identity is conceived as multiple. Each individual possesses a range of multiple cultural identities and draws on a store of cultural repertoires relating to these (Pearce 1998; Hylmo 2003).

The term ‘cross-cultural’ is often taken as synonymous with ‘intercultural’ (Landis and Wasilewski 1999). Both the terms ‘cross-cultural communication’ and ‘intercultural communication’ are also commonly used to refer to communication across cultures; that is where one person communicates with an individual of another culture. ‘Cross-cultural learning’ and ‘intercultural learning’ may also be used in a similar way. In this sense, both cross-cultural learning and intercultural learning may either be (1) learning in a mixed cultural context or (2) learning about another culture. For the purposes of this study the terms ‘cross-cultural’ and ‘intercultural’ are taken to mean any situation, relationship or event which involves more than one cultural group, or individuals representing more than one cultural group.

⁴ Beyond this, some may suggest a ‘creature culture’ which stresses identity with other species and

‘Cross-cultural learning’ is taken to refer specifically to learning in a cross-cultural context whereas ‘intercultural learning’ is taken to refer to learning to be interculturally literate. In order to avoid confusion, the use of ‘intercultural learning’ in this sense is generally avoided - and the clumsier, but clearer, phrases, ‘learning to be interculturally literate’ and ‘intercultural literacy learning’ are used. ‘First culture’, ‘native culture’ and ‘primary culture’ are taken as synonymous and refer to the culture within which an individual has grown up or into which an individual has been enculturated. This may or may not equate with the national or societal cultural context and refers more specifically to the family cultural context. ‘Second culture’ denotes a culture other than one’s primary culture.

Defining these key terms highlights the complexity of a contemporary world in which many can claim to have been enculturated into more than one culture (children of some cross-cultural marriages, for example), multiple cultural identity may be the norm, and some may exist in a state of flux between cultures. Indeed, these issues are one important focus of the present study. The term ‘bicultural’ is taken to refer to individuals or situations in which two parallel, equal-status cultures co-exist. The term ‘transcultural’ is taken to refer to a conceptual move beyond the confines of one or two cultures and towards a global or trans-national context.

The definitions of the terms ‘international education’ and ‘international school’ are also

therefore affords rights to animals.

contentious (Hayden and Thompson 1995b). For the purposes of this study, 'international education' is defined as education for participation in an international world, and 'international school' as a school that defines itself as international and offers an international or foreign education to foreign and, sometimes, local students. Definitions of key terms for this study are summarised in the Glossary of Terms (p.12).

Defining Intercultural Literacy

For the purpose of this study, intercultural literacy has been defined as the understandings, competencies, attitudes, language proficiencies, participation and identities which enable successful participation in a cross-cultural setting. Whilst the term 'international' gives primacy to nationality as the presumed salient and significant identity construct, the term 'intercultural' highlights culture as the more significant identity construct.

When Hirsch (1987) introduced the term 'cultural literacy', he raised the ire of those arguing for a more inclusive vision of education, and unwittingly raised the question: Who defines the culture in cultural literacy? For Hirsch, cultural literacy was a white, middle-class, USA, and gendered male construct. The cultural literacy he advocated meant familiarity with a body of facts; with the cultural symbols and classical works which he saw as defining main-stream American culture.

The definition of intercultural literacy in this study challenges such narrow cultural constructs. Firstly, it conceives of literacy as including competencies, attitudes and identities in addition to understandings; and, secondly, it suggests a literacy that crosses

cultural boundaries. Building on the efforts of others at redefining cultural literacy (Schuster 1989, Williams and Cappizi Snipper 1990, Hughes and McCann 1991, Willinsky 1992, Fitzgerald 1991, 1997; Walters 1994) this definition is both multi-dimensional and inclusive.

The interculturally literate person, in these terms, possesses the understandings, competencies attitudes and identities necessary for successful living and working in a cross-cultural or pluralist setting. This person has the background required to effectively ‘read’ a second culture, to interpret its symbols and negotiate its meanings in a practical day-to-day context.

This study suggests that international schools should address the issue of intercultural literacy both in the curriculum and in how their institutions are structured. Intercultural literacy is not only important to create the conditions for effective teaching and learning in a cross-cultural or pluralist setting; it is a crucial literacy for international students – if they are to be prepared for success in a globalised world. This is particularly true given that today’s international school students are likely to become the international elites of tomorrow. Whilst it may well be the case that international schools do not typically produce national leaders, there is evidence to suggest that many international school graduates return to international life and pursue careers which are likely to see them in senior management positions either in overseas missions or business (Gerner, Perry, Moselle and Archibald 1991; Gerner and Perry 2000, 2003; Cottrell 2003). Without being given the support to develop intercultural literacy, as is made clear in the model discussed below, students (and others) are at risk of responding in negative ways to the

cross-cultural experience. Without intercultural literacy, expatriates and others living and working in an international setting risk misunderstandings and intercultural blunders that can be costly and damaging to both individuals and organisations.

On a broader scale, intercultural literacy can be seen as a crucial element in the creation of a safe, sustainable and just global community. For example, the significance of the competency that enables individuals to take multiple perspectives, described by Bennett (1993) as ‘contextual evaluation’, to see issues from more than one viewpoint, is clear. In the absence of this competency, the risk of cross-cultural conflict between individuals and groups is likely to be high.

The Theoretical Context

The theory which supports this study has developed in a somewhat fragmented manner. Separate disciplines have, to a large extent, evolved streams of theory development independently of one another. Each serves its own constituency. Each follows its own ideals and its own methodological and philosophical preferences.

Cross-cultural psychology, as a branch of social psychology, has predominantly been interested in questions of acculturation, adjustment and adaptation of groups and individuals in cross-cultural contexts: sojourners, immigrants and international (foreign tertiary) students. Sociology has been concerned with the social impacts of cross-cultural contact and globalisation; anthropology with cultural change. Much of the interest in cross-cultural contact within the educational literature has come from foreign and second language education theorists, most prominently in the context of the growing European

Union. Whilst there has been crossover between these various streams, to a large extent they have remained separate. Examples of crossover include the development of American social psychology theory within the context of desegregation of schooling in the 1980s and multicultural education in the 1980s and 1990s.

This cleavage between the separate disciplines has weakened the field, producing parallel theory development, a difficulty in the comparability of studies and a lack of 'the vitalizing effects of cross-fertilisation' (Anderson 1994: 298). Research into the cross-cultural experience of sojourners, immigrants and refugees has also '...evolved in parallel streams... [with] only limited attempts at integration.' (Ward, Bochner and Furnham 2001: 281) This chapter outlines a series of theoretical models which developed to explain the cross-cultural experience. As is outlined in the following section, these models derive from a range of theoretical contexts, often without reference, one to the other. It is difficult to trace a coherent theoretical stream since there is not one, but a number, of such streams.

The two main streams are social psychology - which includes intergroup psychology, cross-cultural psychology and communication theory - and educational research, including research in foreign and second language teaching, multicultural education and international education. The social psychology literature and the educational literature are both informed by sociology and anthropology – although often not directly. The two most prominent fields with relevance for this study are social psychology and educational research. Of these two, social psychology offers a greater amount of relevant

research and theoretical work (Hart 1999). Some of this work informs some of the educational research, although the reverse is less common.

The relevant social psychology theory is generally concerned with the problem of acculturation or the adaptation of individuals and groups to a cross-cultural context. Educational research is ultimately concerned with learning outcomes for students. Both are relevant for this study. However, learning is the key focus of this study and the intersection of research and theory in social psychology and educational research provides its context.

In addition to the separation of theory streams, a further weakness in the theory surveyed for this study is that scarce attention has been paid, either in social psychology or educational research, to the question of how primary/elementary-aged children acculturate or, in the terms of this study, learn to be interculturally literate. The developmental model proposed in this study aims to address this concern by providing a theoretical framework to describe how children learn to be interculturally literate.

The study draws on the theory, predominately from social psychology and educational research frameworks, which informs the question of how people learn to be interculturally literate. It aims to further develop this theory in two important ways: (1) by integrating into one model the various dimensions highlighted by the different disciplines and (2) by developing a theory which relates to the experience of students, including primary/elementary-aged children, and can particularly inform international school contexts.

Research into the Cross-Cultural Experience:

A Brief Historical Overview

As the context for international schools has changed, so too the context for cross-cultural contact has changed during the fifty-year period of this theory development. In the 1950s and 1960s, cross-cultural contact was largely conceived as an international experience involving sojourners – generally international business people or aid workers (e.g. Peace Corps) from the west sojourning in non-western nations, or international students studying in western universities. Studies were mainly concerned with the adaptation of these short-term ‘expatriates’ to what was termed ‘culture shock’ (Oberg 1958 cited in Adler 1986), referring to the psychological and social difficulties experienced by an individual adjusting to a second culture. The mainstream of social psychology and specifically cross-cultural psychology is North American (Segall et al. 1998; Landis and Wasilewski 1999). Whilst significant alternatives have recently been introduced (e.g. Minoura 1992, Leong and Ward 2000; Sparrow 2000) the development of theory is still dominated by western perspectives.

The civil rights movement in the 1960s led to concerns with domestic cultural minorities, and in the educational context resulted in policies of desegregation and, later, multicultural education (Salili and Hoosain 2001). Many studies were conducted in the 1970s and 1980s into the effectiveness of these educational interventions in reducing intergroup prejudice. Studies were conducted in the USA, Canada, Europe and Australasia (e.g. Johnson, Johnson and Murayama 1984; Cook 1984; Stephan 1985; Epstein 1985). During the same period, as a result of public policy shifts, new attitudes towards minorities and the impacts of post-war immigration, interest grew in the concept

of multicultural or pluralistic societies. Studies were conducted into the adjustment and acculturation of immigrants within pluralistic societies (e.g. Bochner 1982, 1986; Furnham and Bochner 1986; Taft 1986; Vaughan 1978, 1986; Berry 1984, 2001; Berry, Trimble and Olmedo 1986; Berry et al. 1992; Liebkind 1996) and into anti-racism programs (e.g. Hollinsworth 1992; Hill and Allan 2001). The political and theoretical objective shifted from assimilation to integration.

During the 1980s and 1990s patterns of international mobility changed with vastly increasing numbers of expatriates working overseas and increasing cultural diversity within the workplace. Expatriates were often accompanied by families on sojourns and the number of international schools grew dramatically. Studies focussed more on strategies for managing cross-cultural adjustment and adaptation of sojourners. The costs to business of prematurely returning expatriates became an issue (Ward, Bochner and Furnham 2001). Theories supporting the research have been described as falling into three broad frameworks:

1. The culture learning framework – which focuses on behaviour and sees adaptation as essentially a matter of social skills learning. This includes learning intercultural communication skills.
2. The stress and coping framework – which focuses on the affective dimension, and specifically the prevention and management of stress resulting from the cross-cultural experience.
3. The cognitive framework – which focuses on social identity construction as the key to adaptation. (Ward, Bochner and Furnham 2001: 36-39)

The current study aims to integrate these three frameworks into a multi-dimensional model with a focus on intercultural literacy learning rather than acculturation or adaptation.

Whereas early applications of cross-cultural theory tended to identify personality traits for successful adaptation (Batchelder and Warner 1979 cited in Wilson 1982; Kohls 1979 in Wilson 1982; Brislin 1981; Church 1982; Mendenhall and Oddou 1985; Adler 1986; Ruben 1986), in the late 1980s and 1990s the theory and empirical research increasingly aimed to inform the design of training programs to mitigate against the negative impacts of cross-cultural contact, sometimes called ‘culture shock’ (Oberg 1958 cited in Adler 1986) or, more recently, ‘culture mismatch’ (Atmazaki and Harbon 2002), ‘acculturation stress’ (Navara and James 2002) or ‘cultural dissonance’ (Allan 2003) and to support cultural adaptation (Christensen 1989; Bennett 1993; Busby 1993; Anderson 1994; Kealey and Protheroe 1996; Lucas 2003). Adler (1986), for example, highlighted the significance of the shift from thinking in terms of traits (which are essentially unalterable aspects of personality) to skills or competencies and understandings (which may be learned). Black (1988) suggested an integrated model which identified individual, organisational and contextual factors as determinants of expatriate adjustment (Black 1988; Parker and McEnvoy 1993).

As discussed in Chapter One, the 1990s also saw the advent of rapid globalisation with developments in communications technology, travel and the international economy making national societies increasingly pluralist and international cross-cultural contact routine. ‘Culture shock’ is a significant concept in early and more recent theories (Ward,

Bochner and Furnham 2001). It is no longer typically seen as an exotic psychological phenomenon. In contemporary theory ‘culture shock’ is more typically seen as a variant of stress associated with transition or change (Ward and Searle 1991; Taylor 1994; Anderson 1994; Job 1998; McKillop-Ostrom 1999, 2000; Miyamoto and Kuhlman 2001). Since the 1990s, theories and studies into adaptation and culture learning have become increasingly sophisticated and multidimensional, addressing affective, behavioural and cognitive processes (Ward, Bochner and Furnham 2001). It is within this context that the model in this study is proposed.

In the educational context, the 1990s and 2000s have seen an increasing number of studies into intercultural learning in the context of the European Union. These studies often focus on links between foreign language learning and the development of understandings in foreign culture accompanied by empathic attitudes and expanding identities (Byram 1997, 1999; Byram, Nichols and Stevens 2001). Studies in this context have almost universally focussed on secondary students. Similar studies have been conducted in educational contexts in the USA and Australasia, often focussing on the cultural learning and adaptation of second language learners – most commonly adult and child migrants (e.g. Lambert 1999).

Research in international schools has been scarce with the last decade seeing the emergence of a small body of theory and research supported by the International Baccalaureate Organisation (IBO) and affiliates, the establishment of the Centre for the Study of Education in an International Context (CEIC) at Bath University, and the publication of the *Journal for Research in International Education* (JRIE). The focus of

this research has been largely on international curriculum and defining the nature and purpose of international schooling. Some attention has also been paid to the question of transition and cultural learning in international school students (Willis, Enloe and Minoura 1994; McKillop-Ostrom 1999, 2000; Straffon 2003; Pearce 1998, 2003; Allen 2000; Allan 2002, 2003; Lucas 2003). Whilst attention within social psychology to the cross-cultural adaptation of children has been scarce, some studies have addressed the issue (Minoura 1992; Mol, Van Oudenhoven and Van der Zee 2001; Endicott, Bock and Narvaez 2003).

Modelling the Cross-Cultural Experience:

A Survey of Theoretical Models

Throughout the last fifty years, theorists working from a range of perspectives have endeavoured to model the cross-cultural experience, generally proposing stage-models which illustrate how individuals typically adapt to cross-cultural contexts or learn to be effective cross-culturally.

Early studies of cultural adjustment amongst foreign students studying in USA universities described the pattern of adjustment to a foreign culture as a U curve indicating a typical dip occurring during the period of sojourn ending in a final period of adjustment (Lysgaard 1955; Sewell and Davidson 1956). The U curve can be interpreted as a three stage model of adjustment as follows:

Table 2.1: Three-Stage U Curve Model

Stage 1	A period of initial enthusiasm in which the sojourner is essentially a spectator, absorbing the sights and forming impressions with limited interaction with host nationals.
Stage 2	A period of disenchantment in which the sojourner's knowledge of the host culture has advanced sufficiently for an awareness to develop that progress is blocked by an inability to communicate or understand the cultural norms.
Stage 3	A period of recovery in which the sojourner becomes aware of the subtle cues of the host culture and begins to develop a fluency in the language.

(Adapted from Lysgaard 1955; Sewell and Davidson 1956)

Gullahorn and Gullahorn (1963, 1966) extended the concept further to describe both the sojourners adaptation to a foreign culture and readjustment to the home culture as a W curve. In this case we can add a second dip and a further two stages to the model. A period of re-entry crisis which is described as typically less intense than the dip at stage two is followed by a final readjustment period. During the 1960s many similar studies focused on the adjustment of foreign students.

The concept of the U and the W curves fits closely with that of culture shock. Oberg (1958 cited in Adler 1986) is generally credited with introducing the concept of culture shock, the term having been coined by Cora DuBois in 1951 (Paige 1993; Weaver 1993). Culture shock was seen as a malady brought on by the cross-cultural experience which required clinical treatment. A number of psychological and interpersonal symptoms were identified.

He [sic] is like a fish out of water. No matter how broad minded or full of good will he [sic] may be, a series of props have been knocked from under him [sic]. This is followed by a feeling of frustration and anxiety. People react to the frustration in much the same way. First they reject the environment which causes discomfort; the ways of the host country are bad because they make us feel bad. When Americans or other foreigners get together to grouse about the host country and its people you can be sure they are suffering from culture shock. Another phase of culture shock is regression. The home environment suddenly assumes a tremendous importance. To be American becomes irrationally glorified. (Oberg 1958 in Adler 1986: 26)

Culture shock is, then, described as a psychological reaction to the cross-cultural experience. More specifically it is an affective response.

In the decade which followed Oberg's formulation of the culture shock theory, the concept was further developed - and popularised - and a number of stage models were proposed. Often concerned with the adjustment of Americans posted abroad, these models all presented a similar pattern for describing the development of culture shock in four stages - sometimes with a fifth stage to allow for reverse culture shock on returning home (Oberg 1960 cited in Brein and David 1971; Oberg and Foster 1962 in Adler 1986; Smalley 1963 in Brein and David 1971; Pearson 1964 in Brein and David 1971; Sill 1968 in Adler 1986).

Table 2.2: Four-Stage Culture Shock Model

Stage 1	A period of incubation during which time the sojourner may feel highly elated. Characterised by the excitement and euphoria of foreign travel. Knowledge of local customs is superficial and the focus is more on cultural similarities than differences.
Stage 2	A period of crisis relating from genuine difficulties that the sojourner encounters in a different culture. Personal, social and cultural differences intrude into the individual's image of self-security. A stage of hostility.
Stage 3	A period of recovery in which the sojourner begins to understand some of the cues of the host culture. The individual begins to learn more of the local culture, makes friends with hosts and effects a gradual recovery. A stage of improved adjustment.
Stage 4	A period of near or complete recovery in which the sojourner accepts the host culture. Characterised by a more complete understanding of the host culture, and an ability to cope with stresses. A stage of biculturalism.

(Based on 1960s stage models: Oberg 1960 in Brein and David 1971; Oberg and Foster 1962 in Adler 1986; Smalley 1963 in Brein and David 1971; Pearson 1964 in Brein and David 1971; Sill 1968 in Adler, 1986).

The concept of culture shock was influential in identifying and giving a name to the difficulties experienced by those confronted with the challenge of adjusting to a second culture. Equally, the stage model offers a useful analysis of the typical pattern of that experience. It was and remains a powerful and influential construct in the field of cross-cultural contact studies (e.g. Furnham 1992, 1993; Winkleman 1994). The metaphor of culture shock as an illness, however, is disempowering and misleadingly negative, characterising the experience of confronting an alien culture as typically producing a physical, psychological and emotional trauma as a prelude to adjustment.

An alternative and more positive view, which emerged in the 1970s and 1980s within the American social psychology paradigm, characterised culture shock as a learning experience. Social scientist, Peter Adler (1986), for example, defined culture shock as:

... an experience of personality in culture. It consists of the psychological events that occur to a person in the initial phases of his encounter with a different culture ... Rather than being only a disease for which adaptation is the cure, culture shock is likewise at the very heart of the cross-cultural learning experience. It is an experience in self understanding and change' (Adler 1986: 29).

Whilst culture shock as a medical condition suggested clinical treatment as a remedy, the newer formulation of culture shock as learning suggested pre-departure preparation and social skills training. The focus in applying the theory shifted from describing personality traits (Batchelder and Warner 1979 cited in Wilson 1982; Kohls 1979 in Wilson 1982; Brislin 1981; Adler 1986; Ruben 1986) to devising and testing training programs (Davidson 1975; Triandis 1975, Brislin 1979; Stephan and White Stephan 1984, 1985; Argyle 1982; Brislin, Cushner, Cherrie and Yong 1986; Millen, O'Grady and Porter 1992; Berry et. al., 1992; Triandis 1994; Triandis Kurowski and Gelfand 1994).

In line with this new conception of culture shock as learning, Adler (1975) proposed a five-stage model of cross-cultural transition which characterised the transition experience as, if successful, a '...movement of personality and identity to new consciousness of values, attitudes and understandings' (Adler 1975: 15). Whilst Adler's model explicitly draws on the earlier U and W curve theories, it adds the dimensions of Perception, Emotional Range, Behaviour and Interpretation.

Table 2.3: Adler's (1975) Five-Stage Transition Experience Model

	Stage	Perception	Emotional Range	Behaviour	Interpretation
Stage 1	Contact	Differences are intriguing, perceptions are screened and selected	Excitement stimulation euphoria playfulness discovery	Curiosity interest Assured impressionist -ic	The individual is insulated by his or her own culture. Differences as well as similarities provide rationalisation for continuing confirmation of status, role and identity.
Stage 2	Disintegration	Differences are impactful, contrasted Cultural reality cannot be screened out	Confusion disorientation loss apathy isolation loneliness inadequacy	Depression withdrawal	Cultural differences begin to intrude. Growing awareness of being different leads to loss of self-esteem. Individual experiences loss of cultural support times and misreads new cultural clues.
Stage 3	Reintegration	Differences are rejected	Anger rage nervousness anxiety frustration	Rebellion suspicion rejection hostility exclusive opinionated	Rejection of second culture causes preoccupation with likes and dislikes; differences are projected. Negative behaviour, however, is a form of self-assertion and growing self-esteem.
Stage 4	Autonomy	Differences and similarities are legitimized	Self-assured relaxed warm empathic	Assured controlled independent 'old hand' confident	The individual is socially and linguistically capable of negotiating most new and different situations; he or she is assured of ability to survive new experiences.
Stage 5	Independence	Differences and similarities are valued and significant	Trust humour love full range of previous emotions	Expressive creative actualizing	Social, psychological and cultural differences are accepted and enjoyed The individual is capable of exercising choice and responsibility and able to create meaning for situations.

(Adler 1975: 19)

Adler's (1975) model separates out two stages of negativity and crisis (Disintegration and Reintegration), with the third stage, Reintegration, described as the critical stage for

choice – either retreat to the ‘superficial behaviours’ of the contact stage, return ‘home’, or progression to the next stage – introducing the idea that the process is not universal and results in a range of possible outcomes for individuals.

In the same period, Robert Hanvey (1976 reprinted 1986) similarly recast culture shock as ‘cross-cultural awareness’ and proposed a developmental model for cross-cultural awareness learning that paralleled the earlier models. Hanvey, in contrast to earlier theorists, was an educationalist and he makes no reference to contemporary or earlier social psychology theories. His model is concerned with learning rather than adaptation. Although drawing on the experience of sojourners (specifically, Peace Corps volunteers) the theory is informed not by social psychology but by anthropology and sociology (e.g. Lerner 1958 and Murayama 1970 cited in Hanvey 1986). Hanvey’s model described four levels of information, mode and interpretation.

Whilst Hanvey’s model (Table 2.4 below) parallels the earlier social psychology models and includes a stage characterised by conflict, the first stage is not described as a necessarily positive ‘honeymoon’ phase. In this way the model departs from the U curve hypothesis. As with previous social psychology models, Hanvey’s (1976) model assumes a cross-cultural contact experience and a resulting conflict reaction as a stimulus for learning. Hanvey’s model is a significant advance in the theory in that it characterised the process as awareness development; as learning. It is the first model proposed from an educational perspective.

Table 2.4: Hanvey's (1976) Model of Cross-Cultural Awareness Development

Level	Information	Mode	Interpretation
Level 1	Awareness of superficial or very visible cultural traits.	Tourism, textbooks, National Geographic	Unbelievable, i.e. exotic, bizarre
Level 2	Awareness of significant and subtle cultural traits that contrast markedly with one's own.	Cultural conflict situations	Unbelievable, i.e. frustrating, irrational
Level 3	Awareness of significant and subtle cultural traits that contrast markedly with one's own.	Intellectual analysis	Believable, cognitively
Level 4	Awareness of how another culture feels from the standpoint of the insider.	Cultural immersion, living the culture	Believable because of subjective familiarity

(Hanvey, 1976 reprinted 1986: 20)

More recent models continued to conceptualise the process as learning, demonstrating a greater appreciation of the complex context of the cross-cultural experience. Social psychologist, Michael Argyle (1982) describes a classic U curve in relation to the development of cross-cultural communicative competencies. Adrian Furnham and Stephen Bochner (1982) and Robert Taft (1986), also from within a social psychology paradigm, focused not on *adjustment* of short-term sojourners, but *adaptation* of long-term immigrants.

In this period, Tajfel's Social Identity Theory, (Tajfel 1978a, 1978b; Turner 1978, 1982), introduced a new aspect to the development of models. Henri Tajfel's work

reflected a belief in the need for alternatives within social psychology to the mainstream North American cultural perspective (Turner 1996). Social Identity Theory is a social psychological theory which describes how individuals form social and cultural identities through drawing evaluative comparisons between their own 'ingroup' and other 'outgroups'. Tajfel's theory was and remains highly influential in the field (e.g. Robinson 1996; Brown 1996; Byram 1999; Florack and Piontkowski 2000). Models introduced from this period onwards tend to draw on the theory and incorporate social identity as a significant dimension in the process of adaptation and/or culture learning. Social Identity Theory provides a basis for the understanding of cultural identity which underlies the model proposed in this study. Tajfel (1978b) defines social identity as:

... that part of the individual's self concept which derives from their knowledge of their membership of a social group (or groups) together with the value and emotional significance attached to that membership (Tajfel 1978b: 63).

Social Identity Theory draws together theories in social categorisation and social comparison. Miller and Brewer (1984b) put it as follows:

The theory holds that an individual's personal identity is highly differentiated and based in part on membership in significant social categories along with the value and emotional significance attached to those memberships. When a particular social category distinction is highly relevant or salient in a given situation, the individual will respond with respect to that aspect of his/her social identity, acting towards the other in terms of their corresponding group membership rather than their personal identity (Miller and Brewer 1984b: 281-282).

The theory can be summarised as follows: Self-concept consists in two major subsystems, personal identity and social identity. Personal identity consists in descriptions of the self that denote specific attributes of the individual such as feelings of competence, bodily attributes, personal tastes and so on. Social identity consists in terms that denote one's membership of various social groups including gender, political affiliation, nationality, religion, ethnicity and culture.

Individuals, having defined themselves as members of distinct social categories, form or learn the stereotypic norms of that category or social group. These norms consist in expected or desirable behaviours that are used to define the group as distinct from others. Behaviour becomes more normative as category membership becomes more salient. One mechanism for reinforcing social identity and self esteem is to emphasise distinctiveness from other groups or social categories. Stereotypes which emphasise intragroup homogeneity (both ingroup and outgroup) and intergroup distance act as a cognitive mechanism to this end.

Human beings possess a basic psychological need for self esteem, that is, positive self-concept. Since social identity is integral to self concept, individuals tend to positively evaluate their own group or social category. Since positive evaluation of one's own group or social category exists as a need, there is a tendency to form positive attitudes towards one's own category or ingroup and negative attitudes towards other categories or outgroups. This process tends to result in ingroup favouritism and outgroup discrimination, positive ingroup stereotyping and negative outgroup stereotyping (Turner 1978).

Social psychologist John W. Berry drew on Tajfel's (1978b) Social Identity Theory. Berry (1984) was concerned primarily with immigrant and minority groups within a pluralist society. The dimensions of voluntariness and status were considered in the context of intergroup contact. Applying Tajfel's Social Identity Theory in this context, the notion of 'fence building' was introduced to account for some negative intergroup relations in plural societies (Berry 1984). This theory suggests that where group boundaries become blurred due to contact and potential assimilation with other groups, a common reaction is to 'build fences'; to redefine group boundaries so as to distinguish more clearly between groups. Berry and colleagues (Berry et al. 1992) described intergroup contact as moving through a series of distinct phases:

Table 2.5
Berry, Poortinga, Segall, and Dasen's Five-Stage
Adaptation Model

Phase 1:	pre-contact,
Phase 2:	contact,
Phase 3:	conflict,
Phase 4:	crisis,
Phase 5:	adaptations.

(Adapted from Berry 1984; Berry et al. 1992)

Rather than proposing a detailed stage model, Berry and colleagues were more concerned with identifying the possible outcomes of cross-cultural contact. These outcomes or 'adaptations', discussed in greater detail later in this chapter (pp.131-134),

occur as a result of the conflict and crisis of contact: separation, assimilation, marginalisation or integration. The significant point here is that cross-cultural contact is again described as a staged process moving from initial naïve contact through conflict to some form of resolution.

Carole Christensen (1989) also drew on Tajfel's (1978b) Social Identity Theory. Christensen applied the theory to training for cross-cultural counsellors. Christensen proposed a five-stage developmental model for cross-cultural awareness. The model is significant in that it describes the process of cross-cultural awareness in the context of immigrant and minority group relations with mainstream society in Canada. Christensen's model distinguishes between the process as experienced by minority and majority individuals; that is individuals representing minority and majority cultures within a western society.

The model (Table 2.6 below) is concerned with the cross-cultural contact of individuals and groups within a national society rather than the experience of sojourners. It is also significant in that, as in Hanvey's model (1976 reprinted in 1986), the first phase or stage is not described as a necessarily positive 'honeymoon' phase. Unlike earlier social psychological models, Christensen's model incorporates both cognitive and affective dimensions, focussing on identities and emotional states.

Table 2.6: Christensen's (1989) Developmental Model for Cross-Cultural Awareness

Stage	Majority Individual	Minority Individual	Transition
Stage 1: Unawareness.			
Serious thought has never been given to cultural, ethnic or racial differences or their meaning or influence for individuals and groups.	Accepts idea of equality, multiculturalism. Oblivious to all but glaring examples of racism.	Believes in equality of all people and accepts the position of his/her groups in society. Discounts racism.	A precipitating event of undeniable personal import forcing a re-evaluation of beliefs on race, ethnicity and culture.
Stage 2: Beginning Awareness.			
Accompanied by uneasiness and beginning sense of cognitive dissonance.	Begins to be aware of ethnic/racial stereotypes and discrimination. Begins to question assumptions. Attempts to disassociate from sharing responsibility for oppression.	Begins to be aware of covert and overt ethnic prejudice and impact on minorities. Begins to question reasons for societal position of his/her group. Beginning sense of shared experience with other minorities.	A meaningful personal relationship providing intimate and intense opportunities to learn about a dissimilar group.
Stage 3: Conscious Awareness			
Evidence of sometimes conflicting preoccupation with cultural, ethnic and racial differences and their possible meanings in historical and present-day context.	Fully aware of impact of culture/ethnicity/race but unsure of how to integrate and use emerging knowledge in daily life. May experience curiosity, denial, guilt, fear, powerlessness, anger.	Fully aware of impact of culture/ethnicity/race but unsure of how to integrate and use emerging knowledge in daily life. May experience excitement, denial, rejection, powerlessness, anger.	Working through of feelings and responses related to powerful and prolonged soul-searching and continues cross-cultural learning.
Stage 4: Consolidated Awareness			
Characterised by involved commitment to seek positive societal change and promote intergroup understanding. Experiences differences as positive and rewarding.	Positive acceptance and integration of self-identity and acceptance of other cultures/ethnic groups/races. Desire to help others in majority group to reach understanding. Seeks cross-cultural experiences for self and others.	Positive acceptance and integration of self-identity and acceptance of other cultures/ethnic groups/races. Desire to help others in minority groups to reach understanding. Seeks cross-cultural experiences for self and others.	Gradual and imperceptible shift in allegiance from own group to humankind. An affair of the heart.

Stage 5: Transcendent Awareness

Beyond limitations of societal dictates regarding appropriate and acceptable manner for relating to various cultural, racial and ethnic groups.

Cross-cultural awareness is a way of life and need no longer be consciously sought. The individual is comfortable in all human environments, responding appropriately but effortlessly and spontaneously.

Cross-cultural awareness is a way of life and need no longer be consciously sought. The individual is comfortable in all human environments, responding appropriately but effortlessly and spontaneously.

(Christensen 1989: 288-289)

Meinert Meyer (1991) and Hagen Kordes (1991), writing from the European foreign language education perspective, both suggested three levels of intercultural competency: Monocultural, Intercultural and Transcultural. Meyer and Kordes do not refer to one another's theory but offer parallel models using the same terms.

Although these theorists are offering stage models of intercultural learning, no reference is made to the social psychology literature. Rather, the models are developed from philosophical and educational theory. Meyer (1991) focuses on broadly stated competencies and understandings. His model integrates multiple dimensions but does not explicate these separately. Kordes' (1991) model is significant in that, like Hanvey's much earlier educational model, it does identify dimensions for each stage: competence, identity, and area of experience. In neither model is there reference to a crisis or conflict, as in the previous social psychology models.

Table 2.7: Meyer's (1991) Developmental Model for Intercultural Learning**Monocultural Level:**

The learner uses behavioural schemes and demonstrates ways of thinking which are merely adequate for his own culture, and he does so in situations which demand cross-cultural activity and understanding. The learner's concepts relating to foreign cultures are stereotyped, cliché-ridden and ethnocentric. Problems arising in interaction are solved in ways adequate among fellow countrymen and women, not in intercultural situations.

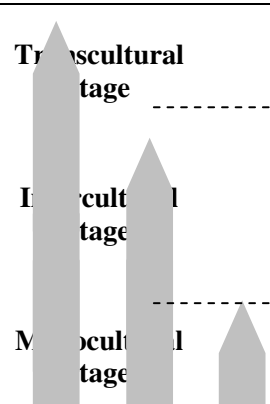
Intercultural Level:

The learner is able to explain cultural differences between his own and the foreign cultures because he can make use of information he has acquired concerning his and the foreign countries, or because he is able to ask for information in relation to cross-cultural differences. The information he has may be of historical, sociological, psychological or economic nature, etc. Putting it metaphorically, one could say that the learner stands between cultures.

Transcultural Level:

The learner is able to evaluate intercultural differences and to solve intercultural problems by appeals to principles of international co-operation and communication which give each culture its proper right and which allow the learner to develop his own identity *in the light of* cross-cultural understanding. He is able to negotiate meaning where negotiation is possible. Speaking metaphorically, one can say that the learner stands above both his own and the foreign culture, but it should be clear that this does not mean a 'cosmopolitan neglect' of his own culture.

(Meyer 1991: 142-143, original emphasis)

Table 2.8: Kordes' (1991) Developmental Model for Intercultural Learning


	Development of competence	Cultivation of identity	Area of experience
Transcultural stage	Perspective formation	Identity formation	Cultural experience (Self/Foreigner)
Intercultural stage	Relativity	Reversal of roles	Social experience
Multicultural stage	Reciprocity	Explicitness	Immediate interpersonal experience

(Kordes 1991: 142-143)

Milton Bennett (1993) working broadly within the American social psychology paradigm – and specifically in the context of intercultural communication training – proposed a six-stage developmental model of intercultural sensitivity:

Bennett's model describes intercultural sensitivity moving from early ethnocentric stages to advanced ethnorelative stages. Bennett draws on earlier social psychological theory, specifically, the concept of the 'multicultural man' (sic) (Adler 1975) and 'mediating person' (Bochner 1982; Taft 1981 cited in Bennett 1993) in proposing an end-point of intercultural learning as constructive marginality. The model draws also on approaches to intercultural communication training (Gudykunst and Hammer 1983 cited in Bennett 1993; Brislin 1981; Singer 1975 cited in Bennett 1993). Bennett's model provides the basis for an instrument to measure intercultural communicative

competence, the Intercultural Development Inventory, which has been validated in a range of contexts (Hammer, Bennett and Wiseman 2003; Paige, Jacobs-Cassuto, Yershova and DeJaeghere 2003) and usefully applied in studies of education and child development (McAllister and Jordan Irvine 2000; Straffon 2003; Endicott, Bock and Narvaez 2003).

Table 2.9: Bennett's (1993) Developmental Model of Intercultural Sensitivity

The Ethnocentric Stages	
Stage 1 : Denial	A. Isolation B. Separation
Stage 2 : Defence	A. Denigration B. Superiority C. Reversal
Stage 3 : Minimisation	A. Physical Universalism B. Transcendent Universalism
The Ethnorelative Stages	
Stage 4 : Acceptance	A. Respect for Behavioural Difference B. Respect for Value Difference
Stage 5 : Adaptation	B. Empathy C. Pluralism
Stage 6 : Integration.	A. Contextual Evaluation B. Constructive Marginality

(Bennett 1993: 9)

Bennett's (1993) model describes the development of intercultural awareness in a far less instrumental way than many earlier models, characterising the process as a phenomenological journey (Anderson 1994). Whilst it does integrate various dimensions, including understandings, skills, identity and attitude, it does so in an undifferentiated way. The underlying assumption is that, as one's experience of cultural difference becomes more complex and sophisticated, one's competence in intercultural relations increases (Bennett and Hammer 1998).

It is useful to consider intercultural development as it moves through cognitive, affective, and behavioural dimensions. The separation of these dimensions is not always clear for each stage, nor should it be, since development is multidimensional. (Bennett 1993: 26)

Bennett's model was significant in introducing the notion of ethnorelativism, which implies the competencies of empathy and multiple perspective-taking (Lambert 1999). It echoed earlier models, including Berry and colleagues (1992), characterising the process as cross-cultural contact leading to an initial negative, ethnocentric stage which may lead to a positive ethnorelative stage. Bennett's model and the concept of ethnorelativism and the 'multicultural man' (sic) (Adler 1975) have been criticised for oversimplifying the complexities of cross-cultural interaction and perpetuating a western male model of individual cultural identity that may not reflect the realities of women and non-western peoples (Nemetz Robinson 1985; Sparrow 2000).

Bennett and Hammer (1998) state that their Intercultural Development Inventory is not valid for students under the age of fourteen or fifteen (David Straffon, personal

correspondence 27th November, 2003). Younger children are considered to be still developing primary cultural identities through reference to the validators of the family (Pearce 1998) and so intercultural differences are likely to be less significant. Despite these limitations, the model has, nonetheless, been usefully applied in several settings including a study of international school students in a large urban international school in South-East Asia (Straffon 2003), which is discussed later in the chapter.

Social psychologists, Cornelius Grove and Ingemar Torbiorn, proposed a model (1993) outlining four stages of adjustment, differentiating applicability of behaviour and clarity of mental frame of reference. The model follows the classic four-stage culture shock model developed in the 1960s and outlined above. Employing psychological constructs applicability and clarity, they define the four stages of adjustment as follows:

Table 2.10: Grove and Torbiorn's (1993) Adjustment Cycle

Stage 1	Applicability <i>less</i> than adequate, clarity <i>more</i> than adequate
Stage 2	Applicability <i>less</i> than adequate, clarity <i>less</i> than adequate
Stage 3	Applicability <i>more</i> than adequate, clarity <i>less</i> than adequate
Stage 4	Applicability <i>more</i> than adequate, clarity <i>more</i> than adequate

(adapted from Grove and Torbiorn 1993: 81)

At Stage One in the model, the individual is described as inadequate in terms of cross-cultural competencies but feeling confident essentially due to ignorance. This is described as a classic 'euphoria' stage (Grove and Torbiorn 1993: 81) and echoes the earlier U curve hypothesis. Stage Two is a culture shock stage, both applicability and

clarity less than adequate. Stage Three is described as a learning stage, and Stage Three as adjustment.

In a parallel conceptualisation, social psychologist, William Gudykunst, (1994) focussing on intercultural communication and with reference to Howell (1982 cited in Gudykunst 1994), elegantly describes the four stages in the development of consciousness and competence in relation to cross-cultural communication:

Table 2.11: Gudykunst (1994) Concept of Intergroup Communication Learning

Stage 1	Unconsciously incompetent,
Stage 2	Consciously incompetent,
Stage 3	Consciously competent,
Stage 4	Unconsciously competent

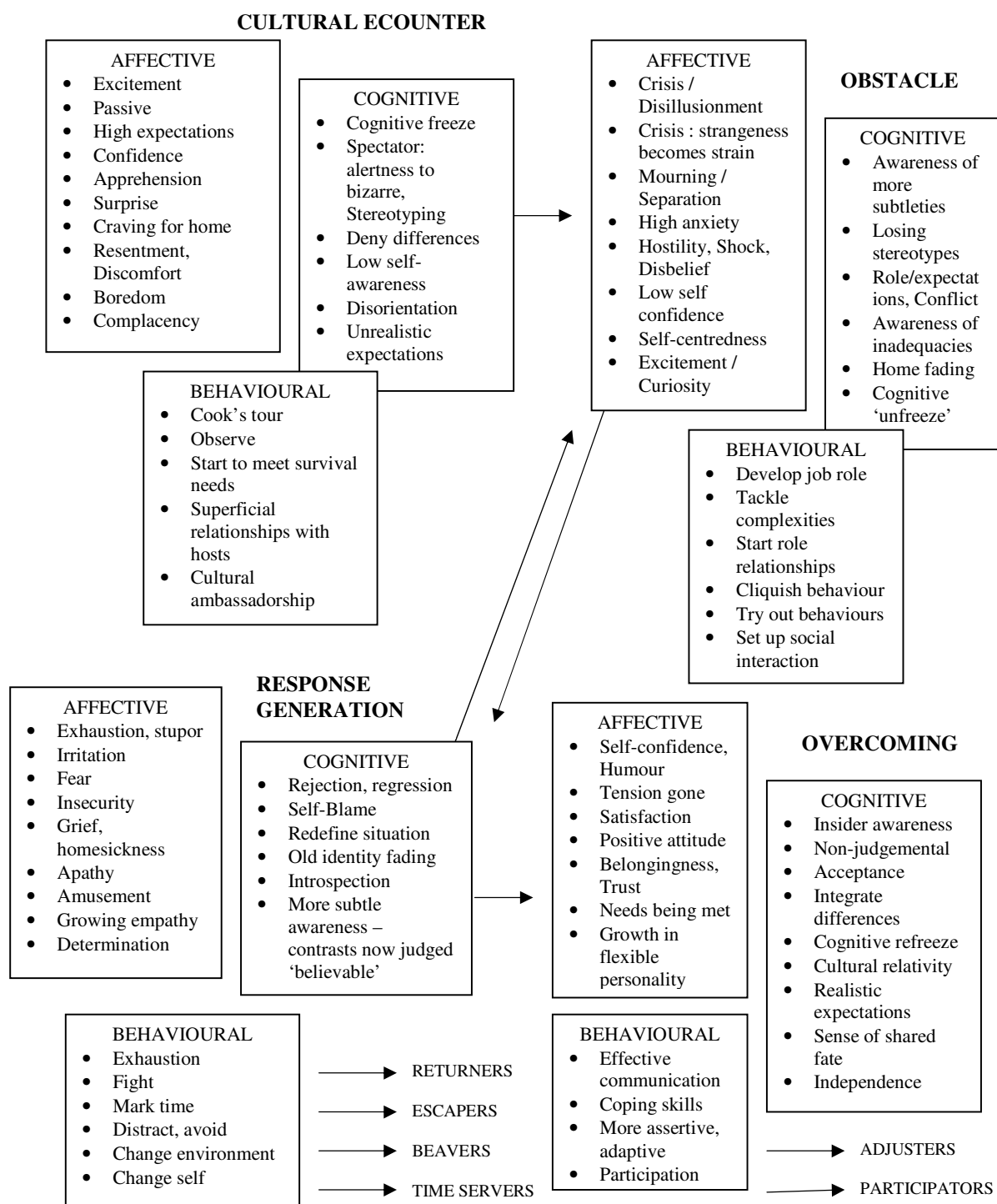
(Adapted from Gudykunst 1994: 5-6)

Linda Anderson (1994), working within the social psychology paradigm, challenged former stage models, including Bennett's (1993) and earlier models based on the U curve, arguing that these linear models imply a unidirectional developmental progression and do not integrate all dimensions. Anderson argued that a more useful model represents the dimensional and recursive or cyclical nature of cross-cultural adaptation.

Anderson proposed a model which integrates the affective, behavioural and cognitive dimensions in a flow diagram based on an 'obstacle model' (1994). Anderson's model is

a variation on the more traditional stage models presented in this section. Essentially the model follows the pattern established with earlier four-stage models but, significantly, it highlights a recursive link between stage two and three. In this conception, individuals do not progress evenly through the four stages, but shuttle back and forth between stages two and three overcoming progressive cross-cultural obstacles until they move on, breaking out of the loop. At this point they move either into a final stage of ‘overcoming’ (adjusting or participating), or into one of four possible alternatives: returning, escaping, beavering or time-serving. In this the model draws on Bochner (1982, 1986) and Berry’s (Berry 1984, 2001; Berry et al. 1986, 1992) work on the alternative outcomes of contact (see pp.131-134 below). It also allows for a more complex recursive and linear development of intercultural adaptation than suggested by earlier stage models.

Anderson’s (1994) model represents a significant advance on previous models. It describes cross-cultural adaptation as a multidimensional and recursive process. It rejects the notion of culture shock as a one-off event; either characterised as an illness or a learning event. In its place it describes learning and adaptation as the outcome of an ongoing cyclical process of progressively overcoming obstacles. Anderson also rejects the classic U curve theory in representing the initial ‘touristic’ phase as a mix of both positive and negative affective responses. Hanvey’s (1976 reprinted 1986) stages are clearly echoed in Anderson’s model, though no reference was made.

Figure 2.1: Anderson's (1994) Cross-Cultural Adaptation Model

(Adapted from Anderson 1994: 310-311)

Educationalists, Alison Elliott and Neil Baumgart (1995) drew on Hanvey (1982), Christensen (1989) and others in formulating a five-stage model for the analysis of students' intercultural understanding but no reference was made to the work of the European language education group, to Bennett (1993) or to Anderson (1994). Elliott and Baumgart's model is unique in that it is intended to apply to children from both primary/elementary and secondary school levels. The levels describe awareness, a cognitive dimension, without reference to other dimensions such as identity, affective or behavioural development.

Table 2.12
Elliot and Baumgart's (1995) Hierarchical Model for Intercultural Awareness

- | | |
|----------------|--|
| Level 1 | Limited awareness of cultural or ethnic differences other than from a personal or egocentric perspective. For example, "I like Chinese food". It is assumed that all groups share similar traits and values and that these are similar to those held by the respondent. |
| Level 2 | Awareness of very visible cultural traits that are interpreted as exotic or novel. For example, "They all eat rice" (Grade 6 male) and "They all have black hair" (Grade 6 male). Individuals may begin to question cultural practice and may be concerned with obvious issues of prejudice or oppression. |
| Level 3 | Awareness based on rational or scientific knowledge. Students can contrast and explain differences and identify shared elements. |
| Level 4 | Awareness and appreciation of more subtle cultural traits; valuing cultural diversity and appreciating different historical perspectives. For example, "A lot of different countries have Gods of some kind and they all have very strong ways of praising them" (Grade 5 female); "I think they are alike in some ways by their selfs (sic) and their countries are different as well" (Grade 6 female); "They are not alike, they all have different cultures, customs and spiritual beliefs, different languages, different attitudes to politics (Grade 6 female). |
| Level 5 | Students indicate an ability to internalise multiple perspectives, recognise interconnectedness and interdependence of human societies and appreciate how another culture feels from the standpoint of an insider. |

(Elliot and Baumgart 1995: 27-28)

The various models discussed above arise from a range of theoretical perspectives and practical concerns. The early 'culture shock' models arose from concerns with the adjustment of sojourners in an alien cultural setting. The impetus for later intercultural awareness and intergroup contact models expanded to include concerns with the difficulties of immigrant and minority individuals and groups in integrating with mainstream societies.

Educational models discussed arose from the concerns of educators with the attitudes and understandings of students in relation to foreign cultures: Kordes (1991) and Meyer (1991) with those of foreign-language students in the context of the developing European Union; Elliot and Baumgart (1995) with mainstream Australian school students in the context of curriculum for Asia literacy. Bennett's (1993) and Grove and Torbiorn's (1994) models are concerned with describing the developmental stages for intercultural sensitivity and adjustment from an intercultural communication perspective, and relate to the needs of trainers and educators to define the developmental stages in order to better set goals, structure curricula and design training interventions. Gudykunst (1994) also is writing from an intercultural communication perspective. Anderson (1994) is concerned with the adaptation of sojourners; with '...understanding the facts and phenomenology of adapting to unfamiliar environments' (Anderson 1994: 300).

Much of the theory on which this study builds, both from social psychological and educational perspectives, evolved within a majority-minority paradigm. Studies have often been motivated by a perception of individual or societal dysfunctionality created

by the difficulties experienced in minority groups adapting to a dominant culture, and prejudice, stereotyping and discrimination of minority groups within a society by the majority. A further stream of research has concerned the difficulties of adaptation experienced by western sojourners in foreign settings. The consequence of this paradigm has been a frequent assumption - or implication - that minorities are somehow deficient and require support to adapt. At its extreme, this assumption equates with ethnocentrism and assimilation. In the case of the foreign sojourner, the underlying assumption is that individuals require assistance to cope with the malaise of culture shock. There is also a directional bias in much of the research, in that mainstream attitudes towards minorities and sojourner attitudes towards hosts are both frequently studied - but rarely the reverse.

Positing biculturalism or transculturalism as an end-point of intercultural literacy learning offers an alternative to the deficit-orientation of earlier research, implying that individuals and groups may operate successfully within two or more parallel and equal status cultural frameworks, each preserved intact. This more recent concept is reflected in contemporary studies (Ward, Bochner and Furnham 2001). It also fits more comfortably both with a contemporary pluralist view of society and with the situation of the international school community. The argument developed here is that in these contexts there can be a mutually beneficial two-way intercultural exchange between sojourners (e.g. an expatriate community) and a local host community; between distinct cultural groups within a pluralist society; and between indigenous and immigrant groups. The concept of intercultural literacy developed in this study implies a reciprocity

that is absent in earlier formulations. To place this in a broader theoretic context, Young (1990) commented as follows:

The global village will not be created by immigrants everywhere adapting to host societies but only by host societies also adapting to immigrants and both immigrants and hosts moving to a more sophisticated awareness of intercultural problems (Young 1990: 305).

In Young's (1990) analysis, the '... central theoretical problem of intercultural communication . . . [is] . . . that of how it is possible for members of different cultures to understand each other without one culture surrendering its integrity to others. . . . Only some theory which outlines, in the place of adaptation, a notion of mutual adaptation and critique, and of inter-evolution, can meet this requirement' (Young 1990: 305).

Berry, Poortinga, Segall and Dasen (1992) suggest the need for a 'multicultural model' and that '... mutual influences leading to changes in both groups in contact should be allowed for in research designs' (Berry et al. 1992: 296). Such a model allows for the complex dynamics of cultural learning and cultural influence in a pluralist society, without constructing mainstream-peripheral or dominant-minority distinctions. The present study then aims to build on the earlier theory and work in the direction of just such a pluralist or 'multicultural' model. Whilst Berry and colleagues frame their work in terms of adaptation, the present study focuses on learning.

The social psychology models surveyed above tend to focus on adaptation or acculturation, and where learning is seen as part of the process it is characterised in behavioural terms (e.g. social skills training). The educational models, in contrast, tend to focus on learning and posit end-points characterised as awareness or understanding rather than adaptation or acculturation.

All of the models surveyed contribute to a picture of the cross-cultural experience, focussing on varying aspects of that experience. Whilst they clearly differ in both detail and emphasis, taken together they form a not inconsistent picture of staged development from naïve monoculturalism to informed and integrated pluralism. In essence, the more recent models do not dispute the basic models first introduced fifty years ago. The process described is still essentially one of pre-contact, early contact experiences, meeting and overcoming crisis or obstacles, and – given appropriate conditions – entering a final phase of intercultural learning or adaptation.

What the more recent models do is contribute by adding specificity, greater detail, and greater sophistication in response both to the development of theory and to the changing global context for cross-cultural contact. Whereas in the earlier models the metaphor for the cross-cultural experience was culture shock as an illness, recent models see the experience as multidimensional and one of learning and personal growth. Whilst the early U and W curve theories portrayed the initial phase as a universally positive ‘honeymoon’ phase, most later models characterise the initial phase as more complex and context dependent (e.g. Ward, Okura, Kennedy and Kojima 1998). In a comprehensive survey of the cross-cultural adaptation literature, Ward, Bochner and

Furnham (2001) also reject the U curve (and associated W curve) hypothesis on empirical grounds. The model, whilst intuitively appealing, has not always been supported by research (Ward, Bochner and Furnham 2001: 80-82).

All of the social psychology models surveyed address the issue of adult adaptation and culture learning. The extent to which the models may be applied to children is questionable. This question is taken up in the following section.

Children and Intercultural Literacy

In the previous discussion intercultural literacy learning and adaptation have been treated independently of understandings in child development. Children's cognitive and social development will clearly impact on their capacity for intercultural literacy and so this section addresses this issue.

The research surveyed, whilst not extensive in this area, paints a relatively consistent picture of the ages at which children typically develop cross-cultural awareness, identity and related attitudes in line with understandings of the process of social identity formation. Awareness of social categories and cultural identity appears to emerge between age three and five (Bochner 1982; Thomas 1984) and is typically accompanied by a preference for the child's own group, in-group favouritism (Vaughan 1978; Thomas 1984; Yee and Brown 1992; Nesdale and Flessner 2001, Bigler, Spears Brown and Markell 2001), and cross-cultural or outgroup stereotyping and prejudice (Bochner 1982; Thomas 1984; Bigler, Spears Brown and Markell 2001). Awareness of language

differences and a motivation to acquire a second language based on perceived social needs may also be present at five years (Fritz 1989).

Recent theoretical developments in anthropology and cross-cultural psychology (Pitman, Eisikovits and Dobbert 1989; Berry et al. 1992) cast the infant and young child in a more active role than the earlier research, paralleling constructivist theories of learning (Stake 1995). As Willis (1988) observes, studies in socialisation and cultural transmission in childhood have almost universally assumed that the process occurs in a stable monoculture. The question then of how and when children develop intercultural literacy in a cross-cultural context remains largely unanswered and untested.

Young children begin the process of identity formation through 'progressive dissociation'. That is, as the physical senses mature, the infant begins to make distinctions between 'me' and 'not me' objects. These early distinctions develop into distinctions between 'people like me' and 'people not like me' (Thomas 1984). Children may be aware of skin-colour differences as early as three years of age and by the age of five or six most children demonstrate a full awareness of skin-colour, or other obvious racial differences between groups (Thomas 1984). Vaughan (1978) studied social categorisation in Maori and *Pakeha* (white) children in New Zealand and found that four-year olds were aware of the two social categories with Maori children showing preference for *Pakeha* children and *Pakeha* for their own group. Preferences become more pronounced in both groups at age six and by age twelve less pronounced though

still observable.⁵ Thus, as the child is enculturated into the beliefs and values of his/her primary culture and comes to accept them as 'normal', the behaviours and beliefs of other groups come to be seen as 'abnormal'. This may be seen as ethnocentrism (a generalised preference for one's own group) in its most naïve form (Thomas 1984). A number of studies have found cultural stereotyping to be common amongst children in both primary/elementary and secondary schools (Keller 1991; Fry 1994; Elliot and Baumgart 1995; Potgieter and Bredenkamp 2002).

Ethnicity and culture are more complex concepts than race. Awareness of cultural categories may develop much later. A concept such as 'nation', for example, appears to be highly confused for most children at the age of six or seven. Not until the age of ten or eleven do children grasp adult-type concepts of 'nationality' with a full understanding of the concepts of 'home country' and 'foreign' (Thomas 1984: 59). Elliot and Baumgart (1995) found that Australian students developed understandings of Asia from a variety of sources. Some older primary students were found to recognise the 'interdependence of cultures' and '... described views from the perspective of members of the specific culture' (Elliot and Baumgart 1995: 29). Others were described as ethnocentric and, whilst recognising cultural differences, tended to see them '... only in terms of their own ethnocentric perspectives' or to distort the differences and see them as 'problems'.

⁵ Subsequently Vaughan (1986) surveyed the research on social change and ingroup/outgroup preferences amongst minority group children and contends that attitudes have changed with the development of 'brown pride' social movements. The consistent principle in these findings, argues Vaughan, is that perceived group status influences preferences.

The relationship between child development and the development of intercultural competencies appears to have received little attention in the literature. One aspect that has received attention is the development of abilities for empathy and perspective-taking, competencies regarded as integral to intercultural literacy (Broome 1991; Bennett 1993; Lambert 1999). Miller, Kessel and Flavell (1970) investigated the capacity for primary school aged children for 'recursive' thinking, which they define as the ability to think about social action and to think about other people thinking about others. They found an orderly, predictable development of recursive thinking abilities. The findings suggest that children develop abilities for empathy (the ability to consider what others are thinking and feeling) and perspective-taking (the ability to 'put oneself in another's shoes') during childhood with preschool children essentially unable to empathise, and the capacity for empathy not fully formed by adolescence.

Selman (1976) also found that empathy and capacities for perspective-taking emerge at around six to eight years increasing in complexity in the following years such that in the twelve to fifteen year period a more complete social perspective-taking becomes possible. This suggests that young people are able to adopt cultural, as opposed to interpersonal, perspectives at this stage and begin to make sense of the role of culture in shaping social action.

However, the literature is inconsistent on the question of the age at which children acquire a capacity for empathy. Stephan (1985), in a review of research into intergroup contact, cites evidence that '... at a very young age perspective-taking can help children see the world in a less egocentric and apparently ethnocentric manner' (Stephan 1985:

646). Increased competency in perspective-taking is described as an outcome of dramatic role-taking activities, first-person imaginative writing, and debating (Degenhardt and McKay 1986, 1988). Although the research and theory is equivocal, then, it seems clear that children's capacity for empathy and perspective-taking is limited in early childhood and increases developmentally, and, further, that classroom intervention - including the use of role play and drama activities - may assist this development.

Fry (1994) surveyed the literature on ethnic-relations and intercultural understanding in children and found that:

Children are often vulnerable to adult values and attitudes in that they hear / observe parental or other adult attitudes but are unable to discriminate for themselves. They may maintain an individual ethnic friendship outside the home whilst espousing racist values in the family domain. It is not until they mature or encounter a change agent, in effect the school, that their prejudice can be challenged (Fry 1994 17).

Thomas' (1984) and Fry's (1994) conclusions tend to support the view that age and maturation impact on capacity for the development of intercultural literacy, with young children likely to be at earlier stages of development. Young children who have formed naïve attitudes resulting in ingroup preference and outgroup prejudice are likely to be reliant on the family as a socialising agent, and the success of parents in learning intercultural literacy or adapting to the cross-cultural transition is likely to impact significantly on children's attitudes and adaptation (Schaetti 2003).

As previously noted (Fry 1994), the cognitive, affective and conative components of attitude may well be inconsistent, and children appear to be capable of holding inconsistent attitudes in response to social needs in different settings. Therefore the school may play a significant role in shaping intercultural attitudes and the social and cultural environments created within the school appear likely to either support or hinder this aspect of intercultural literacy.

Fritz (1989) reports on children's awareness of language difference. A review of the research on children's language abilities found consistent evidence that children by age two recognise, to some degree, the difference between standard and ungrammatical or nonsense forms of their own language. By the end of the third year language variation develops, with children able to recognise the difference between their native language and foreign languages. There is also significant evidence that children, as well as adults, modify their speech according to perceptions of the speech competence of the interlocutor (Fritz, 1989). Young children (aged from two-and-a-half) accommodate to the speech of foreigners and infants through varying rate and intonation, simplifying sentence structures and using non-verbal cues. Fritz (1989) also provides evidence that children (aged five and upwards) are motivated by social needs to communicate in second languages, and employ strategies of increased persistence, attempts to be 'interesting' and pretending to understand the language spoken (Fritz 1989: 32).

In an important study, Yasuko Minoura (1992) investigated the cultural meaning systems of Japanese children growing up in the USA. Minoura found that, by three to four months, babies had already learned to behave in culturally distinctive way - because

of different styles of caretaking in the two countries. From birth to around six years is regarded as the prime period of enculturation, with parents providing a prototype for interpersonal relations and source of culture learning. Minoura's study suggests that, up until approximately nine years of age, children are able to cross cultures with little difficulty. Since the individual's cultural meaning system is not fully developed and the child relies primarily on the family or primary care-givers for cultural and social cues, the experience of culture shock is less severe. Minoura found that the sensitive period for children to develop cultural meaning systems – through reference to peers outside of the family – is between the ages nine and fifteen. If children cross cultures in this period, affective reactions are likely. Minoura's (1992) conclusion that adolescence is likely to be a difficult period for cultural transition is supported in recent research by Mol, Van Oudenhoven and Van der Zee (2001).

Studies into bicultural identity in mixed-culture families in the United States found a high percentage of children from mixed marriages expressed multiple identities, identifying with both parental cultural groups (Stephan and White Stephan 1989). Further, biculturality has been found to have a positive influence on independence, interdependence, intergroup contact and attitudes, language ability, and enjoyment of the culture of minority groups (Stephan and White Stephan 1991; Yamada and Singelis 1999). There is also ample evidence that biculturals are able to switch cultural codes (in the same way bilinguals switch linguistic codes) according to the social context (Renet-Martinez, Leu, Lee and Morris 2002). Despite this, the evidence for intercultural literacy learning in children who are enculturated into a bicultural, pluralist or transcultural environment is at this point speculative. None of the studies cited above considers the

influence of social or cultural ‘climate’ on preference trends. Most of the early studies assume a majority/minority group paradigm. The context of international schools may vary this dynamic. Notwithstanding this, the consideration of age and maturation factors above suggests a number of implications for intercultural literacy learning in children:

1. For young children, the family is likely to play a highly significant role in determining intercultural attitudes and identity. Since, typically, the social world of the infant and very young child (0-6) is primarily focused on the family, supportive family environments are likely to protect the child from culture shock.
2. Adolescents are likely to form intercultural attitudes, competencies and identities primarily in response to social needs and cross-cultural interaction with peers.
3. Cross-cultural experience is likely to facilitate intercultural literacy for children of all ages, with children living in cross-cultural or transcultural communities likely to demonstrate higher levels of intercultural literacy in all dimensions.
4. Children of all ages are likely to develop varying levels of competencies, understandings, and language abilities primarily in response to social needs in cross-cultural or transcultural communities.
5. The role of the school in structuring learning, and providing a supportive environment for meeting social needs in a way that encourages intercultural literacy is likely to be a significant determinant of success for children of all ages.

These conclusions are significant for the study of intercultural literacy in international schools, suggesting that some aspects of intercultural literacy may not be typically achievable for children before adolescence and that environmental factors (including parental values, cross-cultural and educational experiences) are likely to have a significant impact on the development of intercultural literacy in children.

A Multidimensional Model for the Development of Intercultural Literacy

The model proposed in this study and outlined in Figure 2.2, below, does not depart from the tradition described above. Building on the earlier models, it integrates the key features reiterated in many into a more explicitly articulated multidimensional model. In doing so it aims to bring together the theory from social psychology and education. Casting the process in terms of learning, rather than adaptation or acculturation, it assumes an empowering additive process with an idealised end-point of integrated pluralism. In this, the model is consistent with previous efforts which variously describe the end-point as ‘multicultural man’ (sic) (Adler 1986), ‘mediating person’ (Bochner 1982) and ethnorelativism (Bennett 1993). The model also assumes the reality of multiple cultural identities (Kalantzis, Cope, Noble and Poynting 1990; Gould 1995; Pearce 1996, 1998; Parmenter 1999; Brewer 1999; Lim and Renshaw 2001; Hylmo 2003).

The developmental model of intercultural literacy proposed is multidimensional, recognising the significance of interrelated learning of understandings, competencies,

attitudes, language proficiencies and participation. In line with Anderson's (1994) recursive model it is envisaged that, rather than progressing evenly and in a linear fashion, individuals may move back and forth between the levels described, depending on the context and as they respond to challenges in the cross-cultural environment. In line with other recent educational theories (Pearce 1998; Hill 2002; Lyon 2002; Allan 2003) it is the crisis of engagement sometimes called culture shock or cultural dissonance that serves as a trigger for intercultural literacy learning.

The proposed model is intended to provide a tool to assist educators in understanding the development of intercultural literacy and thus to be able to facilitate the process. It is intended to support the development of policy and practice in international education. In achieving this it is both predictive and explanatory. It is intended to support the development of policy, curriculum and assessment in international schools and contexts where intercultural literacy may be seen as an educational goal.

Research into cross-cultural contact and intercultural literacy learning in international schools has been limited. The model proposed in this thesis is the first which addresses the needs of primary/elementary aged children learning intercultural literacy in the context of the international school. Whilst the models surveyed above provide a basis for this model, it is the first model proposed that integrates dimensions of understanding, competency, attitude, identity, language ability and participation. The proposed model integrates the various theoretical perspectives and conceptualises intercultural literacy learning as an additive, expansive and inclusive process; a reciprocal relationship between two or more cultures.

Figure 2.2:**First Iteration: A Multidimensional Model for the Development of Intercultural Literacy**

	Level 1	Level 2	Level 3	Level 4.1	Level 4.2
	Pre- and Early Contact	Culture Shock	Cross-Cultural Literacy	Intercultural Literacy	Transcultural Literacy
Understandings	Aware of superficial and highly visible traits: stereotypes. A touristic view of the exotic and bizarre.	Growing awareness of significant and subtle cultural traits that contrast markedly with one's own. Knowledge of socio-cultural structures and traditions at a basic level.	Deeper awareness of significant and subtle cultural traits that contrast markedly with one's own. Increasingly sophisticated knowledge of socio-cultural structures and traditions.	Aware of how culture/s feels and operates from the standpoint of the insider. Relatively complete knowledge of socio-cultural structures and traditions.	Awareness of the relativity of all cultures. Awareness of global interdependence and global nature of problems and solutions.
Competencies		Ability to discern significant cultural traits in real life situations.	Intellectual analysis: Ability to understand cultural differences in real life situations at a cognitive level. Emerging capacity to be flexible, non-judgemental, empathic and to take turns, tolerate ambiguity, and personalise one's knowledge and perspectives.	Transpection: Advanced ability to empathise. Capacity to be flexible. Capacity to be non-judgemental. Tolerance for ambiguity. Capacity to communicate respect. Capacity to personalise one's knowledge and perspectives. Capacity for turn-taking.	Transpection: Advanced ability to empathise. Capacity to be flexible. Capacity to be non-judgemental. Tolerance for ambiguity. Capacity to communicate respect. Capacity to personalise one's knowledge and perspectives. Capacity for turn-taking.
Attitudes	Curiosity. Fascination with the exotic and different. Paternalistic or stereotypical views. Tolerance of cultural differences.	Frustration. A sense of the irrational nature of the culture. Critical. Avoidance.	Respect for second culture. Cognitive believability. A sense of ease in cross-cultural situations. Desire to participate in cross-cultural work and social events.	Deep respect for second culture. Believable because of familiarity. Emerging sense of bicultural identity. Desire to participate in play and humour in cross-cultural situations.	Deep respect for all cultures. Sense of identity with a global, transnational culture and community.
Participation	Tourism or touristic activity. Textbooks, novels, magazines, films, etc.	Culture conflict situations. Living/working alongside second culture.	Living and/or working effectively in cross-cultural or second cultural situations. Cross-cultural social participation.	Cultural immersion: Living the culture. Established friendships and/or working relationships within a second culture.	Participation in a global community. Friendships and/or working relationships within a variety of cultures and transculturally.
Language	Awareness of the language ion general terms. Ability to communicate at a superficial level.	Knowledge of simple vocabulary and language structures. Increased ability to communicate in second language.	Knowledge of extensive vocabulary and language structures. Functional fluency in second language in specific contexts.	Relatively complete knowledge of vocabulary and language structures. Bilingual. Fluent in a full range of contexts.	Knowledge of a variety of languages. Multi-lingual. Tendency to use mixed and hybrid language.

The model presented here builds on the theory discussed in this chapter. It is the first iteration of the model which is subsequently validated and refined in response to the inputs of reference groups and then trialled in a case study reported in later chapters. The second iteration of the model includes inputs from the reference groups and is presented and explained in the following chapter. This final iteration thus integrates theory and practitioner knowledge.

The model assumes that culture is constructed, it defines groups within and between societies, it is fluid and changing, and it is learned. It is through the experience of becoming interculturally literate that the individual learns to understand culture: learns something of his/her native culture, something of a second culture, and something of the concept of culture in the abstract. Without some level of intercultural literacy the individual remains essentially ignorant of his/her primary culture and characteristically ethnocentric.

As with many of the earlier models described, this model is phenomenological in the sense that it derives from the subjective experience of individuals engaging with a second culture. It assumes a constructivist theory of learning in the sense that humans learn by constructing new meanings, by drawing on previous stores of meanings and reinterpreting-reconnecting-realigning these in light of new experiences (Stake 1995: 99-102). Culture is conceptualised as a subjective meaning state, and becoming interculturally literate as a process of creating or constructing new meanings.

In this section, the proposed model is developed, along with supporting theory of intercultural literacy learning. Each dimension is taken in turn and discussed with reference to the literature, the way in which intercultural understandings, competencies, attitudes, participation, language and identity develop from the *Monocultural* to the *Intercultural* stages in response to cross-cultural contact or engagement with a second culture.

Intercultural understandings

Intercultural literacy is sometimes seen as synonymous with intercultural understanding or ‘awareness’ (e.g. Christensen 1989), the assumption being that knowledge of a second culture is sufficient for successful communication, living and working in a cross-cultural setting. The proposed model rejects this assumption; intercultural understanding is a necessary though not sufficient condition for intercultural literacy.

At Monocultural Level One, Limited Awareness, the individual possesses no significant understandings; is essentially ignorant of his/her own culture, ignorant of the existence and nature of other cultures and ignorant of the nature of culture itself. This level may be typical for very young children or adults living in a highly isolated monocultural setting.

At Monocultural Level Two, Naïve Awareness, an awareness of superficial or highly visible cultural traits, norms and customs in the second culture which contrast markedly with the primary culture emerges. A touristic view of the exotic and bizarre nature of the culture, marked by common and unquestioned stereotypes - both positive and / or

negative, is common. There is little understanding of the primary culture or of the nature of culture in general terms.

At Monocultural Level Three, Culture Shock / Distancing, an awareness grows of significant and subtle cultural traits, norms and customs that contrast markedly with one's own. The second culture is typically perceived as irrational and unbelievable. An ethnocentric understanding characterises the second culture as deficient and not 'measuring up' in terms of the primary culture's frame of reference.

The culture shock experience may stimulate a radical reappraisal of culture leading to a reassessment of former understandings of both the target culture and primary culture, and a development of understandings in the nature of culture itself and its role in shaping the personal and social world. Alternatively, the culture shock crisis may result in a retreat from further learning and the entrenchment of ethnocentric understandings.

At the Cross-Cultural Level, Emerging Intercultural Literacy, cultural understandings become highly developed as awareness of the role of culture in shaping personal and social realities develops. Increasingly deep awareness of significant and subtle traits, norms and customs that contrast markedly with those of the primary culture develops along with increasingly sophisticated knowledge and understanding of socio-cultural structures and traditions. The second culture is believable at a cognitive level - it 'makes sense'.

The individual develops significant understandings of the primary culture that parallel those of the second culture and of the nature culture itself and its role in shaping the personal and social world. The development of these understandings may take place over a prolonged period of cross-cultural engagement.

At the *Intercultural Level, Bicultural Literacy / Transcultural Literacy*, advanced awareness of the relativity of all cultures, of the dynamics of global interdependence and of the global nature of problems and solutions is evident. The individual develops understandings of second culture(s) through the experience of looking at the culture(s) from the viewpoint of the insider. An understanding of the primary culture is informed through the experience of looking at the culture from the viewpoint of a second culture.

The individual is familiar with significant cultural traits, norms and customs and possesses knowledge of significant socio-cultural structures and traditions of the second culture(s). The culture(s) is (are) believable because of familiarity. Understanding of the role culture plays in shaping the personal and social world is advanced.

As can be seen from Figure 2.2, the Understandings dimension of the proposed model draws heavily on Hanvey's (1982, 1986) schema. In this aspect it is similar also to Elliott and Baumgart's (1995) model. Understandings develop from *Monocultural Level One*, in which the individual has no significant intercultural understanding (either of the primary or a second culture), through a naive awareness stage (*Monocultural Level Two*) characterised by stereotypic understandings, to the *Culture Shock / Distancing* stage in which an understanding of significant cultural differences emerges but the second

culture is perceived as irrational and unbelievable. The *Cross-Cultural Level* may be thought of as a typically extended period of learning, during which an individual gains understandings in the interpersonal and intergroup aspects of culture along with socio-political understandings and an understanding of culture in the abstract.

Consistent with Hanvey's (1982, 1986) model, it can be seen that, not only the nature and extent, but the *source* of understanding shifts as intercultural literacy develops. At the *Monocultural Level* understandings derive from a short-term and superficial experience of a second culture, or perhaps from vicarious experience through texts, or the media. At the *Cross-Cultural Level* understandings derive from an extended engagement with the culture, and at the *Intercultural Level* from the experience of 'living in the culture'.

This perspective shift is significant: that is from experiencing the culture as an outsider to experiencing it as an insider; or at least through being able to *imagine* the viewpoint of an insider. It suggests that for intercultural literacy to develop, engagement with the culture must be real and sustained. An advanced intercultural understanding links to the competency of perspective-taking and an ability to see the culture from the perspective of the insider. This may extend to understanding of the impact – positive or negative – of one's own culture on another culture in contact.

The previous description of intercultural understandings at the *Cross-Cultural* and *Intercultural* levels suggests that three categories of understandings are required for intercultural literacy. These three categories parallel those suggested by Kane (1991):

1. Understandings of the nature of culture in the abstract are required, of its components, structure and influence in human affairs. These could be considered generic understandings.
2. Understandings of the target culture at a socio-political level are required, including understandings of the history, economics, religion and other socio-political structures; of the 'way of life' within the culture; and of the artistic traditions of the culture. This is the sort of cultural literacy implicit in the arguments of Hughes and McCann (1991), Fitzgerald (1991), and Willinsky (1992) for an Asia or Pacific-Asia literacy focus in Australian education. These understandings may be considered specific to the target culture(s).
3. Understandings at the intergroup and interpersonal levels are required: that is, understandings of the rules, norms, values and customs that operate within the culture and enable successful cross-cultural dialogue and participation. These understandings relate closely to intercultural competencies in that they enable the application of generic competencies within a specific cultural context.

At *Monocultural Level One* no significant understandings are in evidence. The individual at this stage is unaware of culture and its significance either personally or generally, thus he or she thus has no relevant understandings. At the next level, *Monocultural Level Two*, understandings may be thought of as shallow and simplistic. Stereotyping is typical and the individual tends to generalise about the second culture with little awareness of diversity. There is little understanding of the nature of culture in the abstract.

Monocultural Level Three is stimulated by the culture shock experience and a growing awareness of the differences between cultures. The individual still tends to stereotype and generalise about the second culture. In response to the experience of culture shock, the individual may either move into the *Cross-Cultural Level*, or remain in an extended 'distancing' stage. The *Cross-Cultural Level* defines an extended learning period in which significant understandings about the target culture are acquired. At the *Intercultural Level* an advanced understanding is in place. In the case of the bicultural this can be taken to mean an understanding of the socio-cultural and interpersonal aspects of the culture which enables full and effective cross-cultural participation. For the transcultural, what might be termed a global understanding reflects participation in a transcultural rather than cross-cultural community.

The question remains as to what understandings might be relevant within the three categories described above. What understandings does an interculturally literate individual require? This question can be sensitive and political in relation not only to what should be learned but who should decide what should be learned.

Whilst the scheme proposed - and supported by Kane's (1991) taxonomy - is useful for logically separating out the sets of understandings required, in practice it is likely that the three will blend. For example, an understanding of how Kalimantan village life (or the Indonesian political system) is structured, necessitates an understanding of Indonesian history, of the economic, religious and value systems, and of cultural norms related to collectivism, gender, conflict-resolution, decision-making, communication and

attitudes towards authority. These specific understandings in turn require and support a broader set of generic understandings concerning the role of culture in human affairs. As illustrated in this example, learning in each of the three categories is likely to take place simultaneously and in a mutually supportive way.

Intercultural competencies

Alongside intercultural understanding, the interculturally literate individual possesses a range of competencies which enable successful learning, living and working in a cross-cultural, pluralist or transcultural environment. The proposed model suggests that a set of generic competencies when combined with more culture-specific intercultural understandings, language abilities and participation enables effective cross-cultural participation or intercultural literacy.

The generic and transferable nature of intercultural competencies is a key element in the conception of transculturalism and intercultural literacy. The transcultural individual, as defined by Willis and colleagues possesses a high level of intercultural competency enabling an ease of movement within and between multiple cultures (Willis 1986; 1987; 1988; 1991, 1992, 1997; Willis and Enloe 1990; Willis, Enloe and Minoura 1994). Similarly, Hannerz (1990) refers to transnational cultures and transnationals possessing ‘... decontextualised cultural capital ... Their decontextualised knowledge can be quickly and shiftingly recontextualised in a series of different settings’ (Hannerz 1990: 246).

At *Monocultural Level One, Limited Awareness*, no significant competencies are evident. This level may be typical for very young children or adults living in a highly isolated monocultural setting.

At *Monocultural Level Two, Naive Awareness* and *Monocultural Level Three, Culture Shock / Distancing*, the individual possesses no significant intercultural competencies. Interpersonal competencies which may be relevant in the intergroup context may have been acquired independently of cross-cultural experience, however, until they are activated in a cross-cultural context, they can not be characterised as intercultural competencies. At Level Three, the culture shock experience may stimulate a rapid development of competencies as a means of dealing with the crisis of incompetence through intercultural literacy learning. Alternatively, the culture shock crisis may result in a retreat from further learning and an arrested stage of incompetence or limited competence.

At the *Cross-Cultural, Emerging Intercultural Literacy, Level*, cultural competencies become highly developed, as a conscious awareness of the role of intercultural competencies in increasing cross-cultural effectiveness develops. Building on previous theory, the proposed model suggests that an ability to understand cultural differences in real life situations at a cognitive level is accompanied by a range of emerging competencies. These include: mindfulness; flexibility and adaptability; tolerance for ambiguity and uncertainty, anxiety and frustration management; open-mindedness; capacity to be non-judgemental; capacity to personalise one's perspectives; empathy, and the ability to communicate respect and display empathy; communication skills

(including sensitivity, tuning-in skills, assertiveness, active listening, feedback, topic management, turn-taking, and the use of inclusive language); differentiation; conflict management skills; intrapersonal and interpersonal skills; sense of humour; decision-making skills (including cross-cultural and global perspectives); and community-building skills.

This list of competencies draws on an extensive literature on intercultural competency. In the 1970s and 1980s a number of inventories of intercultural competencies were proposed, largely with the aim of assisting multinational corporations to place executives in overseas postings, but later in designing cross-cultural training programs (Batchelder and Warner 1979 cited in Wilson 1982; Kohls 1979, cited in Wilson 1982; Brislin 1981; Adler 1986; Ruben 1986). The earliest formulations tend to mix traits for predicting successful cross-cultural experience with understandings and skills (or competencies) which may be learned. More recent lists are more clearly conceived as skill inventories (Hannigan 1990; Hammer, Nishida and Wiseman 1996; Meggitt 1996; Mol, Van Oudenhoven and Van der Zee 2001; Isaura and Corso 2002; Abilock 2003).

These skills can be thought of as behavioural and attitudinal learnings that are put into practical, day-to-day use. For example, increased tolerance may be regarded as more than an attitude. Tolerance for different life styles, value systems, and outlooks, when incorporated into behaviour, is also a skill. Likewise, sensitivity and empathy to others may be regarded as a corresponding skill. The learning of appropriate behavioural responses and reactions in a different cultural or social situation necessarily involves the development of skills in interpersonal competence and communication. The individual

learns how to interpret situations, how to deal with problems and conflicts, how to trust other people, and how to simply enjoy the diversity of people. When an individual undergoes a radical change in cultural environment, these skills become necessary for social survival.

The list of competencies proposed also derives from global citizenship and global awareness competency inventories (Becker 1982; Freeman 1993; Merryfield 1997). Also significant in this context is Gudykunst's synthesis of the literature on intergroup communication (Gudykunst 1994; Gudykunst, Ting-Toomey and Wiseman 1991) and Willis, Enloe and Minoura's (1994) description of transculturals.

The development of these competencies may take place over a prolonged period of cross-cultural engagement.

At the *Intercultural, Bicultural Literacy / Transcultural Literacy Level* a consolidation of learning at the emerging intercultural level leads to advanced competencies as outlined above. Advanced capacity to empathise may be characterised as transpection (Maruyama 1970 cited in Hanvey 1986) or multiple-perspective-taking. The individual is able to adopt multiple cultural perspectives.

The development of competencies outlined in Figure 2.2 follows a similar pattern to the development of understandings. No significant competencies develop before the *Cross-Cultural* level which may be thought of as an extended learning period - a period of

emerging intercultural literacy. At the *Intercultural* level, the full range of competencies which are learned in the *Cross-Cultural* level are in place.

The interculturally literate individual possesses an extensive repertoire of competencies which may be employed in cross-cultural, pluralist or transcultural contexts. In isolation these competencies do not constitute intercultural literacy since in order to employ them to good effect, a corresponding set of understandings, attitudes, language abilities and identities is required.

Intercultural attitudes

Attitudes may be defined as ‘... people’s reactions toward a concept or, in everyday language, their feelings, beliefs, and readiness to act. Attitudes are commonly analysed according to three components: affective, cognitive, and conative’ (Brislin (1981: 41). The affective component refers to emotional reactions and can be summarised as feelings of goodness and badness - broadly a positive or a negative attitude. The cognitive component refers to beliefs and information about a subject. The conative component refers to behavioural intentions towards the subject and might include a desire to form friendships or participate in cross-cultural events.

Prejudice, stereotyping and discrimination relate to these three attitude components. Prejudice relates to emotional reactions and the affective component; stereotyping to beliefs and the cognitive component; and discrimination to behaviour and the conative component. The correlation between these three components – affective, cognitive and

behavioural – is significant. Stahlberg and Frey (1996) found that the degree of consistency between cognitive and affective elements of an attitude increases both the stability of the attitude over time, and the ability to predict consistent behaviour. Thus, where beliefs and affective attitudes are at variance, such as where an individual believes that another cultural group is lazy but holds a positive view of an individual member as friendly and helpful, the attitude is likely to be unstable over time and an unreliable predictor of behaviour.

An important theoretical construct relating to stereotypes and cross-cultural attitudes is the theory of attribution (Triandis 1975). Attributions are an individual's attempt to explain other's behaviour through reference to traits, disposition or situational factors. Many problems in cross-cultural communication and intergroup contact can be seen to arise from misattributions. Behaviours observed within another culture are interpreted within the frame of reference of the primary culture. Within cultures, attributions have been found to be more generally *situational* - that is the behaviour is explained as a result of the situation in which it occurs. In contrast, cross-cultural attributions tend to be *dispositional*; that is the behaviour is explained as a result of the other's disposition or traits which may be defined by cultural stereotypes (Hewstone and Jaspars 1982; Jaspars and Hewstone 1982; Hewstone and Fincham 1996).

Three possibilities for improving intercultural attitudes in this context are:

1. increasing the sophistication and complexity of cross-cultural stereotypes;
2. changing attributions from dispositional to situational; and

3. increasing cross-cultural within-group differentiation thereby challenging stereotypes (Gudykunst 1994: 97-102).

An example of the first possibility is as follows: In a *Naive Awareness* stage, an individual may see members of another culture as ‘polite’ and ‘friendly’, whilst at a higher level of intercultural literacy the same individuals may be perceived as typically valuing a ‘steady state’, avoiding conflict and concerned with ‘saving face’ (Noesjirwan 1986). Triandis’ (1975) concept of ‘isomorphic attributions’ is also relevant here since it allows for the advanced or ‘interculturally literate’ individual to attribute behaviour cross-culturally on the basis of how it might be attributed within the culture.

Isomorphic attributions correspond to the idea: “If I had been raised in that culture and had had the kinds of experiences he [sic] has had, I would do exactly what he did ... ” (Triandis 1975: 41-42).

The concept of isomorphic attributions relates to that of multiple perspective-taking (Willis, Enloe and Minoura 1994) and ‘contextual evaluation’ (Bennett 1993); advanced empathy, or the ability to put oneself ‘in the head’ of others, to see things as they might.

An individual at the *Monocultural Level One, Limited Awareness*, assumes that all groups share similar cultural traits and values and that these are similar to those held by the individual. Young children and isolated adults may be aware of the existence of different cultural groups but unaware of different traits. The orientation is value neutral with no significant attitudes in evidence.

At *Monocultural Level Two, Naïve Awareness*, attitudes may be ambivalent. Stereotyping is common and may include positive and negative images of the culture. For example, Australian attitudes towards Asia may be commonly ambivalent, characterising it simplistically as rich and also poor, economically threatening, and at the same time ‘... beckoning us with economic opportunities’ (Viviani 1990: 16). Negative stereotypes with accompanying prejudice and discrimination may predominate - such as Asians being perceived as backward, corrupt, and untrustworthy; or, equally, positive stereotyping with accompanying prejudice and discrimination is possible, with Asians perceived as friendly, spiritual, simple and polite. The common element in both orientations is the superficiality and naïvety of attitudes and a lack of appreciation of the diversity of individuals and groups within and between nations.

At *Monocultural Level Three, Culture Shock / Distancing*, attitudes are characteristically negative. Stereotypes are typically negative and accompanied by prejudice and discrimination. They may also become increasingly sophisticated. In the shift from *Level Two* to *Level Three* the individual may reject earlier positive stereotypes and adopt negatives. Alternatively, previously held negative stereotypes will be reinforced but will also be informed through exposure to the culture. The following hypothetical comments illustrate these alternatives: ‘I used to think these people were a friendly lot, now I know they’re only interested in the size of my wallet!’ Or, ‘I used to think they were all lazy, now I see that they’re not just lazy, they’re a conniving, sneaky crowd!’

The comments of an Indonesian graduate student five months into his sojourn in Australia serve to illustrate attitudes typically evidenced at this stage. Nimran’s

comments, made at a public lecture on Indonesian-Australian relations in Melbourne, are relevant in the present context in that they illustrate attitudes typical of the Monocultural Level III in the proposed model and may be typical of Indonesian attitudes towards Australian culture at this stage of intercultural literacy. Nimran's sentiments are echoed in comments made by participants in the case study discussed in Chapter Four and Five.

Firstly, compared to Indonesian students, the Australian students seem to lack religious awareness ... Secondly in terms of their daily habits ... it seems that many Australian students are smokers - both male and female. In Indonesia, in contrast ... smoking ... is uncommon for female students. Thirdly, when entertainment is concerned, it seems that most Australian students like to spend their weekends in pubs, bars and discos for drinking ... Fourthly, another thing that is surprising is that some Australian students seem to lack any general knowledge about Indonesia and perhaps about other matters as well ... Finally, it is important to note that I also find most Australian students that I dealt with very helpful and generous. They will not hesitate to help whenever I ask for help but the point is that we have to ask for it and not keep quiet. Otherwise they will not react or respond. (Nimran 1986: 35)

Attitudes become increasingly differentiated (taking account of many characteristics), dynamic (in a constant state of change), and realistic at the *Cross-cultural Level, Emerging Intercultural Literacy*. The result is a shift to more positive attitudes and an avoidance of simplistic negative stereotypes. What is implied in this is that the cognitive, affective and conative components may be out of alignment. Whilst there may be lingering confusion and affective negativity, the individual at this level is able to more accurately read or attribute cross-cultural behaviour and understands the culture, its

norms and values sufficiently to respect. An overall respect for the culture and its integrity is informed by a cognitive understanding. The ability to differentiate at this level is illustrated in Elliot and Baumgart's (1995) study of Australian school students and their understanding of, and attitudes towards, Asia (discussed in Chapter Two, p.81).

Attitudes at the *Intercultural Level, Bicultural Literacy / Transcultural Literacy* are differentiated, dynamic and realistic. Respect for a second culture - and for the integrity of all cultures - is based on the believability of the culture because of familiarity. Attitudes are informed by an advanced ability for empathy or multiple perspective-taking, an ability to see the second culture(s) from the point of view of an insider and the primary culture from the point of view of an outsider. A critical stance towards aspects of the culture - or cultures - is legitimated by deep understanding.

This represents a shift from the previous level in that the three components of attitude are likely to be consistent. The differentiated, dynamic and realistic nature of attitudes at this level, however, suggests that they will not be universally positive. Whilst attitudes may be predominately positive they will clearly vary over time and with different situations.

Intercultural participation

Participation is a measure of development, a means of development, and an expression of other dimensions in the model. Previous models (Hanvey 1986; Adler 1986) suggest that participation can be characterised as developing in stages. The theoretical

frameworks of Kordes (1991), Meyer (1991) and Christensen (1989) are also explicit about the role of intercultural participation in developing intercultural awareness and competency.

No significant cross-cultural participation is evident at the *Monocultural Level One, Limited Awareness*. Where cross-cultural participation does occur, the individual is unaware of cultural distinctions and thus contact may be described as interpersonal rather than intergroup or intercultural. A young child may well be living in a cross-cultural environment but, since there is no accompanying awareness of cultural difference, culture is not salient and participation is not significant. Participation must, in other words, be accompanied by awareness in order to be properly regarded as intercultural or cross-cultural participation.

Participation at *Monocultural Level Two, Naive Awareness*, may be in the form of tourism or an early contact period of a sojourn or foreign exchange. It may be in the form of vicarious contact through exposure to media images, textbooks, magazines and so on. In the classic culture shock models of the 1960s, the sojourner is described as experiencing what might be termed a 'honeymoon' period in the early stage of the posting. The experience closely parallels that of the tourist with cross-cultural contacts limited to observation and superficial exchanges. The most salient aspects of the second culture are the exotic, the different, and the accompanying attitudes are typically stereotypical.

Participation at *Monocultural Level Three, Culture Shock / Distancing* is characterised by culture conflict situations. The defining feature of this stage is the experience of culture shock - or distancing. In the case of culture shock, participation may continue to increase as the learner resolves the conflict that is typically evident (internal and external) and progresses to the next level. In the case of distancing, the individual retreats from engagement with the second culture and participation is limited to essential contact (e.g. work related). This may be a short period leading to the next stage of emerging intercultural literacy, or it may become 'arrested culture shock' or 'distancing'. In this event, the individual withdraws into the familiarity of his/her own cultural group. Participation is minimised and characterised by avoidance and withdrawal from all but unavoidable contact.

For individuals isolated from a 'home' culture group and immersed in a second culture, distancing may be a less viable option. It seems likely that, in order to meet social needs, these isolated individuals may move quicker through this stage, either rapidly adapting and advancing in their intercultural learning, or retreating and ending their sojourn. This situation is likely to have been more typical for sojourners of earlier periods who lacked the supports of communication and transportation technologies and of significant expatriate groups in foreign settings. The theory represented in the proposed model suggests that culture shock is likely to be more pronounced for isolated individuals such as these earlier sojourners, distancing being a less likely outcome.

In line with Anderson's (1994) model, it is hypothesized that individuals at this stage frequently 'retreat' into a distancing mode before re-engaging with the second culture in

order to develop new competencies and understandings consistent with the Cross-Cultural level in the model. This process is likely to be repeated in a recursive fashion until the individual is firmly in a *Cross-cultural, Emerging Intercultural Literacy* level. Alternatively, the individual may retreat into one of the negative outcomes described by Bochner (1982, 1986) and Berry (Berry 1984, 2001) as separation (cultural chauvinism), passing (assimilation) or marginalization.

Participation at the *Cross-cultural, Emerging Intercultural Literacy, Level* is characterised by an increasing engagement at a personal or social level with the second culture(s), accompanied by an increasing sense of ease in cross-cultural situations. The individual could be said to be living and/or working effectively in a cross-cultural setting. Within a cross-cultural, or pluralist, society it could be characterised as 'living with' other cultural groups, as opposed to 'living alongside' (Hanvey 1986). At this level the individual begins to exhibit a desire to participate in cross-cultural work and social activities facilitated by increasing levels of understanding and competency. This stage is characterised by an extended engagement with a second culture allowing a learning process which spans the gap between intercultural illiteracy (*Monocultural Level*) and intercultural literacy (*Intercultural Level*).

The model suggests that in order to move from the *Monocultural* to the *Cross-Cultural* Levels, there must be: (1) the opportunity for cross-cultural interaction presented by a mixed cultural milieu; and (2) a willingness and motivation on the part of an individual for intercultural literacy learning; or (3) a cross-cultural immersion situation in which the possibility of retreat into a primary culture and distancing is not available.

At the *Intercultural Level, Bicultural Literacy / Transcultural Literacy*, participation is characterised by established friendships and/or working relationships within second culture(s) and a desire to participate in social and work events, play and humour in cross-cultural situations. Participation in the transcultural context is in what might be termed a transcultural, international or 'global' community. Friendships and/or working relationships within a variety of cultures, and transculturally, are in evidence. Participation at the *Intercultural* level is characterised by what Bochner (1982) describes as 'integration' or, at the individual level, 'mediation'. The interculturally literate individual participates in a cross-cultural or transcultural community. Hanvey describes participation at this level as 'living the culture - cultural immersion' (Hanvey 1986: 20). For Christensen it is a 'way of life, and need no longer be consciously sought' (Christensen 1989: 289). Thus the individual, to achieve this level of intercultural literacy, must have the opportunity for participation in a cross-cultural or transcultural community – which is something denied to those in predominately monocultural national settings.

The pattern and level of participation develops with intercultural literacy alongside understandings, competencies and attitudes.

Intercultural language abilities

The question of intercultural language abilities is largely neglected in the social psychological models reviewed above. An explanation for the lack of attention paid to

the role of language in intercultural literacy or acculturation in the social psychology literature is that the bulk of the theory originated from within the English speaking world. In multicultural North American cities, and typically in the world of the international expatriate executive and the English-speaking international school, English is the *lingua franca*. Much of the research has been motivated by practical considerations with the need to support Anglophones in adapting to short-term international postings. Whilst companies might consider supporting intercultural training programs to improve sojourner adjustment or adaptation, they are less likely to support longer-term and more expensive language training programs. In contrast, the theoretical models developed from within foreign language education contexts (e.g. Meyer 1991, Kordes 1991, Byram 1997; Byram, Nichols and Stevens 2001, Alred and Byram 2002) highlight the role of language ability but tend to downplay other competencies.

Since intercultural literacy has been defined as the competencies which enable effective participation within a second culture or in a cross-cultural setting, it is reasonable to suggest that language abilities might be significant. It is difficult to imagine how one might become interculturally literate in this, or any, sense without the ability to communicate at some level with members of the second culture in their community language.

Competence in the language of a target culture is thus posited as a significant dimension of intercultural literacy. Language competence can be seen to facilitate intercultural literacy learning in several ways:

1. It enables reciprocal communication at a much wider and deeper level.

2. It communicates cross-cultural respect, openness and a willingness to learn.
3. It facilitates learning through enabling access to cross-cultural information and meanings.
4. It provides a window on the second culture - on its cultural cues, norms, values and meaning structures (Bickley 1982).
5. It enables the formation of new cultural identities, in part through enabling cross-cultural group-membership (Miller 1999; Clement, Noels and Deneault 2001).

British foreign language education and intercultural theorist, Michael Byram (1991), puts the case in somewhat stronger terms:

The by now hidden metaphor of language as a key is both theoretically untenable and educationally unsound. Language is not simply a reflector of an objective cultural reality. It is an integral part of that reality through which other parts are shaped and interpreted. It is both a symbol of the whole and a part of the whole which shapes and is in turn shaped by sociocultural actions, beliefs and values. In engaging language, speakers are enacting sociocultural phenomena; in acquiring language, children acquire culture ... it follows that to teach culture without language is fundamentally flawed ... (Byram 1991: 18).

At *Monocultural Level One, Limited Awareness*, in the model proposed, no significant second language competence is evident. Where cross-cultural contact does occur, the individual may be unaware of language distinctions. This level may be typical for very young children or adults living in a highly isolated monocultural setting.

Language competence at the *Monocultural Level Two, Naive Awareness*, may be in the form of an awareness of the second language in general terms, sometimes accompanied by an ability to communicate at a superficial level, using formulaic language such as using simple greetings and a few stock phrases.

Language competence at *Monocultural Level Three, Culture Shock / Distancing*, may be characterised by knowledge of simple vocabulary and language structures, and a limited but increasing ability to communicate at a functional level in the second language. Alternatively, linguistic competency may remain at the level described above (*Monocultural Level Two*).

Language competence at the *Cross-cultural Level, Emerging Intercultural Literacy*, is characterised by an increasing ability to communicate in the second language. A more extensive knowledge of vocabulary and language structures develops through this period. Language use may be characterised as ‘conscious competence’. The individual increasingly gains command of the language in specific practical cross-cultural settings, such as work, school or social settings, but is limited by the need to consciously translate. This level may require extensive language learning over a prolonged period since the learner must move from a very simple language ability at *Monocultural Level Three* to an advanced ability at the *Intercultural Level*.

For the bicultural individual at the *Intercultural Level, Bicultural Literacy / Transcultural Literacy*, an advanced bilingual competence is assumed. The bicultural displays a relatively complete knowledge of vocabulary and language structures, and is

fluent in a broad range of contexts in two parallel languages. Bilingualism in this context is defined as the ability to communicate in two languages (Tosi 1991).

The transcultural may have knowledge of, and competency in, a variety of languages, which is to say the transcultural may be multilingual. There may be a tendency for code-switching - to use mixed and hybrid languages within a transcultural community (Willis Enloe and Minoura 1994). It can be assumed that the transcultural individual will be able to communicate in at least two languages.

Language abilities develop from the *Monocultural Level* where the individual is essentially monolingual (in relation to the target culture) to the *Intercultural Level* where the individual may be thought of as bilingual or multilingual. The bulk of the learning - as in other dimensions - takes place during the *Cross-cultural* or *Emerging Intercultural Literacy* levels. Exactly what is intended by the terms 'bilingual' and 'multilingual' here needs clarification. Essentially, the terms refer to an ability to communicate in more than one language:

Today linguists have finally agreed that bilingualism is not 'an all or nothing' property; that the repertoire of bilinguals does not normally comprise the repertoires of two monolinguals and that the bilingual's knowledge of one language hardly, if ever, equates to her or his competence in the other (Tosi 1991: 84).

Whilst a detailed study of language and second language acquisition is beyond the scope of this study, it is important to note the significance of language competence as a dimension in intercultural literacy and to point to some key features of the role of

language in intercultural literacy learning. Although it could be assumed that a functional fluency in the language of a culture is necessary to even the most basic intercultural literacy, the increasing international currency of the English language - particularly in international business contexts - makes second language acquisition an option rather than a necessity for an international career and an international life. The majority of 'international' schools employ English as the principal language of instruction (Horsley 1991), and indeed international schools are often defined by their adoption of English as an instructional language (Richards 1998; Ezra 2003). The transnational / transcultural, global expatriate community typically adopts English as its *lingua franca*. One result of this is that Anglophone students of international schools and their families, who tend to exist socially in an international expatriate 'bubble' (Cohen 1977), may also tend to regard second language learning as unnecessary.

Attitudes towards a second culture, largely determined by perceived group status and distinctiveness, play a significant part in determining motivation and likely success in learning a second language (Gardner 1985). For members of a high status cultural group, such as are likely to be associated with international schools, status and distinctiveness are less likely to be motivating factors. Tosi (1991) notes the significant role of the perceived status of a language and its speakers in motivating language learners, contrasting the typically lower motivation among '... western people resident in the east than eastern people resident in the western world' (Tosi 1991: 87).

It can be argued that language is the main bridge between expatriate and host communities; indeed between any two cultural groups. Despite the growth of English as

an international language, limited or nonexistent facility in the language of a host culture may form a significant barrier to intercultural literacy learning and signify cultural separation. Alternatively, even a limited competence signifies respect, openness and a motivation to learn - and thus facilitates intercultural literacy learning (Bickley 1982; Giles and Byrne 1982).

Language is also linked to cultural identity (Gardner 1979, 1985; Giles and Byrne 1982, Giles and Coupland 1991; Byram 1999). Gardner (1979) describes second language learning as, not simply learning a set of symbols, new ways of saying things, new words for old concepts - but rather, as learning ‘... the characteristics of another ethnolinguistic community.’ (Gardner 1979: 193).

Furthermore the student is not being asked to learn about them; he [sic] is being asked to acquire them, to make them part of his [sic] own language reservoir. This involves imposing elements of another culture into one’s own lifespace. As a result the student’s harmony with his [sic] own cultural community and his [sic] willingness or ability to identify with other cultural communities become important considerations in the process of second language acquisition (Gardner 1979: 193-194).

Giles and Byrne (1982) proposed a model of second language acquisition which builds on the Social Identity Theory of Tajfel (1978b). Language is seen as a definitive component in cultural identity, an attribute for membership of ethnic groups, a cue for inter-ethnic categorisation, and a medium for facilitating intragroup cohesion (Giles and Byrne 1982: 17). In a later reformulation of this intergroup model of second language acquisition (Giles and Coupland 1991), an analysis of bilingualism is introduced which

may be seen as paralleling Bochner's (1982) concept of integration. In this case, individuals may be motivated to accommodate a second language as an integrative strategy which preserves or even strengthens primary cultural identity whilst conceptualising second language acquisition as culturally 'additive' rather than 'subtractive'. This understanding of bilingualism is reinforced by recent studies in pluralist societies, such as Singapore, in which more than one language is socially valued (Berry et al. 1992: 307).

From a global perspective anyway, the Anglophone experience is hardly representative. Most children are schooled in their second language, usually the language of a dominant colonial group or ethnic elite, and in fact most English speakers have learned that language as their second one. Bilingualism is a perennial state and is likely to become even more important. (Giles and Coupland 1991: 128).

The work of Gardner, Giles and colleagues is significant for this study in that it clearly links language usage to social, and thus cultural, identity, to intercultural competence and to intercultural attitudes. In introducing the concept of bi- and multi-lingualism into the model they also admit the possibility of multiple group identity. Since social identity is so closely connected with attitude (Tajfel 1978a, 1978b), it is further hypothesised that the sorts of conditions which promote intercultural literacy learning in these dimensions will also promote language learning. The work of Gardner (1979, 1985) and Giles and colleagues (Giles 1975, 1978; Turner and Giles 1981; Giles and Byrne 1982; Giles and Coupland 1991) supports this proposition in general terms.

Language, then, is inextricably bound to other dimensions of intercultural literacy: to identity, attitude, understanding, and participation. Language learning will facilitate intercultural literacy in these other dimensions, and achievement in other dimensions will contribute to success in language learning. Language educationalists and theorists tend to treat these other dimensions of intercultural literacy - particularly understandings, attitudes and competencies - as an outcome of language learning, or even a sub-category of language learning (e.g. Kordes 1991). In contrast, within the present model, language learning is presented as a sub-category of intercultural literacy learning. Of itself, language learning will not guarantee intercultural literacy (Lambert 1999).

Intercultural identity

A sixth dimension, identity, is introduced in the second iteration of the model discussed in the following chapter. Triandis, Kurowski and Gelfand (1994) contend that cultural identity forms only through cross-cultural contact.

Individuals usually are not aware of the fact that their culture influences their behaviour.

It is only when they come into contact with other cultures that they realise that they have a culture ... as the other group becomes more salient they develop a clearer view of who they are and what contrasts them from the other group (Triandis, Kurowski and Gelfand 1994: 781).

The process of cultural (or intercultural) identity formation, described by Triandis and colleagues (1994) from a social psychologist's perspective, is paralleled closely by that described in the educational and second-language literature surveyed (Christensen 1989,

Byram 1991, Kordes 1991, Meyer 1991) and the work of Gardner, Giles and colleagues as discussed above. It is through cross-cultural contact that awareness of one's own cultural identity - and therefore that identity itself - is stimulated and developed.

At the *Monocultural Level One* in the model there is thus no cultural identity. Social and cultural identity is not significant since the individual is unaware of the existence of outgroups against which the ingroup may be defined. A basic cultural identity emerges at the *Monocultural Level Two, Naive Awareness*, stage, characterised by well defined stereotypic comparisons with other cultural groups.

At *Monocultural Level Three, Culture Shock / Distancing*, cultural identity becomes highly salient with the individual drawing comparisons between in- and out-group cultural features which force an examination of his/her own cultural identity. The crisis of culture shock may result in a rapid growth in awareness of the individual's own cultural identity and transition to the emerging intercultural level, or a withdrawal from further intercultural literacy learning and a static chauvinistic cultural identity. The extent to which an individual values both his/her primary culture and the second culture is critical for intercultural literacy learning. Where both cultures are highly valued, progression to the *Cross-Cultural, Emerging Intercultural Literacy*, level is supported. Where one or the other is under-valued, distancing and negative outcomes are likely. This may include a defensive cultural chauvinism, a rejection of the primary culture and passing to the second culture, or a marginal drifting between cultures. The theory which explains this dynamic (Bochner 1982, Berry, 1984, 2001) is discussed below (p.131).

At the *Cross-Cultural Level, Emerging Intercultural Literacy*, the individual's cultural identity becomes highly developed, as awareness of the role of culture in shaping personal and social realities emerges. Increasing sense of confidence and security in one's cultural identity along with a more clearly defined multiple cultural identity is reinforced through successful and rewarding cross-cultural interaction.

A bicultural or transcultural identity emerges at the *Intercultural Level, Bicultural Literacy / Transcultural Literacy*, enabling the individual to identify with two or more parallel cultures and/or with a transcultural community. The individual is able to mediate and transit between the cultures with ease. A 'species' or 'global' identity may also emerge, enabling the individual to identify with humanity and a global community (Smith 1990; Sussman 2002) as one level in an increasingly well defined repertoire of multiple cultural identities. An integrated, multiple cultural identity means that primary cultural identity remains secure.

End-points in the process of intercultural literacy learning may be posited as convergent – a transcultural identity – or divergent – a pluralist identity. Bennett (1993), for example, recognises the two alternatives in his model but places the convergent vision within an ethnocentric stage, seeing 'transcendent universalism' as a stage in which individuals minimise cultural difference by positing a universal culture. Bennett is clear in defining the end-point as pluralist and relativist.

In the proposed model the two contrasted visions are seen as compatible. An idealised end-point of the process is posited as a convergent 'global', 'species' or 'transcultural'

identity, whilst at the same time the model assumes plurality and posits 'multiple identities' as an end-point. In this construct, a universal 'species identity' forms just one layer in an individual's cultural repertoire of multiple identities. At the same time, the diversity of multiple cultural identities from the very specific and local, through ethnic and national to international/regional is recognised and valued. From a social psychology perspective, the most positive and healthy outcome of intergroup contact is clearly integration, a state in which all cultures in contact are valued and individuals and societies are able to act effectively in a range of cultural contexts (Berry et al. 1992, Ward, Bochner and Furnham 2001). The final stage of the proposed model - bicultural or transcultural identity - equates with this. 'Species' or 'global' identity may emerge along with an ability to consciously shift between multiple cultural identities.

In characterising the desired end-point as intercultural literacy, the focus on learning is highlighted. This end-point is also consistent with educational goals such as 'world-mindedness' (Bochner 1982), a 'global perspective' (Hanvey 1986), 'global citizenship' (UNICEF 1991 cited in Hayden and Thompson 1995b), an 'international attitude' (Hayden and Thompson 1995a) and 'cultural fluency' (Calvert Scott 1999). Such broad educational goals are common in the literature on international schooling and international education. It should be noted that, as in Anderson's (1994) model, the end-point is not necessarily posited as achievable for all. Achievement of intercultural literacy is clearly dependent on many variables including the presence of appropriate social and cultural supports.

The proposed developmental model of intercultural literacy is an attempt to define and describe a learning process in which the individual becomes interculturally literate, able to effectively live and work in a cross-cultural context. It is assumed that the interculturally literate individual has acquired a range of understandings, attitudes, competencies and identities that may be culture-specific and/or generic and transferable. In the following section, further related and supporting theory is discussed.

Cross-Cultural Contact and the Development of Intercultural Literacy

The underlying theoretical premise of this developmental model of intercultural literacy is that intercultural literacy is learned in a cross-cultural context. This assumption is shared to some degree in all the theoretical models surveyed. It is the shock of cross-cultural contact; the crisis or challenge of engagement; that stimulates the learning necessary for intercultural literacy (Adler 1986, Hanvey 1986, Christensen 1989, Kordes 1991, Meyer 1991, Triandis, Kurowski and Gelfand 1994). Without cross-cultural contact, the learning can only ever be *about* another culture and, since intercultural literacy is defined in terms of successful cross-cultural engagement, it requires a cross-cultural experience. Understandings and competencies that reflect a high level of intercultural literacy develop in response to the experience of confronting another culture. Equally, it is through the experience of confronting oneself in another culture that the individual's own cultural identity becomes salient (Sussman 2002) and interculturally literate attitudes are formed.

This last point is supported by research into the attitudes of international school students which found that graduates of international schools attributed their intercultural

understanding primarily to the cross-cultural experience of international schooling (Hayden and Thompson 1995a) and that ‘...global awareness and an international outlook often enhance the understanding of one’s own culture and reinforce one’s identity rather than detracting from it.’ (Hayden and Wong 1997: 358). The role of foreign language and culture learning in developing students’ own-culture understanding is also recognised by foreign language educators (Byram, Lloyd and Schneider 1995: 5).

The premise that intercultural literacy is acquired in a cross-cultural context may also be thought of as deriving initially from the ‘contact hypothesis’ of Allport (1954). Allport’s hypothesis has been widely researched and debated, particularly amongst social psychologists studying intergroup contact. Miller and Brewer (1984a) restated the hypothesis as ‘... the idea that prejudice and hostility between members of segregated groups can be reduced by promoting the frequency and intensity of intergroup contact’ (Miller and Brewer 1984a: xv). This hypothesis, perhaps since it reflects common sense, has been widely accepted by policy makers, notably in relation to the desegregation policies adopted in USA schools in the 1970s and 1980s, and, more recently, to mainstreaming, integration, inclusion, bicultural and multicultural programs in schools in Britain, Australia, USA and throughout the western world. In the international school context, the common sense ‘contact hypothesis’ is reflected in mission statements and a commonly held belief that the ‘international’ experience ‘broadens the mind’ in the sense that it produces more tolerant, interculturally sensitive individuals.

In this section, theory relevant to cross-cultural contact and the development of intercultural literacy is introduced. Specifically, the following four theoretical

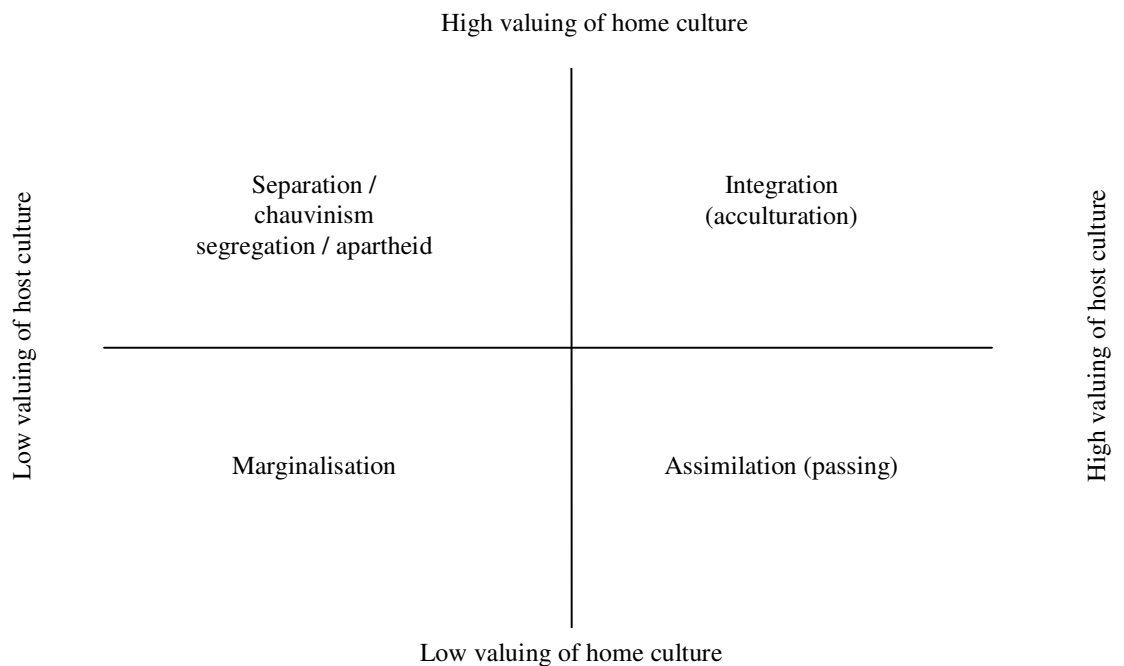
frameworks are explored: (1) the contact hypothesis; (2) theoretical frameworks to describe the outcomes of cross-cultural contact; (3) conditions for intercultural literacy; and (4) cultural distance.

Culture status and the outcomes of cross-cultural contact

Notwithstanding the intuitive appeal of the contact hypothesis and a widespread popular belief that the international experience, of itself, leads to international mindedness or intercultural literacy, a number of theoretical outcomes of cross-cultural contact have been described. Bochner (1982, 1986), from a social psychologist intergroup perspective, outlined four possible outcomes of cross-cultural engagement:

1. marginalisation (in societal terms, segregation);
2. passing (assimilation);
3. chauvinism (in its most extreme form, genocide or ethnic cleansing); and
4. mediation (integration, pluralism).

Bochner's model was developed further by Berry and colleagues (Berry 1984, 2001; Berry et al. 1986, 1992) with the four alternative acculturation strategies defined as separation, assimilation, marginalisation and integration. The contribution of Berry and colleagues is important to this study since they link the four possible outcomes to the relative status of cultures in contact. The outcome of intergroup contact can be predicted using this model by the value placed on host and home cultures – by participants in a cross-cultural encounter from both cultures.

Figure 2.3: Berry's Categorical Model of Acculturation

(Adapted from Ward, Bochner and Furnham 2001: 102)

Whilst categorical models such as this (Figure 2.3) have been criticised for oversimplification (Ward, Bochner and Furnham 2001; Nauck 2001), the model remains influential in the research field (e.g. Florack and Piontkowski 2000; Jasinskaja-Lahti, Liebkind, Horenczyk and Schmitz 2003) and is useful in setting out the various alternative outcomes of contact. These same four alternatives appear with slightly varied emphases and titles in a number of recent intercultural learning theories (Anderson 1994, Bennett 1993, Pollock and Van Reken 1999, Allan 2003). Within this framework the reasons and contexts for cross-cultural contact are likely to impact on the outcomes. Is the contact voluntary? If so, what is the individual's motivation for the contact? What is the relative status afforded by the individual to the cultures in contact? These questions will prompt different answers, for example, from refugees, business sojourners and

tourists in different contexts. They will also prompt different answers from children and international school students in differing contexts, who, for the most part, are involuntary sojourners. An ethnography of the Kobe Academy in Japan (Willis 1987; Willis Enloe and Minoura 1994) suggests that, although individual responses vary, involuntarily expatriated students from high status Anglo-American backgrounds exhibited the characteristics of cultural chauvinism in this international school context, whilst the behaviour of some Japanese students could be characterised as passing. The dominant student culture in this school was described as 'transcultural'. The ethnography and its implications for this study are discussed in more detail later in this chapter, along with similar findings from recent research in a European international school (Allan 2002, 2003).

Bennett (1993) categorises the outcomes of contact, referring to forms of denial and defence, as isolation or separation, denigration or superiority, and reversal. Anderson (1994) refers to returning, escaping, 'beavering', timeserving, adjusting and participating as alternative outcomes. The concept of marginalisation is given special treatment in Bennett's (1993) model with the possibility of a positive form of marginalisation as an idealised end-point posited.

Each of the four alternative responses identified by Bochner (1982) and Berry (Berry et al. 1992; Berry 2001) is readily identifiable within international school students (Willis Enloe and Minoura 1994; Allan 2002). Far from automatically leading to intercultural literacy, the international experience, and with it the international schooling experience, often produces the subtractive, negative responses of cultural chauvinism and distancing

from the host culture, marginalisation or passing. The cross-cultural experience is thus a necessary, but not sufficient, condition for the development of intercultural literacy (Haywood 2002). The key question is what makes the difference? Why do some students respond to the international or cross-cultural experience in negative ways whilst others progress to become interculturally literate? The following sub-section addresses this question.

Conditions for intercultural literacy learning

The work of social psychologists such as Sherif (1966), Triandis (1975), Miller and Brewer (1984a), Johnson, Johnson and Murayama (1984) and Stephan (1985) offers part of the answer to the question of why some students respond to the international or cross-cultural experience in negative ways whilst others progress to become interculturally literate by suggesting the conditions which are likely to result in reduced prejudice from cross-cultural contact. Whilst formal curricula may be significant in this context, the research discussed in this section suggests that it is the social context within which learning and the cross-cultural experience occurs that is likely to make the greatest difference. In a supportive social context, intercultural literacy learning is facilitated, whereas in a non-supportive context distancing or identity confusion may result.

...in many interethnic and intercultural contexts, participants are not motivated to communicate well. In such cases, the larger socio-political situation must be addressed... (Gallois 2003)

To Allport's original contact hypothesis, Klineberg (1982) added the concept of 'superordinate' goals (Sherif 1966, Triandis 1975), suggesting that mutual goals must be common to both groups, '... but that the effect is enhanced if success is dependent on cooperation, with each group requiring the help of the other in reaching the desired goal and solving the problems which are important to both of them' (Klineberg 1982: 53).

Hewstone and Brown (1986) and Amir and Ben-Air (1988) expanded on this formulation, identifying similar prerequisites for positive perceptions and interactions to arise from intergroup contact:

1. equal status groups;
2. cooperation and the pursuit of common goals;
3. multi-group membership and cross-cutting social categories;
4. contact on an intimate, rather than casual, nature; and
5. a broader social climate supporting superordinate goals.

Other factors associated with positive perceptions in cross-cultural contact include language ability, social skills and participation. (Cho and Harajiri 1997 cited in Ward, Bochner and Furnham 2001). In school contexts, pairing new students with a 'cultural mediator' or 'buddy' may also be a powerful strategy (Bennett 1993; Pearce 1998; McKillop-Ostrom 1999).

Based on investigations into contact in desegregated USA schools in the 1980s, together with more recent studies into multicultural education, there is significant empirical support for, and a broad agreement and on, the institutional and social conditions that are

likely to facilitate adaptation and intercultural literacy learning in schools. Specifically, the social and learning environments of the school should be structured so that in the cross-cultural context, co-operation rather than competition is the focus, and students are ideally of equal status, and share a similar level of competency. Students should be encouraged to develop friendships with individuals within the group and, if possible, engage in opportunities provided for the contact to continue out of school and in a variety of contexts over time. The contact should, ideally, be voluntary. (Thomas 1984, Stephan 1985, Johnson, Johnson and Murayama 1984, Epstein 1985, Cook 1984, Miller, Brewer and Edwards 1985; Banks, Cookson, Geneva, Hawley et al. 2001; Obakeng Mabokela and Madsen 2003).

There is now significant evidence which suggests that not only adolescents, but also pre- and primary-aged children are motivated primarily by social needs to learn second languages, plus intercultural competencies, understandings and attitudes (Bochner 1982; Fritz 1989; Willis 1987; Willis, Enloe and Minoura 1994).

Studies which correlated 'world-mindedness' and biculturalism with cross-cultural friendships in Australian adolescents (Bochner 1982) support these perceptions. The acquisition of 'world-mindedness' or biculturalism was clearly related to friendship, with children who had close cross-cultural friends more aware and appreciative of cultural differences than others. The ethnography of an international school in Japan conducted by Willis (1987) also supports the view that friendships and culturally diverse social groupings based principally on mutual interest are the prime agent for learning of

intercultural attitudes, competencies, understandings, language and identity amongst international school students.

Hayden and Thompson (1995a) investigated the perceptions of undergraduate students in the UK who had experienced an overseas international education. The students were rated highly in terms of holding an 'international attitude' which included high levels of tolerance for divergent cultural viewpoints (Hayden and Thompson 1995a, Hayden and Wong 1997). The study concluded that '... it is interaction with people (other students, parents, individual teachers), rather than aspects of the school such as the formal curriculum, which are perceived by students to be shaping their international attitudes' (Hayden and Thompson 1995a: 399).

In summary, based on the research surveyed, the following factors are likely to support positive outcomes from cross-cultural contact and intercultural literacy learning:

1. The development of positive cross-cultural relationships is likely to have a highly significant impact on student's learning in all dimensions of intercultural literacy. Students are motivated primarily by social needs, particularly in adolescence, though the social motivation and utility of cross-cultural friendships for intercultural literacy learning appears to be significant from early childhood onwards (Stephan 1985, Fritz 1989).
2. Within classrooms, activities which maximise cross-cultural interaction, entail cooperative small group work towards the achievement of superordinate

goals, and are likely to produce successful outcomes will have positive results for intercultural literacy learning. Competition between individuals and groups should be avoided in favour of goal interdependence (Klineberg 1982; Johnson, Johnson and Maruyama 1984; Cook 1984; Slavin 1985; Epstein 1985; Fry 1994; Cooper and Slavin 2001; Banks, Cookson, Geneva, Hawley et al. 2001).

3. The voluntariness of group members should be sensitively weighed against the aim of encouraging cross-cultural, rather than monocultural groups and groups should be kept small (two to four) to encourage high levels of interdependence and the participation of all members (Johnson, Johnson and Maruyama 1984, Miller, Brewer and Edwards 1985).
4. Consideration should also be given to grouping children cross-culturally, based on similar competency levels and interests (Stephan 1985; Cooper and Slavin 2001; Banks, Cookson, Geneva, Hawley et al. 2001).
5. School and class practices which segregate groups on the basis of ability (tracking, streaming, ability grouping) should be carefully monitored and employed cautiously in mixed cultural environments. Where ability grouping tends to separate children along racial, ethnic and/or cultural lines, negative attitudes are likely to result, opportunities for cross-cultural friendships will be limited and intercultural literacy learning hampered. Cultural bias in assessment, intelligence testing, teacher attitudes and curriculum which results

in lower achievements in some cultural groups compared with others will negatively impact on the potential for intercultural literacy in all groups. These issues in practice should be critically examined within schools as part of the process of institutionalising pluralism and intercultural values (Thomas 1984; Bullivant 1987; Darder 1991; Banks, Cookson, Geneva, Hawley et al. 2001; Pattnaik 2003).

6. Cross-cultural relationships which persist outside the classroom are likely to have greater impact on intercultural literacy learning than those confined to the classroom. Extra-curricula activities which promote cross-cultural interaction and allow for voluntary, non-superficial contact over many occasions in a variety of contexts are likely to have positive results for intercultural literacy learning (Stephan 1985).

The proposed model highlights the period of first real engagement with a second culture as the critical point for intercultural literacy – *Monocultural Level Three* – Engagement or Distancing. If the appropriate supports are available to students at this point, the outcome is likely to be continued learning, cross-cultural engagement and intercultural literacy. If not, negative responses that result in arrested development or distancing are likely to result. In line with Anderson's (1994) recursive model of adaptation, it is hypothesised that learners are likely to shuttle back and forth between the Monocultural and Cross-Cultural levels as the process of problem-solving progresses and intercultural literacy learning gains momentum.

Cultural distance

Cultural distance is a useful theoretical construct for the study of intercultural literacy learning (Gudykunst 1994, Triandis, Kurowski and Gelfand 1994). This section explores the theory on cultural distance, which is illustrated through the differences between mainstream Australian and Indonesian cultures.

Cultures can be construed as close (similar) or distant (dissimilar) according to the extent to which they include many similar or different elements. Distance can be defined by objective elements including language, religion, political, social or economic systems. For example, a second culture which shares the same language as the first, or uses a close variant, will be more accessible than one in which a totally alien language is dominant. Cultural distance can also be defined by subjective elements. That is, some cultures operate with rules, norms and values that are relatively close to the primary culture, whilst others are relatively distant.

Hofstede (1980) identified four dimensions along which dominant value systems in forty countries surveyed are ordered: power distance; uncertainty avoidance; individualism and masculinity. Power distance refers to the way in which a culture typically defines authority and power, and the degree to which leaders in society and organisations are separated from subordinates and followers. Uncertainty avoidance is the degree to which individuals within a culture typically tolerate uncertainty. Collectivism/Individualism refers to the degree to which individuals within a culture are oriented towards the group. Masculinity pertains to cultures in which gender roles are clearly distinct while femininity pertains to cultures in which gender roles overlap. Although category

theories, including Hofstede's, have been criticised in recent years for oversimplifying a complex and dynamic reality (Trompenaars and Hampden-Turner 1997, Hermans and Kempen 1998), the model remains influential in the research (e.g. Triandis, Kurowski and Gelfand 1994; Triandis 1995; Triandis and Singelis 1998; Gudykunst 1998; Redmond 2000; Goodwin and Giles 2003) and provides a useful framework in this study, particularly in relation to the Collectivism/Individualism dimension.

Collectivism may be thought of as a dominant value system which contrasts with individualism as one aspect of cultural distance (Hofstede 1980; Triandis, Bontempo, Bond, Leung, Brenes, Georgas, et al. 1986). In simple terms, collectivist cultures are group-oriented whereas individualist cultures are oriented to the individual. Triandis, Kurowski and Gelfand (1994) define the distinction as follows:

Collectivism reflects the way the self is defined (as part or representative of a group), and the importance of the ingroup (family, work group, country) in determining behaviour. Individualism reflects an autonomous self and the importance of personality, attitudes and other internal factors in determining behaviour. In individualistic cultures, individual goals (e.g. pleasure) have primacy over group goals ... Individualism is higher among affluent, socially mobile, and educated persons who have occupations that do not require much teamwork. Collectivism is higher in traditional cultures, especially those whose base is agricultural ... Such cultures socialise their children to obey and do their duty (i.e., be good workers and members of the ingroup). Homogeneous cultures often have clear norms; groups can impose these norms on their members. Heterogeneous cultures have many groups; if a person does not get along with one group, he or she can

join another. Thus in complex, heterogeneous cultures there is more individualism (1994: 787-788).

Applying the theory to cross-cultural contact between (Anglo) Australian and (Javanese) Indonesian individuals, Noesjirwan (1978, 1986) identified three contrasting 'cultural value-orientation themes':

Theme One

Indonesia: An emphasis on sociability or mutual togetherness. Physical, emotional closeness to others but not best friends.

Australia: An emphasis on privacy and respect of privacy. Strong individual friendship bonds but no general sociability.

Theme Two

Indonesia: The greater importance of the group than of the individual. It is the individual's responsibility to obey the will of the group and the group leader.

Australia: The greater importance of the individual than of the group. The individual is responsible for his/her actions and should take the initiative.

Theme Three

Indonesia: The importance of maintaining a lifestyle that is smooth and graceful. Emphasis on correct form and politeness.

Australia: The importance of efficiency and getting things done with a minimum of fuss. Very direct and open manner.

(Noesjirwan 1986: 25)

The first two of these three themes, *sociability* and *community*, indicate a clear distance between the collectivist culture of Indonesia and the individualistic culture of (Anglo) Australia. An understanding of themes such as these, and the many social rules of which they are composed, is clearly required for intercultural literacy.

Noesjirwan's third theme, *steady state*, relates to a further significant aspect of cultural distance: low-high context communication. In predominately low-context cultures such as (Anglo) Australia, speech tends to be direct, 'open' and unambiguous. In a predominately high-context culture such as Indonesia, speech tends to be indirect and less 'open'; the meaning conveyed significantly through the 'context' and the interlocutor expected to understand that meaning through reference to a store of unstated cultural information (Hall 1977).

For example, giving and saving face - both for the individual and, in collectivistic cultures, for the group - takes different forms in high and low context cultures. In Indonesia a request for assistance is unlikely to be turned down, whether or not the intention is to fulfil the request or not. To do so would be to risk offence and disrupt the *steady state*. Rather, if the interlocutor is unable or unwilling to fulfil a request, he or she is likely to respond in the affirmative, but with a tone of voice or slight hesitation that indicates a negative response to one familiar with the rules of communication (Argyle 1986). The meaning is in the context rather than in what is actually said.

An Anglo-Australian encountering this particular cross-cultural situation without the intercultural understanding required to interpret it, is likely to misread the meaning,

become frustrated and make a misattribution, perhaps concluding that the individual who has not later fulfilled his/her 'agreed' commitment, is lazy, dishonest or stupid.

High-context cultures, such as Japan and Javanese Indonesia, often employ complex sets of rules for behaviour and communication related to status. Lack of understanding of these rules is likely to lead to the individual from a different culture causing offence. Again misattributions are likely to be made with an individual who has been offended (or observed the offensive behaviour) characterising the foreigner as rude, ignorant, and uncivilised. Conversely, members of high-context cultures will tend to introduce themselves by saying things such as 'I belong to City Bank' and immediately inquiring 'What is your job?', 'How old are you?', 'What is the name of your company?' or perhaps 'Where are you from?', 'What is your religion?' and 'Are you married?' Such questions, important in a high-context culture for establishing status and social position, and therefore enabling communication to proceed according to the rules, may well be perceived cross-culturally as rude, intrusive and an infringement of privacy.

A combination of the requirement to respect and defer to authority, and the reluctance to risk offence or 'loss of face' through direct criticism in a high-context culture such as Indonesia can easily become dysfunctional in a cross-cultural setting. For example, an expatriate Australian supervisor in an Indonesian company may well be told that his/her policies have been implemented and are resulting in a successful operation, only to discover some time later that the reverse is the case. A two-way understanding of the cultures and their rules or cultural themes can clearly benefit the operation.

In the words of an Indonesian student in Australia asked to comment on his perceptions of his hosts:

It is not in our culture to express our perceptions explicitly to people being perceived, as I am now doing. In my country it is considered as unwise or impolite. We Indonesians prefer to keep our perceptions of others in our hearts and we express them, when requested, somewhere else or sometimes we express our perceptions in different ways (Nimran, 1986: 32).

These comments express clearly the two aspects of cultural distance identified: collectivism-individuality, and low-high context communication.

Amongst the many aspects of cultural distance cited in the literature that can be placed within the collectivist-individualist and low-high context dimensions are communication styles such as use of silence, turn taking, exaggeration, topic management, persuasion strategies, and conflict resolution patterns; proxemic features such as use of personal space, touching, greeting rituals, use of left and right hands, pointing, body contact, gift giving, nepotism, bribery, rules for buying and selling, eating and drinking, seating, rules about time, sex roles, eye contact and other non-verbal communication rules and codes (Argyle 1986, Gudykunst 1994).

The role of children, understandings of learning, and patterns of enculturation within societies also vary considerably. Indonesian children, for example, are generally expected to be quiet, not to ask questions of adults, to learn in a passive way, observing

elders and repeating formulae. A high value is placed on conformity. Children generally work and play in groups. In individualist Australian societies children are generally encouraged to question, to challenge and to think independently. A value is placed on innovation and risk-taking. Children work and play in groups, both large and small, and singly.

In many cultures, ethical norms are closely associated with religion. In Islamic Indonesia, consumption of alcohol is forbidden, along with pork. Dress codes vary according to the level and type of religious conviction, but none-the-less govern what is acceptable and what is not. Legal codes represent another set of norms. As with rules, these norms of behaviour are an important element in an intercultural understanding.

Intercultural understanding of the rules, norms and values that govern communication and behaviour can be learned through cross-cultural training, study of texts, and through an open, inquiring and non-judgemental cross-cultural experience, preferably with a mediator – a guide or teacher representing the second culture (Alred and Byram 2002). The distance between cultures increases the effort required to acquire these intercultural understandings. Equally, having acquired an understanding of interpersonal dynamics in one second culture, and with it an increased understanding of the primary culture and of meta-culture, it is likely to require less effort to become interculturally literate in a third or fourth culture.

In this section, a number of theoretical constructs have been discussed, specifically, the contact hypothesis and subsequent refinements, models of culture contact outcomes,

conditions for integration and intercultural literacy, and cultural distance. These theories inform the case study described in Chapters Four and Five, and the application of the developmental model of intercultural literacy. In the following section, the nature of international students together with a number of studies into international schooling and the process of intercultural literacy learning in that context are explored.

Intercultural Literacy and the International School Student

This study is situated in the context of the international school. In this section, the nature of the students that attend these schools is considered. Langford (1998), whilst noting the diverse nature of international schools, suggests that a pattern is emerging for defining these schools based, in part, on their school populations being characterised by:

1. their multinational composition;
2. fairly high levels of student turnover as a consequence of career paths of a professional parent body which in turn may result in childhoods of transiency and international mobility for such students;
3. a very strong likelihood that their pupils will not complete their educations or attend university in the country where the international school is located, but rather they will be required to face the challenge of moving on to another foreign location or alternatively repatriating to their passport countries to continue their educations; and
4. the strong probability that the cultural development of their pupils will be influenced by the culture of the host country as well as by the various cultures that they collectively represent. (Langford 1998: 28-29)

Many of the students in international schools are international people; the Third Culture described first by Useem (1966, 1973) and, more recently, by Pollock and Van Reken (1999). Sometimes recast as 'transcultural' (Willis, Enloe and Minoura, 1994), 'global nomad' (Ender 1996, 2003; Schaetti 1998, 2003) and internationally mobile children or adolescents (Gerner, Perry, Moselle, and Archibald 1991, Gerner and Perry 2000, 2003; Ezra 2003), the Third Culture Kid is defined by Pollock and Van Reken (1999) as:

...a person who has spent a significant part of his or her developmental years outside the parents' culture. The Third Culture Kid builds relationships to all of the cultures, while not having full ownership in any. Although elements from each culture are assimilated into the TCK's life experiences, the sense of belonging is in relationship to others of similar background. (Pollock and Van Reken 1999: 19)⁶

Two realities are described as shaping the Third Culture Kid's life: (1) being raised in a genuinely cross-cultural world, and (2) being raised in a highly mobile world. (Pollock and Van Reken 1999: 22)

Third Culture Kids are characterised by Pollock and Van Reken (1999) and others (Gerner 1993 cited in McKillop-Ostrom 1999; Finn Jordan 2003) as possessing a mix of positive and negative characteristics. They are described as typically interpersonally and interculturally skilled, flexible, adaptable, empathic and academically high achieving. At the same time they typically suffer from rootlessness, unresolved grief, insecurity and a difficulty in relating to settled individuals and communities in the 'home' culture. Due to the high international mobility of many expatriate families, some may spend their entire

⁶ Although there are differences in the way these various terms are used, since they all denote similar phenomena, for the present purpose the term Third Culture Kid will be used.

childhood lives in acculturation or adaptation contexts, learning the cultures of new schools and communities before moving on to the next posting (Ezra, 2003; Allan 2003).

Their identity, it is suggested, is not primarily with their 'home' culture – since they may have never lived there - nor with the 'host' culture, but rather with a newly evolving 'third culture'; a global transculture – an international diaspora of globally mobile expatriates (Finn Jordan 2003).

Some are the offspring of long-term expatriates, who are themselves members of a mobile international community. Unlike short-term sojourners, many are thus second, or even third, generation 'international' people, who are likely to spend only brief periods in their passport country, often for tertiary study before returning 'overseas' to take up 'international' careers (Gerner et al. 1991; Gerner and Perry 2000, 2003; Baker Cotrell 2003). Many families choose to live their lives indefinitely away from their passport homes or countries of origin. A significant group is cross-cultural, bilingual and/or bi-national.

A consistent picture of these students has emerged as possessing strong self esteem, advanced social skills and ability to form friendships, linguistic and cognitive flexibility, intercultural awareness and tolerance, advanced capacities for empathy, multiple perspective-taking, communication, acceptance, open and broad minded attitudes (Willis, Enloe and Minoura 1994, Langford 1998, Pollock and Van Reken 1999). These are the very characteristics that may be thought of as corresponding to intercultural literacy. In reference to young children raised abroad, Bennett (1993) makes the

important distinction between learned and ‘accidental’ pluralism, suggesting that whilst those in the second category may...

...understand and even respect the differences with which they are familiar, ... they may be unable to recognise or use this sensitivity as part of a generalised skill in adapting to cultural difference. (Bennett 1993: 56)

A related concept is that of the ‘third culture’ or ‘third place’ as a meeting place between cultures that may be constructed to allow for dialogue and building shared meanings cross-culturally (Broome 1991; Casrnir 1999), conceived of as ‘...a meeting place between different forces, different cultures and worldviews. Intercultural competence is at the heart of all third places which are constantly negotiating the role and shape language education ought to take from policy to practice.’ (Crozet, Liddicoat and Bianca 1999: 15). The focus here is not so much on the individual identifying with a ‘third culture’, but rather on a space between cultures in which individuals might negotiate shared meanings cross-culturally. The extent to which international schools might be construed as either ‘third cultures’ or ‘third places’, cultivating an organisational and educational culture that supports intercultural literacy learning, is open to conjecture.

In the context of this study, the ‘third culture’ is conceived as one more layer of cultural identity for Third Culture Kids and international people. If individual international school students identify with a third culture, but do not demonstrate the flexibility to move between other cultural frameworks, to take multiple perspectives, to effectively engage with local cultures, they are not interculturally literate. Third Culture Kids born

and raised 'overseas' may not experience the 'crisis of engagement' or transition necessary to stimulate intercultural literacy learning.

For many, the 'crisis of engagement', the shock that stimulates learning, is likely to occur only when they repatriate to their 'home' culture – often for the purpose of tertiary study (Barbara Schaetti, personal correspondence October 16th 1999; Pollock and Van Reken 1999; Sussman 2002). Sometimes termed 'reculturation' or 'reverse culture shock', at this point the individual may retreat into chauvinism (an exaggerated affirmation of their international of 'third' culture and rejection of the new 'home' culture), passing (rejecting the third culture), or marginalisation (drifting between the old third culture and the new 'home' culture) or may advance in intercultural literacy learning to become integrated, pluralist, balancing the old and the new. More work is required to integrate the implications of this and other models of intercultural learning with understandings generated from research into Third Culture Kids and global nomads. Such work could be of great benefit to the international school community.

Whilst little research has been conducted into the culture learning and adaptation of students in international schools, a small number of studies have addressed this area (Willis, Enloe and Minoura 1994, McKillop-Ostrom 1999, 2000, Traffon 2003, Pearce 1998, 2003, Allen 2000; Allan 2002, 2003). Each of these is discussed below.

Willis, Enloe and Minoura (1994) conducted a five-year ethnography of secondary (high-school) students in Kobe Academy, an international school in Japan. They found that the majority of the students in the school could be characterised as transcultural or

transnational and possessed the sorts of competencies and understandings required to facilitate Boulding's (1988) global civic community (Willis 1986, 1987, 1988, 1991, 1992; Willis and Enloe 1990; Willis, Enloe and Minoura 1994).

What our study has shown us is at once more revealing and more challenging than we had expected. These people do indeed think globally and act locally, but they also show us that there is much cultural flux, especially at points of departure and arrival. Culture for transnationals or transculturals is clearly not a place or a state of mind, but an arena for conscious choice, justification and representation (Appadurai, 1990, p.18). What we are therefore trying to contribute here is a new, globally-informed theory of cultural reproduction (Willis, Enloe and Minoura 1994: 33).

This view of transculturals as able to switch between cultural frames is supported by a recent empirical study of bicultural children in the Netherlands (Verkuyten and Pouliasi 2002). Willis, Enloe and Minoura (1994) also refer to the capacity of transculturals for 'multiple perspective-taking'. Consistent with their portrait of the transcultural as operating flexibly within a shifting and diverse cultural milieu, these individuals are described as possessing advanced capacities for empathy, able to simultaneously perceive an issue from multiple cultural viewpoints.

As Willis, Enloe and Minoura (1994) report, confidence and interpersonal skills 'go with the territory' of the transcultural:

Over half of transculturals / transnationals follow their parents into international jobs ... 97% are described as having great pride in themselves. And, while 69% have felt

alienated or left out at some time they feel this is the price to pay and would not trade their experience for any other. Perhaps most significantly, 80% are high achievers. The development of capacities to benefit from diversity, to have meaningful exchanges with people who have different values, to resolve conflicts and to tolerate ambiguity are all part of the 'culture capital' of transnational / transcultural people' (Willis, Enloe and Minoura 1994: 35-36).

The study is significant in that it was the first major ethnographic case study of an international school, and recast the previously negative concept of 'Third Culture Kids' (Useem and Downie 1976), typically rootless and lacking commitment, as transculturals, individuals with the leadership skills for a newly globalising world. However, this analysis may be criticised on two grounds. Firstly, it ignores the negative dimensions to transculturalism and the Third Culture Kid experience, focussing somewhat idealistically on the positive. Secondly, and more importantly, it characterises the third culture, or 'transculture' of the international school as an idealised global culture. A more realistic picture emerges from the recent ethnographies of Pearce (1998, 2002) and Allan (2002, 2003), who portray the culture of the international school as typically dominated by a mainstream Anglo-American culture which, insofar as it may be characterised as a unifying 'global' or 'third' culture, is shallow and transient.

Anne McKillop-Ostrom (1999, 2000) studied the transition of global-nomad students moving into and between international schools. Students studied ranged from grades six to eleven at the United Nations International School in Hanoi. The study found that the students were typically unaware of the transition cycle, including the process of adapting to new cultures. However, from the students' descriptions of their experiences, it was

clear that they had travelled through what McKillop-Ostrom describes as 'a culture shock process' (1999: 112). Students were also able to articulate their coping strategies, notably the importance of making new friends - whilst maintaining old, good relationships within the family, and communication skills.

In a study applying Bennett and Hammer's (1998) Intercultural Development Inventory in an international school in South East Asia, David Traffon (2003) found that '...the assumption that students who are attending international schools have a high level of intercultural sensitivity is supported...' (Traffon 2003: 498). However, Traffon (2003) recommends caution in interpreting the result and also found that grade nine students (ages fourteen to fifteen) scored significantly higher on every subscale of the developmental model than tenth graders; tenth graders scored higher than the eleventh, and the eleventh higher than the twelfth graders. As the students grew older, their intercultural sensitivity decreased, as measured by this inventory. That is clearly not consistent with the school's aim to produce 'global citizens' (David Traffon, personal correspondence 27th November, 2003).

The studies of McKillop-Ostrom (1999, 2000) and Traffon (2003) support the earlier findings of Willis and colleagues (Willis, Enloe and Minoura 1994) in characterising international students as typically competent in a cross-cultural context; to some extent interculturally literate. Yet, the results are equivocal and the meaning of Traffon's (2003) findings that intercultural awareness decreased with age is unclear.

In an important study of culture learning in international schools, Richard Pearce (1998, 2003) suggests that children begin culture learning at an early age and continue throughout adolescence and on into adulthood. Culture learning is characterised as essentially a life-long enterprise. In this framework, the process of adapting to a second culture during transitions is seen as part of a more general process of ongoing culture learning. Pearce characterises the mobile child and typical international school student as developing either ‘...a passive tolerance of diversity or an active ability to accept diversity’ (2003: 159).

The expatriate child, growing up exposed to more than one culture, perhaps even within one home, has a wide repertoire of experiences from which to build an identity or identities. (Pearce 2003: 156)

Pearce (2003) rejects the Third Culture Kid / Global Nomad paradigm, suggesting that the third culture or ‘global culture’ (Pollock and Van Reken 1999; Schaetti 2003) is superficial and transitory, and that the paradigm is an outcome of ‘new world’ thinking which tends towards homogeneity. Hylmo (2003) similarly rejects the notion of a unifying global third culture, describing the cultural realities of transcultural international school students, from a postmodern perspective, as multiple, fragmented, ambiguous and differentiated. Pearce’s analysis also suggests a more complex, dynamic and pluralist cultural reality. In adapting to new cultures, Pearce suggests that international school students, whilst they may be benefited by being buddied to a cultural mediator, often opt for a ‘silent phase’ while they observe and learn (Pearce 1998, 2000). Children and families who adapt with relative ease, who can

‘...accommodate to expatriate life, and not feel threatened if the community outside the front door is different’ (1998: 60), in Pearce’s analysis are likely to be either:

1. members of a stable minority within a dominant or polyvalent community;
2. children of parents who have two different cultures; or
3. those with overseas experience during childhood. (Pearce 1998: 60)

These are the individuals who live in an ambiguous, diverse and plural cultural world as opposed to those from dominant mainstream ‘new world’ cultures who expect and need a single unifying and homogenous culture. The problem for many international schools and expatriate families has been that they typically spring not from this kind of background, but, rather, from the dominant mainstream cultures of the west, notably an Anglo-American culture (Pearce 1998).

Whilst international schools increasingly offer standardised curricula (particularly the International Baccalaureate) and support the creation of encapsulated expatriate communities in order to minimise the cultural dissonance and culture shock for mobile families, Pearce argues that the relationship between school and family (the cultural constant for children) is critical, and a relationship between the school and host community offers important learning opportunities for students. This relationship might be threatening for ‘new world’ homogenists, suggests Pearce, but is less of a problem for ‘old world’ pluralists. Pearce thus supports the view that culture shock, cultural dissonance, is an opportunity for learning rather than a malady to be treated.

Michael Allan (2002, 2003) conducted an ethnographic case study in an international school in the Netherlands to explore the process of intercultural learning in eleven to eighteen year olds. The study found that ‘...intercultural learning takes place via cultural dissonance in the daily interactions which form the students’ experience of school’ (2002: 67).

‘...cross-cultural dissonance and possibly conflict at the frontiers of students’ and school cultures, the friction of frontier skirmishes of cultural dissonance, [was] the medium through which the learning takes place.’ (Allan 2002: 66).

Students from outside the dominant school culture, which was described as Anglo-American, were found to typically advance in intercultural learning whilst those from the mainstream did not progress beyond an awareness phase. Minority students experienced considerable cultural dissonance and in some cases ‘severe culture shock’ within the school culture. Students from East Asia and Japan were found to suffer the most, a finding consistent with the notion that cultural distance increases culture shock and with the suggestion that ability to communicate in the dominant language – in this case English – is a significant factor in facilitating acculturation and easing transition (Ezra 2003).

Outcomes included ethnocentrism in some and assimilation or adaptation in others. Some students were found to distance themselves from the dominant culture, ‘...remaining isolated or forming mono-cultural enclaves... [whilst others]...cross from minority to majority culture, involving acculturation and possible loss of own cultural identity’. Some were also able to ‘...achieve a bicultural or multicultural personality

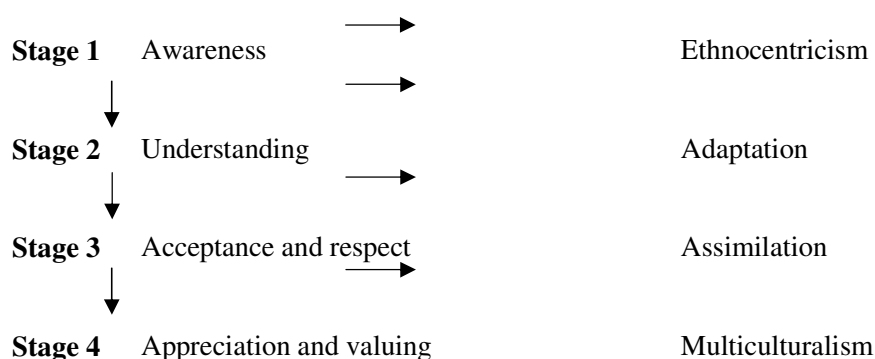
through successful negotiation of cultural dissonance' (2002: 800). Allan (2002) also refers to the concept of 'third culture' suggesting that it might equate with the dominant school culture, and so becomes, for those who 'pass' from the minority to the majority, a 'cultural no-man's land' (sic) (Allan 2002: 80).

Allan (2002, 2003), with Pearce (1998, 2002), thus supports the view that culture shock, or cultural dissonance, is an opportunity and prerequisite for intercultural learning. Allan (2003) characterises intercultural learning as a movement along a four-stage continuum: awareness, understanding, acceptance and, finally, appreciation. Outcomes of cross-cultural contact reflect the findings described above, and are consistent with the earlier theories of Bochner (1982, 1986), and Berry and colleagues (Berry 1984; Berry et al. 1986, 1992), which categorised the outcomes of cross-cultural contact as either separation, passing, marginalisation or integration (in Allan's terms, 'multiculturalism').

'...progression is not automatic, there are several 'dead ends' or intermediate outcomes along the way. Culture shock, loss of face, or the desire for acceptance into the in-group may lead to:

- ethnocentrism – remaining isolated or forming monocultural enclaves;
- adaptation – the development of coping strategies without any fundamental change and
- assimilation – absorption into the dominant culture with accompanying abdication of original cultural characteristics' (Allan 2003: 102)

This theory is represented in the following Table 2.13:

Table 2.13: Allan's (2003) Intercultural Learning Continuum

(Adapted from Allan 2003: 102)

Allan (2003) characterises this learning process as a spiral of cultural dissonance, reflection and experience. In this, Allan's model echoes Anderson's (1994) notion of a recursive problem-solving process. In endeavouring to integrate the structure of a stage model with this notion of recursive learning it is also paralleled by Lucas' (2003) model of structured intercultural learning. The implication for international schools is that if they wish to achieve objectives in intercultural literacy, internationalism or intercultural learning, they should recognise and actively affirm minority cultures within the school, thereby reducing the intensity of cultural dissonance for minority students and increasing it, creating learning opportunities, for majority students (Allan 2003). At the same time, international schools could consider using the learning resource of the culture outside the school gates; the host culture (Allen 2000).

In summary, in the period since the model proposed in this study was developed and trialled (Heyward 1999), a number of studies into intercultural learning in international schools have been published. Whilst the field is by nature diverse, a somewhat consistent picture is emerging of intercultural literacy learning in international schools

being driven not primarily by curriculum or formal school programs (although these too may be significant), but by cultural dissonance, culture shock, and informal interaction with individuals from other cultures (Hayden and Thompson 1995a; Pearce 1998; Ezra 2003; Allan 2002, 2003).

A key point in the model proposed in this thesis, endorsed in recent studies, is that intercultural literacy learning requires a crisis of engagement, an authentic cross-cultural experience. This is what gives the international school a unique advantage in relation to teaching for intercultural literacy. The irony is that international schools often work to shelter students from that engagement. Perhaps the greatest cultural resource for international schools is not their own internal multicultural mix of dislocated students and faculty (although this too may be valuable), but rather the deep, rich, dynamic and diverse cultures of their host environment (Allen 2000; Schwindt 2003). The greater the distance that international schools maintain, however, the less likely students are to engage with their host cultures.

Conclusions

The theory in cross-cultural contact and intercultural learning has developed over a fifty-year period in a somewhat fragmented manner, with key contributions from social psychology and education theorists arising from a range of imperatives. Nonetheless a consistent picture has emerged of intercultural literacy learning stimulated primarily as a response to cross-cultural engagement and following a staged developmental learning pattern. Recent models (Anderson 1994; Allan 2003; Lucas 2003) have introduced more clearly the notion that the learning is typically recursive in nature, based on a

progressive cycle of problem-solving leading to intercultural literacy. Integrating this theory with understandings of child development supports the view that intercultural literacy is achievable for children, but the level of achievement is age dependent with younger children unlikely to progress as rapidly or far as older children, adolescents and adults. More significantly, the theory suggests that intercultural literacy learning is primarily motivated by social needs. Drawing on theory from social psychology (Tajfel 1969, 1978d, 1982, Bochner 1982, 1986, Berry et al. 1992; Berry 2001), cultural identity and the perceived status and relative value placed by the learner on the cultures in contact are identified as important determinants of the outcome of cross-cultural contact.

Based on this theory, discussed in the context of an historical survey of stage models of intercultural learning, a new model to describe the nature of intercultural literacy and how it is learned was introduced in this chapter. The Multidimensional Model for the Development of Intercultural Literacy describes intercultural literacy learning as a staged process in which the individual typically progresses through five levels, from the Monocultural to the Intercultural. Not all individuals are thought able or likely to achieve the final advanced level. The model also differentiates learning on several dimensions: understandings, competencies, attitudes, language ability and participation. It is the first model to integrate these dimensions. Intercultural literacy learning is characterised as an inclusive and additive learning process rather than an exclusive and subtractive adaptation process. Intercultural literacy is characterised as an educational objective. The model posits as an end-point a multiple cultural identity in which both global transcultural and local ethnic or locational cultures are seen as constituent parts. The interculturally literate individual is seen as able to negotiate shared meanings in a

cross-cultural and pluralist world, achieving personal and collective objectives, drawing on a store of intercultural competencies, attitudes, understandings and identities.

Following the introduction and explication of the new model, some additional relevant theory was discussed. This theoretical context is important both for understanding the model and for the application of the model in the case study to be described in the following chapters. On the basis of this theory, cross-cultural engagement is posited as a necessary, but not sufficient, condition for the development of intercultural literacy. The theory suggests that without a real and meaningful engagement with a second culture, learning can only ever be about another culture. It cannot lead to literacy in that culture or to a more generic intercultural literacy. On the basis of research conducted in desegregated schools and other cross-cultural contexts, a number of other conditions are thought necessary to support positive cross-cultural attitudes and intercultural literacy learning. Whilst it is not suggested that all of these conditions must be present, it is suggested that the presence of some will facilitate learning and, further, that their absence is likely to hinder intercultural literacy learning. These include a matching of status, motivation, voluntariness and interest between individuals and groups cross-culturally, collaborative work in small, mixed-culture groups towards shared and superordinate goals, and the opportunity through close and sustained engagement to develop cross-cultural friendships which extend beyond structured activities.

The theory of cultural distance introduced in this chapter is also considered important to the study. Cultural distance is defined as the degree to which two cultures may be described as similar or dissimilar on a variety of dimensions. As an example that is

relevant to the case study presented in later chapters, Indonesian and Australian cultures are contrasted as distant. Indonesia is described as a high-context, collectivist culture and Australia as low-context and individualist. These differences and the distance between the two cultures are likely to increase the culture shock and cultural dissonance experienced by expatriate sojourners and local counterparts (Ward, Bochner and Furnham 2001).

A range of studies into the nature of the international school student and the process of intercultural learning in the context of the international school was considered in the final section. The Third Culture Kid and global nomad paradigms were discussed, along with critiques from Pearce (2003) and Hylmo (2003). On the basis of this discussion, the cultural identity of international school students assumed in this study is multiple, layered and ambiguous. The possibility of third-culture identities is included as one layer in the multiple identity of individuals. Recent studies of intercultural learning in international schools further support the view that intercultural literacy learning occurs as a response to the cross-cultural experience. It is the 'crisis of engagement' that stimulates the learning necessary to become interculturally literate. The studies surveyed in this chapter suggest that informal learning, which occurs through negotiating relationships and communicating cross-culturally with peers, is more likely to promote intercultural literacy learning in international schools than curriculum or formal school programs.

Whilst international schools are well placed to support this process and thereby achieve their objectives of producing 'global citizens' and interculturally literate people, the

theory and recent studies surveyed in this chapter suggest that they may fail due to the dynamics of a dominant mainstream culture within the school and enforced distance from local host cultures. To date, no studies have been conducted into the intercultural literacy learning of primary/elementary students in international schools. The following chapter outlines the methodological approach taken to check the proposed developmental model for intercultural literacy against the expert knowledge of practioners, and trial it in a case study of a small primary/elementary international school in Indonesia.

Chapter 3

Introduction

In the previous chapter a model for the development of intercultural literacy was proposed in the context of supporting theory. In this chapter, the research method for testing the validity of this model, refining it, and trialling it in the field is outlined.

The aim of Chapter Three is thus to explicate the design of a reference group process and a case study which is reported on in the following Chapters (Four and Five), and to demonstrate how the reference groups and the case study serve the broader aim of the study. This chapter explains the research method employed to: (1) test and refine the proposed model through reference to the expert knowledge or practitioners, and (2) determine the extent to which the refined model proved useful in arriving at understandings of a specific case; a school and its community. Reference groups were consulted early in 1996. Data collection for the case study was then conducted during two field trips in 1996 and 1997. Subsequent analysis took place between 1997 and 2004.

In this chapter, the process and outcomes of the reference group process are described and the final iteration of the proposed Multidimensional Model for the Development of Intercultural Literacy is presented. Prior to testing the proposed model in the case study, an initial ‘validity check’ was conducted with practitioner reference groups. The final iteration of the model incorporates important refinements made on the basis of the reference group process. This process is discussed and its outcomes are reported.

The context of the study is discussed with an introduction to the case study, Tanjung Bara International School and its community in Indonesia. This introduction allows for a discussion of the research questions that are embedded in the context and which flow from the research problems already discussed. Conceptual frameworks which help focus and bound the case study are outlined along with data sources, and methods employed for data gathering and analysis.

The Research Problem

In this section, the aim of the study is revisited and placed in the context of the real-life problems and issues from which it arose. The research approach is then outlined.

The aim of the study

The broad aim of this study was stated in the introductory chapter as follows: The aim of the study is to propose and trial a developmental model, which describes the nature of intercultural literacy, and how it is learned (p.16).

This aim contains two sub-aims: (1) the aim of proposing a model for describing the nature of intercultural literacy and how it is learned, and (2) the aim of trialling that model. The first part of the aim has been initially addressed in the previous chapter. A model for describing the development of intercultural literacy has been proposed and argued for in the context of relevant theory (p.96). This initial model is further refined in response to inputs from two reference groups. This process and its outcomes are described in this chapter. The model describes how intercultural literacy is learned in a staged process across a range of dimensions.

The second part of the aim, trialling the proposed model, is addressed in the case study outlined in this chapter. In Chapters Four and Five, an account of the case study that was employed to trial the proposed model is presented.

The research problem and issues

In the context of establishing links between the aim of this research, the conceptual frameworks employed, and the specific research questions posed, it will be useful to first step aside from the logic of the argument and look at the development of this project from a personal and historical perspective.

Some attention has been given in recent years to the need for educational research to address issues of immediate relevance to practitioners; to adopt a problem-solving orientation; to be of more direct use to teachers and school communities (Stenhouse 1985; Stake 1995; Robinson 1998). The issue that prompted this research is quite clear. Between 1992 and 1995 the researcher lived in Tanjung Bara, a cross-cultural mining community in East Kalimantan, Indonesia, and worked in the international school that served its expatriate families as a teacher, deputy principal and then principal. Some of the school community, particularly teaching colleagues, were puzzled by the apparently common phenomenon of expatriate children displaying negative and paternalistic attitudes towards the host culture, and making disappointing progress in Indonesian language and culture learning at the school.

The children did not seem to ‘turn on’ to the local culture. They did not generally achieve expected results in learning the language, or develop positive attitudes and understandings of the host culture. It was unclear how the school could address these issues in its program or how could it better achieve its objectives in Indonesian language and culture, and teaching positive attitudes towards the local community.

These were the issues and the issue-questions that prompted this research project. The problem, stated more concisely, is that expatriate children in this particular community did not appear to achieve their school’s intended outcomes in learning Indonesian language, culture, and cross-cultural attitudes.

In order to set about answering these initial issue-questions – to begin solving the problem – an instrument for mapping the community of students, for assessing their level of achievement in the different dimensions, was required. Despite the widely professed educational objectives of ‘internationalism’ and ‘intercultural learning’, ‘...very few international schools would be able to point to a coherent, monitored and evaluated programme ...’ (Allan 2003: 83). Tanjung Bara International School is an example of this problem. Whilst the School Charter (Tanjung Bara International School 1992) identified internationalism and intercultural learning as goals, there appeared to be no mechanism for assessing the achievement of these goals.

The Multidimensional Model for the Development of Intercultural Literacy proposed in the previous chapter explains how intercultural literacy can develop and details the outcomes that might be expected from learners at each level. The primary purpose of the

case study was to provide a means of trialling this model, and thereby contributing to the development of theory in this area. In choosing Tanjung Bara as the case, and in subsequently trialling the model in the case study, the problems and issues that prompted the study were also addressed. To the extent that the study aimed to work with practitioners in the field and contribute to increased understandings and the resolution of perceived problems within the case, it may be thought of as a 'formative program evaluation' (Cronbach 1982: 12). It is thus an instrumental case study with the objective of trialling a model for the development of intercultural literacy – which at the same time could still contribute to the resolution of a local problem within the case itself.

In adopting the case study approach, the study seeks to arrive at an understanding of the case itself. Specifically it seeks an understanding of the dynamics of intercultural literacy learning in Tanjung Bara; of the role of the school and other agencies in promoting or hindering the development of intercultural literacy. However, its primary purpose remains the trialling of the model to determine its utility in this specific context.

The research approach

The aim of this study can thus be restated as a research problem or as a set of issues. The choice of research method flows directly from this aim – and from the problems and issues that lay behind it. In this context, the choice of case study method and use of reference groups are clear.

The research approach consisted of three steps:

1. The literature on cross-cultural adaptation and intercultural learning is surveyed and, on the basis of this theory, a new model to describe the nature of intercultural literacy and how it is learned is introduced.
2. The new model is validity-checked and refined by referring to two 'expert' practitioner reference groups in the field.
3. The proposed model is trialled in the context of a case study of an international school and its community.

Using the proposed model in the case study in this way provided a means of trialling the model to determine its utility. Did the model assist in answering the issue questions; in solving the problems inherent in the case? Did it provide a useful framework for understanding how children learned intercultural literacy in this context; and what factors helped or hindered the process in the school and community? The first step, prior to trialling the model in the case study, was to check its validity with the two reference groups.

Reference Groups

In its first iteration (Appendix One), the model rested solely on the foundation theory discussed in the previous chapter. In order to increase confidence in the model, its validity was checked against the 'expert' knowledge of practitioner reference groups. The use of reference groups associated with the case allowed a progressive focussing and an iterative process by which the model could be both validity-checked and refined prior to trialling it in the field (Hammersley 1985; Stake 1995). This section explains the approach taken with reference groups and the outcome of the process.

Two reference groups were used to confirm and develop the model proposed in the study; to provide a validity check against expert knowledge: the Tanjung Bara Reference Group, and the Study Tour Reference Group. The approach taken with the two groups is outlined below, followed by a report on the outcomes of consultations.

The Tanjung Bara Reference Group

The Tanjung Bara Reference Group comprised teachers and parents from within the case itself. It was felt that directly involving practitioners from within the case in the design and conduct of the research could increase the validity of the model and of the research, and assist in solving problems within the case. The idea of the reference group, along with an overview of the research plan, was introduced to teachers at a staff meeting. All the teachers on the staff of the Tanjung Bara International School at that time, together with three invited parents, elected to participate in the reference group in 1996. The group provided responses to the draft model and feedback based on personal and professional experiences in the Tanjung Bara context. These responses are analysed with those of the Study Tour Reference Group below.

In addition, this reference group collaborated in the carrying out of the research by:

1. assisting in the development of indicators for each of the stages and dimensions of the proposed model;
 2. providing feedback on draft instruments – particularly interview schedules;
- and

3. reflecting on, and commenting on the proposed model, relating it to personal and professional experience.

Involving the members of this group in this way enabled problems and issues within the context of the case itself to be addressed by the key participants. The reference group essentially provided the researcher with a ‘sounding board’; a triangulation mechanism (Stake 1995) to test impressions and tentative conclusions against the views of practitioners and parents from within the case. Since the objective was to develop a model that would be of use in arriving at understandings of a case, it was important that the participants found the model useful; that they could relate to it in a personal as well as professional way. It was important that it ‘rang true’ and ‘made sense’ to them.

Whilst membership was voluntary, all teaching staff of the school chose to be involved. Three parents were invited to participate on the basis that they were thought to represent significant sub-groups from the parent community, that they had a close association with the school, and that they might have a worthwhile contribution to make. All three agreed to participate on a voluntary basis. Table 3.1 describes the group membership.

Table 3.1: Tanjung Bara Reference Group – 1996

Number	Position
1	Principal
2	Class teacher (and parent)
5	Class teacher
3	Class teacher
4	Class teacher
6	Indonesian studies teacher (Indonesian)
7	Parent and part-time teacher
8	Parent (indonesian)
9	Parent (expatriate)
10	Parent and <i>Poppets</i> (Child-Care and Playgroup Centre) Coordinator

This group met together on three occasions during the first site visit in 1996. In addition, many incidental discussions were held with individual members of the reference group. On some occasions members of the group initiated an individual meeting with the researcher, with the express purpose of discussing the model and their insights or perceptions. On other occasions the topic came up in the course of informal conversation. The three group sessions ran for approximately one hour each and addressed the following topics:

Session 1: Introduction to the model. Initial responses. Explanation of the research project and methodology employed. Invitation to participate further.

Session 2: Developing indicators for children for each of the levels and dimensions.

Session 3: The role of the school in the relation to intercultural literacy.

These meetings were chaired by the researcher, who also set the agenda and facilitated the processes of reflection and discussion. In some sessions the Reference Group worked together as a single group, and in others participants worked in pairs and reported back to the group on the outcomes of their discussions. The sessions were not tape recorded but notes were taken by the researcher and group members.

The Study Tour Reference Group

The Study Tour Reference Group comprised administrators together with some teachers and counsellors from international and internationally-oriented schools in Indonesia,

Singapore and Thailand. These three countries were chosen as a focus for the study tour for two reasons: (1) they were thought likely to offer useful comparisons to the Indonesian case study context; and (2) they were logistically feasible – given the constraints of time and travel funding.

The Study Tour Reference Group did not meet together. Interviews and small group discussions were conducted with thirty-five individuals from twenty-three international and internationally-oriented schools in Indonesia, Singapore and Thailand, during a ten-week period 1996.⁷ Only four participants in the group were known previously to the researcher.⁸ The prime objective was to seek the views of expert practitioners on the proposed model as a validity check.

The purpose of the visits and interviews was to introduce the model to practitioners with experience and expertise in managing cross-cultural, multicultural and transcultural contexts in a range of international and internationally-oriented school settings. Schools were selected to include a range of types and categories including small community-based schools, small company-sponsored project schools and large independent city schools; recently-established and well-established schools; schools with a range of national orientations: Australian, U.S.A., U.K. and Canadian; and internationally-oriented Indonesian schools and systems: Protestant, Catholic and Islamic. Appendix Three details the schools visited by category. Appendix Four summarises the study tour schedule and outlines the personnel consulted in each school.

⁷ All but two of the schools were visited in a one-month period March-April 1996. See Appendix 4.

The following process was used to select schools and individuals for this group. A list of thirty-five international and internationally-oriented schools in Indonesia, Singapore and Thailand was compiled on the basis of information available from directories, conference listings, local sources and the researcher's personal knowledge. Personnel in all listed schools were contacted and invited to participate. Six schools approached did not respond, two indicated that they were unable to participate, and the majority responded positively. An itinerary for a study tour to visit schools which had indicated a willingness to participate was prepared. Of a total of thirty-five schools contacted, twenty-three were included in the final group and subsequently visited.

Individuals interviewed in the Study Tour Reference Group were drawn from administrators, teachers, and counsellors in these international and internationally-oriented schools. Once contact was made, the nature of the interview and the selection of personnel to participate were determined in part by the context and schools' operational contingencies at the time of the visit. Some meetings were lengthy and discursive, others brief and business-like. Nineteen meetings involved educational leaders in the school (head of school, principal, deputy principal, curriculum coordinator), three involved class teachers and counsellors, and five involved governors and administrators. These meetings were not tape-recorded since it was felt by the researcher that this might

⁸ Four participants from the two schools in East Kalimantan - Bontang International School and Balikpapan International School – were known to the researcher.

¹⁰ The 'Hawthorne effect' is named after a series of studies at the Hawthorne Works of Western Electric in Cicero, Illinois, conducted in the 1920s. It refers to a distortion of survey outcomes or research results caused by the impact of the researcher on the subjects or case under study. The 'Hawthorne effect' appears when attitudes or behavior are measured. When people know they're being measured, they may modify their behaviour. (Adair 1984; Brannigan and Zwerman 2001; Bracey 2002)

impede the discussion. Notes were taken and then key points and impressions written up after the meeting.

Notwithstanding this variety, the interviews did follow a pattern based on a discussion guide (Appendix Five). Following initial introductions and pleasantries, the model in its early iteration (see Appendix One) was introduced and its intent explained. Participants were asked to comment on the proposed model and on how it applied to the particular school situation, or how it might be adapted to do so. Depending on the nature of the interview, comments were then sought on the way in which the school addressed the issue of intercultural literacy, as defined. Specific school programs to address this area and the effectiveness of these were discussed along with context-specific issues for the school, for students, for the community; the cultural make-up of the student population and how this may have impacted on intercultural literacy learning; and the level and type of interaction with the host community. Tape recording was not used and brief notes were taken during the interviews. Discussion notes were written up immediately following the meeting.

Outcomes of the reference group discussions

Most significantly, both the Tanjung Bara and the Study Tour reference group discussions confirmed that the proposed model, in its first iteration, did fit closely with the perceptions and experiences of practitioners closely involved with education in international schools. Suggestions for change to the model were also made and are discussed below.

Both groups were presented with the Multidimensional Model for the Development of Intercultural Literacy in its first iteration. The model was explained by the researcher in discussion with the participants. Responses were noted. These notes were subsequently coded by the researcher according to the extent to which each participant expressed agreement, in the context of the discussion, with the proposition that the model accurately represented the experience of intercultural literacy learning in his or her professional and personal context. Coding was as follows: 'Strongly Agree', 'Agree', 'Unsure or No Comment', 'Disagree' and 'Strongly Disagree'.

In conducting the interviews and coding the responses, the researcher was conscious of the risk of a 'Hawthorn effect' distorting the results.¹⁰ Participants were urged to be candid in the interviews and were invited to critique the model in an open and honest way, drawing on their personal and professional experiences in cross-cultural contexts.

No 'Disagree' or 'Strongly Disagree' responses were recorded from either group, suggesting a broad consensus that the model reflected the experience and perceptions of participants. In many cases, where responses were coded as 'Strongly Agree', the participant expressed some excitement at being shown a model with which they could identify at a personal as well as professional level; a model which could explain their experience. Based on discussions with the Tanjung Bara Reference Group, responses from all ten participants were coded as 'Strongly Agree'. Responses from the Study Tour Reference Group included 'Strongly Agree', 'Agree' and 'Unsure or No Comment'. Coded responses from the forty-five individuals interviewed from both

groups were subsequently correlated with school type as shown in Table 3.2, below.

Schools were categorised as follows:

Table 3.2
Categorisation of Reference Group Schools

Type	Description	Number of schools	Number of participants
Project	Small and isolated mining company schools (including Tanjung Bara)	3	16
Community	Small community-based international schools	2	2
City	Large independent city schools	13	18
National-Plus	Internationally-oriented Indonesian and Thai schools and systems	6	9
TOTAL:		24	45

These categories are derived from an analysis of the school profiles. Whilst each school presented its own unique character, the categorisation represents a typology of schools that emerged from the study and is based on shared characteristics that distinguish one category from another. The ‘project schools’ are distinguished by having been established and sponsored by a single company and in a relatively isolated setting. The ‘community schools’ are distinguished by having been established by a community of individuals and without the company sponsorship of the project schools. Schools in both categories all had enrolments of less than one hundred and were located in rural locations or relatively small provincial cities. Budgets for the ‘community schools’ were typically less than for ‘project schools’ and large city schools.

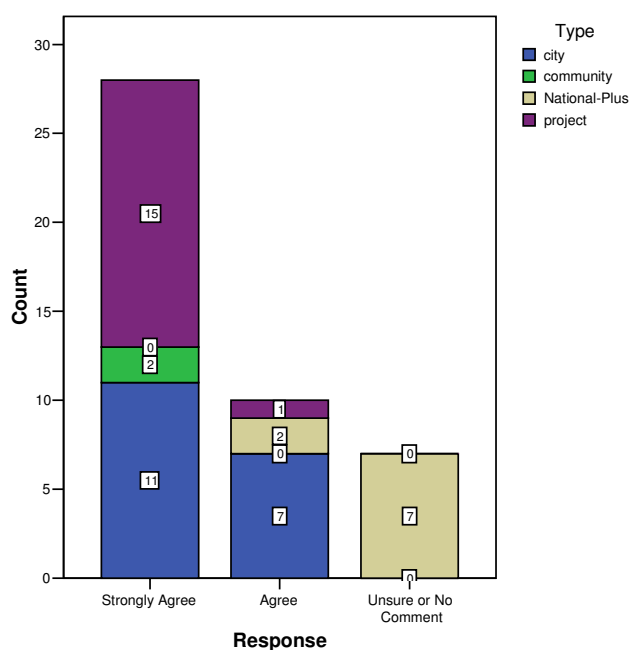
The ‘city schools’ all had enrolments of over one hundred, some in the thousands, and were located in large urban centres. Whilst lacking the sponsorship of a single company, the city schools were well funded through tuition fees and development levies often

sponsored by the employing agencies of parents. The term ‘national-plus’ is widely used in Indonesia, and is used here, to refer to schools registered under the national system providing an international style and standard of education to Indonesian students.¹¹ A detailed breakdown of this typology of schools visited is included in Appendix Three.

Figure 3.1 below illustrates the responses from each of these groups.

Figure 3.1

Reference Groups - Coded Responses to the Draft Model by School Type



¹¹ The term ‘national-plus’, which had already gained currency, was adopted by the newly-formed National-Plus Schools Association in 2000 at ‘Adding Value: The First National Conference of National-Plus Schools, held in Jakarta (November 2000). This association regards national-plus schools as those with the following defining characteristics: 1) use of both English and Indonesian for study and communication, 2) student-centred programs delivered in internationally recognised methodologies, 3)

Combining the participants from both reference groups in this way gives a total of forty-five participants. Of this total, thirty-six were classified as from international schools and nine from 'national-plus' schools. All the responses of participants from international schools were coded as 'Strongly Agree' or 'Agree', with the majority of these (77% of the international school group) in the 'Strongly Agree' category.

It is noteworthy that all of the responses coded as 'Unsure or No Comment' came from schools categorised as national-plus. This group included five newly-established internationally-oriented Indonesian schools and systems in Surabaya and Jakarta. In all of these cases interviews were held with Indonesian administrators. The objective of the newly evolving 'national-plus' schools in Indonesia was to provide an 'international' standard and style of education to Indonesian children. This category also included a new school in Thailand, scheduled to open soon after the interview. The school was effectively a Thai 'national-plus' school; an internationally-oriented school aiming to enrol predominately Thai students. The newly-appointed British administrator of this school indicated that he felt he lacked the experience to comment on the model. It seems likely that the administrators from Indonesian national-plus schools were less familiar than participants from established international schools with the issues for children, families and teachers in adapting to a cross-cultural setting.

On the basis of this analysis, the validity of the model is confirmed in a general sense. The model can be said to have 'surface validity' in that it resonated with practitioners, it

reflecting cultural values, integrity, and diversity, and 4) with national Indonesian government registration. (National Plus Schools Association 2000)

clearly reflected the experience – personal and professional - of the majority of those consulted, particularly from international schools; it ‘rang true’. The responses of participants from both reference groups also resulted in changes to the model as is outlined below.

The proposed developmental model of intercultural literacy was built up from earlier theory as described in Chapter Two. It also underwent revision in the field in response to the reactions of the two reference groups. Four significant changes made to the first iteration of the model were:

1. the addition of an extra level termed *Limited Awareness*;
2. the addition of the term ‘*Distancing*’ at the *Culture Shock* level;
3. collapsing of the advanced level from two parallel levels - *Intercultural Literacy* and *Transcultural Literacy* - to one - *Intercultural Literacy: Bicultural/ Transcultural*; and
4. the addition of a sixth dimension: *Identity*.

The final iteration of the model, which includes these changes is presented in Figure 3.2, below.

**Figure 3.2: Final Iteration -
A Multidimensional Model for the Development of Intercultural Literacy**

	Monocultural Level 1	Monocultural Level 2	Monocultural Level 3	Cross-cultural Level	Intercultural Level
	Limited Awareness	Naïve Awareness	Culture Shock or Distancing	Emerging Intercultural Literacy	Bicultural or Transcultural
	Unconsciously Incompetent	Unconsciously Incompetent	Consciously Incompetent	Consciously Competent	Unconsciously Competent
Understandings	No significant intercultural understandings. Unaware of own culture or of the significance of culture in human affairs.	Aware of touristic, exotic and stereotypical aspects of other culture/s. Little understanding of metaculture.	Aware of significant cultural differences. Other culture/s perceived as irrational and unbelievable.	Increasingly sophisticated understandings of socio-political and intergroup aspects of culture and metaculture.	Aware of how culture/s feel and operate from the standpoint of the insider. Understandings of primary and metaculture and global interdependence.
Competencies	No significant intercultural competencies.	No significant intercultural competencies.	No significant intercultural competencies.	Developing competencies include mindfulness, empathy, perspective-taking, tolerance and communication.	Advanced competencies include mindfulness, empathy, perspective-taking, tolerance and communication.
Attitudes	No significant intercultural attitudes. Assumes that all groups share similar values and traits. Value neutral.	Naïve and stereotypical attitudes which may be positive, negative or ambivalent.	Typically negative attitudes. Stereotyping, prejudice and discrimination.	Differentiated, dynamic and realistic attitudes. An overall respect for integrity of culture/s.	Differentiated, dynamic and realistic attitudes. An overall respect for integrity of culture/s accompanied by legitimate and informed criticism.
Participation	No significant participation or unaware of cultural dimension of contact.	Tourism, early contact, 'honeymoon' period or experience of culture/s through texts, media etc. 'Living alongside' rather than 'living with'.	Culture conflict. 'Living alongside' rather than 'living with'.	Increasing cross-cultural engagement and development of meaningful relationships. 'Living with' rather than 'living alongside'.	Well established cross-cultural / transcultural friendships and/or working relationships. 'Living in' the culture/s. the 'mediating' person.
Language	No significant second language competencies. May be unaware of language differences.	Aware of language differences. Possible ability or communicate at a superficial level in the second language/s (greetings etc.)	Limited functional competencies in the second language/s.	Language learning. Increasingly sophisticated knowledge of and ability to communicate in second languages/s.	Bilingual or multilingual understanding and competencies.
Identity	Unformed cultural identity.	Basic cultural identity characterised by stereotypic comparisons with other cultures.	Culture shock may force an examination of cultural identity.	Increasingly highly developed and secure primary cultural identity.	Bicultural or transcultural identity. 'Species' or 'global' identity may emerge.

The changes made to the first iteration of the model and incorporated in this second iteration occurred through a reflexive process of shuttling back and forth between input from the reference groups and the theoretical background. For example, in the course of discussions with the Tanjung Bara Reference Group, it became clear that very young (pre-school) children were simply not at the developmental stage at which it would be meaningful to place them on the model. Young children growing up in a bicultural family or transcultural community, and who might be thought of as potentially advanced in terms of intercultural literacy, also did not fit easily into the first iteration of the model. There were thought to be a number of such children in Poppets Child Care Centre or the early-childhood class of the school.

In response to inputs of the Tanjung Bara Reference Group, the model was subsequently revised and an extra stage added to account for these children. This, in turn, prompted further reference to the background theory – particularly into the theory addressing the development of cultural understandings and identity in early childhood (e.g. Selman 1976; Vaughan 1978; Thomas 1984; Minoura 1992; Fry 1994). The final iteration includes a Limited Awareness stage, which may apply to very young children or to adults who live in environments that are extremely isolated and culturally homogeneous. The proposed model introduced in the previous chapter is thus the result of a two-way engagement of theory with feedback from practitioner reference groups.

A second example is the addition of the term ‘Distancing’. The first iteration of the model characterised this level as simply ‘Culture Shock’. The evidence of the Tanjung

Bara Reference Group suggested that many individuals became 'stuck' at this stage and did not progress beyond to the next level. The term 'culture shock', taken from the earlier theoretical models, implied a more dramatic and sudden event – a make-or-break process which would either see the individual adapt to the new situation or retreat to their home country. Input from discussions with the Tanjung Bara Reference Group suggested that this was a less dramatic stage for many; a stage that drifted on with the individual remaining in the community but avoiding cross-cultural contact. The term 'Distancing' was suggested in a discussion with one of the teachers, a key member of the Tanjung Bara Reference Group. This adjustment to the model was also consistent with Anderson's (1994) model of recursive problem-solving in intercultural adaptation. In line with the theory discussed in Chapter Two outlining alternative responses to cross-cultural contact (Bochner 1982, 1986, Berry 1984, 2001), 'Distancing' implies either cultural chauvinism, marginalisation or, potentially, passing.

Two further changes were made in response to input from the Study Tour Reference Group; both resulting from discussions with administrators and staff of international schools on the issue of identity for international students. These discussions prompted a re-thinking of the model, collapsing the final two levels on the first iteration of the model to one, and the addition of a sixth dimension in the model, Identity. Many of the students of the international schools visited were described by Study Tour Reference Group members as 'Third Culture Kids' (Useem and Downie 1973, Pollock and Van Reken 1999), biculturals or multiple-identity personalities. These discussions led the researcher back to the theory, suggesting: (1) the significance of identity as an interrelated dimension of intercultural literacy, and (2) the complexity of identities for

many international students. The revision of the model reflected these new understandings.

The early iteration of the model presented to the reference groups included two parallel final stages - *Intercultural Literacy* and *Transcultural Literacy* – to allow for individuals identifying with a transcultural group and those identifying with more than one culture – biculturals - to be categorised in alternative ways at this level in the model. As described, the input of the Study Tour Reference Group participants suggested a more complex multiple identity prompting a return to the literature and introducing the notion of multiple cultural identities. This, in turn, made it more appropriate for the two parallel levels to be collapsed into one, allowing for the reality of individuals identifying simultaneously with a transcultural ‘third culture’ and other multiple cultures.

Appendices One and Two illustrate the change that occurred between the first and final iterations. The first iteration was based purely on the theoretical background researched prior to the first period in the field. As a result of this engagement with practitioners in the reference groups and a subsequent re-evaluation of the theoretical literature in the period February-April 1996 the final iteration of the model was developed. This was prior to the first phase of Case Study interviews conducted in the field in May 1996. In addition, detailed descriptors in the various dimensions and stages of the model were adapted and refined in consultation with the Tanjung Bara Reference Group (Appendix Six).¹³

¹³ This process did not involve the Study Tour Reference Group as it required more time in a workshop

The Case Study

Following the consultations with reference groups to validate the proposed developmental model of intercultural literacy, the next steps of the research approach were to map the community using the proposed developmental model and to identify the factors and dynamics within the school and community which supported or hindered intercultural literacy learning. These activities formed the case study. Phase One took place in May 1996 and consisted in an initial round of interviews, data collection and analysis aimed to map the community (children and adults associated with the school and its community) using the proposed Multidimensional Model for the Development of Intercultural Literacy. Phase Two took place mainly in May 1997, consisting in a second round of interviews, data collection and analysis aimed to verify the mapping conducted in Phase One and identify the factors and dynamics within the school and community which supported or hindered intercultural literacy learning.

This section presents a rationale for employing case study method in this context followed by an outline of the qualitative approach to case study taken and its strengths, reasons for the choice of Tanjung Bara as a case for study, and a discussion of limitations and weaknesses of the approach and how these were addressed.

The choice of a case study approach

Case study has been defined as the study of a 'bounded system' (Stake 1995: 2). It aims to capture the complexity and the uniqueness of that 'bounded system', to study the case

holistically and naturalistically, to uncover the meanings that actors give to their actions, and to ‘...look for the detail of interaction within its contexts’ (Stake 1995: xi).

It has also been suggested that case study could make a more significant contribution to educational practice by developing and testing theory as opposed to simply describing reality (Hammersley 1985, Stenhouse 1985, Eisenhardt 2002). Stenhouse makes the additional point that:

Case study research should be of benefit and interest to those people who are studied ...
[and] ... should be directed towards improving the capacity of those studied to do their
job... (Stenhouse 1985: 269)

The aim of this case study was to test the theory represented in the proposed model for intercultural literacy and, in addition, to contribute to an understanding of the case and the resolution of perceived problems within it.

A case study approach was taken here for at least two reasons:

1. Case study enabled the utility or usefulness of the proposed model to be either confirmed or disconfirmed in the field. The case study provided a means of trialling the model in a living school and community setting. The key question is: To what extent was the proposed model useful in helping to arrive at understandings in the case study?
2. This approach also allowed for the original problem that prompted the research, and was described earlier in this chapter, to be addressed.

Case study is able to reflect the experience of practitioners and enable a professional interpretation which may provide the basis for educational decision and action (Stenhouse 1985). By focussing on specifics rather than generalities, it allows for the complexity, the subtlety, ambiguity and change inherent in social situations in general, and in schools in particular. Case study allows for the diversity of educational situations and for the significance of the cultural, social, political and educational context specific to each case. Case study also admits the legitimacy of professional, practitioner and participant perspectives – which may include the perspectives of parents, students and community members. It also aims to represent the ‘multiple realities’ of these participants (Stake 1995).

A qualitative approach to case study

The type of case study employed was also determined by the research aim. The proposed model describes intercultural literacy in terms that go well beyond what might be studied using quantifiable measures. It is comprised of descriptive indicators and called for an interpretive, meaning-oriented approach. Its concern is with the very human world of cultures, relationships, attitudes, feelings, intentions, understandings, and identities. For these reasons, the choice of a qualitative approach to case study was clear.

In order to trial the model and determine its usefulness, it was important to determine, not only whether the proposed model proved useful to the researcher, but also whether it proved useful to the practitioner. The study was concerned with an application of the model proposed on the basis of theory. It was concerned with the extent to which the

model contributed to useful understanding of the case – specifically, to understandings of the development of intercultural literacy amongst students and others in the Tanjung Bara community, and of the role the school and community played in relation to that development.

The particular approach to case study employed was interpretive, qualitative, and ethnographic. It was interpretive in the sense that it was concerned primarily with making interpretations rather than predictions; with the multiple perspectives of informants, rather than with causal explanation. Where the model and the study sought to make connections between programs and outcomes, between treatments and effects, these may be thought of as probabilistic, rather than causal, connections. It was qualitative in the sense that it dealt primarily with descriptions and narrative accounts rather than with statistics; with words rather than with numbers. It was ethnographic in the sense that it was concerned primarily with the social, cultural and normative patterns of the school and community; it was concerned primarily with people as actors and participants rather than subjects (Ezzy 2002).

The choice of Tanjung Bara as a case

The purpose of this case study lay primarily outside of the case itself. Its purpose in trialling a theoretical model was to contribute to the development of theory. In this sense it was an instrumental, rather than intrinsic, study of the case. However, the role of research in contributing more directly to the solving of problems in a specific educational context was not overlooked. In choosing the Tanjung Bara community as the

case, the possibility of the study contributing in a direct way to the understanding of issues in that context and to the resolution of the problem which originally prompted the study was allowed.

Although Tanjung Bara may represent a particular type of ‘planted expatriate company town’ community and company-sponsored school, it was chosen as the case for study not as the representative of a broader category but for the following four main reasons:

1. Choosing this case made it possible for the study to contribute directly to the resolution of real problems and issues. It was Tanjung Bara and the problems inherent in it and that prompted the research.
2. Tanjung Bara, as a case, held a special interest in itself and offered a rich source of data on intercultural literacy learning. In addition to the desire to contribute directly to the resolution of problems, the research was prompted by a desire to contribute to the development of theory.
3. It offered a clearly defined and well-bounded case. In time, location, and population it was discrete and well-bounded. Its social and cultural system was highly interactive. Members of the community in Tanjung Bara lived, worked and played together, sharing many common purposes.
4. It was accessible and familiar to the researcher. Having lived and worked in Tanjung Bara the researcher maintained many close contacts, both professional and personal. Gaining entry to the field and permissions from participants was relatively straight forward and support for the research was readily available.

Limitations and weaknesses of the case study approach

The qualitative case study approach, whilst it meets the purpose of this study, does have limitations:

1. A common objection made against this approach is that it fails to produce generalisable findings. Whilst the case study is 'strong in reality' it is weak in producing statistical generalisations.
2. The qualitative case study approach may be prone to method problems with regard to researcher bias. Specific problems in relation to ethnographic case study also apply in this case. For example, the danger of the researcher 'going native' is real.
3. Qualitative case study does not enjoy reference to the kinds of canons that govern experimental and quantitative approaches. Whilst gains have been made in recent years in the development of advanced techniques in this area (Miles and Huberman 1984, 1994; LeCompte and Preissle 1993; Denzin and Lincoln 1998; Lincoln and Guba 2002) it remains the case that the answers to questions of rigour, reliability and validity are less widely accepted for qualitative than for quantitative research.

The first of these three limitations is discussed below. Strategies taken to address the issues of validity and rigour, the second and third limitations listed above, are discussed in greater detail later in this chapter in the section *Methods and Instruments Employed in Gathering and Analysing Data*. In particular, the sub-section on *Validation and Triangulation* is relevant.

Any claims to the generalisability of findings from the study should firstly be qualified with the understanding that the case is in no way 'typical'. It does not represent any class of schools or communities, at least not in a formal sense. Case study, however, is not in the business of representative sampling. A case is selected, not because it necessarily represents a broader class, but because '...given our purposes ... it is likely to lead us to understandings, to assertions, perhaps even to modifying of generalisations' (Stake 1995: 4). In selecting a case, Stake (1995) asserts: 'The first criterion should be to maximise what we can learn' (Stake 1995: 4). Stake (1995) refers to two types of generalisation. The first '*petit* generalisations' may be thought of as those that occur within a case study (or studies) and are progressively refined through the process of case study. The second, 'grand generalisations', Stake argues, may also be modified and refined by case study. In the present context, the study offers the chance of contributing to the validity of generalisations about intercultural literacy. It sets out not to prove or disprove theory but, rather, through adding to the body of evidence, to contribute to the development of theory in this area. In effect, it sets out to increase the probability that the theory is sound. Burns (1995) puts it as follows:

...case studies, like experiments, are generalisable to theoretical propositions not to statistical populations, and the investigator's goal is to expand theories not to undertake statistical generalisation. (Burns 1995: 326)

The object of case study in this context is not to produce statistical certitude, but to test theory. As Stenhouse (1985) puts it: '... if [theory] is appropriate, then it will have to stand the test of the study of cases ...' (Stenhouse 1985: 268)

It is clear that the study can not produce any findings or results that may be generalised to other situations. Findings are only valid for the case itself. If, for example, the study found that the model does offer useful insights at Tanjung Bara, there is no justification for the claim that it will necessarily be useful in any other setting. The kinds of cause and effect claims that are common from research in the physical sciences are not justifiable in this context.

What the study can do is contribute to the development of theory that may be useful to practitioners in their differing contexts. It can contribute evidence which either adds or subtracts support for the theoretical model proposed (Silverman 2001). And it can contribute, in Stenhouse's (1985) terms, by '... reach[ing] after prudence, and also of perceptiveness, the capacity to interpret situations rapidly and at depth and to revise interpretations in the light of experience' (Stenhouse 1985: 266). By detailing the case - 'telling the story' of intercultural literacy at Tanjung Bara - the study adds to the bank of recorded experience to which the practitioner, policy maker or theorist may refer.

Judgements of cases cumulate into prudence: 'the ability to discern the most suitable, politic, or profitable course of action; practical wisdom, discretion....' (Stenhouse 1985: 266). This particular case study should both assist in the resolution of issues in Tanjung Bara, and, more significantly, contribute to the development of theory and 'prudence' in the area of intercultural literacy learning – particularly in the context of international schools.

The Tanjung Bara Case

Outlining the nature and role of the reference groups and the case study approach in the previous two sections has brought the discussion closer to a consideration of the case itself. Before discussing the research questions, conceptual frameworks, data sources, methodology and issues of validity and reliability, it will be useful to first take a more detailed look at the case. The following discussion of the setting for the case study commences with an overview of the Indonesian context, followed by a description of the community and the school within that context.

Indonesia and East Kalimantan

The Republic of Indonesia is a large and culturally diverse nation with a population of some 235 million. It is comprised of approximately 300 ethnic and tribal groups, the principal ones being Acehnese, Batak and Minangkabau (Sumatra); Javanese and Sundanese (Java); Balinese (Bali); Sasak (Lombok); and Dani (Papua). *Bahasa Indonesia*, the national language, is spoken by the great majority of Indonesians as a second language; first languages, such as Javanese and Sundanese being related to ethnic identity. Indonesia has the largest Islamic population of any nation with 88% of the population Muslim, 8% Christian (Catholic and Protestant), 2% Hindu and the remaining 2% a mix of Buddhist, Confucianism and tribal Animist.

Indonesia was founded as an independent nation in 1945. Since that time, a national schooling system has served to educate the populace and unite the nation, with a

particular focus on establishing and maintaining: (1) *Bahasa Indonesia* as a national language and (2) *Pancasila* as a state ideology. *Pancasila* is a statement of five principles contained in the 1945 Constitution and serving as a basis for national policy:

1. belief in One Supreme God;
2. just and civilised humanity;
3. the unity of Indonesia;
4. the sovereignty of the people guided by wisdom and unanimity in deliberations amongst representatives; and
5. social justice for all.¹⁴

This political role for the national education system has significance for the place of international schooling in Indonesia. With few exceptions, international schools are not permitted to enrol Indonesian citizens, who are required to follow the unifying national system. International schools have existed in Indonesia since the 1950s, licensed by the Indonesian Government solely to provide education for expatriates; non-Indonesians living in Indonesia. Until recently, Indonesian citizens seeking an English language, international style and standard of education have been obliged to either bribe officials in order to enrol their children in international schools or send them off-shore to countries such as Singapore, Australia, or the USA.

At the time of the study, 1996-1997, Soeharto was the President of Indonesia. Soeharto's 'strong-arm' rule, although considered corrupt and oppressive, had kept the nation united and increasingly prosperous for over thirty years. Indonesia was favoured by

¹⁴ English translation from: Kaltim Prima Coal (1992). *KPC Induction (Level II and above)* p.6.

international business as a stable political and economic partner. This was before the Asian economic crisis of 1997, the fall of Soeharto in 1998, and the subsequent political reformation in Indonesia paralleled by widespread political, inter-ethnic and inter-religious violence over following years. In the period since the study was conducted, widespread anti-Chinese riots occurred in Jakarta; East Timor seceded from the Republic, an event marked by bloodshed and a controversial Australian military peace-keeping intervention; inter-religious warfare took place in Ambon and Sulawesi; an ongoing separatist war was fought in Aceh; Kalimantan saw extensive violence between the native Dayaks and 'immigrant' Madurese groups in the south and west; and Islamist terrorists targeted Christians and westerners in Jakarta, Lombok and Bali, where over two hundred were killed.

Alongside this unrest, reformation in Indonesia in the post-Soeharto period has impacted in many sectors including education. A new national curriculum, currently being implemented, takes a competency-based approach to teaching and learning and encourages greater community participation in schooling, localisation of curriculum, decentralisation and school-based management. The private schools called 'national-plus', which existed in an ambiguous regulatory environment at the time of the study, now openly provide international-style bilingual education in English and Indonesian to fee-paying Indonesian students within the national system. International schools may now apply for a special licence to enrol a percentage of Indonesian students. However, national policy at the time of the study prohibited Indonesians from enrolling in international schools.

East Kalimantan, where the case study is sited, is one of four Indonesian provinces in the largely undeveloped island of Borneo, which Indonesia shares with Malaysia and Brunei Darussalam. East Kalimantan is populated predominately by Christianised indigenous Dayak tribes in the inland and Islamic 'Malayu' ethnic groups on the coast. It is a resource-rich province, contributing significantly to the national economy, through timber, oil and mining projects such as Kaltim Prima Coal.

The community

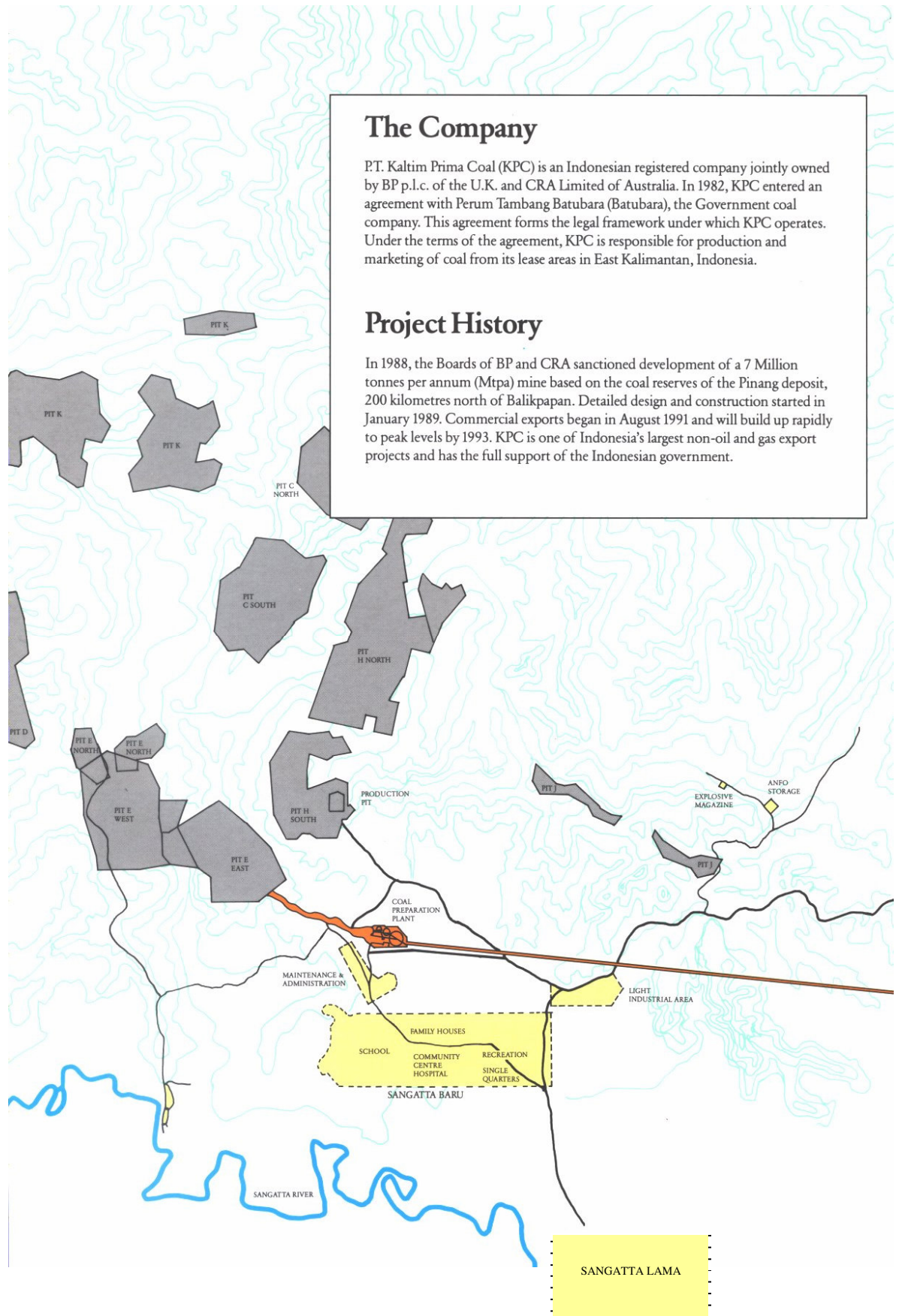
Kaltim Prima Coal (KPC) is a coal mining operation jointly owned, managed and operated by CRA (Conzinc Riotinto of Australia, subsequently renamed Rio Tinto after merging with RTZ or Rio Tinto Zinc) and BP (British Petroleum), and established by agreement with the Indonesian coal authority at a remote site on the east coast of Kalimantan, Indonesian Borneo, fifty kilometres north of the equator. Access to the site is via a company-chartered flight from Balikpapan, one hour to the south. The alternatives - a bush track through the Kutai National Park which was often impassable after rain, or a one-hour boat trip from *Bontang* from where a local bus service operates - were employed by the majority of Indonesian workers and residents who did not have access to the company flight. Large-scale open-cut mining commenced in September 1991 and, at the time of the study, had surpassed predicted output levels of twelve million tonnes per annum. KPC had, at that time, a total work force of approximately 2,200 including a small group of expatriates who were involved in establishing the operation, training and developing Indonesian staff and providing specialist skills and expertise in management and technical aspects of the operation. Approximately 350

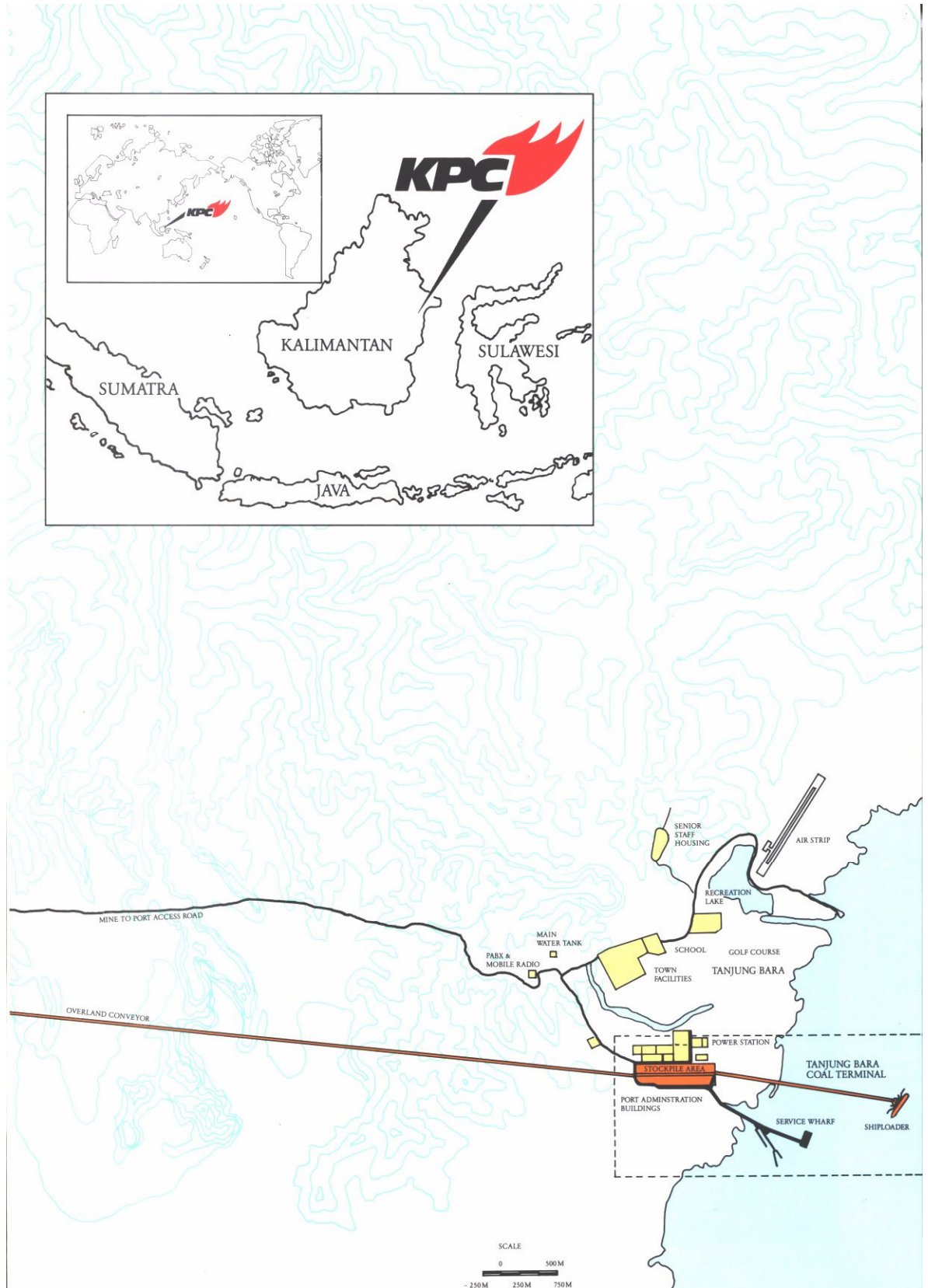
expatriates lived in Tanjung Bara at the time of the study, including family members accompanying employees.

The Tanjung Bara International School was established on site to cater for the needs of this small expatriate community and opened its doors in January 1991. It maintained a student population of around fifty and an expatriate teaching staff of six or seven throughout the period under review. In order to best establish the context for the case study in this section, attention will be paid first to the community – expatriate and Indonesian – and then to the school and how it is situated within that context.

The map below (Figure 3.3) illustrates the location of the mine site globally and within Indonesia, and the layout of the camp including these three main town sites. The description of the community and school which follows relates to the time of the study, 1996-1997.

Figure 3.3: Map of Sangatta including Tanjung Bara (KPC 1992)





(Kaltim Prima Coal 1992)

‘Sangatta’ is the original local name for the site.¹⁵ The Sangatta community was divided into three distinct communities, each with its own character and social dynamics: Sangatta Lama, Sangatta Baru, and Tanjung Bara. Sangatta Lama - literally ‘Old Sangatta’ - was centred on the original village located fifteen kilometres inland on the Sangatta River. The village had grown dramatically since the development of the mine and by 1996 had merged with *Teluk Lingga* and stretched around three kilometres from the old village to the limits of the mine lease. It consisted of extensive scattered residential areas, with unpainted timber dwellings, two local schools, two traditional markets, a number of small mosques, many small shops and bars, and a recently commissioned community medical centre funded by KPC.



Photograph 1: Sangatta Lama

The village had the feel of a make-shift frontier-style settlement. Electricity was provided, for those who could afford it, by generators. Roads were surfaced with gravel

¹⁵ ‘Sangatta’ is a local term with unclear meaning.

or clay and there were few services, no water supply and no sewerage system. The river was a public venue for bathing, laundering, rubbish removal and transport. Many Indonesian workers chose to live in Sangatta Lama, which more closely resembled a traditional Indonesian community than did the company towns, and a number of Indonesian contractors established offices and workshops there or on the road called Teluk Lingga between Sangatta Lama and Sangatta Baru. The community had effectively grown from a sleepy and isolated local village to a bustling and ramshackle service town (Kunanayagam, 1994).

Sangatta Baru - literally 'New Sangatta' - was the name given to the town built by KPC to house its Indonesian work force. The town has since been renamed *Swarga Bara* (literally 'Fire Heaven'¹⁶). Sangatta Baru was a neighbour to Sangatta Lama and was located approximately twelve kilometres inland and adjacent to the mine site and central office complex. Houses were neatly laid out along tidy streets and clustered around a central community area with sporting facilities including tennis courts, a pool and soccer pitch, a shopping centre and town square. The town also boasted a company-sponsored school, *YPPSB* (*Yayasan Prima Pendidikan Sangatta Baru* – or, literally, 'Prima Education Foundation, Sangatta Baru'), with an enrolment in 1996-1997 of 1300 Kindergarten, Primary and Junior Secondary students (700 in primary classes). Single employees were housed in barrack style accommodation with two or three people to a room. The town had a planned and raw, unfinished atmosphere. In short, this was a typical company town such as could be found in any isolated mine site anywhere in the world.

¹⁶ For simplicity, the name *Sangatta Baru* is used throughout this thesis.



Photograph 2: Sangatta Baru



Photograph 3: Tanjung Bara coal stockpile area and coal terminal



Photograph 4: Tanjung Bara coal stockpile area and coal loader



Photograph 5: Open-cut mine, Sangatta

Twelve kilometres down the road, sited on a low hill overlooking the Makassar Straits, was *Tanjung Bara*, the camp built for senior management staff, both Indonesian and expatriate. Tanjung Bara was divided geographically and to some extent socially. The married quarters of senior KPC staff were situated on what was locally known as 'the hill'. Comfortable houses stretched along the ridge of *Batu Putih* ('White Rock') where they could catch the light sea breeze, with the Managing Director's home located on the crest, and status roughly determined by one's distance away down the slopes. Clustered around the community facilities a kilometre away in Tanjung Bara proper were the single quarters - again dormitory style, but containing larger single rooms than those in Sangatta Baru - and a row of houses for the families of contract managers working for the mine.

The facilities here were extensive, the company's development policy being to provide a comfortable well-serviced community for its senior management in order to attract and keep an effective management and senior technical team. It is in this context that the school and its relationship to both the mine management and its community should be seen. Other than the school and the community library it housed, facilities included a large attractive club house with a gym, tennis and squash courts and small restaurant overlooking a twelve-hole golf course, football field and large resort style pool with a popular open air bar. On the coast beyond the air field, an aquatic club with facilities for swimming, sailing, fishing, kayaking, water-skiing, and scuba-diving was provided, and, adjacent to Batu Putih, a full-size cricket oval and bowling-green.



Photograph 6: Tanjung Bara Club



Photograph 7: Football field and golf course, Tanjung Bara

The Indonesian community was a minority in Tanjung Bara in 1996-1997, outnumbered by the expatriate community. It consisted of senior management personnel, who enjoyed the same housing and facilities as the expatriate community, and a small service community housed in dormitories or small rooms attached to the houses.

The expatriate community

For the purposes of this study, the term 'expatriate' refers to non-Indonesian nationals residing in Sangatta. This group included senior managers working for KPC and major contractors, together with their families. These people generally stayed in the community for two to three years. A small percentage had remained at Sangatta since the project's inception in 1991. It also included single men, plus one or two women, employed as senior technicians, managers, trainers and short-term consultants. Only expatriates in senior management positions were employed on 'married status' and thus the children enrolled in the school belonged to the families of these senior managers. Most were sponsored by KPC and a few by major contractors.

The majority of expatriates were Australian, with smaller groups of New Zealanders and British, and a range of other nationalities including the USA represented. Within these groups were a number of 'mixed marriages' between western males and Asian females from Indonesia, the Philippines and Singapore. Within the small community there existed a vaguely defined, yet clearly recognised, class division between KPC families who lived 'on the hill' and contractor's families who regarded themselves, and were regarded by others, as lower in status. The senior single camp in Tanjung Bara housed

single expatriate men (and female school teachers) and a smaller number of Indonesian men and women. This group were also seen as lower status than the KPC families.

The school in Tanjung Bara was designated an ‘international’ school which allowed it to use English as an instructional language and a curriculum other than the centralised Indonesian curriculum. Under Indonesian regulations governing education this also meant that the school was restricted to enrolling expatriate children, as determined by the father’s nationality. Indonesian children were thus barred from enrolling in the international school.



Photograph 8: Pool bar, golf course and single accommodation, Tanjung Bara

The Indonesian community

A significant feature of the Indonesian community at all levels in Sangatta was that, as with the expatriate community, it was mixed and transplanted. In no sense could it be seen as local, indigenous or homogeneous. Senior managers, professionals, administrators, technicians, trainers and tradespeople were recruited largely from Java and Sumatra. The broader mining and service communities found their way to Sangatta from Sulawesi, Java and elsewhere in Kalimantan, drawn by the economic and employment opportunities it offered. Even the tiny village that existed prior to the establishment of the mine was, like many of its kind up and down the coast of East Kalimantan, a community of Bugis migrants from Sulawesi. The traditional inhabitants of the region, Kutai Malays from the coastal cities and indigenous Dayak peoples from the inland, were a very small minority within this young and diverse community.

The Indonesian community in Tanjung Bara was divided primarily into a small service group housed within the camp, all single, and a small, but growing, group of senior management families and singles. A third group consisted of the live-in girlfriends and 'contract wives' of single expatriates (Kunanayagam 1994). There were also one or two Indonesian wives of expatriate managers. At the senior management level, cross-cultural interaction was largely limited to the work environment or the golf course. The families of expatriates and Indonesians tended to lead parallel lives, with the Indonesians forming a small clique and looking more to Sangatta Baru than to Tanjung Bara for wider community participation.

Approximately fifteen Indonesian children of school age lived in Tanjung Bara with just three or four in the primary grades¹⁷. This group travelled daily to Sangatta Baru to attend *YPPSB*, the company's Indonesian school, and tended to form friendships there, rather than in Tanjung Bara with expatriate children. In contrast, children under school age attended a playgroup and 'Poppets', a preschool for three year olds, alongside expatriates in Tanjung Bara. Attempts to bring the two groups of older children together and encourage the development of relationships and joint activities are considered in the case study.

'Poppets' was a play centre and pre-kindergarten program established and run by a group of parents and funded by the company through the school's budget. It was an independent operation with its own arrangements for management, policy-making, and program implementation. It also had an informal affiliation with the school. In particular, communication between teachers of the reception class at the school and Poppets Coordinators was close. Children under three years of age attended an associated playgroup with a parent or carer on one or more of the three weekly sessions. The Poppets pre-kinder program catered for three-year-olds who then entered the school program at age four. Children in this group attended without parents or carers. Poppets staff, who were all wives of expatriate managers, were paid a nominal salary by the company to run the program and tended to associate with the school and the school's teaching staff. Poppets is considered important to the study since it was closely associated with the school and, since it was able to enrol the children of Indonesian families, it was one of the few places where children from both cultural groups mixed.

¹⁷ The exact numbers varied over the time of the study.

Table 3.3, below, summarises the educational arrangements for children in Tanjung Bara. Under Indonesian regulations, children of mixed marriages were eligible to enrol in the company's international school, Tanjung Bara International School, if they held a foreign passport. All Indonesian children (defined by their nationality) were enrolled in the company's Indonesian school in Sangatta Baru (*YPPSB*).

Table 3.3
Schooling Provision for Children in Tanjung Bara

School level and approximate age	Expatriate	Indonesian
Under school age (0-3)	Play Group and Poppets	Play Group and Poppets
Kindergarten (4-5)	Tanjung Bara International School	<i>YPPSB</i> (Sangatta Baru)
Primary School (6-12)	Tanjung Bara International School	<i>YPPSB</i> (Sangatta Baru)
Junior Secondary School (13-15)	Boarding school off-site	<i>YPPSB</i> (Sangatta Baru)
Senior Secondary (16-18)	Boarding school off-site	Schooling off-site

For Indonesian family members not involved with expatriates in a work environment, the school may have offered the most significant contact - albeit fleeting and tenuous - with the expatriate community and its western culture. Aside from work, the most prominent feature of life in Tanjung Bara was sport, and in this context many Indonesian men and women did have opportunities to mix with expatriates with golf probably providing the most common avenue. In a social context, little mixing occurred, the expatriate community tending to focus its social life around parties and bars at which the consumption of alcohol was pivotal. For the majority of Indonesians, Christian as well as Moslem, alcohol is not a part of life and, for many, may be seen as a social evil (Hardjono 1994).

The school may therefore have been in a position to influence Indonesian perceptions of western culture; to act in some way as a cultural mediator, influencing the construction of Indonesian images of Australia and the 'west'. Whether or not the school saw this as a relevant or appropriate role is a question for the case study. The case study also explores the level of contact between the school and the Indonesian community, and the impact of that contact, if any, on Indonesian perceptions and on the images they constructed. These issues form part of the broader research questions outlined in the following section.

Apart from the school, there were few institutions within the community that appeared to focus in any way on cultural exchange, the only others being some elements of the Training Department in KPC - including language training, both Indonesian and English - and occasional events held at the Tanjung Bara Club. For three years prior to the study, the senior Indonesian community used the Tanjung Bara Club as a venue for an annual evening to celebrate Indonesia and Indonesian independence and to show-case Indonesian culture to the expatriate community. These elaborately staged evenings appeared to be a successful vehicle for such a promotion and represented an isolated but significant attempt at organised cultural exchange by the Indonesian community. Aside from this, *Kabara*, a KPC promotional magazine distributed internally, provided an opportunity alongside reports on company activities for an exchange of information on both Indonesian and expatriate community affairs.

Status in Tanjung Bara

An understanding of status is important to an understanding of the Tanjung Bara community, and specifically of the dynamics of intercultural literacy learning in that community. Tanjung Bara was a company town and the company imposed its own status-structure on the community, mirroring its internal hierarchy of authority. In addition, non-company personnel and their families and partners acquired status according to their association with others and cultural factors within the Indonesian context.

Outward signs of status included housing (location and size/style of accommodation), transport (access to a car and type of car), and marital status (only senior personnel were provided with married accommodation and family entitlements – including international schooling). High status also afforded privileges such as priority booking on the company plane. Senior expatriate company employees and their families received substantial leave-allowances with the result that expatriate children frequently took overseas holidays, visiting locations such as Disneyland, Las Vegas, Hawaii and Switzerland. Within the Indonesian community, status was marked by protocols such as location of seating and order of arrival and departure at functions. In addition to these observable indicators, in this context status may also be defined less objectively as the social regard with which individuals and groups were held. The hierarchy for senior company personnel resident in Tanjung Bara was as follows:

1. Managing Director (one person; expatriate);
2. General Manager (six persons; five expatriate and one Indonesian);

3. Manager (twenty-two persons, seventeen expatriate, four Indonesian, one position vacant);
4. Superintendent level (approximately seventy persons; fifty expatriate and twenty Indonesian); and
5. Supervisor level (approximately 220 persons; 120 expatriates and 100 Indonesians).¹⁸

In addition, approximately seventy senior contractor personnel were resident in Tanjung Bara, comprising approximately forty expatriates and thirty Indonesians.

Expatriate and Indonesian personnel in the top four levels were entitled to family-status and housing in Batu Putih or Tanjung Bara. At the fifth level, personnel were entitled to single-status barrack-style accommodation in Tanjung Bara. The Managing Director and his family lived in a large 'Type-A' house at the top of the hill in Batu Putih, general managers and managers lived in 'Type-B' houses near the top of the hill and superintendent-level personnel lived in 'Type-C' houses arrayed down the hill. Supervisor-level personnel were employed on single-status and accommodated in barracks in Tanjung Bara – not Batu Putih.

Non-company personnel and their families, who were hired by major contractors supplying goods and services to the company, were generally regarded as lower status than company personnel, the hierarchy paralleling that for company personnel and their families. Approximately twenty senior contractor personnel and their families

(Indonesian and expatriate) lived in 'Type-C' housing in Tanjung Bara (not Batu Putih) and less-senior personnel in single-status barrack-style accommodation in Tanjung Bara. The full-time expatriate school teachers were regarded as contractor personnel; the school principal treated as at superintendent level (family status) and the teachers as at supervisor level (single status). The status divide between Batu Putih or 'the hill' and 'the camp' in Tanjung Bara – the single and contractor accommodation area near the school - was marked. The status of the expatriate wives of company and contractor employees was, in general terms, equivalent to the status as their husbands. Status amongst the children was not differentiated in this way.

Several Indonesian company personnel were appointed at senior level, including managers, superintendent and supervisors, and housed in Batu Putih and Tanjung Bara. Supervisor-level Indonesians with families were employed on married-status and housed in Sangatta Baru. The status of Indonesians and their families was equivalent to that of expatriate personnel at the same level. However, the great majority of Indonesian employees, both company and contractor, were lower-status and accommodated in Sangatta Baru or outside the compound in Sangatta Lama. The majority of Indonesians living in Tanjung Bara were service personnel, maids or gardeners and of low status.

On a broader scale, outside the very small ruling elite, status in Indonesia is determined mainly by education, wealth and achievement in society, rather than ethnicity or family

¹⁸ Exact numbers varied over the period of study. Information from *KPC Induction (Level II and above)* 1992 and *KPC Telephone Directory* 1995.

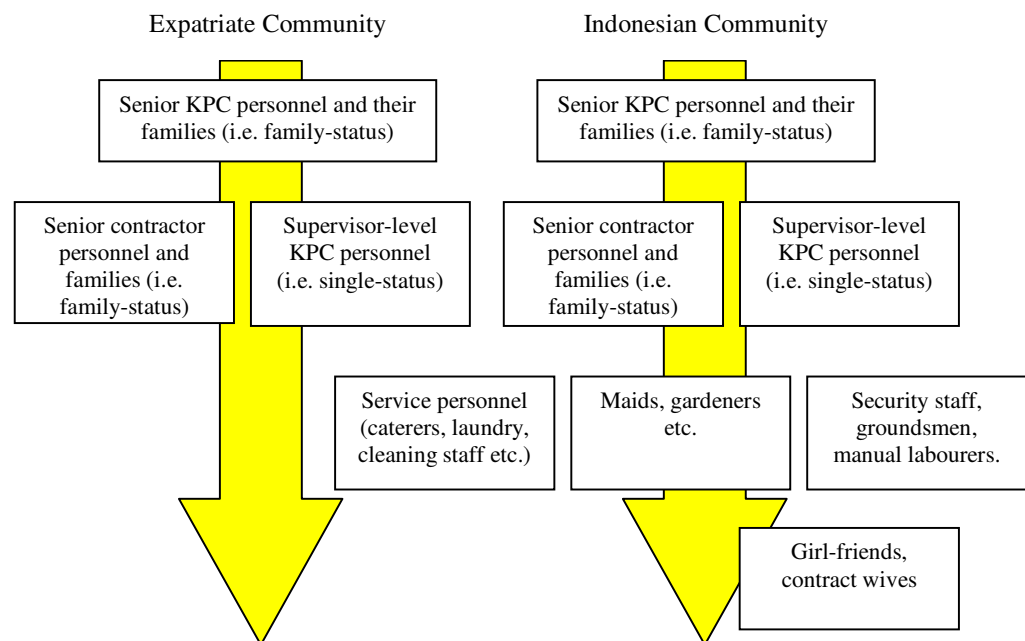
background. The large, emerging middle-class is comprised predominately of 'self-made' people who have risen in income and status, many from poor, rural or urban backgrounds. At village level, status is also assigned in formal ways to religious and community leaders, based again mainly on education, employment and social achievement. As an immigrant and transient community, Tanjung Bara lacked the structure of a more traditional Indonesian community and so relied heavily on the company to provide a status structure (Kunanayagam 1994). Indonesian women married to expatriates and living on site may be categorised as two types: (1) high status women who came from 'respectable' backgrounds and (2) low status women who came from a background working in the sex-industry which flourished in Sangatta Lama and elsewhere in Indonesia. Indonesian women in Tanjung Bara who were seen as promiscuous and morally deficient, specifically those who formed liaisons with men out of wedlock or as paid sex-workers, were regarded as low status, particularly by fellow Indonesians, but also by expatriates. In spite of this, a number of women of this type were partners of expatriate men in Tanjung Bara.

Kunanayagam (1994), in a study of status in the Sangatta community, describes how these women were afforded an ambiguous status within the Teluk Lingga and Sangatta Lama community, dependent on the nature of their relationship and the status of their partner within the company structure. On one hand, the 'good girl/bad girl' categorisation of women (Kunanayagam 1994: 209) meant low status for this group. On the other hand, relative wealth and a high status male partner added to the status of the woman. The lowest level in this schema is the freelance sex-worker or 'bar girl', followed by a woman who works in an organised brothel but has no regular partner,

followed by a woman with a regular partner; a 'girl friend', then a live-in girlfriend who shares a room in the Tanjung Bara camp, then a 'contract wife' and, finally, a legally married wife. The presence of these groups within the Tanjung Bara community, whilst not obviously relevant to this study, does point to the broader issue of status within the community and was a key area of concern for Indonesians, particularly, which emerged in the case study.

These Indonesian women – 'bad girls', described later in the case study by participants as 'distinguished women' meaning that they were distinguished from other, more respectable, women – were a very small group in the Tanjung Bara community. Approximately fifteen live-in girl friends and contract wives lived in Tanjung Bara and a larger number of bar girls in Sangatta Lama. Within the remaining Indonesian community, status was clearly defined by the employment level of the individual or spouse, following the company structure described above.

Figure 3.4, below, provides a picture of status within the Tanjung Bara community. This 'map' is approximate in that it considers only broad categories and ignores factors such as gender and education levels which may impact on status within categories. Given the complication and complexity of status and its relationship to potentially relevant variables such as ethnicity, gender, organisational level and educational background, this simple map is considered sufficient for the present purpose.

Figure 3.4: Status within the Tanjung Bara Community – a Map

The school in the community

Tanjung Bara International School was established in 1991 with the purpose of providing an education to the families of senior managers and contractors on site. It was established by an Australian State education system, the Tasmanian Department of Education and the Arts (DEA, subsequently renamed Department of Education, Culture and Community Development or DECCD), under contract to KPC. It was managed at the local level under the umbrella of the company's Human Resources division with the DEA providing support in curriculum, recruitment of expatriate staff, supply of resources, and biannual reviews of curriculum and school performance. The school catered for approximately fifty expatriate students in the primary years – from the age of

four until twelve or thirteen when they moved on to secondary education elsewhere. In line with DEA policy and the contractual agreement with KPC, all full-time teachers, with the exception of the Indonesian Studies teacher, were Australians drawn from the Tasmanian education system. As part of its contract, DEA managed the recruitment and placement of staff from within its own resource, providing special leave to enable personnel to transfer to Tanjung Bara.

As a formal avenue for community input into school policy, early in 1992 a School Advisory Committee, later re-named the School Board, was established. This committee was chaired by the General Manager, Human Resources (KPC), and comprised two elected representatives of the parent community, an elected staff representative, the principal (ex-officio), and a KPC nominee. The Committee/Board continued to play a role in ratifying school policy and providing a forum for raising and airing community concerns.

The school operated on an unusual forty-eight-week year with breaks in December/January and July, and both staff and students taking leave on a rotational basis to meet the requirements of KPC employment conditions throughout the year. (For the first two years the school operated for fifty weeks without the mid-year break.) This arrangement required teachers to provide an individualised program for students beyond that which is typical in schools. Such a program was also facilitated by the class structure that produced four class groups of approximately twelve children. A policy of continual intake, along with the company's ongoing recruitment program, meant that

class sizes tended to become unbalanced through the year and so children were moved on in small groups to the next class at irregular times.

The class arrangement itself is interesting, in that traditional class designations - grade one, two, three and so on – were not employed. The children were divided into four class groups of roughly equal size - Junior One, Junior Two, Senior One and Senior Two, later renamed after Indonesian islands ‘Bali’, ‘Sulawesi’, ‘Kalimantan’ and ‘Java’ - on the basis of age, maturity, academic ability and social factors such as friendship and gender.¹⁹ The following tables (Tables 3.4, 3.5 and 3.6) illustrate the class make-up of the school according to age, gender and national background at January 1996.

Table 3.4
Tanjung Bara International School Student Population by Age at January 1996

Age / Class	Number of children				
	Junior One	Junior Two	Senior One	Senior Two	TOTAL
4 years	5				5
5 years	7				7
6 years		8			8
7 years		4	1		5
8 years		2	4		6
9 years			4		4
10 years				8	8
11 years				4	4
12 years				2	2
TOTAL	12	14	9	14	49

Table 3.5
Tanjung Bara International School Student Population by Gender – January 1996

Gender / Class	Number of children				
	Junior One	Junior Two	Senior One	Senior Two	TOTAL
Female	7	5	5	9	26
Male	5	9	4	5	23
TOTAL	12	14	9	14	49

Table 3.6
Tanjung Bara International School Student Population by National Background – January 1996

National Background / Class	Number of children				
	Junior One	Junior Two	Senior One	Senior Two	TOTAL
Australian	6	10	6	10	32
New Zealand	0	1	0	1	2
USA	1	1	0	1	3
British	1	1	0	0	2
Mixed	4	1	3	2	10
TOTAL	12	14	9	14	49

To accommodate the school and its four classes, the company provided four attractive timber buildings grouped around a grassed courtyard and paved play area. The physical facilities included four class-rooms, a general-purpose room used mainly for music and Indonesian Studies lessons, and an administration block. The school was sited adjacent to a community swimming pool, volleyball court, hall and football field, and made routine use of these facilities. The library was used both by the school and community.

¹⁹ The terms Junior One, Junior Two, Senior One, and Senior Two are used throughout this thesis for simplicity.



Photograph 9: Tanjung Bara International School - a



Photograph 10: Tanjung Bara International School - b



Photograph 11: Tanjung Bara International School - c

The structural factors described above - class size and designation, the continuous teaching calendar, continuous intake - potentially had an impact on the teaching and learning program and also on community perceptions of the educational process. Small classes allowed the teacher to plan and teach according to individual needs, and the removal of traditional class arrangements with homogeneous age-based grouping and an annual 'promotion' to the next grade shifted the focus onto the individual's program and away from concerns with what is an appropriate curriculum for a particular 'grade'. The school had also catered for three children with special learning needs including cerebral palsy, learning delay and speech delay.

In keeping with work practices in other sectors of the community, teachers generally worked longer hours than is typical in Australian schools, perhaps motivated by the

financial rewards of the job along with the nature of their lifestyle where school was a short walk from accommodation and few responsibilities existed other than work or leisure, with all meals, housekeeping, gardening and so on catered for by the company. It was common for teachers to work at school, Monday to Friday, from 7.00 in the morning until 5.00 or 6.00 in the evening, and to gather at the school on Saturday mornings.

In addition to allowing for a particularly focussed individualised curriculum, these factors, together with the small size of the staff, also meant that curriculum policies and school plans were developed and implemented with unusual speed. The school adapted the first Australian national curriculum, the staff working from draft copies as they became available in the 1992 – 1993 period.



Photograph 12: 1996 Junior One class group

The professional culture of the school had evolved as highly focussed and committed. Discussions about pedagogy, curriculum, educational values and the needs of individual children were typical within the staff and occurred at various times in the staff room, the classroom and out in the community in a way that is less typical in a more regular school setting. This focus, created by the above-mentioned factors along with the social dynamics of a small staff living in an isolated environment, also had its negative effects with teachers often becoming highly sensitive to community criticism and critical of perceived professional failings in themselves or their colleagues.



Photograph 13: 1996 Junior Two class group

During the three years prior to the study a number of initiatives were taken by the school with the intention of addressing issues related to the development of intercultural literacy. The Indonesian Studies program, which included study of the Indonesian

language, *Bahasa Indonesia*, was extensively developed in collaboration with ‘neighbouring’ international schools. Visits to the school by cultural groups - dancers, weavers, *batik*-makers, potters, wood-carvers and other craft people were arranged. Excursions and extra-curricular activities, which took children out into the Indonesian community, were conducted.

The school budget included provision, required by the contract between KPC and DEA, for ‘special events’, the intention being for the school to arrange events which provided cultural enrichment for the whole community, and compensated in some measure for the isolation. This provision allowed for an integration of the school’s cultural program with an outreach into the community. Prior to, and during, the period studied, a number of community events were held in which Indonesian culture was highlighted along with events which focussed on Australian culture.



Photograph 14: 1996 Senior One class group



Photograph 15: 1996, Senior Two class group

A key role for the school within the expatriate community related to the formation of community. The role of the international school in facilitating adaptation of expatriates, particularly married women and children, and in the definition of the expatriate community is critical (Cohen 1977; Stuart 1992). The early decision of KPC to establish a school is significant in this context. Without a school, families would not be willing or able to settle at Tanjung Bara and, consequently, a community of expatriates which included families would not be possible. The alternative, a community of single men with a fly in - fly out arrangement for senior managers, and wives and children housed at a nearby city, is common amongst similar projects. In these situations, however, an entirely different and less 'natural' community is produced. It was KPC's decision to establish the school in order to produce the sort of community which would be

sufficiently stable and attractive to the kind of people they wished to recruit to their senior management team.

Beyond providing an education for expatriate children the school played a more direct role in supporting the development of a community. Many expatriate spouses in isolated postings suffer from a perceived lack of purpose, responsibility and status within the community. Theirs is generally the most challenging role in expatriation (Schaetti 2003). Networks of friends and family are often left behind in the 'home' country for the duration of the expatriate sojourn, along with work and, often, professional careers (Ali, Van der Zee and Sanders 2003). Sporting and social activities provide the main focus, together with participation in the school. For some, involvement in the school became a significant activity in what otherwise threatened to become a 'meaningless' and 'empty' life. This kind of role for the school was well understood by KPC management.



Photograph 16: Assembly, Tanjung Bara International School



Photograph 17: Tanjung Bara children visiting local Dayak community



Photograph 18: Parents, staff and children, Tanjung Bara International School

Avenues for both parents and the wider community to develop a relationship with the school included: use of the library; participation in language classes; use of the school facilities for non-core activities such as producing a community newsletter; voluntary tutoring in children's extra-curricular programs such as sport and dance; assisting with a canteen; assisting in the classroom; attending weekly assemblies, participation in school-sponsored family or community activities such as fun-runs; and the development of social relationships with members of the school staff.

The school aimed to '...cater for and capitalise on the unique environment and the variety of backgrounds and future life paths of the students (Tanjung Bara International School 1992: 1); and to '...develop in students.... a knowledge and appreciation of Indonesia's and their own country's cultural, historical and geographical context; a knowledge of languages with a particular emphasis on *Bahasa Indonesia*...; to '...participate as active and informed citizens in their society within an international context (Tanjung Bara International School 1992: 5-6).

The case study asks to what extent the school achieved these aims and the broader aim of achieving intercultural literacy for its students. The intentions and perspectives of individual participants within the case – particularly teachers – are explored in the study. The extent to which teachers and parents concurred with the objectives outlined in these formal statements and the extent to which they believed that intercultural literacy was an appropriate goal for the school were objects of the study.

The study was also concerned with the question of what unintended outcomes there might have been. In what ways, if any, did the school's activities contribute to the development of intercultural literacy within the wider community? Did the school's activities contribute to the development of intercultural literacy within the Indonesian community?

The following section puts these and other questions in the context of a set of Research Questions and clarifies how these relate to the overall aim of the research.

Research Questions

The primary aim of the case study was to 'trial' the theoretical model proposed. Does the proposed model apply in the 'real world'? Was it useful in helping to make sense of a particular case? In order to answer these questions, to find out if the model was useful in this case, case study method was employed. The research questions flowed from this original aim. They also relate to the three conceptual frameworks discussed in the following section. The research questions are as follows:

1. What was the level and type of intercultural literacy evident amongst the students and other groups identified?
2. To what extent was the school's intercultural literacy curriculum congruent (i.e. did the observed program match the intended program)?²⁰

²⁰ It should be noted that 'intercultural literacy' is the researcher's, not the school's, term. There was no curriculum designated 'intercultural literacy curriculum' in the school. However, since, as is demonstrated in the following chapter, there was an intention to address intercultural literacy in the curriculum, for the purposes of the study, this aspect of the curriculum is described as the 'intercultural literacy curriculum'.

3. To what extent was the school's intercultural literacy curriculum soundly based using the proposed Multidimensional Model for the Development of Intercultural Literacy and supporting theory as a standard?
4. To what extent did the school's curriculum and non-core programs and activities impact on the development of intercultural literacy in the students and the wider Tanjung Bara community?
5. To what extent did the activities in the wider Tanjung Bara community impact on the development of intercultural literacy amongst the students and other groups identified?

In setting out to answer these questions, the case study also set out to address the broad aim of this study, that is to propose and trial a model of intercultural literacy development. The Multidimensional Model for the Development of Intercultural Literacy provided a central conceptual framework which enabled both the framing of the questions and their answers in the context of the case study. To the extent that the model was effective in this respect, it may be regarded as successful. In this way a judgement is subsequently reached, based on the conduct and findings of the case study, concerning the utility of the proposed model.

If, using the proposed model, the case study succeeded in identifying the underlying issues, answering the research questions, and providing insights which might enable problems inherent in the case to be addressed, then the proposed model can be said to have utility for this purpose. In part, this means that the model should 'make sense' to practitioners within the case. If it is to have utility within the case study – and possibly

in broader contexts – then the model should resonate with practitioners. It should be confirmed as relevant to their situations. It should help them to ‘make sense’ of their own contexts, their personal experiences, and their professional challenges.

These research questions acted to focus and bound the data collection. In the following section this process is further explained with reference to conceptual frameworks.

Conceptual Frameworks

The key aspects of the research method that served to focus and bound the collection of data, and thereby focus this study, were:

1. the research questions;
2. the conceptual frameworks;
3. within-case sampling; and
4. the choice of instrumentation.

In the previous section, the research questions were outlined. In this section the second of these key aspects, the conceptual frameworks, is outlined. Sampling and instrumentation approaches are discussed in the following sections.

Focussing and bounding of data collection in a case study commences the moment the decision is taken to undertake the study. Case study methodology can be thought of in terms of a continuum. At one extreme are the loosely-constructed, highly inductive studies in which the initial focus is wide, and theoretical or conceptual frameworks emerge as focus increases through engagement with the case. At the other end are the

more tightly-constructed, more deductive studies that seek to confirm or disconfirm a theory.

This study falls towards the more tightly-constructed, deductive end of the spectrum. The tighter the construction, the more likely the study is to yield ‘...economical, comparable and potentially generalisable findings...’ (Miles and Huberman 1994: 18). The trade off, however, is that the tighter the construction, the more ‘closed’ the investigation. The less receptive it is to local idiosyncratic factors.

It can be argued that the researcher’s close association and familiarity with the case mitigates against this concern. Although not in this role, the researcher had been closely involved with Tanjung Bara and a member of the community for a period of nearly three years leading up to the commencement of the study. The conceptual frameworks, together with other key factors serving to focus and bound the collection of data – the research questions, within-case sampling and choice of instrumentation - were constructed on the basis of a pre-existing understanding of the case.

It is true that this strategy raises the risk of increased subjectivity and lack of rigour. The familiarity which enabled early focussing could have also blinded the researcher to differing perspectives, interpretations and ways of understanding the case. The initial conceptual frameworks were treated in the case study as first drafts only; as early iterations to be trialled and subsequently revised in the course of the study and in response to both the feedback from reference groups and early data-collection and

analysis. The researcher also remained open to revising decisions on within-case sampling and instrumentation.

A conceptual framework aims to explain the main dimensions to be studied - the key factors, or variables – and the presumed relationships among them (Miles and Huberman 1994). It seeks to give the case study shape and direction, to guide the gathering and analysis of data towards the objective of the study. The key factors determining the conceptual frameworks in this study were as follows: (1) the aim of the study, (2) the theoretical background, and (3) the nature of the case.

Three conceptual frameworks were employed: (1) the proposed developmental model for intercultural literacy, (2) a framework for conceptualising the school in the community, and (3) Stake's (1967) Model of Contingency and Congruence. Each framework is discussed in turn below.

The developmental model for intercultural literacy as a conceptual framework

This study set out to trial the proposed Multidimensional Model for the Development of Intercultural Literacy in the field. The model itself, presented in Chapter Two (p.96), and included as Appendix Two, thus provided the primary conceptual framework. Use of the model as a framework drew the attention of the researcher to certain phenomena; to certain participants, groups, activities and relationships within the case.

The school and the community

In addition to the Multidimensional Model for the Development of Intercultural Literacy, two further conceptual frameworks were required. Simply applying the model with no further conceptual structure could provide some insight into the utility of the model as a descriptor in this case. It could be determined if the model resonated with the informants and ‘made sense’ in that context. These are potentially useful insights and do tell part of the story.

However, in order to trial the model and its utility in helping solve the problems and address the research questions posed in the case study, it is important to note the way in which the school and its community were conceived. As was made clear in the discussion of the case above, the Tanjung Bara community was small and isolated, with the school one of its significant institutions. The school as a ‘thing’ – a phenomenon for study – deserves some attention in the discussion of conceptual frameworks. Whilst the case as a whole is, as has been claimed, well-bounded, it is less easy to clearly define the boundaries of the school and particularly the boundary between the school and community.

Within the small community that was Tanjung Bara, people played many overlapping roles. For example, the Chair of the School Board, was simultaneously a parent, a friend of the researcher, and the General Manager of the Human Resources Department within the mine administration who was ultimately responsible for the school. Teachers could also be parents, parents and children could be family friends. The line between school and community activities also tended to blur at the edges. Extra-curricular activities

were sometimes conducted by parents and were at times only loosely managed by the school – or not at all. Community activities took place in the school buildings and the school's library doubled as a community library. The school made routine use of community facilities and resources, and impromptu parent-teacher interviews were as likely to occur at the beach or local bar as anywhere else.

The school also played a significant role in the community as a focus for mothers who often acted as tutors, assistants and teachers – in some cases paid and in others voluntary. Teachers and the school played significant roles in the community, particularly in fostering its social and cultural life. This occurred both informally through individual teachers' community participation and formally through a 'special events' program intended for the wider community and budgeted through the school.

A school may be conceptualised as a group of people, a physical environment, a set of activities, an administrative entity or some combination of the above. The Tanjung Bara International School, for the purposes of the case study, was conceptualised as a set of actors, and activities. Specifically, the school consisted of: (1) people: individuals in the roles of teachers, students, and staff; and (2) the activities of those people whilst in the above roles (i.e. primarily, programs intended for the purposes of educating the students).

In particular, since the purpose of the study was to investigate the role the school plays in fostering or hindering the development of intercultural literacy, the focus was on policies, programs and activities which could impact on this area.

To relate this to Stake's (1967) model discussed below, the activities of the school may be thought of in terms of intended and observed antecedents, transactions and outcomes. For the purpose of the study, the participants, especially the teachers, can be thought of as the authors of intentions. It is they who planned the programs and expressed their intentions and expectations in documents such as the School Charter (Tanjung Bara International School 1992) and curriculum outlines. Their intentions at an individual level were also expressed in interviews and individual planning. The activities of the school relevant to the study were primarily those involving teachers, students and staff that aimed to produce outcomes in the area of intercultural literacy. It was these participants who were involved in the relevant transactions, and it was the students who were the focus of outcomes, since the school's primary mission was to educate its students.

This discussion raises two significant issues. The first issue relates to activities. It seemed likely that significant learning in the area of intercultural literacy would take place incidentally both inside and outside the school. In order to account for this possibility, the study would need to consider *unintended* programs as well as *intended*, and *out-of-school* activities in addition to *in-school* activities. In so doing, the case study became broader than an evaluation of the school's planned and intentional programs – a curriculum evaluation - and more an open-ended study of the development of intercultural literacy in a community and the role of the school in relation to that development.

The second issue, related to this first point, is that it seemed possible that the school's activities would impact not only on the students, for whom they were primarily intended, but also on the wider community. Initially this could be those closely associated with the school: teachers, staff and parents; but also those beyond this 'inner circle'; the wider community of Indonesians and expatriates living in Tanjung Bara. Did the school act in some sense as a cultural mediator, as a facilitator of intercultural literacy development for the wider community? This was a question that seemed worth exploring in the study and clearly related to the broad aim of the research.

The following diagrammatic representation (Figure 3.5) shows the key participants and groups within the case and their presumed 'proximity' to the school and its core activities. 'Proximity' here refers to the degree to which participants were involved in and concerned with the core activities of the school. 'Core activities' may be thought of as those directly addressing the mission of the school, particularly the curriculum. It should be remembered that individuals may belong to more than one group, and play a variety of roles within the community depending on the context. Figure 3.6 that follows shows relevant activities within the case and their presumed proximity to the core activities of the school. That is, those in the outer circle are presumed to be less directly connected with the school and its programs than those in the periphery, whilst those in the inner circle are considered core activities and part of the central mission of the school.

This conceptual framework was intended to remain open enough not to exclude actors, activities and relationships which could subsequently prove relevant, and yet focussed

enough that the study would be guided towards those that were initially most promising. The key factor focussing and bounding the collection of data is the concern with intercultural literacy, and the question: What role does the school play in facilitating or hindering its development?

Although a rather coarse graphic representation, Figures 3.5 and 3.6 were helpful in focussing the study and assist in illustrating the conceptual framework within which the school and its relationship with the community was pictured.

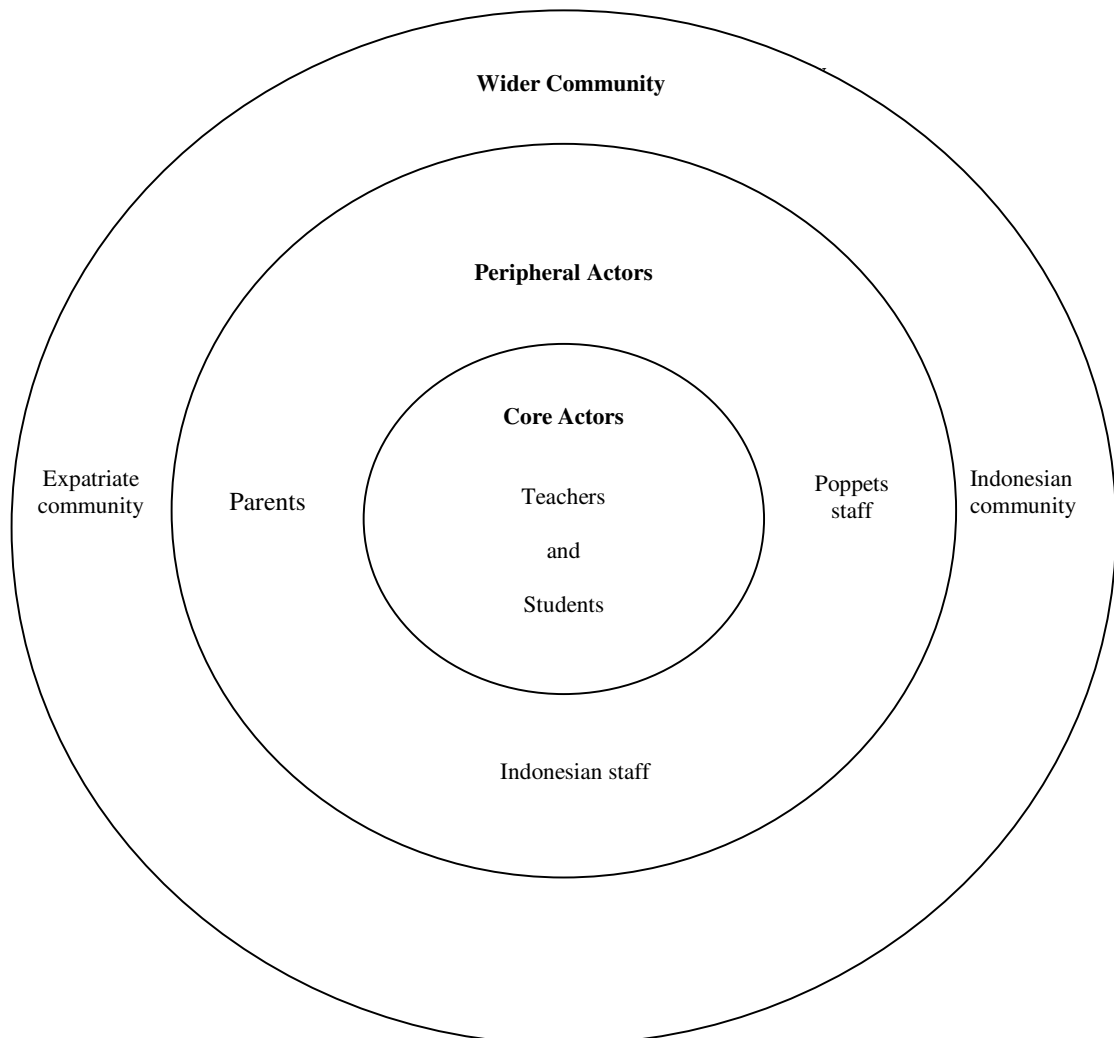
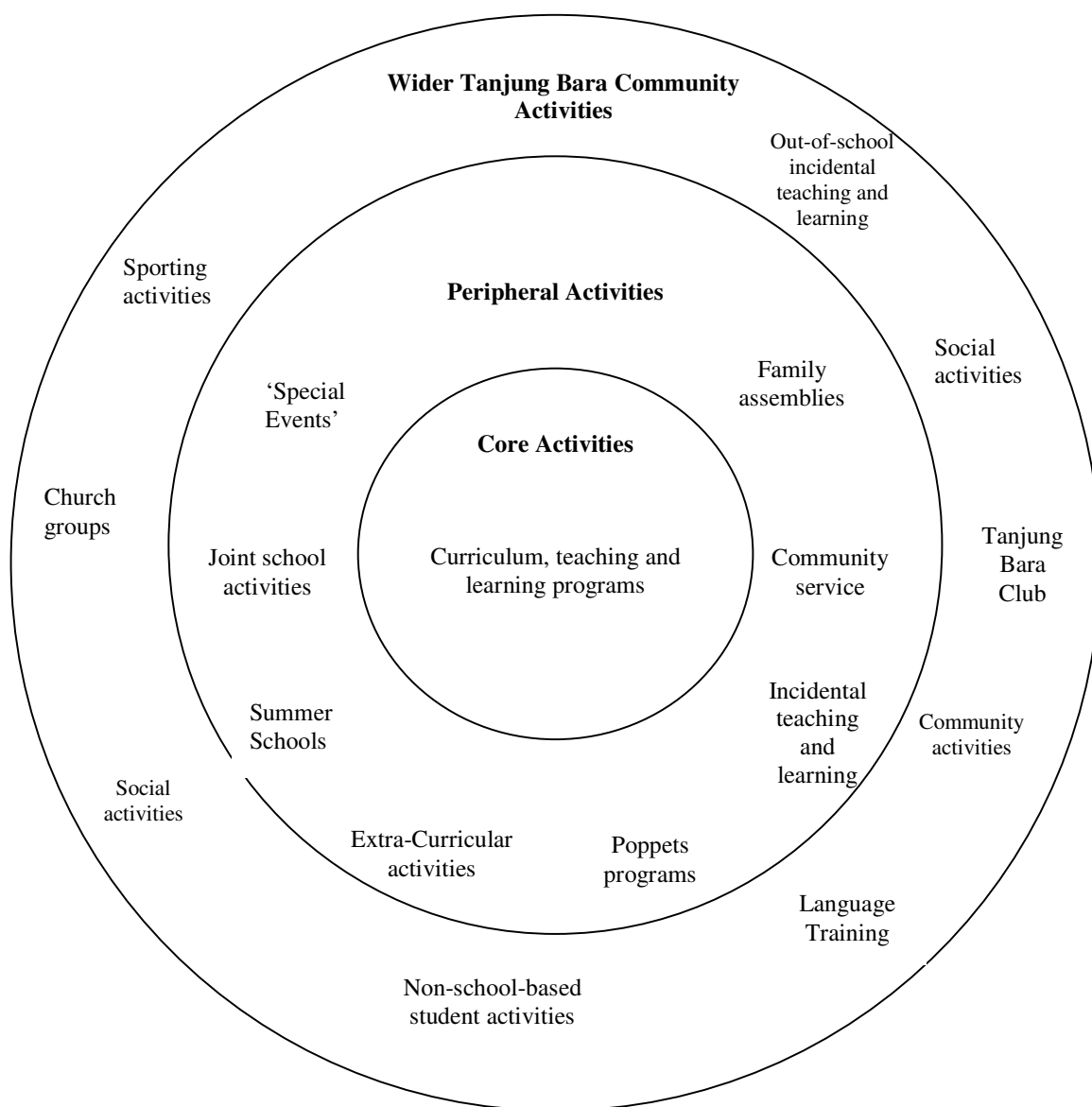
Figure 3.5: The School in the Community - Actors

Figure 3.6: The School in the Community - Activities

Stake's model of contingency and congruence

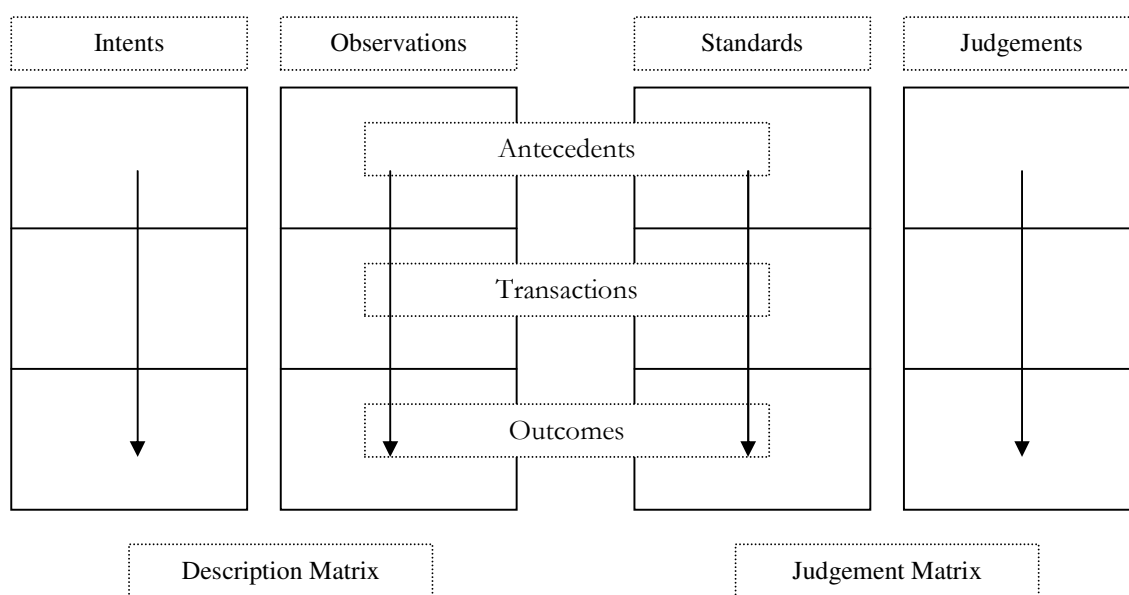
If the level of intercultural literacy was lower amongst the student population than hoped for by teachers, then where did the problem lie? Was it in the design of curriculum; in implementation; or, perhaps, in the theoretical underpinnings of the curriculum? Alternatively, was the problem located in the assumptions made by teachers about the students, or the values and beliefs of their families? It could also have been that the source of the problem lay in the structures, activities and values prevalent in the wider community.

Stake's (1967) approach to evaluation of educational programs offered a useful framework for getting at answers to these questions. Stake's model suggests the analysis of programs in two dimensions: the first identifies *antecedents*, prior conditions that may relate to outcomes, *transactions*, the implementation of the program, and *outcomes*, the impact of the program on those involved. The second dimension compares *intents* and *observations* at each of the stages mentioned. This enables an evaluation of the program that separates, in Stake's terms, *congruence* from *logical contingency*. Congruence refers to the degree to which there is agreement between intents and observations. That is, does the design of the program match the 'reality' of what is observed at each stage?

Logical contingency refers to the relationship between the three time-ordered stages in the first dimension: antecedents, transactions and outcomes in the intents column. The question is: Is there logical contingency from a theoretical point of view, or, put another way, is the design and implementation of the program theoretically sound?

In order to reach a judgement about the design of the program in this way, Stake proposes a second matrix, the judgement matrix. Here, the standards by which the program will be judged are made explicit, and the judgement itself is made. The strength of Stake's model, and its value for this case, is that it separates intents from observations, as well as judgements. The model may be represented graphically as follows:

Figure 3.7: Stake's Program Description Matrix (1967)



(Stake 1967: 38)

Stake's model may be applied to the school's core activities, the school's non-core activities, and community activities as described in figures 3.8, 3.9, and 3.10:

Figure 3.8

**Core Activities in the Tanjung Bara Case –
Stake's Program Description Matrix**

Intents	Observations	Standards	Judgements
Contexts and conditions identified in school curriculum documents as relevant to intercultural literacy.	'Observed' antecedent conditions (student and family backgrounds, school context etc.) expressed in interviews and observations. What are the relevant background factors?	Multidimensional Model for the Development of Intercultural Literacy and related theory. What does the theory suggest about antecedent conditions necessary for intercultural literacy learning?	Application of Multi-dimensional Model for the Development of Intercultural Literacy to intents and 'observations'. To what extent do the intended and observed antecedent conditions reflect the theory?
Intended program as expressed in curriculum documents and teacher interviews. What did the school and teachers aim to do?	'Observed' program. What does the school actually do?	Implications for curriculum arising from Multidimensional Model for the Development of Intercultural Literacy and related theory. What does the theory suggest about curriculum and programs for intercultural literacy?	Application of Multi-dimensional Model for the Development of Intercultural Literacy to intents and 'observations'. To what extent do the intended and 'observed' programs match the theory?
School and teacher goals and objectives re intercultural literacy as expressed in Mission Statement, Curriculum documents and teacher expectations. What did the school aim to achieve?	'Observed' outcomes. What were the observed outcomes of the school's program? What was achieved?	Multidimensional Model for the Development of Intercultural Literacy. What does the theory suggest may be achieved in intercultural literacy?	Application of Multidimensional Model for the Development of Intercultural Literacy to the data. To what extent are students and others interculturally literate in terms of the model?
Description Matrix		Judgement Matrix	

(Adapted from Stake 1967: 38)

Figure 3.9

Non-Core Activities in the Tanjung Bara Case –

Stake's Program Description Matrix

Intents	Observations	Standards	Judgements
Actors' perceptions of the school context, and the student and parent background relevant to intercultural literacy.	'Observed' antecedent conditions (student and family backgrounds, school context etc.)	Multidimensional Model for the Development of Intercultural Literacy and related theory. What does the theory suggest about antecedent conditions necessary for intercultural literacy learning?	Application of Multidimensional Model for the Development of Intercultural Literacy to intents and 'observations'. To what extent do the intended and observed antecedent conditions reflect the theory?
Intended programs as expressed in Mission statement, policies and interviews.	'Observed' programs. What does the school (and Poppets) actually do?	Implications arising from Developmental Model of Intercultural Literacy and related theory. What does the theory suggest about extra curriculum and related programs for intercultural literacy?	Application of Multi-dimensional Model for the Development of Intercultural Literacy to intents and 'observations'. To what extent does intended and 'observed' program match the theory?
Intended outcomes in intercultural literacy as expressed in Mission Statement and interviews	'Observed' outcomes. What were the observed outcomes of the non-core activities on students but also others?	Developmental Model of Intercultural Literacy. What does the theory suggest may be achieved in intercultural literacy?	Application of Multi-dimensional Model for the Development of Intercultural Literacy to data from interviews. To what extent are students and others interculturally literate in terms of the model?
Description Matrix		Judgement Matrix	

(Adapted from Stake 1967: 38)

The content of cells in the Description Matrix in Figure 3.9 differs from that in Figure 3.8 in that the programs to be evaluated here are the non-core activities of 'special events', summer schools, extra-curricular activities, family assemblies, incidental teaching and learning in-school, and Poppets. The *antecedent intents* cell varies in that it includes the perceptions of actors outside the core group – particularly parents, and

Poppets staff – involved in running non-core activities. The content of cells in the Judgement Matrix remains as for Figure 3.8.

Figure 3.10

Community Activities in the Tanjung Bara Case –

Stake's Program Description Matrix

Intents	Observations	Standards	Judgements
Actors' perceptions of the school context, and the student and parent background relevant to intercultural literacy. (Do any of the community activity organisers intend to achieve relevant outcomes?)	'Observed' antecedent conditions (student and family backgrounds, school context etc.)	Multidimensional Model for the Development of Intercultural Literacy. What does the theory suggest about antecedent conditions necessary for intercultural literacy learning in this context?	Application of Multi-dimensional Model for the Development of Intercultural Literacy to intents and 'observations'. To what extent do the antecedent conditions observed reflect the theory?
Intended program as expressed in interviews. (Do any of the community activity organisers intend to achieve relevant outcomes? What do they intend to do in this context?)	'Observed' program. What do the programs and activities actually do that relates to intercultural literacy?	Implications for curriculum arising from Multidimensional Model for the Development of Intercultural Literacy. What does the theory suggest about these community activities and intercultural literacy?	Application of Multi-dimensional Model for the Development of Intercultural Literacy to intents and 'observations'. To what extent does intended and 'observed' program match the theory?
Any relevant objectives re intercultural literacy as expressed in interviews. (Do any of the community activity organisers intend to achieve relevant outcomes? What do they intend to achieve?)	'Observed' outcomes. What were the observed outcomes of the programs and activities that relate to intercultural literacy?	Multidimensional Model for the Development of Intercultural Literacy. What does the theory suggest may be achieved in intercultural literacy in this context?	Application of Multi-dimensional Model for the Development of Intercultural Literacy to the data. To what extent are students and others interculturally literate in terms of the model?
Description Matrix		Judgement Matrix	

(Adapted from Stake 1967: 38)

The content of cells in the Description Matrix in Figure 3.10 differs from that in Figure 3.8 and 3.9 in that the programs to be evaluated here are the wider Tanjung Bara community activities of sporting activities, church groups, social activities, non-school-based student activities, language training, family activities, out-of-school incidental teaching and learning and other community activities.

The *intents column* differs significantly in that it assumes most of the activities do not have an *intended* impact on intercultural literacy development; this is not the primary objective of the activity. That is to say, the program is primarily an *unintended* program – at least with regard to intercultural literacy development. None-the-less it was considered worthwhile applying Stake’s model here since it allows for a consideration of the role of the wider community in relation to the development of intercultural literacy. The content of cells in the Judgement Matrix remains as for figures 3.8 and 3.9.

Data Sources

Having developed the conceptual frameworks and formulated research questions, the next step in focussing and bounding of data is deciding on data sources. In a case study such as this, attention cannot be paid to every phenomenon. Decisions as to which actors, activities, relationships and physical contexts deserved attention were initially made through reference to the conceptual frameworks and research questions discussed above.

Within this framework it would still not be possible to attend to every phenomenon. Within the group of parents for example, which actors would make the best participants

and informants? Which documents would provide the best source of data on school intentions? Which venues would provide the best source of informal and incidental interview data? As these questions suggest, within-case sampling decisions were more purposive than random. The decisions on which informants to interview, which documents to consider and which venues to frequent were also left open – within the direction provided by the conceptual framework and research questions – to be made in the field as outlined in the following section. This allowed what LeCompte and Preissle term ‘sequential selection’ or progressive focussing (LeCompte and Preissle 1993: 250).

The primary source of data was the interviews with individual participants. This data source was also supplemented by school documents and the direct observation of activities. The accompanying data-gathering strategies of interview, document review and observation are considered in the following section. The decision to attend to these forms of data was initially made on the basis of accessibility. It was thought that these strategies and the data they would produce would lead most efficiently to the most relevant and useful insights.

The primary mode of data collection in this study was interview. Qualitative case study methodology suggests the use of interview since it is through conversations with a range of informants, or participants, that the ‘multiple realities’ or views of actors on the case are accessed (Stake 1995: 64) and knowledge is constructed (Kvale 1996:14).

The rationale for choosing interview – supplemented by observation and document review - as the primary means of data collection lies in the research questions outlined

above. The case study set out to map the school community in terms of intercultural literacy and then to evaluate the school's program, within the community context, and identify the factors which contributed to this reality.

Phase One interviews and supporting data collection, conducted in 1996, were concerned with the question: What was the level and type of intercultural literacy evident amongst the students and other groups identified? Phase Two interviews and supporting data collection, conducted mainly in 1997, were concerned with the remaining research questions. To what extent was the school's intercultural literacy curriculum congruent and soundly based? To what extent did the school's curriculum and non-core programs and activities, and to what extent did the activities in the wider Tanjung Bara community, impact on the development of intercultural literacy amongst the students and other groups identified?

Participant selection

A total of seventy-four participants were interviewed in two phases in May 1996 and May 1997. These participants were selected for the following reasons:

1. they belonged to an identifiable group – or groups (students, teachers and school staff, parents, expatriate and Indonesian community members);
2. they belonged to an identifiable sub-group or sub-groups (see below);
3. they were thought likely to be articulate, informed and have a revealing perspective on the issues and questions under consideration;

4. they were thought likely to fit in one of the levels described in the proposed model - '*theory implications selection*' (LeCompte and Preissle 1993: 252-253;
5. they might challenge the theory in the proposed model - '*discrepant case selection*' (Le Compte and Preissle 1993: 251-252); and/or
6. they were accessible in terms of time, availability and willingness to participate.

This process of selection was, to some extent, collaborative. Children were selected in consultation with teachers. The entire teacher population on site at the time of interviews was sampled. Decisions on the sampling of parents, Indonesian staff, and the wider expatriate and Indonesian communities were made by the researcher in consultation with a research assistant (the school's Indonesian teacher) and in some cases in consultation with teachers (members of the reference group).

The sampling objective was to cover all the major groups identified in the conceptual framework and also to look for coverage of sub-groups within the main groups. Potentially significant sub-groupings within the student group included the four class groups, children of KPC and contractor families, recently arrived and long-term residents, children of mixed marriages and the main national backgrounds, Australian-New Zealand and others. Within the parent community, sub-groups included long-term and short-term expatriate families, mixed families, Australian-New Zealand families and other nationalities.

Within the wider expatriate community, sub-groups included married couples with under-school age children on site, married couples without children on site, and singles; and families sponsored by KPC and contractors. Within the Indonesian community, sub-groups included families, singles, and wives of expatriates whose children attended the school or Poppets.

In considering these sub-groupings, the objective was not to gain a representative sample of each group and sub-group, but rather, through considering the sub-groups alongside other selection criteria, to ensure that the sample was not biased in any particular direction and did not neglect or overlook potentially significant sub-groups.

In addition to these selection criteria, the strategies of *theory implications selection* and *discrepant-case selection* (LeCompte and Preissle, 1993) were employed. The first strategy, *theory implications selection*, involved the ‘...specification of the implications of a theory, the search for data or cases to test those implications, and the appraisal of the theory on the basis of whether its implications hold true for the selected data’ (LeCompte and Preissle 1993: 253). Using this strategy, individuals were selected as participants on the basis that they were thought likely to fit into one or other of the levels described in the theoretical model being trialled. Using the second of these strategies, discrepant-case selection involved an alertness to the possible existence of ‘outliers’ or participants who may hold divergent views or may not fit the typology suggested by the proposed developmental model for intercultural literacy. This involved the inclusion of Indonesian and expatriate practitioners and participants in both the reference groups and case study; the inclusion of Phase One and Two participants who were thought to be

negatively as well as positively oriented towards cross-cultural engagement; and representation of a range of groups and sub-groups in both reference groups and case study participants. Appendix Seven provides a summary of the interviews conducted, including basic data on participants' nationality, gender and sub-group membership.

In addition to individual interviews, a number of focus group discussions were held:

1. Tanjung Bara Reference Group comprising volunteer school staff and parents;
2. Tanjung Bara International School class groups;
3. *YPPSB* (the company's Indonesian school) staff; and
4. *YPPSB* students.

The composition and nature of the Tanjung Bara Reference Group has been described above. All teachers participated along with three non-teaching parents. Focus group discussions were also conducted with all four of the Tanjung Bara International School class groups.

All members of the *YPPSB* teaching staff were invited to attend a meeting on a voluntary basis. Thirty staff members attended from the three sectors within the school (Kindergarten – *TK*; Primary/Elementary – *SD*; and Junior Secondary – *SMP*). A group of forty-nine students from *SD* (Upper Primary) and *SMP* (Junior Secondary) was selected by the school's staff to attend a separate session. The selection was made on the basis of students' previous and likely involvement with the Tanjung Bara International School and community. Students who lived in Tanjung Bara, or who had been involved in joint school activities, were included.

In addition to individual interviews and focus group discussions, data sources included documents and activities observed. These two sources are discussed below.

Documents

Documents were selected for review on the basis that they were thought likely to contribute to an understanding of the case. Primarily these documents were a source of data on the school's stated intentions regarding intercultural literacy. The following documents were used as sources:

1. school charter and planning documents including a school improvement plan;
2. school curriculum documents – particularly those relating to Indonesian Studies (including *Bahasa Indonesia*) and Studies of Society and the Environment (SOSE); and
3. company administration documents including an orientation booklet, maps, and phone directory.

Observations

The third source of data was the focus of observations. These may be classified as follows:

1. formal observations of (a) classroom teaching, and (b) Poppets sessions; and
2. informal observations of (a) interactions between core actors: teachers, staff and students, (b) interactions between core actors and peripheral actors:

parents, Poppets staff, Poppets students, and (c) interactions between core actors and members of the wider Tanjung Bara community.

Two Indonesian Studies lessons were selected for the formal type of observation. The choice of Indonesian Studies lessons was made on the basis that this activity was thought most central to the issue of intercultural literacy. As described in the section on the research problem and issues at the start of this chapter, a central concern of the study was the issue of students' disappointing achievement in learning *Bahasa Indonesia* and learning about Indonesian culture. It was felt that observation of Indonesian Studies lessons may produce relevant data relating to the style of teaching adopted, the content of lessons and the relationship between the students and the teacher.

One Poppets session was also observed. Unlike the school, Poppets was mixed, with children from both the Indonesian and the expatriate communities participating. These children were too young to be usefully interviewed. It was therefore thought worthwhile to directly observe a session in order to focus especially on interaction between the children, use of language – English and *Bahasa Indonesia*, and social grouping.

Within the second category, informal observations, a wide range of activities was observed in the normal flow of life in the school, the community and the company over the course of the two site visits. To the extent that the researcher sought to be involved as widely as possible in activities that would allow observations thought most pertinent to the study, the sampling of data sources in this category was purposive. The choice of venues and activities reflected an understanding of where potentially significant

interactions were likely to occur: the school (classrooms, playground, staff room, and office); the pool-bar; the Aquatic Club; public and private social events; and the mine administration offices.

Appendix Eight summarises the data sources, instruments and techniques for data collection, and how these relate to the research questions outlined above.

Methods and Instruments Employed in Gathering and Analysing Data

The choice of methods and instruments used for gathering and analysing data followed from the conceptual frameworks, research questions and data source choices. Miles and Huberman (1984, 1994) suggest that, where a study is ‘confirmatory’ ‘...with relatively focussed research questions and a well-bounded sample of persons, events or processes, well-structured instrument designs are the logical choice’ (Miles and Huberman 1994: 35). Pre-instrumentation ‘...emphasises internal validity, generalisability, and manageability...’ (Miles and Huberman 1994: 36). On this basis, the choice for this study was clearly for pre-instrumentation and well-structured instrument design.

In this section, approaches taken to gaining permissions and entering the field are discussed, followed by a consideration of relevant ethical issues, the use of research assistants, interview instrumentation and techniques, observations and documents, translation and cross-cultural issues, data analysis, logistical weaknesses and problems with the method and approaches to triangulation and validation.

Once the initial validity checks were made with reference groups as described above, and appropriate adjustments were made to the proposed model for intercultural literacy, interview schedules were devised for use in Phases One and Two. These schedules were developed in the field and trialled with members of the reference group and research assistants prior to wider application. This process had the advantage of further ensuring internal validity by providing a check with participants that the instruments in addition to the model were accurate and appropriate.

Funding and support, gaining permissions and entering the field

The research was predominately self-funded. Additional financial assistance for travel was provided by: (1) Language Australia, the National Language and Literacy Institute of Australia, and (2) Conzinc Riotinto of Australia (CRA), the Australian parent company of KPC.

This funding provided support for travel costs relating to two trips to Indonesia (1996 and 1997) for the purposes of data collection. In the case of Language Australia, a report was provided which was subsequently published in the *Adult Literacy Research Network Literacy and Learning Series, No. 2* (Heyward 1999: 77-89). There were no further conditions. There were no conditions attached to the funding from CRA. KPC also generously provided accommodation and local transport for the researcher during site visits, and limited assistance with translation. The University of Tasmania provided limited financial assistance for photocopying and transcription costs, and attendance at two conferences. Non-financial assistance was provided in such areas as supervision and library services.

Permissions to gain access to the field and to conduct the case study were obtained in writing prior to the first site visit in 1996 from KPC, CRA and the DEA (Tasmanian Department of Education and the Arts), which was contracted by KPC to establish and run the school. Permission to re-enter the field for the second site visit in 1997 was obtained again from KPC. Permission was also obtained from the current school principals prior to the two site visits.

On both occasions, once on site, meetings were held within the first two days, both with the Chair of the School Board and the school principal. Following this, meetings were held with the school staff, the wider parent community was informed of the study via the school newsletter, and the school children were informed in an assembly. Through all of these forums the researcher explained the nature of the study, the purpose of the visit, and likely activities which would involve teachers, students, parents and others. Potential participants were invited to either participate, or to indicate that they did not wish to participate. Parents were informed prior to interviews being conducted with students. On both occasions an open meeting for parents and others was held in which the research and the case study were discussed.

As a former principal of Tanjung Bara International School, the researcher had a strong connection with the community and the school. Due to this fact and the small and close nature of the school and community, the process of re-acquaintance took perhaps less time than might be required for entering the field where the researcher is unfamiliar with the case. One activity that did take time at the start of both visits was establishing a

relationship with the Indonesian teacher and determining the level of interest in the project and commitment to working collaboratively in a voluntary capacity.

Permissions and access to the company's Indonesian school, *YPPSB*, were obtained from the Chair of the Board and then through formal application by letter to the three school principals.

At the end of the two site visits, interim reports were provided as feedback to Tanjung Bara International School, and in 1996 a brief report detailing recommendations to the two schools regarding the development of exchange programs and joint activities was provided to the two schools.

Ethical issues

In addition to gaining permissions from stakeholders and individual participants, a number of other ethical issues required attention in this study. These may be discerned at each stage of the research process:

Framing the study: The aim of this study is to contribute to the development of theory in what is, it has been argued, an area of real significance for humanity: intercultural literacy. The study is based on a need, perceived by the researcher, to solve real problems in a real context. In addition to contributing to the advancement of human knowledge in this area, the study aims to contribute to the improvement of human community in an ethical dimension.

Designing the research approach: Ethical issues at this stage included obtaining permissions (described above), securing confidentiality, and jointly considering consequences for participants with the participants themselves. Since the anonymity of participants could be preserved and no-one, other than the research assistants and supervisors, would be given access to the raw data, psychological, social and legal risks were regarded as minimal. The content of the interviews and focus of the study is considered non-contentious and not controversial. To the best knowledge of the researcher, since Tanjung Bara is a transient community, none of the interviewees now remains in the employment of KPC or living in Tanjung Bara. The research assistant who transcribed and translated data in 1999 in Jakarta had no connection with the project or with any participant.

Data collection and transcription: The key issues here are again voluntariness (consent), confidentiality, and consequences. Permission to interview participants was gained as described above. All participants were advised that the data would be kept confidential, that no other person (other than research assistants and the research supervisors) would be given access to the data, and that the data would only be used for the purposes of the research investigation. With children, special attention was paid to ensuring consent from parents and teachers in addition to the children themselves. Interviews were tape-recorded and subsequently transcribed. Confidentiality was ensured within the case. The researcher took care not to discuss interviews, comments or observations with others within the case. Training of research assistants also highlighted confidentiality. The possibility of interviews triggering emotional responses was also considered and discussed with assistants. Debriefing sessions were included to assist participants to deal

with emotion if required. In the event, however, no significant episodes of this nature occurred. Whilst funding was provided, as described above, to assist with travel for site visits and data collection, no conflict or interest arose and no conditions applied which could compromise the independence of the research.

Analysis and Verification: Confidentiality is a key issue at this stage. Each transcript was given a code number. The list that connects the codes to identifying information was kept separate from the data. Data analysis has only been undertaken by the researcher. No other persons other than the research assistants and the supervisors have been or will be given access to the data. The ethical imperative for the researcher to strive for validity in representing the views of participants is also recognised here.

Reporting: Participants are referred to in the text of this thesis by code or fictional name only. Confidentiality is protected by not referring to participants by real name. Ongoing association with the school and the site meant that, had any unforeseen negative outcomes arisen, the researcher could have intervened to provide required support. As mentioned, however, this investigation and the involvement of participants were considered low risk. Should any grievances have arisen subsequent to data gathering, they could be raised with either the school (Tanjung Bara International School) or the mining company (KPC). In the years immediately following the data collection, contact was maintained with the school and community through the school principal and some staff members via email and personal contact off-site. No negative outcomes were reported.

Research assistants

As described above, with the exception of limited funding for travel and accommodation, this research was carried out without financial assistance. With the exception of an Indonesian assistant, who completed first-draft transcriptions and translations in Jakarta during 1999 and a member of the KPC Training Department whose services were provided by the company for one back-translation of an interview schedule, research assistants were engaged on a voluntary basis. Their participation was reportedly motivated by personal and professional interest in the study. Assistants were employed in the following aspects of the project:

1. *Reference Groups:* Members of the reference groups may be regarded as assistants in the research since they contributed in the ways already described.
2. *Interviews:* Three individual members of the Tanjung Bara Reference Group assisted in conducting interviews as follows: Sopantini, the Tanjung Bara International School Indonesian teacher (1996), conducted ten interviews. Louise, the Junior One teacher conducted three interviews. Elizabeth, a parent volunteer conducted two interviews, and another Indonesian teacher (1997), Enny, also conducted nine interviews. These assistant interviewers are referred to in interview transcripts as S, LC, ET and E.
3. *Translations:* The Tanjung Bara International School Indonesian teacher (1996) translated the interview schedule, introduction letters for participants and interview notes. Aling, a KPC Language Training Department translator

completed one back-translation of the interview schedule. An Indonesian assistant hired in Jakarta in 1999 translated nineteen interview transcripts.

4. *Group discussions in Bahasa Indonesia:* Sopantini, the Tanjung Bara International School Indonesian teacher (1996), arranged access to *YPPSB* and facilitated group discussions with staff and student groups. Sopantini also conducted a group discussion with the Indonesian staff of Tanjung Bara International School.
5. *Transcriptions:* First-draft transcriptions were completed by an Indonesian assistant hired in Jakarta in 1999 to assist with transcription and translation of interviews. The assistant was paid at the rate of Rp100,000 (approximately US\$10-) per interview.

The role of research assistants is significant in this study. Since in qualitative research, the ‘...issues of validity and reliability ride largely in the skills of the researcher’ one should ask: ‘How valid and reliable is this person likely to be as an information-gathering instrument?’ (Miles and Huberman 1994: 38). Among other things, a good assistant will have ‘...some familiarity with the phenomenon and the setting under study, strong conceptual interests’ and ‘good investigative skills, including doggedness, the ability to draw people out, and the ability to ward off premature closure.’ (Miles and Huberman 1994: 38). It is the view of this researcher that the four voluntary assistants, together with the wider group of participants who formed the reference groups, fitted well these criteria.

The two Indonesian assistants, Sopantini and Enny, were both graduates of the *Institut Keguruan Ilmu Pendidikan (IKIP* or Teacher Training Institute) in Yogyakarta, an institute renowned for producing high quality graduates. Both spoke excellent English, and both expressed a keen interest in the project. Ailing, whose services were provided by the KPC Training Department, was a professional translator and employee of KPC. Ruly, the assistant hired in Jakarta in 1999 who worked on transcribing and translating interviews, was a graduate in English Literature of the University of Indonesia. This assistant's English was also of a high standard.

Ruly, who completed transcriptions and some translation of data, had no connection with the project or with any of the participants interviewed or discussed. Notwithstanding this, issues of confidentiality and the importance of anonymity were discussed and the assistant made a commitment to maintaining confidentiality.

Training was provided for each assistant prior to their first interview and then on an ongoing basis. This training consisted in a series of individual sessions in which the researcher introduced the assistants to the objectives and basic techniques of the research and, particularly, of the interviewing process. Topics included: the aim of the research, aims of interviews, ethical issues, selection of participants, negotiating the interview – including choice of time and venue and issues of voluntariness and confidentiality, introducing the interview and collecting participant data, use of the tape recorder and note-taking, the interview schedule, open questioning and prompting, writing-up and reporting. An initial session with each assistant covered these topics. Additional sessions

following each interview included a debriefing on each interview – both the process and the content - and revisited the above topics as required.

As described above, participants were informed that the data would be made available to the investigating researcher for the purposes of the research and would not be made available or discussed with any other person (other than the research team or with an assistant for translation and transcription).

Sopantini and Enny conducted interviews with Indonesian participants in *Bahasa Indonesia*. It was considered likely that data provided in these interviews would be more valid than had the Australian researcher conducted the interviews, or had they been conducted by another expatriate, in English. There are two issues here. The first of these is the culture. In broad terms, Indonesian cultural norms dissuade people from taking the risk of causing offence by making unfavourable comments to an interlocutor. In the case of the interviews, informants were asked their views of western culture, of the school and its programs, of expatriates and expatriate culture in the camp. Within these issues there was considerable scope for controversy. The chance of Indonesian informants speaking openly and honestly about these issues was likely to be greatly enhanced by employing Indonesian interviewers. The second issue is language. By conducting interviews in Indonesian, effectively the first language of both the interviewer and the interviewee, the validity of the data was likely to be significantly enhanced.

In relation to both these issues, cultural norms and language, however, the use of Indonesian assistants raises a further ‘second level’ issue. How would the assistants

overcome the restraints imposed by their own cultural norms when communicating with the researcher, and how could accurate and illuminative translations be ensured? The first issue was approached through the building of trusted relationships between the researcher and the Indonesian assistant. In both cases the researcher spent considerable time over the course of the site visits with the Indonesian assistant, discussing the progress of the research, exploring meanings as they emerged and discussing related issues in a range of contexts – social as well as work-related. Comments made independently by the two Indonesian assistants, together with their active participation, suggest that in both cases the individuals took on a sense of ownership of the project, saw in their role opportunities for themselves to increase their own understandings and improve their own work situations, and developed an open and collaborative relationship with the researcher. Indonesian cultural norms also make it easier for a third-party to raise sensitive issues or make critical comments. The use of the assistants thus made it culturally acceptable for negative comments made in interviews to be reported to the researcher.

The second issue, language, was approached, in part, through this same relationship. As meanings were negotiated and patterns emerged in the data, many specific issues of language and translation were discussed. In addition, the approach taken to translation and back-translation was dealt with on a more formal basis as discussed below.

The strategy of increasing the chance of validity in data-gathering through the use of assistants is also relevant to the selection of interview participants made for the two

expatriate assistants. Here informants were chosen on the basis that they were friends of the assistant and were likely to provide interesting insights.

Elizabeth (female) interviewed: (1) a long-term friend and a long-term single-status male expatriate; and (2) a female Indonesian friend and neighbour. Louise (female) interviewed: (1) a female teaching colleague and close friend; (2) a close female friend known to hold strong views about the role of the school and the relationships between Indonesian and expatriate communities; and (3) a female friend who was at the time preparing to leave Indonesia and was known to hold strong views about Indonesian culture.

Key elements in matching the assistant interviewer to the interviewee in these cases were gender and friendship. The significant point is that had any of these informants been interviewed by the researcher, it is likely that the data generated would have been less vivid, the comments more guarded, and the discussion less open.

Interview design and implementation techniques

The interviews were semi-structured (Kvale 1996). The case study aimed to trial the developmental model of intercultural literacy proposed; not to test its accuracy in portraying an independent and objective reality, but its usefulness in explicating a case and answering the case study research questions outlined above (pp.232-233). Phase One interviews aimed to map the community of students and others in terms of intercultural literacy. These interviews were a direct application of the proposed model and, as such, were relatively tightly structured. Interviews were based on an interview

schedule which followed the dimensions of the model and aimed to determine the level of the participant in each dimension. The interviews were also left open enough to allow for themes and leads to emerge, which could be followed up in Phase Two interviews.

Phase Two interviews aimed to explore the dynamics of intercultural literacy learning in the school and community. These interviews were also relatively tightly structured. Interview schedules were based on the conceptual frameworks outlined above – and asked participants to comment on their experiences with various school programs and community activities thought likely to be relevant. Again, these were also left open enough to allow for themes and leads to emerge.

Interviews in this study thus served to answer the key research questions in two phases:

Phase One: Interviews were structured to determine the level of intercultural literacy of individuals and thereby enable a mapping of the school community in terms of intercultural literacy. This responded to Research Question One: What was the level and type of intercultural literacy evident amongst the students and other groups identified?

Phase Two: Interviews were structured to determine the extent to which school programs (including curriculum) and community activities supported or hindered the development of intercultural literacy in the various groups (including school students).

This responded to Research Questions Three – Five. Four interview schedules (Appendix Nine) were prepared to reflect these objectives:

1. Interview Guide for Children – Phase One
2. Interview Guide for Adults – Phase One
3. Interview Guide for School Staff – Phase Two

4. Interview Guide for Community (including children) – Phase Two

The Interview Guide for Children, Phase One, differs from the Interview Guide for Adults, Phase One, in the indicators it refers to for levels and dimensions in the model. These indicators (Appendix Six) were developed collaboratively with the Tanjung Bara Reference Group for adults and children respectively and used as prompts to help ascribe a level for each dimension in the model to each interview participant. The Interview Guide for School Staff, Phase Two, differs from the Interview Guide for Community (including children), Phase Two, in that the former includes an extensive section on the school curriculum and related programs that is omitted in the latter.

All interviews sought factual information in addition to opinions, attitudes and perspectives. Interview schedules were structured so that a series of key questions asked of all participants was followed in each case by optional prompts and probing questions to allow the interviewer to seek clarification, expansion, verification and interpretation of the initial response. In each interview the interviewer was also left free to vary from the schedule and follow leads and themes as they emerged. Interviews did not all follow the sequence outlined in the schedules. Some interviews ranged over the topics and questions, following the lead of the participant. It was the task of the interviewer in each interview, however, to ensure that all questions were covered.

Each interview commenced with a briefing in which the purpose of the interview was discussed along with ethical and logistical issues relating to confidentiality, access to the data, use of tape recording, and likely length of the interview. The voluntariness and

consent of the interviewee were confirmed. Interviews concluded with a debriefing which included an opportunity for the participants to add any information not yet covered and thought to be significant. Participants were also invited to share further reflections, information, opinions or perspectives with the researcher or assistant subsequent to the interview. Interviews were conducted in a range of venues and at a range of times to suit the participants and interviewers. Venues included the school office and classrooms, private homes, mine administration offices and, in one case, the Aquatic Club.

Interviews with children pose special challenges of both an ethical and technical nature. Consent for interviewing children was gained from parents, teachers and the children themselves. All interviews with children were conducted by the principal researcher, an experienced early-childhood and primary teacher. This background provided the interviewer with a set of skills and understandings which facilitated the interview process and enhanced the validity of the data. The researcher was able to establish easy rapport with most children interviewed and was careful to avoid the use of leading questions – a potential problem in child interviews (Kvale 1995: 158). The researcher's previous relationship with many of the children as a teacher and school principal also raised the possibility of interview responses being distorted by a power imbalance in the relationship. An uneven power relationship clearly exists in any adult-child interaction. In the case of a teacher-pupil or principal-pupil interaction, the power distance is, perhaps, greater. A number of steps were taken to minimise the risk of invalid data being generated in child interviews:

1. Briefings stressed the objective of the interview in understandable terms and aimed to establish an easy rapport and openness.
2. Child participants were told that there was no correct answer to questions and that the interview was not to 'test' the child but to find out about the child's experience and views. This message was repeated several times during interviews.
3. Finally, in interpreting and analysing the data, in some cases some correction was required for possible bias due to children responding in ways that they thought would please the interviewer – rather than reflect an honest but 'less correct' view. The researcher's judgement, based on a knowledge of children in general and of the participants and the case specifically, was critical here.

The interview schedules or 'guidelines' were developed collaboratively in the field. A first draft was prepared and trialled with volunteer assistants from the Tanjung Bara Reference Group. A final draft was then prepared incorporating minor amendments recommended by the trial process. All interviews were taped and later transcribed. Interview schedules were printed with space for notes provided after each key question. Notes were taken during the interviews by the interviewer and, in most cases, further notes were made as the interviewer reflected on the content of the interview immediately following its conclusion. When interviews were conducted by an assistant, a meeting was held shortly after the interview in which the content, process and outcomes were discussed with the researcher.

Interviews with adults typically lasted between sixty and ninety minutes and yielded between 2,000 and 8,000 words of transcript. Interviews with children varied from approximately forty to sixty minutes and yielded between 1,500 and 3,000 words of transcript. All Phase One interviews were conducted in 1996. Three Phase Two interviews were also conducted in 1996, in order to test the instrument and collect some initial data allowing for reflection prior to the 1997 field visit. The remainder of Phase Two interviews were conducted on site in 1997.

Interview tapes were transcribed initially by the assistant hired for the purpose in Jakarta. The researcher then checked and edited these first-draft transcriptions with reference to the tapes and interview notes taken at the time of the interviews. This process not only ensured accuracy but also allowed the researcher to become re-immersed in the data after a period of absence. It is worth noting in this context that interview transcripts are ‘...not the rock-bottom data of interview research, they are artificial constructions from an oral to a written mode of communication’ (Kvale 1996: 163). The notes taken during and after interviews are thus as important as second-order data, preserving as they do the impressions of the interviewer of the meaning of the ‘raw data’ in the interview recorded at the time of the interview. The tapes also exist as an important reference since the tone and emotional dimension are more vivid than in the transcriptions. In the transcripts the meanings embedded in context and body language are also removed.

The process of editing first-draft transcriptions also allowed for the validity of the transcriptions to be checked. Whilst the first-draft transcriptions represented an attempt

to faithfully and reliably transcribe every word spoken in the order it was spoken, the second draft aimed to more faithfully represent the meaning of the original conversation. Sometimes this meant simplifying the text, removing speech fillers and generally straightening out the text – with reference to interview notes and the original tapes as required. Far from diminishing the meaning in the data, this process aimed to enhance and clarify that meaning.

In addition to individual interviews, focus group discussions were conducted in 1996 with the Tanjung Bara Reference Group, Indonesian staff of Tanjung Bara International School, Tanjung Bara International School class groups, *YPPSB* (the company's Indonesian school) staff and *YPPSB* students.

The Tanjung Bara Reference Group comprised volunteer school staff and parents. Three group discussions were conducted as described above (p.174). Whilst the first two sessions focussed on verifying the model and developing indicators as described in the section on Reference Groups above, the third session was a focus group discussion which aimed to explore the role of the school and community in facilitating intercultural literacy learning. This session was facilitated by the researcher. Notes were taken during and immediately after the sessions.

A meeting was also held with the school's Indonesian staff, facilitated by Sopantini, the Indonesian teacher. The researcher was not present for this discussion. The session was not tape-recorded. Notes were taken by Sopantini and retained for analysis - and the content was verbally reported to the researcher. The purpose of this discussion was to

determine the views of the Indonesian staff of the school on the question of intercultural literacy and the role of the school in facilitating or hindering its development.

Group discussions were also held with each of the class groups from Tanjung Bara International School: Junior One (four to six year olds), Junior Two (six to eight year olds), Senior One (seven to nine year olds) and Senior Two (nine to thirteen year olds). The objectives were: (1) to determine the extent to which children could recognise and articulate cultural differences between the host Indonesian culture and their home cultures, and (2) to clarify the level and type of contact children had with Indonesians. Class groups comprised approximately twelve children each, girls and boys. The discussions were held in classrooms in routine class time. Regular class teachers remained with the groups for these sessions and assisted in facilitating the discussions. The Indonesian teacher was not present for these meetings. The sessions were tape-recorded. Notes were also taken during and immediately after the sessions. These discussions helped to verify the results of individual interviews in mapping intercultural literacy in the school community. They also provided some leads for Phase Two interviews and investigation.

The Junior One discussion focussed on children's understandings of Indonesian culture. The extent to which children were able to articulate an understanding of the difference between Indonesian culture and their family culture was explored, along with the contact they typically had with Indonesian children and families and their understandings of Indonesian culture. The discussion was conducted informally with the group together on the mat. No interview schedule was used. Brief notes were taken.

The Junior Two discussion was also conducted informally on the mat. A mind-mapping exercise was employed to assist the children in explaining as a group the interactions they typically have with Indonesian children. Did they have any Indonesian friends? Where and how did they interact? What was their impression of Indonesian culture? What differences had they noticed? No interview schedule was used. Brief notes were taken.

Two sessions were held with Senior One and Senior Two on consecutive days. On the first day the two classes met separately. The children were organised into small groups and asked to consider some key questions. Each small group appointed a 'recorder' who noted the responses of the group. For the second meeting the two class groups combined and followed the same pattern dealing with the same issues but with increasing specificity. Questions focussed on: (1) understandings of, and attitudes towards, Indonesian culture and (2) the role of the school in developing these understandings and attitudes. Notes from each group were retained for analysis. Discussion Guides were used (Appendix Ten).

A group session was also conducted with students from *YPPSB*, the company's Indonesian school. The objective was to determine the extent to which children could recognise and articulate cultural differences between the host Indonesian culture and the western culture of expatriate children and to clarify the level and type of contact children had with expatriates. The role of joint programs in developing intercultural literacy was a key focus. Although the session with the *YPPSB* students had been planned as a guided

discussion, two factors dictated that rather than an open discussion, the session was conducted as a written survey: (1) the numbers in the group were much larger than expected, and (2) it was felt that a combination of cultural norms and the patterns of classroom activity and teacher-student interaction with which the students were familiar would inhibit the conduct of an open group discussion – particularly given the unexpectedly large numbers in the group. Students were asked to put in writing their responses to the key questions planned for the discussion. This session was facilitated by the Indonesian assistant, Sopantini. All discussion and written responses were in *Bahasa Indonesia*. The researcher was present for this session but no teachers from *YPPSB* were present. A discussion guide was used (Appendix Ten). Written responses from each individual were retained for analysis.

A focus group discussion was held with teaching staff from *YPPSB*, the company's Indonesian school. The school is structured in three sub-schools: kindergarten, primary, and junior secondary. Preliminary meetings were held between the researcher and the principals of each of these. These meetings and the group discussion with staff were facilitated by Sopantini, the Indonesian research assistant, in *Bahasa Indonesia*. The discussion with *YPPSB* aimed to investigate the nature and impact of joint programs between *YPPSB* and Tanjung Bara International School. The session, which was planned for thirty minutes, lasted two and a half hours. Many issues relating loosely to the study were raised – with a key theme being the problem of inequity in the resourcing of the two schools. A discussion guide was used (Appendix Ten), although the discussion ranged over many issues not covered in the guide. The session was tape-recorded. The researcher was present for this session and took notes in a debriefing session with

Sopantini which followed the discussion. Table 3.7 summarises the focus of discussions held with each group.

Table 3.7: Phase II Group Discussions Conducted On Site – 1996

Group	Focus	Interviewers
Tanjung Bara Reference Group (teachers and parents)	Role of Tanjung Bara International School in development of intercultural literacy	MH
International School - Indonesian staff	Role of Tanjung Bara International School in development of intercultural literacy	S
Junior 1 Class	Intercultural literacy level - perceptions of Indonesian culture	MH
Junior 2 Class	Intercultural literacy level - interaction with Indonesian community	MH
Senior 1 and 2 Classes – Session One	Intercultural literacy level, interaction with Indonesian community and role of school in development of intercultural literacy	MH
Senior 1 and 2 Classes – Session Two	Intercultural literacy level, interaction with Indonesian community and role of school in development of intercultural literacy	MH
YPPSB Students	Intercultural literacy and role of Tanjung Bara International School (partner programs) in development of intercultural literacy	MH and S
YPPSB Staff	Role of school (partner programs) in development of intercultural literacy	MH and S

Observations and documents

To the extent that the researcher entered the field as a former participant, observations conducted as part of the study might be termed ‘participant observation’. Metaphorically, the researcher stood with one foot in the case and one foot outside. In addition to conducting the research, during the course of the two site visits, the researcher also worked with the school, took some lessons, consulted to the mining company, participated in the social life of the community, and enjoyed a close familiarity with the case that allowed the perspective of the insider on the case. Two

types of observations were conducted, as has been noted in the section on data sources above: formal and informal.

In the first category, the formal observations of two Indonesian classes and one Poppets playgroup session, the observations were negotiated in advance and the researcher observed the classes, took notes, and discussed the observations with the teachers involved immediately following the session. Prior to the session, the researcher discussed the objective of the observation with the teacher in each case, gaining consent for the observation. The objective of these observations was to enrich the data obtained from other sources, primarily interview and documents, contextualising and possibly verifying perceptions of interview participants and intentions expressed in curriculum documents. Beyond this broad objective, the observations were left open. No structured instruments were employed. This process allowed for provision of feedback to teachers, and clarification of the perceptions of the teachers, as actors or participants, on the activity observed.

In the second category, informal observations were not negotiated in advance, other than in the most general sense that the researcher's role and the focus of the research were well known in the community. The researcher was immersed in the flow of activity that surrounded the core actors and the core activities, along with peripheral and wider community actors and activities. Field notes were taken after participation in many, although not all, of these activities. Key events, interactions, conversations, impressions and insights were recorded in note form on site.

Documents were accessed with the permission of school authorities and copies retained for review and analysis. These included the Tanjung Bara International School Charter, curriculum outlines – specifically, Studies of Society and the Environment (SOSE) and Indonesian Studies; planning documents (class timetables, class lists, and excerpts of a 1996 School Improvement Plan). Documents acquired from *YPPSB*, the company's Indonesian school, included a statement of national education objectives, an academic calendar and an outline for study visits to the school. Company documents reviewed included an induction guide, telephone directory, maps and copies of *Kabara*, the internal company newsletter. The purpose of reviewing these documents was: (1) to establish the formal intents of the schools, and particularly Tanjung Bara International School, as expressed in public documents, in relation to intercultural literacy, and (2) to provide additional background material for triangulating other data as required.

Translations and cross-cultural issues in the research

A number of aspects of the project required translation services. This included translating documents from English to Indonesian and from Indonesian to English. In order for interviews to be conducted in Indonesian, firstly the interview schedule required translation. The 1996 Indonesian teacher, Sopantini, completed this initial translation. A back-translation was then completed independently. Aling, a translator from the KPC Training Department, translated Sopantini's Indonesian version of the schedule back into English. This back-translation process served to confirm the accuracy of the translation – and at the same time to confirm Sopantini's understanding of the terms, concepts and issues to be explored in the interviews she would later conduct.

Sopantini also translated letters to Indonesian informants and to *YPPSB*, the Indonesian school, and facilitated discussions in *Bahasa Indonesia* at *YPPSB*, subsequently translating into English the main issues which emerged in the discussion. Sopantini also translated her notes taken during interviews. In 1999, some three years after the first site visit and first round of interviews, Ruly, an assistant hired in Jakarta, translated Indonesian interview transcripts into English. Sopantini spot-checked the accuracy of these translations. Key translations were thus routinely checked for accuracy. The back-translated Interview Schedule is attached as appendices to this thesis. (Appendix Eleven)

The questions of validity in relation to bilingual and bicultural research, however, go well beyond simple, direct translation of language. Some of these issues have been discussed above in the sub-section on the use of assistants. Using Indonesian assistants to conduct interviews in *Bahasa Indonesia* enabled the researcher to gain access to the Indonesian community and their thoughts, attitudes and perspectives that would have been quite inaccessible otherwise. The validity of the data gained is also regarded as much higher than it could have been had the researcher conducted the interviews.

Case study of this sort is about the making of meanings. Its object is the meanings which individual participants attach to the institutions, events and activities within the case. Cross-cultural understandings are obtained through a process of negotiating meaning; just as shared meaning is gained through monolingual-monocultural dialogue. Where there are two languages and two cultures involved, however, the negotiation of meaning is a more complex affair. The development of an open, collaborative and focussed relationship between the researcher and the two key Indonesian assistants may be considered a significant factor in enhancing the validity of data obtained from the

Indonesian community and conclusions drawn from that data. The negotiation of meanings cross-culturally takes time and effort, and requires trust and a sense of shared purpose. It was over time, as the project progressed, that those meanings emerged, and were checked and rechecked in a reciprocal dialectic process. Fortunately, the researcher was able to continue that dialogue throughout the course of the project, including the final phases of data analysis and conclusion-drawing.

It was primarily through the two Indonesian teachers, Sopantini and Enny, that the researcher could enter the world of the Indonesian community. It was through them that the researcher was able to gain access to that community, to the Indonesian school (*YPPSB*), and to individual informants. It was through a collaborative approach to the research that the researcher was able to develop the understandings which enabled a valid interpretation of the data cross-culturally.

Data analysis

In line with the approach to qualitative, ethnographic case-study research adopted, data analysis took place concurrently with data collection (Eisenhardt 2002; Ezzy 2002). In addition, a period of final analysis, post-data-collection, enabled a comprehensive summary of the study and its outcomes to be reported at the conclusion of the project.

The three primary modes of qualitative analysis employed were: (1) data reduction, (2) data display, and (3) conclusion drawing and verification (Miles and Huberman 1994: 10-12). Approaches taken within each of these are reported below.

Data reduction and displays

Data reduction commenced prior to data collection in the form of ‘anticipatory data reduction’, and continued throughout the project. It consisted of ‘...selecting, focusing, simplifying, abstracting, and transforming the ‘raw’ data that appear in written-up field notes’ (Miles and Huberman 1994: 10). The process of focusing and bounding the collection of data, described in the sections above, may thus be construed as data reduction.

The vast bulk of data collected was in the form of words – principally in the form of taped interviews, which were then transformed into typed transcripts. The process of reducing this data involved the use of coding, matrix displays and the Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS), a software package. Since the interviews were semi-structured following the theoretical constructs expressed in conceptual frameworks – particularly the Multidimensional Model for the Development of Intercultural Literacy and Stake’s (1967) Model of Contingency and Congruence - this process may be characterised as ‘typological analysis’ (LeCompte and Preissle 1993: 257). Appendix Eight sets out in table form the match between each research question to sets of data and then to a process of data reduction through progressively aggregated data displays.

Research Question One, for example, is: What was the level and type of intercultural literacy evident amongst the students and other groups identified? The relevant data sources for answering this question were:

1. direct interviews, Phase One, (all questions);

2. self-evaluation comments made in Phase Two interviews (Staff Interview: Question 4.3; Community Interview: Question 2.3);
3. indirect comments made in Phase Two interviews with staff (Questions: 4.1, 4.2);
4. indirect comments made in Phase Two interviews with community (Questions: 2.1, 2.2);
5. observations (classes, Poppets, incidental); and
6. field notes (Incidental comments, observations).

This data were progressively reduced in matrix displays as follows:

1. First Level Display: Matrix for each informant based on direct interview and indicators (with reference to self-assessment comments where available);
2. Second Level Display: Aggregated matrices for groups and sub-groups based on first level matrices. Matrix displaying intercultural literacy level and type for sub-groups based on secondary comments (perceptions); and
3. Third Level Display: Aggregated data based on coding of responses from the Second Level Display and using SPSS to generate graphs.

The development of displays to reflect emerging patterns was in this way integrated into the process of data reduction. Following the structure imposed by the two interview schedules, and sometimes by re-ordering the data, the flow of discussion recorded on interview transcripts was divided into chunks relating to each issue. These chunks were then summarised, in some cases coded and, where the original text was particularly vivid

and revealing and it was considered useful, key quotations were extracted. The codes, summaries and quotations were then entered directly into matrix data displays.

Through this process of creating matrices from the raw data and progressively reducing the data by aggregating the matrices, key themes emerged. Whilst the matrices dealt primarily with qualitative data (words, chunks of text), as themes emerged through this process, these were coded. This, in turn, enabled a quantitative analysis whereby key themes, converted to codes, were entered into a database using SPSS, which produced frequency counts and correlations between themes and participant variables (gender, sub-group membership etc.). SPSS has the advantage of efficiently managing data such as this and producing displays – in the form of graphs of various types – as required.

Drawing conclusions and verification

As the analysed data were arranged in displays, tentative conclusions were drawn. Emerging patterns were noted and preliminary conclusions tested and verified through techniques such as triangulation of data sources and data collection techniques, and discussion with members of the Tanjung Bara Reference Group.

As stated above, the approach to case study adopted was participative, interactive and evolutionary. As the study progressed, and data accumulated, insights emerged, patterns and tentative conclusions suggested themselves and these early conclusions were tested and refined. The first iteration of the proposed model for intercultural literacy was revised in the light of the evidence from the two reference groups. The role of participants, specifically the reference groups and research assistants, was critical in this

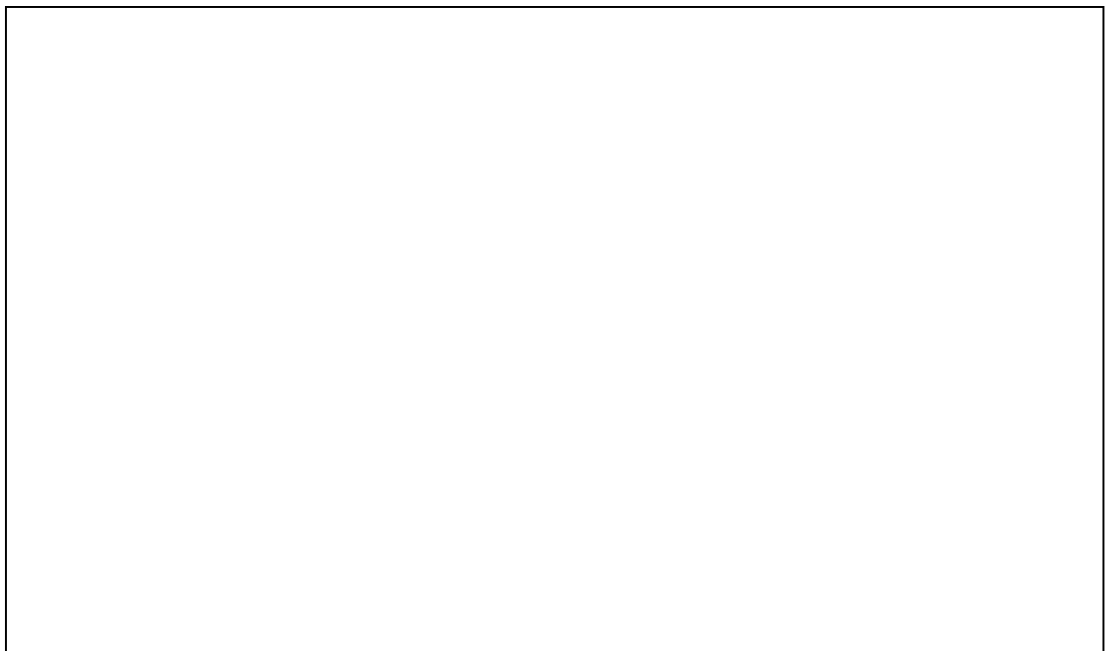
process. To this extent, the analysis of data and development of conclusions may be seen a dialectic between the researcher and the participants.

The research process may be viewed as a series of parallel or simultaneous activities (see Figure 3.11, below). Whilst the data were collected, analysis was simultaneously conducted and a picture of intercultural literacy in the Tanjung Bara International School and community was refined, gradually emerging in greater clarity. Analysis of data and provision of feedback to the school occurred simultaneously to the ongoing data collection. In this way, practitioners were made partners in the process of gathering data, analysing data, developing and trialling the model, and potentially implementing change.



(Adapted from Miles and Huberman 1994: 10)

Applying this model to the case study of Tanjung Bara, the anticipatory period of data reduction (prior to the commencement of data collection) may be regarded as the period in which the proposed model of intercultural literacy was developed, introduced to the reference groups and refined (Stage 1: 1995-1996). The process of data collection took place during the two site visits and concurrently with early data analysis (i.e. data reduction, developing data displays and conclusion drawing / verification) (Stage 2: 1996-1997). Finally, post data collection, the final and more substantial process of analysis and conclusion-drawing occurred (Stage 3: 1998-2004). The above model may be redrafted to reflect the study as follows:



(Adapted from Miles and Huberman 1994: 10)

Logistical weaknesses and method problems

A number of problems and weaknesses are apparent in the approach taken. These are of two types: (1) methodological problems; and (2) logistical problems.

The most serious methodological concerns relate to the possible impact of the researcher on the case, and, conversely, of the case on the researcher. The researcher enjoyed a close familiarity with the case and with many participants, based on a former role as principal in the international school. As noted earlier in this chapter (pp.235-236), the risk of the researcher's role within the case distorting perceptions is real, but has been addressed through a number of triangulation mechanisms outlined in the following section. The value to the study of the researcher's 'insider knowledge' is also significant. The most important 'instrument' in qualitative case study research is the researcher (Miles and Huberman 1994: 38). In this context, the researcher's understanding, not only of Tanjung Bara as a case, but of the context of Indonesia, the religious dimensions to cross-cultural relations, and the Indonesian language is relevant.

A further and potentially serious methodological risk is that the actions of the researcher may have impacted on the case. The researcher's presence, introducing the model and raising the issue of intercultural literacy within the community, may have altered the case, changing perceptions and even policies or practices in the school during and between the two site visits. The well-documented 'Hawthorn effect' is a risk inherent in field research, and particularly in case studies where the researcher is also a participant, taking a role within the case. In clinical and experimental studies, in which the research design requires that variables are controlled and measured, this is a particularly serious

threat. In naturalistic, qualitative research such as this, where no attempt is made to control variables, the potential impact is less serious. Nonetheless, it is recognised that the results of the study may, potentially, have been distorted by the intervention of the researcher and conduct of the research. Recognising the risk is the first step in addressing it. This recognition allowed the researcher to sensitively analyse and interpret the data. The researcher's close familiarity with the case, and close partnership with the school in carrying out the study for mutual benefit, is considered a strength in the design. The risk of a 'Hawthorn effect' distorting the results is offset against the benefits of this close involvement, and was addressed through a sensitive interpretation of the data with this risk in mind.

Of lesser concern, but nonetheless real, are a number of logistical problems that may be regarded largely as the result of financial constraints. Aside from the assistance with travel expenses and accommodation acknowledged, the study was self-funded. The following logistical problems arose directly from this fact:

1. The first choice of technical equipment was not always available. Specifically, tape-recorders used to record interviews, and the tapes themselves, were not high quality and resulted in some loss of data due to poor recording. This led to the loss of two interview tapes (Phase One: 24 and 27 / 28 - combined interview²¹). Notes taken during both of these interviews were preserved.

²¹ See a summary of interviews conducted in Appendix 7 for this reference.

2. The study was conducted over an extended period and, between focussed periods of data analysis, employment commitments assumed a greater priority.
3. Whilst the valuable contribution of voluntary assistants to the study has been acknowledged above, particularly that of the two Indonesian assistants, Sopantini and Enny, nonetheless their voluntary status meant that it was not possible to expect or require the performance of duties other than those for which the individual volunteered.

Three factors mitigated against these problems:

1. The researcher's association with the case and particularly with a group of core participants has continued since the conclusion of the site visits. Contact was maintained with several members of the Tanjung Bara reference group and from time to time during the period of final analysis and conclusion-drawing the opportunity was taken to refer to these people and discuss tentative interpretations and conclusions.
2. The researcher's continuing association with Indonesia in general and with the issues surrounding intercultural literacy in international and national schools and communities in Indonesia has continued. During the period from 1997 until 2003 the researcher has been living and working full-time in Indonesia. This has created many opportunities for testing the ideas inherent in the proposed model with academics and practitioners, and in the researcher's own professional practice. It has also allowed the process of the researcher's own intercultural literacy development to continue, enhancing

the understandings, attitudes, language abilities, identities and competencies that the researcher is able to bring to the analysis of data. In particular, the researcher has developed advanced competencies in *Bahasa Indonesia* and understandings of Indonesian culture and the place of Islam and Christianity in this context.

3. The researcher's continuing involvement with international schools and with the development of approaches to intercultural literacy provided a number of opportunities for testing and refining the ideas presented in this study with researchers and practitioners. During the period of this study, the researcher presented a number of relevant papers and workshops in international schools, conferences and institutes in Indonesia, Thailand, Malaysia, Vietnam and the Netherlands.

Validation and triangulation

Four triangulation protocols were followed: data source triangulation; investigator triangulation; theory triangulation and methodological triangulation (Stake 1995:112-115). Approaches taken in relation to each of these is detailed below.

Data source triangulation

1. Two separate site visits were made over a two-year period. This meant that the case itself was observed and studied on two separate occasions.
2. Seventy-four individuals were interviewed. This allowed for information to be cross-referenced from multiple perspectives. It also allowed for different perspectives on individual actors and activities within the case to be considered.

3. The perspectives of participants from within different groups were also considered in this way. Particularly significant here is the focus on collecting interview data from members of both Indonesian and expatriate communities.
4. Data was also collected from sources other than interview: group discussions and written responses from students; documents, ad-hoc discussions and observation. This allowed for verification and corroboration of evidence from interviews and vice-versa.

Investigator triangulation

1. The two reference groups provided a significant opportunity for the model of intercultural literacy to be 'validity checked' prior to its application in the case study.
2. The second reference group, the Tanjung Bara group, also provided the perspective of practitioners and actors from within the case on the case itself and on tentative interpretations of the data. This occurred in the formal meetings held and, equally significantly, in informal ad-hoc discussions throughout the site-visit phases of the study and beyond. The ongoing involvement of some members of the group and particularly of Indonesian assistant, Sopantini, served as a means of achieving investigator triangulation during the analysis phase.
3. The use of research assistants has been described above. The triangulation effect is particularly significant here in relation to data from the Indonesian community.
4. The fact that two site visits, separated by over a year, were made also meant that the researcher approached the case on two separate occasions. In the second visit,

the researcher's approach benefited from the extra year in which to develop the theory and explore the issues.

Theory triangulation

1. The two reference groups also provided a significant opportunity for the Multidimensional Model for the Development of Intercultural Literacy to be 'theory triangulated' prior to its application in the case study. Whilst there was no conscious attempt to recruit members of these reference groups with 'alternative theoretical viewpoints' (Stake 1995: 113) nonetheless the use of the reference groups prior to the case study served to corroborate the theory inherent in the proposed model.
5. As outlined above, during the period of the study a number of papers and workshops were presented, prompting dialogue with researchers and practitioners.

Methodological triangulation

1. The case was studied through the use of interview, observation and, to a limited extent, document review. The use of these three methodological approaches to the same phenomenon served to increase validity.
2. Interviews were taped whilst interview notes were also taken, and in most cases reflections were recorded after the interview. These different methods of recording the data were particularly helpful when the researcher returned to the interview data after an absence and so served to increase the validity of interpretations.

3. The fact that the approach taken to this study was participative and collaborative also increases the validity of interpretations and conclusions. In a more traditional positivist research paradigm, it might be thought that the researcher's familiarity with the case, and the open and collaborative role taken with participants within the case, could impact negatively on validity. However, for all the reasons outlined above, this familiarity and the open-collaborative approach taken significantly enhanced validity in this study.

Conclusions

The broad aim of the study is to propose and trial a developmental model, which describes the nature of intercultural literacy, and how it is learned. The aim of this chapter was to describe the process and outcomes of a reference group process through which the first iteration of the model was refined and validated, and to explicate the design of the case study and demonstrate how this case study serves this broader aim of the study by providing a vehicle for trialling the model.

Prior to trialling the proposed model in the case study, an initial 'validity check' was conducted with practitioner reference groups. The process and outcomes of the reference group strategy were reported. Most significantly, the reference groups, comprised of practitioners with experience in international schools in South East Asia, confirmed that the model did indeed reflect their perceptions and experience. The reference groups also contributed refinements to the model which were discussed. In this context, the final iteration of the proposed model, incorporating these refinements, was introduced.

The choice of a case-study approach for the purpose of trialling the proposed model was made since this approach enabled the researcher to simultaneously address the real-world problems which lie behind the study, and to contribute to theory development by adding to the body of cases which may confirm – or disconfirm – the theory relating to intercultural literacy.

In the remainder of this chapter, the case - Tanjung Bara International School and its community - was introduced, and, in this context, the particular case study approach employed and the reasons for choosing this particular case were explained. Tanjung Bara was chosen because it is a well-bounded case, it was well-known and accessible to the researcher and it was the source of the problem which stimulated the research. It may also represent a class of international schools, specifically those in company-owned ‘project towns’ typical in ‘off-shore’ mining, oil and resource industries and military bases. Case study method, however, was not chosen to enable findings to be generalised to statistical populations, since this is not theoretically justifiable, but to generalise to theoretical propositions (Burns 1995: 326). The case study aims to test the theory in the proposed Multidimensional Model for the Development of Intercultural Literacy. Not to prove or disprove the theory, but to determine whether the model is useful in the field – in a particular case – and to, perhaps, increase the probability that the model may be of use in other contexts.

In the following two chapters the case study is reported, and results are presented and analysed. Chapter Four addresses the first research question and presents a map of

intercultural literacy in Tanjung Bara. Chapter Five addresses the remaining research question, exploring the dynamics of intercultural literacy learning in Tanjung Bara.

Chapter 4

Introduction

This is the first of two chapters which present a case study of intercultural literacy in the Tanjung Bara International School and its community in East Kalimantan, Indonesia. The previous chapter explained the research method for the case study, and Chapters Four and Five present the case study. As described in the previous chapter, in the context of this thesis the primary aim of the case study is to ‘trial’ the theoretical model proposed, and validated with reference to expert knowledge or practitioners; to determine the extent to which the proposed model applies in the ‘real world’; to determine its utility in helping to make sense of a particular case and in answering the research questions posed.

The research questions which focus the case study flowed both from this original aim and from the conceptual frameworks outlined in the pervious chapter (pp.232-234). These five questions provide a structure for the case study report in this, and the following, chapter. This chapter addresses the first of the questions:

1. What was the level and type of intercultural literacy evident amongst the students and other groups identified?

This question is initially answered through analysis of Phase One interviews, which were structured with this aim in mind (see interview schedules in Appendix Nine). Phase Two interviews also provided important data for triangulation, as participants were asked to assess their own intercultural literacy and comment on their perceptions of intercultural literacy levels in the school and community. The remaining four questions are addressed in the following Chapter Five and are largely answered through analysis of

Phase Two interviews, which were structured to this end. Analysis of additional data, drawn from observation, group discussions and documents, is also included.

2. To what extent was the school's intercultural literacy curriculum congruent (i.e. did the observed program match the intended program)?
3. To what extent was the school's intercultural literacy curriculum soundly based (in Stake's terms, 'logically contingent') using the proposed Multidimensional Model for the Development of Intercultural Literacy and supporting theory as a standard?
4. To what extent did the school's core and non-core programs and activities impact on the development of intercultural literacy in the students and the wider Tanjung Bara community?
5. To what extent did the activities in the wider Tanjung Bara community impact on the development of intercultural literacy amongst the students and other groups identified?

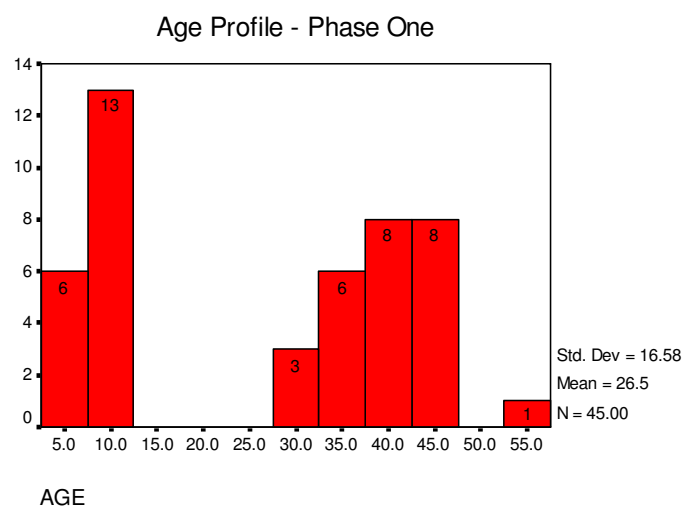
This chapter commences with a profile of the Phase One participant group, followed by an initial mapping of intercultural literacy levels in the student and wider community groups in Tanjung Bara – expatriate and Indonesian – based on Phase One interviews. This provides an initial answer to the first research question. A profile of the Phase Two participant group is then presented, followed by an analysis of Phase Two data which enables a further mapping of intercultural literacy in the community and an answer to the first research question.

The aim of the chapter is thus to arrive at an answer to the first research question: What was the level and type of intercultural literacy evident amongst the students and other groups identified?

Phase One Participant Group Profile

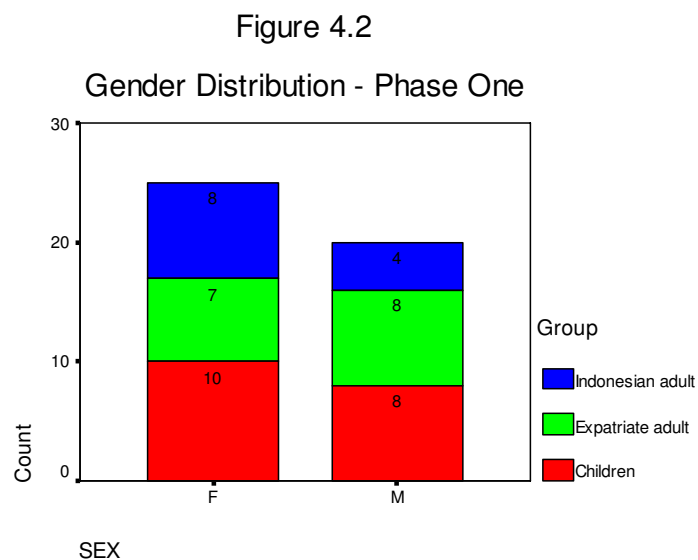
A total of seventy-four individuals was interviewed during two site visits, forty-five in 1996 and twenty-nine in 1997. As outlined in the previous chapter, participants were selected according to a number of criteria with the aim of ensuring that all major groups and sub-groups identified in the conceptual framework were included. This section details the profile of the participant group selected for Phase One interviews.

Figure 4.1



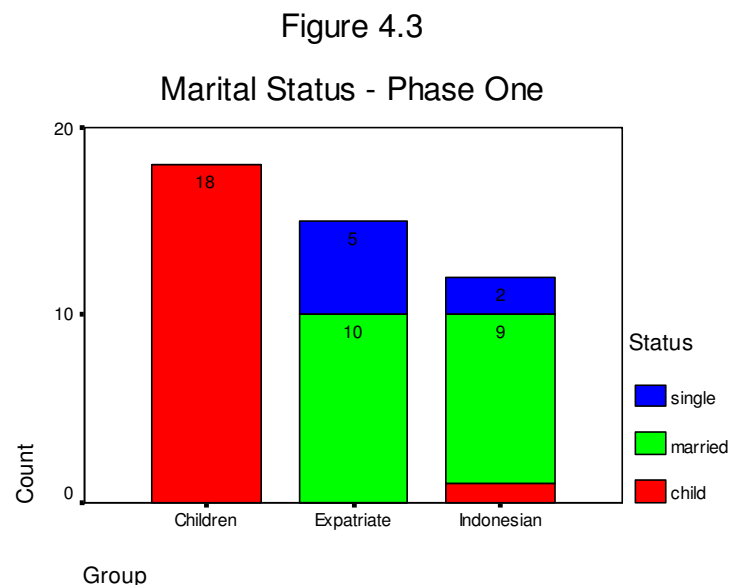
In this sample of forty-five interview participants, the ages ranged from four to fifty-seven. The distribution pattern reflects that of the community surveyed, in that most are either school-aged children or adults in mid-career. KPC expatriate recruiting policy at

this time appeared to favour mid-career professionals. Young professionals were rarely employed and high-school-aged expatriate children were not accommodated on site as provision was made for secondary education off-site, generally in boarding schools. In this sample children ranged in age from four to thirteen and adults from twenty-eight to forty-seven with the exception of one Indonesian manager aged fifty-seven. (Note that age data were unavailable for three participants for whom an estimate was made by the researcher.)



In Phase One, twenty-five females and twenty males were interviewed. This difference may be attributed largely to the selection of participants from the Indonesian community. Eight Indonesian females were interviewed, including two members of the Tanjung Bara International School staff, one school parent and one child. In contrast, only four Indonesian males were interviewed. This difference is due to the fact that four of the eight Indonesian females were included in sub-groups other than the broader Indonesian community.

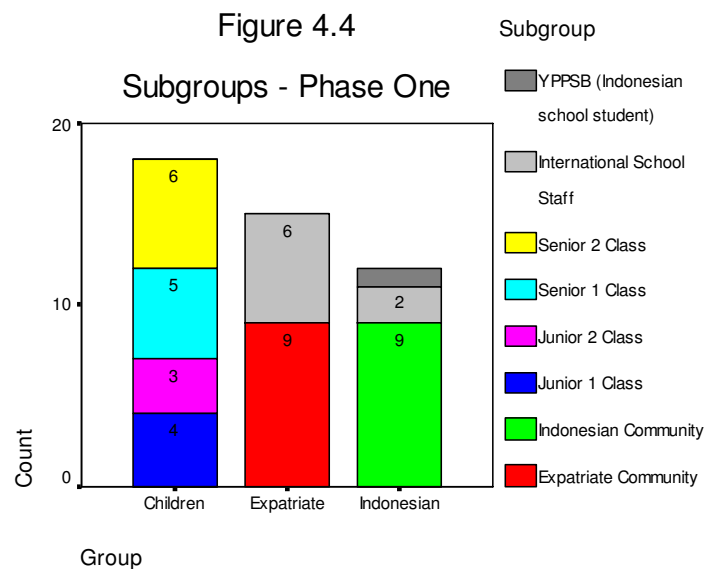
In Figure 4.2 above, as in several other charts that follow, the sample is grouped broadly into: (1) children (expatriate and Indonesian), (2) adult members of the Indonesian community, and (3) adult members of the expatriate community.



Of the forty-five participants interviewed in Phase One, nineteen were children, of whom eighteen were students of Tanjung Bara International School and one a student of *YPPSB*, the company's Indonesian school. Within the group of adults interviewed, nineteen were married, of whom nine were members of the Indonesian community and ten expatriates. Seven were single.²² The sample included a predominance of students, staff and parents of children at Tanjung Bara International School (thirty-five including one Indonesian mother). The remaining ten participants included one single expatriate, two single Indonesian community members and seven married Indonesian community

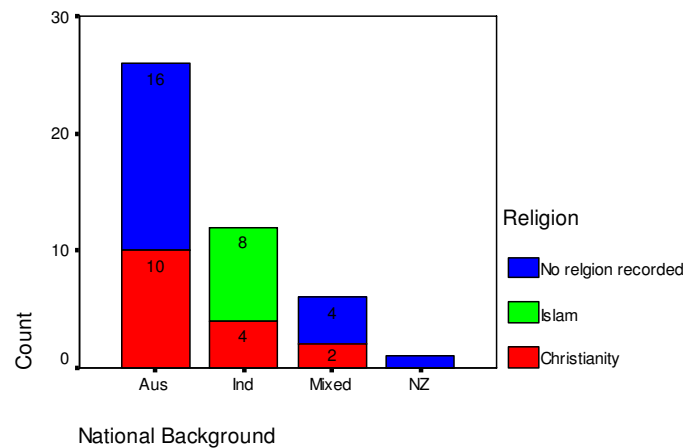
²² Defacto marriages are not included in the category of married persons here. The category refers to married status under company regulations and thus excludes those employed on single-status with absent spouses and/or with 'contract-wives' or 'live-in girl friends' on site.

members. Only three single expatriate women were employed in the mine in 1996; one as a training consultant and two as international school teachers.



This break-down illustrates how the eighteen children interviewed were distributed between the four class groups at Tanjung Bara International School: four in Junior One (J1), three in Junior Two (J2), five in Senior One (S2) and six in Senior Two (S2). More children were interviewed in the senior classes since it was felt that they would be more articulate. Within the fifteen members of the expatriate community interviewed, six were members of the school staff, eight were parents of children in the school and one was a single man. Among the twelve Indonesian community members interviewed, one was a student at *YPPSB*, two were staff members at the Tanjung Bara International School, and nine were community members, including one who was the chair of the *YPPSB* School Board.

Figure 4.5
National & Religious Background - Phase One



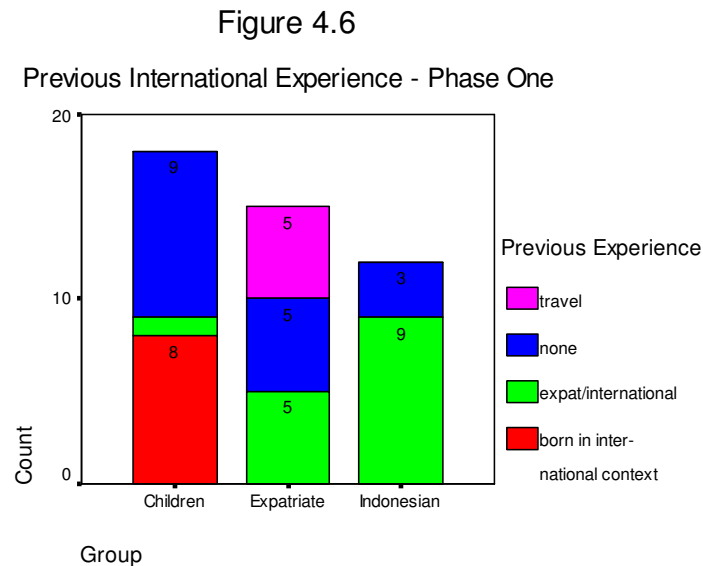
Of the forty-five participants sampled in Phase One, twenty-six were identified as Australians, twelve as Indonesians and one as a New Zealander. A further six were classified as mixed. This last group comprised children with mixed parentage and included one Australian-Indonesian, one New Zealand-Filipino, one New Zealand-Indonesian, one Australian-Singaporean and two British-Indonesians. This classification does not denote nationality, but rather the national background of the parents. In all of these cases, the mother was Asian and the father a western expatriate employed at the mine. This sample reflects the reality of the community, in which cross-cultural marriages were common and in all cases involved a partnership between a western male and Asian female. Whilst a number of other national minorities existed in the expatriate community, none were sampled in Phase One since the majority of the expatriate community associated with the school was Australian or mixed. (Of the forty-nine children enrolled in the international school at this time, forty-four were from Australian, New Zealand or mixed-culture families. The remaining five children were from two families; one British and one American. Although these children were not

sampled in Phase One, parents from the families were sampled for Phase Two interviews.)

Religious affiliation may not be immediately seen as relevant in this context. However, in the Indonesian context religion is seen as central to identity and culture, and for this reason it was thought important to include all major groups in the sample. Indonesian law, based on the principles of *Pancasila* (the State ideology), at the time of the study required all Indonesians to adhere to one of five approved religions: Islam, Christianity (Protestant), Catholicism, Hinduism or Buddhism. Indonesians usually identify publicly as adherents of one of these. Ten of the Australian group, four Indonesians and two mixed participants were identified as Christians (including Catholics) and eight of the Indonesian were Muslim. In twenty-one of the forty-five participants interviewed no religious affiliation was indicated. All of these were identified as Australian, New Zealand or mixed. This may be regarded as indicative of the general community in which formal religious activity within the expatriate community was limited, whilst the Indonesian community was mixed, with many Muslims (mainly from Java) living alongside Christians (including Catholics) who were mainly from the eastern islands or *Batak* from North Sumatra.

Figure 4.6, below, shows a break-down of the participant group according to previous experience. The proposed model suggests that intercultural literacy develops in response to cross-cultural engagement, and, therefore, previous experience is likely to impact on the development and stage of intercultural literacy for individuals. For this reason it was

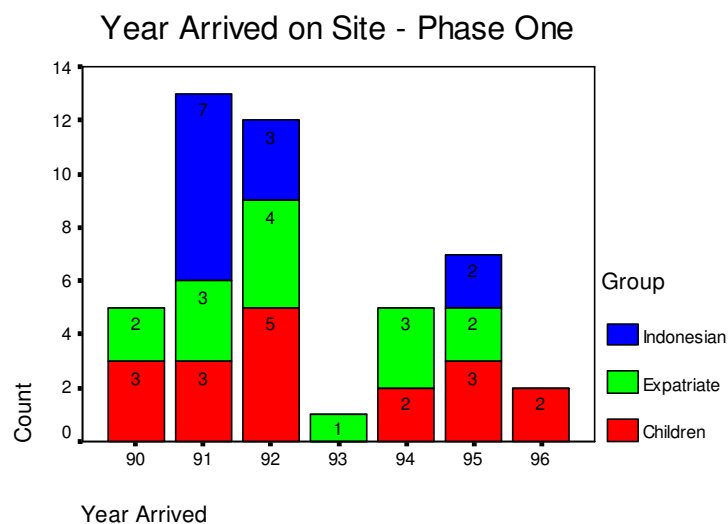
thought relevant to consider previous international or cross-cultural experience as a possible variable along with time spent on site in Tanjung Bara.



Of the eighteen children interviewed, eight were born overseas and/or of a mixed family and one reported significant previous experience in an expatriate context. These children, over half of the sample, may be regarded as ‘Third Culture Kids’ (Useem and Downie 1973, Pollock and Van Reken 1999) as described in Chapter Two (p.30, pp.148-150). The remaining nine children had no significant previous international or cross-cultural experience. Amongst the expatriate adult group, five reported previous expatriate experience, five significant travel experience and five no significant international experience. None of the expatriate school staff had previously worked overseas in an expatriate context. In contrast, eight of the twelve Indonesians interviewed reported previous experience either working overseas or with expatriates in Indonesia. This balance reflects the nature of the community in which senior Indonesian employees and their families were likely to have been selected on the basis of previous

experience. The lack of previous international experience amongst the expatriate community, and particularly the school staff, suggests a different recruitment strategy for this group. Whilst senior Indonesians were recruited partly on the basis of English language competency and previous experience working internationally or with expatriates, many senior expatriates had no previous international experience and no Indonesian language competency.

Figure 4.7



In addition to previous experience, length of time spent on site was thought likely to impact on levels of intercultural literacy. In the sample of forty-five individuals interviewed in Phase One, the distribution of time spent on site (indicated by the year of arrival) is skewed. A group of thirty arrived in the first three years of mine operation (1990-92) and the remaining fifteen in the following four years (1993-96). At the time of interview this meant that the majority had been on site for between three to six years, whilst a smaller group had been on site less than three years. Since the interviews were

conducted in May 1996, those who arrived in 1995 or 1996 were likely to have had less than one year on site. This group therefore had less opportunity to develop intercultural literacy than the longer-term expatriates and it seemed likely that this would impact on intercultural literacy levels. Both previous experience and time on site are considered as variables in the analysis of intercultural literacy levels in the following sections.

Mapping the Community's Intercultural Literacy – Phase One

Phase One interviews were designed to assist in answering the first research question: What was the level and type of intercultural literacy evident amongst the students and other groups identified? Interviews were structured around the Multidimensional Model for the Development of Intercultural Literacy so that for each dimension a series of open questions explored the individual's level of intercultural literacy. Using the indicators developed for each level and dimension, the interview transcripts were subsequently analysed and scored for each participant on each dimension. Participants in Phase Two interviews were also asked in the interview to score themselves on the model and to offer a general assessment of intercultural literacy levels within the community. This provided a means of triangulation. Other triangulation data included comments from other participants and, in some cases, observations. In this way each individual was scored on each dimension and a map of intercultural literacy levels within the community was built up.

Whilst this process was relatively straightforward, one significant problem emerged during the data collection phase and persisted during analysis. It was not a simple matter to determine each individual's level for each dimension. It was clear, both from the

interview discussions and indicators and from participants' attempts to score themselves on the model that, for many, the level depended on contextual factors. For example, at one time and in one situation, an individual might appear at the Monocultural level in Understandings, whilst at another at the Cross-Cultural Level. Whilst this made analysis somewhat difficult it supports the theory that developmental learning in intercultural literacy is an uneven process – a shuttling back and forth between the levels as the individual deals with the realities of the cross-cultural experience. In each case, a judgement on the level of intercultural literacy for each individual on each dimension was made based on the evidence of the interview. Where an individual appeared to be 'between' two levels, that which appeared to best fit the evidence was selected. Generally these individuals were assessed at the higher level since this recognised that they were progressing in intercultural literacy learning.

A second problem was that many found the six levels in the model too coarse a measure for what was a more complex reality. For example, both the participants and the researcher at times felt the need for more refined levels, which would enable individuals to be scored at either a low cross-cultural literacy level or a high cross-cultural literacy level rather than simply at the cross-cultural literacy level. For the purpose of this analysis, based on the evidence of interviews along with the other supporting evidence discussed, the researcher scored each individual at the level that appeared most indicative. Where an individual showed signs of moving into a higher level in the model, an assessment at this higher level was generally made. The levels were coded as follows:

Table 4.1
Coding of Intercultural Literacy Levels

Level	Description	Score Code
Monocultural Level I	Limited Awareness	1
Monocultural Level II	Naïve Awareness	2
Monocultural Level III	Culture Shock or Distancing	3
Cross-Cultural Level	Emerging Intercultural Literacy	4
Intercultural Level	Bicultural or Transcultural	5

By combining the scores for the five dimensions and dividing by five, an average intercultural literacy score was generated for each individual. Table 4.2, below, summarises these averaged scores by group.

Table 4.2
Average Intercultural Literacy Score by Group

Group / Count	Mono-cultural Level I	Mono-cultural Level II	Mono-cultural Level III	Cross-Cultural Level	Inter-cultural Level	TOTAL
Children	0	6	8	4	0	18
Expatriate	0	3	1	9	2	15
Indonesian	0	2	0	8	2	12
TOTAL	0	11	9	21	4	45

Of the forty-five participants sampled, none were classified at the Monocultural Level I (Score: 1), eleven at Monocultural Level II (Score 2), nine at Monocultural Level III (Score 3), twenty-one at Cross-Cultural Level (Score 4), and four at Intercultural Level (Score 5). Overall there was a relatively even balance between those classified at Cross-Cultural or Intercultural levels (twenty-five) and those at Monocultural levels (twenty). The distribution between groups, however, is markedly skewed, with a majority of children at a Monocultural level, either at Naïve Awareness or Culture

Shock/Distancing, and a majority of adults, both Indonesian and expatriate, at the higher Cross-Cultural or Intercultural levels. The difference between expatriate and Indonesian adults does not appear to be significant on the basis of this sample.

Whilst the sample was too small and the research method was not appropriate to warrant more sophisticated statistical analysis, and the averaged intercultural literacy scores constitute a rough measure only, nonetheless it is useful to consider several cross-tabulations in order to look for possible trends. Firstly, the average scores for children appear to rise with age levels. Secondly, adult scores are on average higher than those for children. Whilst no children were classified at the Intercultural Level, four adults were classified at this level. It is also interesting to note that whilst eight of the eighteen children interviewed (44%) were classified as at Monocultural Level III (Culture Shock-Distancing), only one adult was classified at this level. Thirdly, the results do not suggest any significant correlation between age of adults and intercultural literacy levels. Fourthly, disaggregating the data by gender does not suggest any significant difference in the intercultural literacy of males and females – either for children or adults.

Fifthly, a correlation between previous international experience and levels of intercultural literacy is suggested in this sample. Of those with previous expatriate or international experience, 80% were classified as either at the Cross-Cultural or Intercultural Level compared with 47% of those with no previous experience. Finally, a correlation is also suggested between time spent on site (expressed as year of arrival) and intercultural literacy. Whilst the assessment of those had been on site for more than four years ranged across all levels from Monocultural to Intercultural, 55% of those who

had arrived within the last eighteen months were assessed at the Monocultural Level and none at the Intercultural level. These findings are consistent with the theory discussed in Chapter Two which links intercultural literacy learning to the experience of cross-cultural engagement.

In the following three sub-sections intercultural literacy levels are analysed for each of the three major identified groups: children (international school students), expatriate community members and Indonesian community members.

Intercultural literacy levels - children

Eighteen children from the international school were interviewed in Phase One and assessed for intercultural literacy.

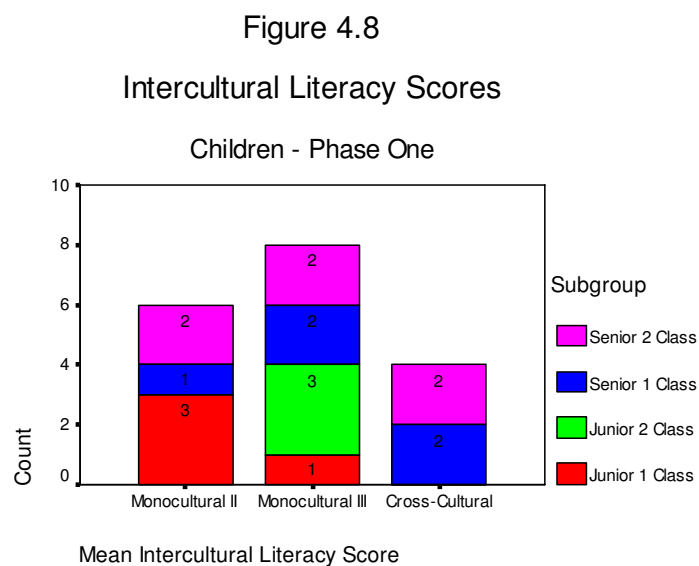


Figure 4.8, above, profiles the averaged intercultural literacy levels for the eighteen children sampled. There were no children at Monocultural Level I or at the Intercultural

Level. The largest group was identified at the Monocultural Level III (Culture Shock or Distancing) and only four of the eighteen at the Cross-Cultural (Emerging Intercultural Literacy) level. Disaggregating the data by class group reveals a tendency for younger children to score at the lower levels. For example, all but one of the Junior One group were at Monocultural Level with only one of the four at the Monocultural III Level and none at higher levels. All of the Junior Two group were classified at Monocultural III Level. This is what could be expected, based on the theory discussed in Chapter Two, which suggests that maturation and cognitive development relate to intercultural literacy. The Junior One children interviewed were all aged between four and five, and the Junior Two children between seven and eight. Scores for the older class groups were spread more evenly across the three levels, reflecting the influence of factors other than age and maturation such as previous experience, time on site, and, possibly, family values.

Table 4.3, below, details the intercultural literacy scores of the children interviewed. The children are grouped by class and age, with the youngest child at the top of the table and the oldest at the bottom. Scores are averaged in the right hand column, providing a mean intercultural literacy score for each individual (rounded to the nearest whole number). The scores are also averaged across the bottom row, providing a picture of the balance between the different dimensions of intercultural literacy for the total group.

The names used in this table and throughout the case study have been invented to protect confidentiality. The code letters E, I and M are used to denote cultural background: E for expatriate, I for Indonesian and M for mixed.

Table 4.3
Disaggregated Intercultural Literacy Scores – Children Phase One

Class Groups	Code Name	Understandings	Competencies	Attitudes	Participation	Language Ability	Identity	Individual Mean Scores
Junior 1 Class	Dan E	2	2	2	2	2	2	2
	Allison M	2	2	3	4	4	2	3
	Gina E	2	2	2	2	2	2	2
	Jessie M	2	2	2	2	2	2	2
Junior 2 Class	Trent E	2	2	4	4	4	4	3
	Kain M	3	3	3	3	3	3	3
	Rachel E	3	3	3	3	3	3	3
Senior 1 Class	Jake M	3	3	3	3	3	3	3
	James E	2	2	2	2	2	2	2
	Owen M	2	2	4	4	4	4	3
	Katie E	4	4	4	4	4	4	4
	Trina M	4	4	4	4	4	4	4
Senior 2 Class	Mick E	2	2	2	2	2	2	2
	Bob E	4	4	4	4	4	4	4
	Tina E	4	4	4	4	2	4	4
	Suzie E	3	4	3	3	3	3	3
	Chelle E	3	3	3	3	3	3	3
	Kristie E	2	2	2	2	2	2	2
	Overall Mean Scores	2.7	2.8	3.0	3.1	2.9	2.9	2.9

Key: 1 = Monocultural Level I
 2 = Monocultural Level II
 3 = Monocultural Level III
 4 = Cross-Cultural Level
 5 = Intercultural Level

E = Expatriate
 I = Indonesian
 M = Mixed parentage

Individual scores range from 2 to 4, Monocultural Level II to Cross-Cultural Level, in all dimensions. The overall mean scores for each dimension – on the bottom row – range from 2.7 to 3.1, indicating no significant trend or skewing of results. Figure 4.9, below provides a graphic representation of the above.

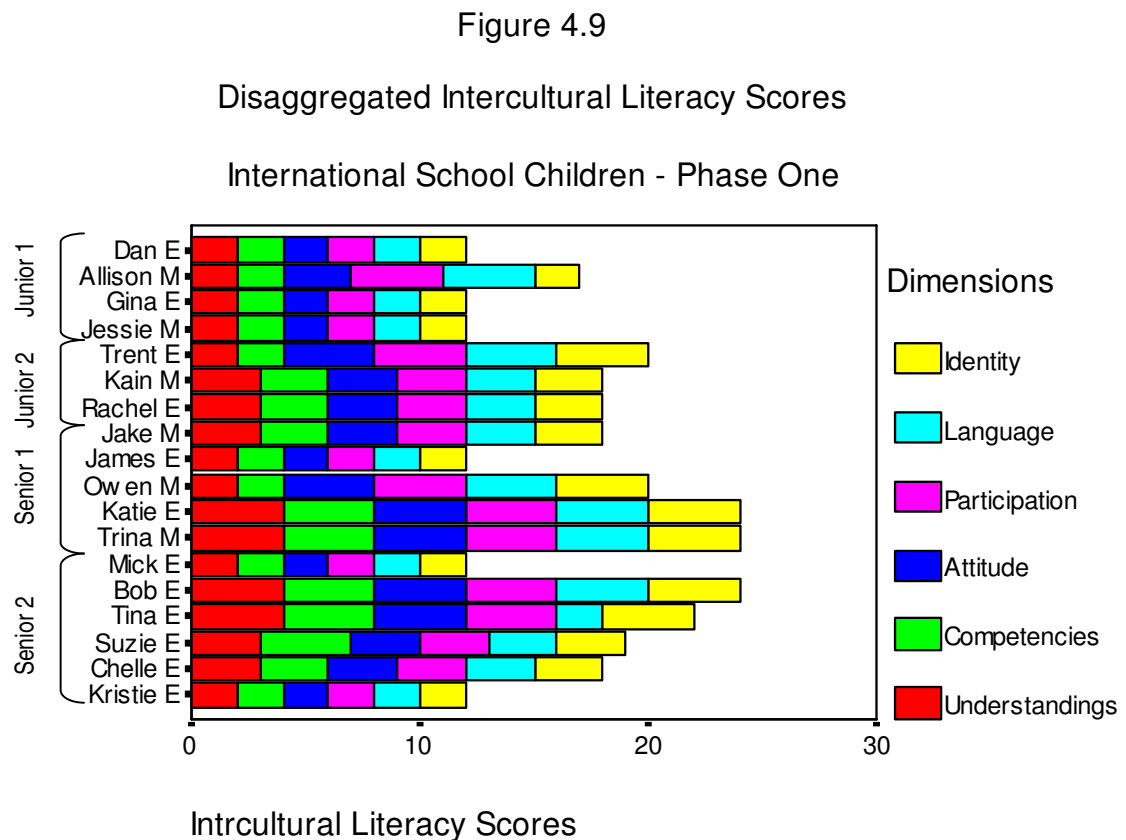


Figure 4.9 illustrates the trend for younger children to score lower and intercultural literacy levels to rise with age. It also makes clear that there are many exceptions to this trend suggesting the influence of other factors such as time on site. The following discussion provides an overview and illustrations of the children's responses in interview at each level.

Monocultural Level II (Naïve Awareness)

Six children were scored overall at Monocultural Level II. This included three Junior One children aged four to five, and three older children: James E (aged eight), Mick E (aged ten) and Kristie E (aged twelve). The younger children could be expected to be at this Naïve Awareness level, consistent with cognitive development at this age. In each of

the three older cases, the children were newly-arrived. Mick and James had both been on site less than three months, and Kristie only eight months. None of these children had previous international experience. It was also reported in discussions with other participants that Kristie seemed less happy with her life Tanjung Bara than other, younger, children – and, perhaps consequently, less interested in engaging with the host culture.

Dan E was a four-year old boy in Junior One class and the youngest interview participant. He was born in Australia but grew up on site in Tanjung Bara from the age of one-month, his parents were Anglo-Australians. He was scored at the Monocultural Level II (Naïve Awareness) in all dimensions. Dan, who presented as a confident boy, was judged to be at the naïve level with understandings, attitudes, competencies and identities limited by his age and maturation. The following interview extract illustrates Dan E's responses, indicating an awareness of his own identity as an Australian and of cultural difference based on naïve stereotyping:

- | | |
|------|---|
| MH: | ²³ Tell me, what do you think is the difference between Australian people and Indonesian people? |
| Dan: | They've got different colours. |
| MH: | Any other differences? ²⁴ |
| Dan: | Ehm ... They've got different choice, maybe patterned clothes. |
| MH: | Do you like things different? |
| Dan: | Yep. |

²³ Where interview transcripts are included, the interviewer is identified by initial, either MH, who was the principal researcher, or one of the assistants: LC and ET (expatriate Australians) or S (Indonesian). In common with many Javanese, S has only one name, hence a single initial.

²⁴ Transcripts have been included un-edited as far as is possible to preserve the flavour of the discussion. Directly transcribing spoken English, especially children's speech, produces many grammatical errors. These have not been corrected where the meaning is clear.

- MH: What's it like to be an Australian?
- Dan: Ahm... Some Australians get to read books and Indonesian don't.
- MH: What are Indonesian houses like?
- Dan: Small.
- MH: What do you think about that?
- Dan: 'Cos they don't know how to make them bigger.
- MH: Why do you think that is?
- Dan: Because they might not have that much wood.

In discussion with Dan's teacher and his mother, an Australian woman who was associated with the school as an occasional relief teacher, a view was put to the researcher that Dan was typical of children his age who have grown up in the expatriate context. A class discussion, which took place in the context of a daily 'show and tell' session, was reported. Dan was asked about the difference between Pokohontas (a Disney native-American figure) and John Smith (a white American pioneer from the same movie). Dan commented, and it was generally agreed by the class, that Pokohontas was an 'Indian' and John Smith was categorised as '...a human being, like us'. Dan's mother told the story of his Indonesian carer (live-in maid or *pembantu*) who had a 'white eye'. Apparently, whilst Dan and his friends had never commented on the deformity, a five-year old visitor from Canada was agitated by it, wanted to know why she had a white eye and 'could not stop staring'. The story of Pokohontas and John Smith illustrates a view of the child's schema in which identity is defined by difference. That is, the ingroup – in this case westerners – is regarded as the norm. Others - Indians, Indonesians - are different; an exception to the norm. The story of the carer's white eye

illustrates a view of how the child categorises others. In the case of the carer, whilst a close relationship may have developed and, in many cases, the child spends more time with the carer than the parent, the individual has been categorised by the child as an 'other' – not 'one of us' – and so, differences such as the white eye do not rate attention. Whilst the significance of anecdotes such as this should not be overstated and the meanings are ambiguous, they nonetheless contribute to a picture of intercultural understanding, attitudes and identity for young children at the naïve Monocultural Level II.

The naïve awareness illustrated here is consistent with what might be expected of children at this age, based on the theory discussed in Chapter Two. Jessie M's responses, below, are typical.

- | | |
|---------|--|
| MH: | What do you think the difference is between an Australian person and an Indonesia person? |
| Jessie: | Indonesian, the skin is brown and, Australian persons, Australian persons are white. |
| MH: | OK. All right. Is there any other thing, any other differences, or just the skin, between an Indonesian and Australian? |
| Jessie: | Their hair, the hair is different. |
| MH: | Yes. Is there anything else that is different between an Indonesian and Australian person? What do you think? |
| Jessie: | They talk different. |
| MH: | OK. So ... how do you know who is an Indonesian person and who isn't, say, if you meet some people. How do you know who is an Indonesian person? |
| Jessie: | Because ... because their hair is black and they have brown skin and they speak in different language. |

Jessie M's responses typify the stereotypical differentiating of two cultural groups at the naïve stage (Monocultural II in the model). Jessie was the child of a cross-cultural family with an Indonesian mother and Australian father, but her family appeared to lead a life more oriented to the expatriate than the Indonesian community. Ricci, Jessie's mother, indicated that she spent around 85% of her social time with expatriates and 15% with Indonesians. In this respect, she was not typical of the Indonesian community. Jessie clearly identifies as non-Indonesian.

James was an eight-year old Australian boy in Senior One Class who had arrived on site only two months prior to the interview. He was the son of a single Australian woman newly appointed to the Training Department as a consultant. Mick, the son of a new Managing Director, had also only spent two months on site. The attitudes, understandings, competencies, language ability, participation and identities of both boys were all consistent with a naïve 'touristic' orientation towards the host Indonesian culture. The following extract from James' interview illustrates these understandings and attitudes.

- | | |
|--------|--|
| MH: | Let's go back to when you first came to Indonesia, to Tanjung Bara. Did you know anything about Indonesia people before you came to site? What did you expect? |
| James: | All jungle, paths in jungle and bush. I imagined all the same. I imagined that it'd be a bit like Australia. Very tropical and isolated. Most people worked at the mine. |
| MH: | How did you know that? |
| James: | Mum told me. That they have cobras and snakes. I never thought crocodiles. |
| MH: | How about when you were first here? Do you remember what things you found out about Indonesian people when you first came here? What did you think of Indonesian people? |
| James: | Very friendly. Crocodiles. Quite kind. A little bit like what things they have in here. Houses in the village are small and small school. Good carvers and furniture and |

	stuff.
MH:	How do you think you learned those things? Why do you think you thought that?
James:	Seeing things and talking to people. Some things were good when I was first here but I didn't like them saying hello and touching, I didn't like that.
MH:	What's the difference between an Indonesian and an Australian do you think? How do you know who is Indonesian and who is western?
James:	Lot's of masks, and houses are small, carvings and nice culture. Dirt roads and people are a lot poorer.
MH:	Why do they live in houses like that?
James:	Because they're poor and isolated area....
MH:	Do Indonesian people usually go to the mosque or church or temple? Tell me what you know about that.
James:	Didn't have temples in Melbourne, just church.
MH:	Why do you think they go to the mosque or temple?
James:	More ancient times here. I don't really like it, I prefer new-fashioned and stuff. More used to it.
MH:	What sort of clothes do Indonesians usually wear?
James:	I didn't expect it. I though it'd be scruffy. Not tops like 'Chicago Bulls'. I was quite shocked.

Monocultural Level III (Culture Shock / Distancing)

Eight children were scored at the Monocultural Level III. This figure includes three mixed-culture children, all of the Junior Two class group interviewed, aged seven to nine, and two ten-year old Senior Two girls. Four of these were scored consistently across all dimensions. The Junior Two group included two boys with mixed cultural backgrounds who had lived long-term in expatriate situations (Kain M, an Australian-Indonesian and Jake M, an Australian-Filipino), and Rachel E, an Australian girl who had been on site four years. All three were able to articulate identities, attitudes and

other dimensions. In all three cases, the children were quite clearly in a culture shock or distancing mode, with the two mixed-culture boys tending to deny or downplay their Asian backgrounds. Rachel identified perceived differences between Indonesian and Australian, or western, cultures, and displayed negative attitudes towards the host culture in interview, stereotyping Indonesians as poor.

MH: Let's go back to when you first came to Indonesia; Tanjung Bara. Did you know anything about Indonesia people before you came to site?

Rachel: I thought it'd be like Australia and I thought school would be a bit bigger. Didn't know that there's brown people up here. I thought Indonesian people would speak different but I thought they'd have white skin....

MH: Have you changed the way you think about Indonesians as you have got older?

Rachel: I thought some of them are just normal like us and they don't have much things at all – not much money – shops are pretty small – I thought there'd be toys here but they're at Sangatta and stuff like lollies up there....

MH: What's the difference between an Indonesian and an Australian or a New Zealander? How do you know who is Indonesian and who is western?

Rachel: They speak differently. Walk around in bare feet. Different colour skin. They live in huts and around the roads and their room is just bare. Something, just a little quilt to seep on. Every day. Not much things to play with. Nothing! Just have to walk around the place.

MH: Why?

Rachel: Because they're poor.

MH: Why are they poor?

Rachel: Because they don't have as much things as us as Australians. Maybe they don't know about Australia and what you can get and make. Probably if they went to Australia they'd know – and they wouldn't be poor. They'd build more things. But they can't 'cos they're poor.

MH: What sort of clothes do Indonesians usually wear?

Rachel: Ripped-up clothes. They don't feel hot. They wear jeans. They're used to it. Lots of them wear jeans. They think it's just normal. I wouldn't like to wear them. They got dirt on them. Some have different shapes with patterns. I know they're OK. They like designing clothes with patterns. They like people making them, buy they, like them.

- MH: Why do some wear the veil?
- Rachel: Veil? To keep the flies away? And to look fancy...
- MH: What about food?
- Rachel: No knife, just a spoon and a fork. I like some of the foods but some aren't so nice because we don't make that stuff and we've got money to buy milk and that. They're poor. They can't buy sugar and milk. They need to get fruit from the trees and they couldn't make a cake. Not enough money.
- MH: Do some Indonesians go to the mosque? Why do you think they go to the mosque?
- Rachel: They go there 'cos they want to have a long life. They believe in God. They want to tell Him things. I believe in God. My family and friends. I don't know how to say the things. God wouldn't understand me so I can't.

This extract suggests that Rachel is in a culture shock-distancing stage consistent with Monocultural Level III. She is able to articulate clear differences between the Indonesian and western cultures but these tend to be negative characterisations of 'the other' and are undifferentiated. Rachel's behaviour with Indonesian community members, reported independently, also suggests a negative attitude. On one occasion Rachel reportedly yelled 'Fuck off!' at an Indonesian man at the 'pool bar' who was a professional member of the mine training staff. The man addressed Rachel in English, saying that he understood what she said and that he didn't like it. The matter was subsequently reported to the school and from there to the parents.

This kind of behaviour was not uncommon amongst the expatriate children. Several participants reported that children frequently abused Indonesian workers verbally - including the school bus driver, household servants and others. In a striking one-off incident, a former student of the international school, the teenage son of a KPC employee who was on site during a holiday break from his Australian boarding school,

was hurriedly instructed by KPC management to leave the site after he and a friend took pot-shots at a group of Indonesian workers with an air rifle, inflicting minor wounds. The incident was reported in the provincial press, apparently causing some consternation to KPC management. The anecdotes are included here to illustrate the context and provide a basis for interpreting the interview transcripts. Whilst relations were generally cordial and cooperative, tensions did exist as revealed in comments from adult participants, both Indonesian and expatriate. More significantly for the analysis of children's comments, the anecdotes suggest an arrogant and negative attitude towards the Indonesian community that may not be reflected in the interview data. They also suggest a power balance in the community that was interpreted by children – and most likely by the Indonesian workers - as giving the children tacit power and authority over the Indonesians. These issues are taken up in the discussion in the following chapter.

Suzie and Chelle were scored at Monocultural Level III (Culture Shock or Distancing) in all dimensions - except the competency dimension for Suzie (Cross-Cultural Level). Both were ten-year old girls. Suzie arrived on site in 1994 with no previous international experience and Chelle in 1991, having spent much of her life in an expatriate mining context. Both girls were academically advanced and articulate. Notes taken at the time of the interview and comments from her teacher suggest that Suzie may have been responding to questions in a way calculated to gain approval, that is, a 'politically correct' response. Chelle, however, was clearly in a distancing mode, evincing an attitude which suggested that engagement with the host culture was irrelevant and unimportant to her; a 'Why bother?' attitude.

- MH: Do you know any Indonesian people?
- Chelle: My maids, Sari and Tati, and another maid, Wisma. People who are working in my Dad's office? Fitri. Lies, Muk, Herlan, Rita.
- MH: Do you know any Indonesian people at school?
- Chelle: Ibu Tini.
- MH: Do you like Indonesian people?
- Chelle: They are kind.
- MH: Are they all the same, they're kind?
- Chelle: Sometimes they get angry, like my maids.
- MH: Do you notice any differences between groups of Indonesians or westerners?
- Chelle: Mostly the same.
- MH: Do you enjoy being with Indonesians?
- Chelle: Yeah.
- MH: Is there any difference between Indonesians and westerners?
- Chelle: Not really.
- MH: What do you think about Indonesian kids?
- Chelle: ...Yeah... just a little, they play different things because they have a different school. I don't know. I don't see them very much.
- MH: What do you think about Indonesians generally?
- Chelle: Sometimes I feel sorry for them 'cos they haven't got many clothes.
- MH: Do Indonesians do things that you don't like sometimes?
- Chelle: Yeah, like at Rantau Pulung [MH: a nearby village sponsored by the school in a community service program]²⁵ everyone laughs at you. They can touch you and you don't like it.
- MH: What do you usually do about that?
- Chelle: Ignore them and I try to walk away from them.
- MH: Do you think you do anything differently now than when you were first here?

²⁵ In interview transcripts the use of square brackets [...] indicates an editorial note or implied meaning.

- Chelle: Not really.
- MH: Why do you think Indonesians do those things?
- Chelle: To get your attention.
- MH: What about the touching, why do they do that?
- Chelle: Because they don't normally like you and people with blonde hair. 'Cos they've got black hair.
- MH: What would you tell to someone new coming to site about living in a place with Indonesians?
- Chelle: Ignore people who laugh at you.
- MH: Do you behave or do things any differently when you're around Indonesians?
- Katie: No.

Many references were made in interviews and discussions to differing cultural habits which, referring to the attribution theory discussed in Chapter Two (pp.109-110), can be characterised as misattribution. The tendency of local Indonesian people to touch western children, sometimes to pinch their cheeks and stroke their hair, is one common example. Within the Indonesian cultural context this touching was seen as a friendly expression, a way of demonstrating warmth and familiarity with children. Many expatriates, children and adults, interpreted the behaviour as rude over-familiarity, motivated by curiosity with white skin and blonde hair. Chelle attributes the behaviour to a dislike of expatriates: '...they don't normally like you and people with blonde hair. 'Cos they've got black hair'. Other Indonesian behaviours commonly cited by expatriates as rude and offensive were staring, laughing and spitting. Chelle, in the extract above, describes what she sees as negative behaviours and her coping mechanism, which was to walk away, to ignore the behaviour; distancing.

Cross-Cultural Level (Emerging Intercultural Literacy)

Four children in the Senior One and Two classes were scored at the Cross-Cultural Level (Emerging Intercultural Literacy) level. This group includes a seven-year old girl (Trina, an Australian-Singaporean), a nine-year old Australian girl (Katie), and an eleven-year old Australian boy (Bob) and girl (Tina). All were aware of, and able to comment on, their own learning. All were able to articulate differences between Indonesian and 'expatriate' cultures. All were able to differentiate attitudes. Understandings reflected an appreciation of diversity within the host Indonesian culture and an ability to individuate or separate attitudes relating to different individuals or situations. Two of the four (Katie and Bob) were children of contractor families that tended to socialise more frequently with Indonesian families than the KPC families. As described in the previous chapter, these families may be regarded as lower status than the KPC families. Trina and Tina were children of KPC families, both long-term residents of Tanjung Bara.

- | | |
|--------|--|
| MH: | How about when you were first here? Do you remember what things you found out about Indonesian people when you first came here? What did you think of Indonesian people? |
| Katie: | People lived at my Dad's work. I saw lots of Indonesians. They were really friendly. They wanted to see us; they gave us things. Let us do what we wanted. They told us about money and T.V. They're English speaking - a surprise - and they took so much interest in us. We were the only kids around there. |
| MH: | How do you think you learned those things? Why do you think you thought that? |
| Katie: | Seeing all my friends. |
| MH: | What did you see that changed your understanding? |
| Katie: | They always want to be talking to us and other people always come to the party. |
| MH: | What happened after that; over the next couple of years? Did you keep learning more |

	about the Indonesian people or not? Were you still interested in learning about Indonesian people or not?
Katie:	Stayed positive. But sometimes Indonesians are rude. Like in at the shops, they're spitting - but they're still happy to see us.
MH:	Have you changed the way you think about Indonesians as you have got older?
Katie:	Yes, I've been here longer.
MH:	What things did you learn during this period? What did you find out was different about the people; the culture?
Katie:	They're separated from expats.
MH:	What did you think about that?
Katie:	Because we like certain things.

In this exchange, Katie reveals a set of attitudes that are both positive and differentiated, in contrast to the younger and less-experienced children who were scored at Monocultural level. She also articulates the learning process, describing how, whilst remaining generally positive towards Indonesian culture, she began to notice negatives with time. As a member of a contractor family, Katie's experience is different from many of the KPC families, in that she was exposed more directly to Indonesian people of equal status, only later learning that Indonesians were 'separated from expats' due, in Katie's view, to differing preferences.

Mixed Scores

With the exception of Allison M, Owen M (brother and sister) and Trent E, Figures 4.8 and 4.9 suggest a relatively consistent pattern – with most children rated at the same level across all, or most, dimensions. Allison M was scored at Monocultural Level II for the Understandings, Competency and Identity dimensions, at Monocultural Level III

(Culture Shock-Distancing) for the Attitude dimension, and at Cross-Cultural Level (Emerging Intercultural Literacy) for Participation and Language dimensions. Allison was born in Indonesia. She was the five-year old daughter of a British man employed in the mine administration and his wife, a Javanese-Indonesian woman. Having grown up in a bicultural family, spending much of her time in an Indonesian cultural context, Allison's language ability and ongoing participation in the Indonesian community was advanced. In contrast, her intercultural understandings and competencies were more consistent with the other younger children and her identity appeared ambiguous, if not ambivalent.

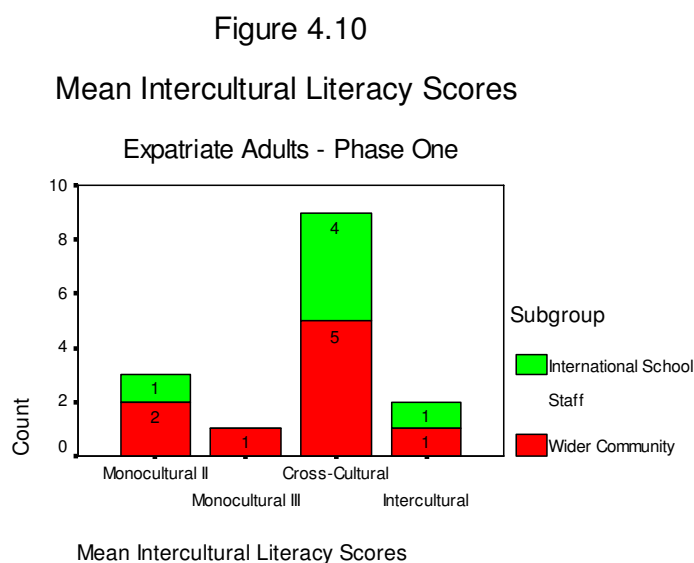
Owen M was Allison's eight-year old brother. Whilst he was able to articulate an identity as 'half-half', his younger sister, Allison, appeared unable to do so. Both children seemed somewhat confused about their status within the expatriate context of the school, preferring to identify as an expatriate whilst also able to articulate a more Indonesian life outside the school. Both spoke fluent *Bahasa Indonesia* and English. A report from the school's Indonesian teacher confirms that *Bahasa Indonesia* was spoken in the home. The children also had significant input in English from their English father.

Trent E was the five-year old son of an Anglo-Australian geologist and his Anglo-Australian wife. Trent was scored highly on the Attitudes, Participation, Language and Identity dimensions, reflecting his involvement with his father in cross-cultural social and recreational activity. He was scored low on the Understandings and Competencies dimensions reflecting the limitations of his cognitive development and maturation level.

There were thus a range of levels of intercultural literacy across the group of children, with the younger children tending to score at the lower Monocultural levels and the older children at the higher Cross-Cultural Level, though with some children in the older classes scored at lower levels. The following section addresses the intercultural literacy of expatriate adults sampled.

Intercultural literacy levels – expatriate adults

In Phase One, fifteen expatriate adults from the Tanjung Bara community were interviewed and assessed for intercultural literacy.



A profile of averaged intercultural literacy levels for the expatriate adults sampled is provided in Figure 4.10, above. There were none in this group classified at Monocultural Level I. Nine (60%) were identified as at the Cross-Cultural level (Emerging Intercultural Literacy) and only one of the fifteen at the Monocultural III (Culture Shock / Distancing) level. Breaking these averaged scores down by sub-group reveals no significant difference between those directly associated with the school (teachers) and

other community members (mainly parents). Details of the intercultural literacy scores of the expatriate adults interviewed are given in Table 4.5, below. The participants are grouped by score, the lowest mean scores at the top of the table and the highest at the bottom. Sub-group membership is also indicated in the left column: parent or international school teacher. John and Leigh were also husband and wife, and parents of two international school children.

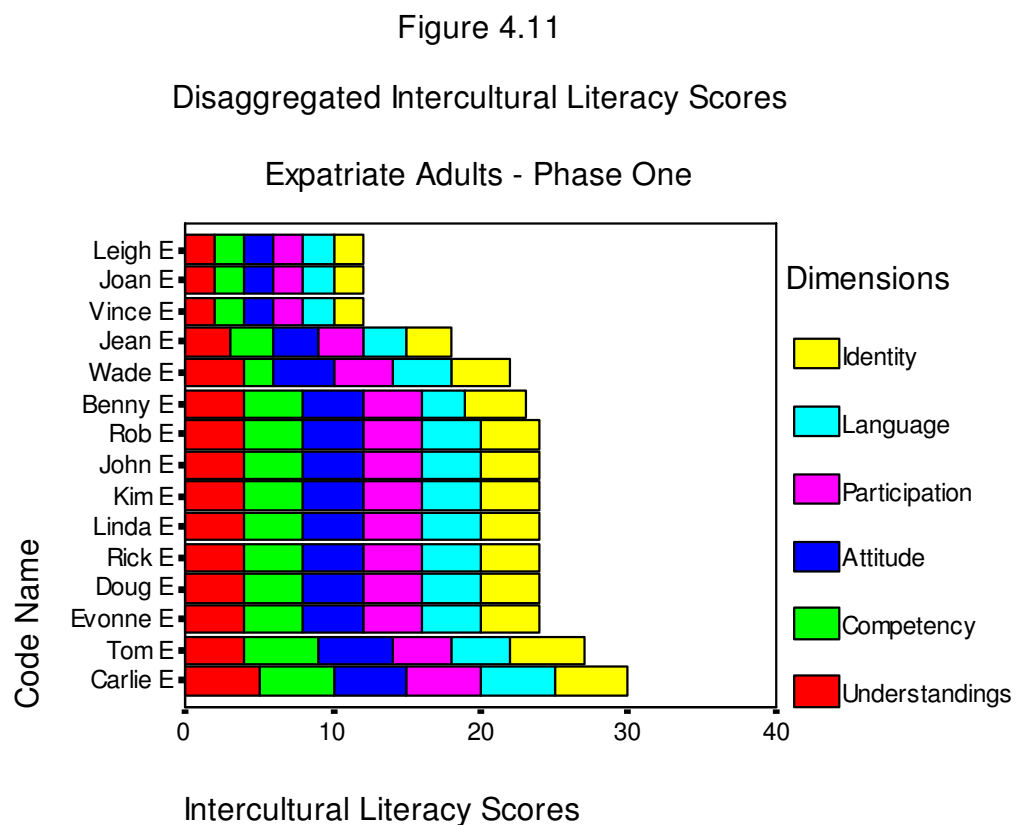
Table 4.4
Disaggregated Intercultural Literacy Scores – Expatriate Adults Phase One

Sub-Group	Code Name	Understandings	Competencies	Attitudes	Participation	Language Ability	Identity	Individual Mean Scores
School	Leigh E	2	2	2	2	2	2	2
Community	Joan E	2	2	2	2	2	2	2
Community	Vince E	2	2	2	2	2	2	2
Community	Jean E	3	3	3	3	3	3	3
Community	Wade E	4	2	4	4	4	4	4
Community	Benny E	4	4	4	4	3	4	4
School	Rob E	4	4	4	4	4	4	4
School	John E	4	4	4	4	4	4	4
School	Kim E	4	4	4	4	4	4	4
School	Linda E	4	4	4	4	4	4	4
Community	Rick E	4	4	4	4	4	4	4
Community	Doug E	4	4	4	4	4	4	4
Community	Evonne E	4	4	4	4	4	4	4
School	Tom E	4	5	5	4	4	5	5
Community	Carlie E	5	5	5	5	5	5	5
	Overall Mean Scores	3.6	3.5	3.7	3.6	3.5	3.7	3.7

Key: 1 = Monocultural Level I
2 = Monocultural Level II
3 = Monocultural Level III
4 = Cross-Cultural Level
5 = Intercultural Level

E = Expatriate
I = Indonesian
M = Mixed parentage

Individual scores range from 2 to 5, Monocultural Level II to Intercultural Level in all dimensions. The overall mean scores for each dimension – on the bottom row – range from 3.5 to 3.7, indicating no significant trend or skewing of results. Figure 4.11, below provides a graphic representation of the above.



With three exceptions, the scoring of individual expatriate adults across the dimensions represented in figure 4.11 is entirely consistent. That is to say, an individual scored at, for example, Cross-Cultural Level (Score 4) for Understandings is likely to also score at this same level for Competencies, Attitude, Participation, Language and Identity.

Monocultural Level II (Naïve Awareness)

Three participants, Leigh, Joan and Vince, were scored at Monocultural Level II (Naïve Awareness) in all dimensions. In each case, responses indicated a generally positive and ‘naïve touristic’ view of the host Indonesian culture. Leigh, for example, was a Poppets Coordinator and part-time teacher in the international school. She was also the mother of two school children and wife of John, the Deputy Principal. She had been living and working in Tanjung Bara for just over one year, her previous international experience being tourism and travel. Leigh’s attitudes and understandings, as expressed in interview, were mixed – positive and negative – but generally undifferentiated in the sense that she generalises for all Indonesians. Interestingly, Leigh defines an Indonesian friend, Ricci, as ‘not Indonesian as such’. (Ricci is the wife of Benny, an expatriate Australian man, and mother of Jessie in Junior Two class.) In this, Leigh reveals that she defines Indonesians as ‘the other’. If, as is the case with Ricci, an Indonesian is individuated and becomes familiar enough to lose that sense of ‘otherness’ then in Leigh’s schema she ceases to be thought of as Indonesian.

LC: What do you think about Indonesians in the work place or society?

Leigh: Friendly - but I have felt frustrated because the work hasn’t been completed as I wanted. There is a culture barrier; a lack of understanding. Maybe because of using English. But [Indonesians are] commonly happy, welcoming, friendly and helpful. Not a lot to do with Indonesians socially, except with Ricci. She interacts so well. They do things in a different way; dress, food, not as relaxed. That is a part of culture.

LC: How do you get on with Indonesian people?

Leigh: In Tanjung Bara, very well because of Poppets [pre-school] and Ricci. I don’t think of her as Indonesian as such. I feel reserved when visiting Jakarta and Sangatta Lama. It was a little uncomfortable.

Leigh's responses suggest that she is moving from the Monocultural Level II into a Monocultural Level III. This, the theory suggests, is a critical period requiring support to facilitate a move on towards the Cross-Cultural level and avoidance of a negative distancing response to engagement.

Monocultural Level III (Culture Shock / Distancing)

Only one participant, Jean, was scored as Monocultural Level III (Culture Shock / Distancing). Jean had been on site since early 1992 as the wife of a KPC superintendent. She was mother of two toddlers. Jean's attitudes were generally negative, her understandings and competencies aligned with the attitudes.

- | | |
|-------|--|
| LC: | What attitudes or opinions did you have about Indonesian people and their culture when you first came? |
| Jean: | Friendly. I feel ... they're very aware of westerners. |
| LC: | What do you think they were aware of about us? |
| Jean: | I feel... they think we're taking from them. In their eyes we do live a champagne life. It is jealousy ... which, it's an understandable sort of thing. They also see the opportunity to learn from us. The lack of education makes it hard to become [better] ... very hard due to the education to match our standards. It's very hard due to their education; you know ... we have so much. |
| LC: | What happened after the next couple of years? Did you begin to learn more about the people or culture or not? |
| Jean: | Yeah, obviously. You've seen it too here. Servants and gardeners. How little they do, how long it takes them ... And how they make do with nothing. They're appreciative if we give them something like fruit... whatever, they won't complain. Like living in our house, they have to be used to running out of water, the heat of the day...[MH: Jean is suggesting that the local staff find it preferable and more comfortable living as a servant in an expatriate's home rather in their own home in the village.] |
| LC: | How do you think you get on with Indonesian people? |
| Jean: | [They] wouldn't be on top of my party list... |
| LC: | Do you think that you treat people from different groups differently? |

Jean:	Yes, that's because of the status thing here. Because the maid thinks you're the queen of the house. Gardeners would think the same but not KPC workers....I try to be good to the Indonesians, welcoming, and I go to a lot of trouble to entertain...
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Cross-Cultural Level (Emerging Intercultural Literacy)

The majority of expatriate adults interviewed were scored at the Cross-Cultural Level on all or most dimensions. This group included four of the six teachers and five of the nine community members. Teachers; Rob, John, Kim and Linda, had been on site between one and three years. None had prior international experience aside from travel. All were able to articulate the intercultural literacy learning process that had taken place during their time in Indonesia. Rob's comments provide a good example:

MH:	So how about your first impression when you first came to Jakarta? What happened when you were first on site?
Rob:	There was a poor lady that was <i>so</i> deferential to me as an Australian, which is the rank thing! Not assertive enough. Smoking! A state of chaos. Disorganisation! But also lack of anxiety - that's just the way things are – no anxiety about things I regard as important: punctuality, being efficient. Expectation; that would be more an expectation...
MH:	What happened after that? Did you begin to learn more about the people, the culture, or not?
Rob:	I see that the biggest change for me, it has been working with Rika and Erika, Alfi and Pahan and Sari and Berus - finding out they're lovely people and they're really generous people, as I've said all people - Dudi, Indah. At first I thought it was low self esteem, it's probably what they are expected to be at this school, you know, because, because of their deference – but this was a kind of mistake, that it's deference to you, that they have to be polite, respectful. I thought it was like colonialism – that they treated me like their master. That's not what I say now, but you make your assumption, so I wanted to change it - what I wanted to do, I wanted people to call me Rob and <i>not</i> Pak Rob ['Mr Rob']. Then I realised they were happy – that it was their culture - and I've really changed - I completely changed my feeling about the country from what I previously had.
MH:	What things did you learn during this period? What did you find out was different about the people, the culture?
Rob:	Different? The most remarkable thing was the tendency not to plan ahead, not to

	anticipate problems but let them happen and react. I think it's probably something in the culture. That is one, the other point here; the other one is <i>jam karet</i> [MH: literally 'rubber time'], as it's called in Java, which can be, can cause frustration.
MH:	What about your understanding of the people and their culture now? Do you feel you have learned more? From what you know now about the other culture, what would you say are the most significant cultural traits that contrast markedly with your own culture?
Rob:	Negative? I think religion, [but] I think it's more positive than negative in this country and I think what's more impressive in Indonesia is the lack of morality. Indonesians would like to talk more openly about their real feelings but they don't because I feel that in their culture it's not acceptable – it's taboo – like to talk about the government even in small talk – it's taboo – [although] I think that's becoming less strong. I just get that impression all the time. I can warm to these people, particularly at work. They are friendly, they really are; generous, affectionate, very responsive, really welcome to see you, they work really hard. I have a very favourable impression of the people really.
MH:	What do you think of those cultural traits? Has your attitude towards Indonesian people and their culture changed any more? What do you think generally?
Rob:	Yeah, I have a general affection for it. I love this place. They're lovely, friendly.

Rob's comments reveal a growing understanding of Indonesian culture, which helps him form differentiated and realistic attitudes and competencies to apply in specific cross-cultural contexts. In this his development follows the pattern suggested by the Multidimensional Model of Intercultural Literacy and typifies the experience of others classified as at the Cross-Cultural Level. His comments also reflect an ambiguity, suggesting an early stage of learning at the Cross-Cultural Level.

Intercultural Level

Two of the adult expatriate community were scored at the Intercultural Level indicating advanced understandings, attitudes and competencies. Tom, a single male Australian teacher who had been on site for four years, was one of these. Tom reported no previous working experience internationally but had travelled extensive. Tom was scored at

Cross-Cultural (emerging intercultural) level for Understandings, Participation and Language Ability, and at Intercultural Level for Attitudes, Competencies, and Identity. He was able to articulate how he had developed understandings and competencies through the experience of living and working cross-culturally, and how he differentiates between individuals and groups, and has an expectation of others cross-culturally based on that differentiated understanding.

Carlie was the wife of a KPC geologist who had been in Indonesia and on site for five years. Carlie was closely involved with the school as a parent and a coordinator of the Poppets child care centre. In Carlie's comments on intercultural competency below, she highlights the need for language abilities.

LC: What is the best advice you could give to someone new coming to site?

Carlie: Oh, God - go to language classes, go to language classes, get some *Bahasa*! It doesn't work [without a language ability], like, 'You don't really need it in this situation because everyone speaks English' - but maybe just start understanding a little by understanding about the culture. Without language it's impossible...

LC: Anything else?

Carlie: Stay patient, stay broad-minded.

LC: What do you think are the most important skills a person needs to live and work in a cross-cultural environment like this?

Carlie: Well, we talked about the language but it's not so easy for some people to learn the language so, if you don't come with the aptitude to learn the language, a clear sense of the self in one's own culture. Grounding. Then you will more easily reach out - not be threatened by other cultures...

LC: Do you behave any differently when you're around Indonesians?

Carlie: Yes, but it depends on what type of Indonesian, what sort of social groups they come from and how culturally aware they are of me - of where I come from.

LC: Do you think Indonesians should behave differently around westerners?

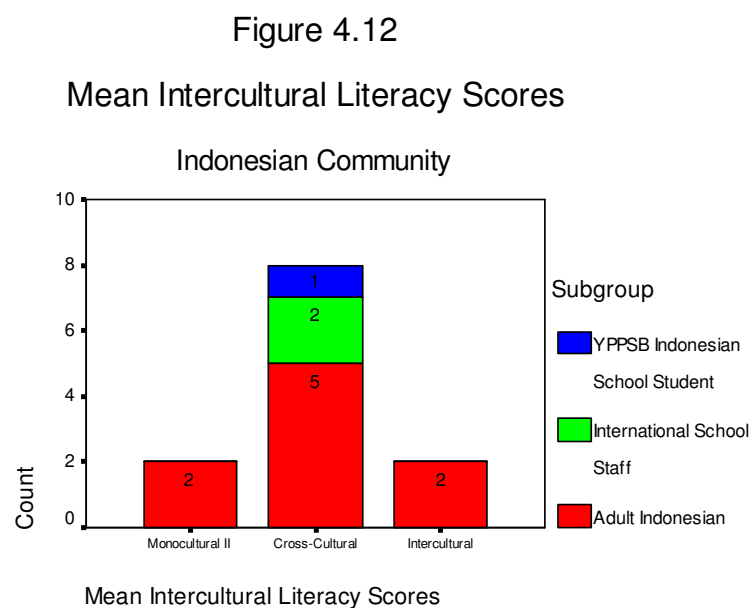
Carlie: Oh... it depends on the environment again, you know, I mean it's their country. They

can do as they please, but then, for instance, in work situations where the onus is on the expatriate to help maximise their [the Indonesian's] skills, I think that it's important that the Indonesians be aware that, in order for that to take place successfully, 'I need to play the part and learn to relate to westerners or expatriates - to the different culture - in a reasonably successful way'. And otherwise they lose the opportunity we offer here. Like what's happening to Poppets in order for the kids to reap the benefit of what goes on over there, because the parents need to play their part in relating to the care-giver. Yeah, they don't want Indonesian - so they could be exposed to other values or language; English I guess mostly. But it depends on the situation of the Indonesian for that.

As with Tom, Carlie's comments reveal that she differentiates between individuals and groups cross-culturally in what she expects and how she behaves. Consistent with descriptors of the Intercultural Level, Carlie and Tom are non-judgemental and able to attribute behaviours on the basis of sophisticated intercultural understandings. At the same time, they are critical of aspects of both the host and the expatriate cultures. Attitudes are complex, dynamic and relate to specific contexts. Understandings are also complex and differentiated. An appreciation of the subtlety of the culture – its complexities and inconsistencies is evident – both in relation to the host and the home culture. Competencies and language abilities both support and are supported by these other dimensions; attitudes and understandings. Cross-cultural participation is characterised by well-established cross-cultural friendships and working relationships. In addition to her work in Poppets, Carlie had been involved in voluntary work at *YPPSB*, the company's Indonesian school. Carlie's comments also reveal an advanced awareness of her own cultural identity and the importance of this in engaging cross-culturally.

Intercultural literacy levels – Indonesian community

Twelve members of the Indonesian community were interviewed in Phase One and assessed for intercultural literacy. This group included one Indonesian school student, resident in Tanjung Bara, two international school staff, the Indonesian teacher and a teacher aide, and nine Indonesian community members from Tanjung Bara.



A profile of averaged intercultural literacy levels for the twelve Indonesian community members sampled is provided in Figure 4.12, above. There were none in this group at Monocultural Level I (Limited Awareness), and none at the Monocultural Level III (Culture Shock / Distancing). Two (18%) were identified as Monocultural Level II (Naïve Awareness), eight (74%) at the Cross-Cultural level (Emerging Intercultural Literacy) and two (18%) at the Intercultural level.

Details of the intercultural literacy scores of the Indonesians interviewed are given in Table 4.6, below. The participants are grouped by score, the lowest mean scores at the top of the table and the highest at the bottom. Sub-group membership is also indicated in the left column: *YPPSB* student, international school staff member or other.

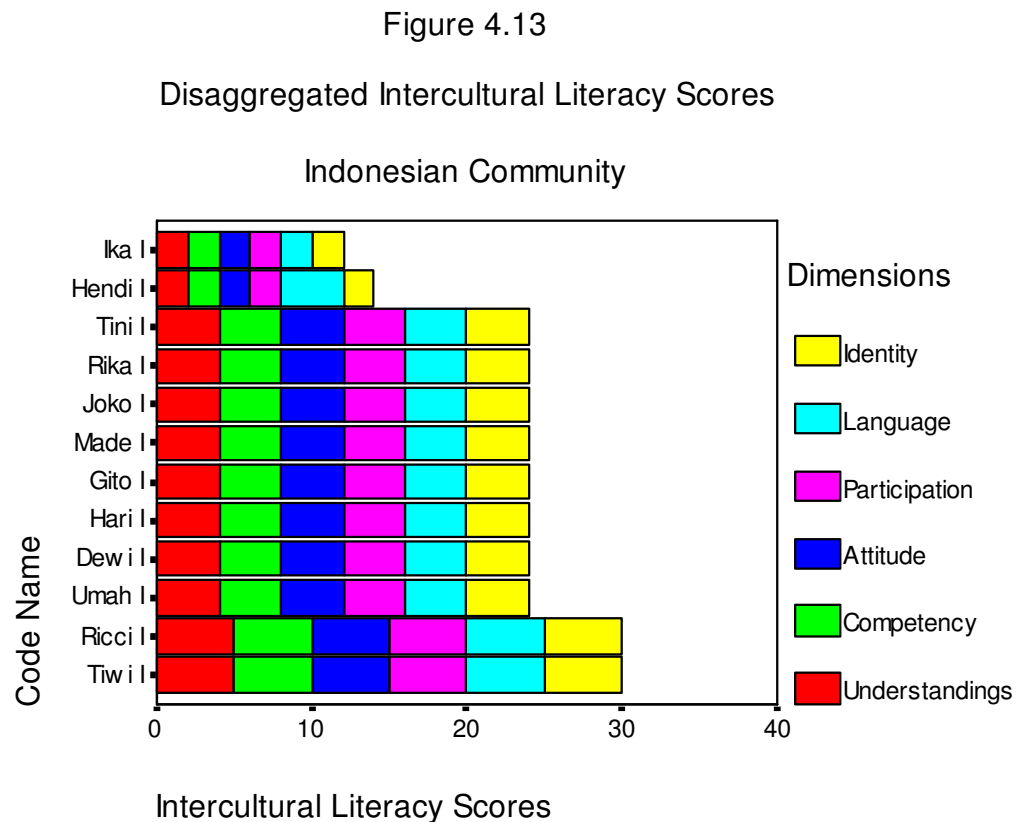
Table 4.5
Disaggregated Intercultural Literacy Scores – Indonesian Adults Phase One

Sub-Group	Code Name	Understandings	Competencies	Attitudes	Participation	Language Ability	Identity	Individual Mean Scores
Community	Hendi I	2	2	2	2	4	2	2
Community	Ika I	2	2	2	2	2	2	2
Int'l School	Tini I	4	4	4	4	4	4	4
Int'l School	Rika I	4	4	4	4	4	4	4
Ind'n Student	Umah I	4	4	4	4	4	4	4
Community	Joko I	4	4	4	4	4	4	4
Community	Made I	4	4	4	4	4	4	4
Community	Gito I	4	4	4	4	4	4	4
Community	Hari I	4	4	4	4	4	4	4
Community	Dewi I	4	4	4	4	4	4	4
Community	Ricci I	5	5	5	5	5	5	5
Community	Tiwi I	5	5	5	5	5	5	5
	Overall Mean Scores	3.8	3.8	3.8	3.8	4.0	3.8	3.8

Key: 1 = Monocultural Level I
2 = Monocultural Level II
3 = Monocultural Level III
4 = Cross-Cultural Level
5 = Intercultural Level

E = Expatriate
I = Indonesian
M = Mixed parentage

Individual scores range from 2 to 5, Monocultural Level II to Intercultural Level in all dimensions. The overall mean scores for each dimension – on the bottom row – range from 3.8 to 4.0, indicating no significant trend or skewing of results. Figure 4.13, below provides a graphic representation of the above.



With only one exception (Hendi), who scored high on the language dimension and low on others, the scoring of individual Indonesian community members across the dimensions represented in figure 4.13 is entirely consistent.

Monocultural Level II (Naïve Awareness)

Ika and Hendi, both wives of senior Indonesian KPC employees, were scored at the Monocultural Level II on the basis of interviews. In both cases, however, it was difficult to allocate a score since the individuals were judged to be moving into a learning phase more characteristic of the Cross-Cultural level in the model. Both women revealed stereotypical understandings and attitudes in interview, a mix of positive and negative,

focussing on aspects of western culture such as punctuality, efficiency, education, religion and dress standards. Neither appeared to differentiate between individuals or groups cross-culturally, and neither reported significant cross-cultural participation or evidenced advanced language abilities (Hendi was interviewed in English by ET, an expatriate assistant, and was scored at the Cross-Cultural level on this dimension). Whilst both women reported significant previous experience living in cross-cultural mining camps elsewhere in Indonesia, neither had actually worked with westerners and it appears that cross-cultural interaction was limited in both previous and current contexts.

- | | |
|------|---|
| S: | First I want to ask what you have learned about western people and their culture and also about what you think of western people and their culture. Let's go back to when you first came to Tanjung Bara. Do you remember what you knew about western people before you came to site? |
| Ika: | They're open, that's the first impression. |
| S: | What did you think about that? What attitudes or opinions did you have about western people and their culture? Your opinion about their way of life? |
| Ika: | They're smart, disciplined. They're big, the body. Some are small... |
| S: | How did you gain that knowledge and those opinions? From direct experience? How did you get that picture? |
| Ika: | From Soroako. [MH: Mining camp in Sulawesi, Eastern Indonesia.] |
| S: | Your experience in Soroako? And you came here and started to mix. What impression did you get of the people here? You had already formed a picture of western people, then the picture here? |
| Ika: | First, because my English is not very good, so I'm a little awkward to mix with them. |
| S: | But your impression? |
| Ika: | They're almost the same as us. Some not very smart, not very disciplined, just the same... |
| S: | Anything interesting about them? |
| Ika: | The way they educate children. |

- S: How's that?
- Ika: Their children, even since they're little, they dare to face people... independent.
- S: That's very interesting.
- Ika: Yes. The way they educate children; independent, creative.
- S: How is it different to our approach?
- Ika: Our kids, most of them, are afraid of adults.
- S: Afraid of what?
- Ika: They're afraid they would get yelled at. So they don't open up.
- S: So they [western children] are not afraid of their parents?
- Ika: It's not that. They give freedom of speech to their children. Here the kids are sometimes afraid because they know their parents will get angry.
- S: We've talked about the difference in educating children; very interesting. Now I want to ask about the way they use their spare time, is it interesting?
- Ika: Yes.
- S: How do they use it?
- Ika: For example they plan their time and they are always on time. For example, when they exercise they *really* exercise, when they play cards, it's really there, every Friday and on time too. Usually we tend to say 'not today' but they really plan it, and then do it.
- S: Then, what's your impression? You know the difference, anything interesting? Do you get a positive or negative impression about them?
- Ika: The positive is they really value time.
- S: The negative? About this their way of life. That you are aware of.
- Ika: Their dress may be.
- S: How is it?
- Ika: Because most of us here are Muslim, and they [expatriates] dress to the minimum. The impression for myself, for me, no problem. But they have to know, this is Indonesia. They should see where they go with those clothes. If they wear such a minimum dress, don't go to the public places.
- S: Anything else?

Ika:	I don't like the greeting habits. But it's their tradition, if they shake hands or kiss. Too much physical contact, between children or adults. Anybody, friends, men and women, that's what I mean.
S:	Your opinion about their religious life?
Ika:	Not very good.

Ika is most concerned with matters related to her role in life as a parent. Her comments reveal an interest in what she sees as both the positive and negative aspects of the western culture. She is, however, unable to articulate understandings beyond the stereotypical, perhaps since she has not had the opportunity to develop the cross-cultural relationships that would allow her to learn.

Cross-Cultural Level (Emerging Intercultural Literacy)

The majority of Indonesians interviewed, including a teacher and teacher-aide from the international school and a student from *YPPSB*, the Indonesian company school, were scored at the Cross-Cultural Level. For example, Tini was the teacher of Indonesian language and culture at Tanjung Bara International School. She had been on site for only one year, but reported previous international experience, as an exchange student-teacher in both Canada and Australia.

Tini articulated how her perceptions – understandings and attitudes – of western cultures developed through the experience, first of her time in Canada and Australia, and then on site in Tanjung Bara. Attitudes are differentiated. She noted positives: work ethic, education, open communication; and negatives: arrogance, rough behaviour, drinking and treatment of Indonesian women by western men, and a perceived lack of religion

and religious values to guide behaviour. At the same time, Tini was clearly in a learning mode. Her level of participation in both the Indonesian and expatriate communities was high, and she saw the opportunity to learn from westerners and take the positives from the experience as important. In this, Tini, was typical of the young educated Indonesian community members interviewed. This was a community of upwardly mobile individuals who were serious about maximising the opportunity to learn from the cross-cultural experience – and prepared to tolerate a level of culturally offensive behaviour from the expatriate community in order to achieve that aim.

Another example, Joko, was a 33 year-old Indonesian man from North Sumatra (Batak) working as a site-manager for Hexindo, a major contractor to KPC. The extract below illustrates Joko's understandings, attitudes and competencies, which are typical of the Cross-Cultural Level. He was in an active learning stage, able to articulate his perceptions of positive and negative aspects of western and expatriate cultures and to differentiate clearly between different individuals and groups within the community. Joko's experience and concerns are more work-related than those of the women surveyed, although he, too, commented on the problem with expatriate drinking and relationships with local women.

S: Now, first question. We start with understanding and behaviour. Before you lived here in Tanjung Bara what did you know about westerners? What kind of people are they?

Joko: About behaviour, what I know of the western attitude, they're fair, to the point. Don't give too much 'pep talk'. Those are the big difference with eastern people. Second, if we have an argument or discussion with them, we must speak with hard data. So they want clear details and getting straight to the point, that's the general attitude of western people that I know.

About their social life? Compared to us, eastern people. Through my glasses they have pretty high-skilled life, very concerned.

- S: You mean a high standard of living?
- Joko: No, they have high level of concern towards social problems.
- S: Now we go to your opinion about their attitude. You think they get straight to the point, speak by data. Is it better than us?
- Joko: They have tendency to be logical, make sense and no pep talk. If we want to say something, like A, they want it to be clear. A is A. No such thing as one plus one equals three, or it could be two and a half - for them it's *always* two.
- S: That's positive or negative?
- Joko: There's positive and negative aspects. We ask them to be more realistic, not accept false things, but be more realistic.
- S: Negative?
- Joko: That if they start to make comparisons with us as eastern people. Sometimes eastern peoplesome of them, are not ready to accept the straight things. For westerners if it's wrong, it's wrong, but for eastern people, some can't accept that, even though he/she already knows that he or she is wrong. Maybe it should be in a gentler way, the way we tell him or her that.
- The second thing is that westerners have a tendency to see us from the background and culture and they generally consider us, eastern people, to be one level below them. They underestimate us. I think they feel like they're better. We can see it in the relations in the office. It'll show, between, say, a western boss with Indonesian subordinates. He doesn't give a chance for them to propose an idea. He'll always cut in first. So these people are afraid to give their thoughts. If he'll insist they give their idea, which may be a positive idea. But he'll ask: 'Why this? Why that?' So straight to questioning the idea, Why? Why? So next time these people won't open up their thoughts to propose a positive idea. I see it in my work environment here because we have an expatriate superintendent - and the foreman level under him, they always complain to me like that.
- S: That opinion, you got it from work experience?
- Joko: Work experience, not from myself but from my subordinates. He has tendency to judge. They're wrong, he doesn't provide a chance first, or look at the idea. Let them develop the idea then guide them, not like that. Westerners have a tendency to judge people first.
- S: Western people here, from your observation, what's your first impression?
- Joko: In the community, they're friendly and open.
- S: Are you interested to get to know them further?
- Joko: Yes, so we can follow or take the positive aspects from them, you know, being frank, to the point. For me that's positive and realistic.

- S: When do you notice these positive aspects, as you say, they're frank people, to the point?
- Joko: Specifically in working hours.
- S: Negative aspects from them?
- Joko: One of them, sorry, it's just that sometimes we live here with our families, especially if we see it happens in front of us. The single camp - sometimes they bring girls that may not be their wives and they often change girls. My wife sees it herself. For eastern culture it's not good.
- Secondly, sometimes they're out of control. When they're angry, perhaps after drinking too much, after that they're sorry. I often have to deal with that.
- S: So - drinking habits.
- Joko: Too much alcohol, so they can't control their emotions.
- S: Overall do you have a positive or negative impression?
- Joko: Overall, mostly positive.
- S: This is from what you get. Now start, the first time you came here you got the positive and negative impression. After a while here, was it more positive than negative or what? In this first year more positive impression - any addition for positive impression?
- Joko: I mix more with people from the middle-level up, so it's more positive.
- S: For example?
- Joko: Middle-level up. From there I can see the difference between the supervisor level and the superintendent level. They have a different style.
- S: Can you tell me about the supervisor?
- Joko: From the way they talk.
- S: How is it?
- Joko: The same as if we see an Indonesian who lives on the street. They're more temperamental and emotional - out of control - but at the superintendent level, the way they talk is more controlled. The manager is even better.
- S: Gentler?
- Joko: More educated. I saw more of the difference when I went to Australia last December. We can see the middle-class compared with the lower-class is very different, their life style. Say, driver and businessman, very different. That's an experience for me.

- S: Other than the way they talk, what else? The way they dress?
- Joko: Yeah and their hobbies.
- S: What about the way they dress?
- Joko: Supervisors are less neat.
- S: What about supervisor's hobbies?
- Joko: In sport, almost no hobby. They are more often in a bar, drinking. Superintendent-level up like to play golf. We don't see them in the bar too often.
- S: When they drink, the supervisor, usually until what ... ?
- Joko: Until they get drunk and out of control, from the way they talk sometimes when they get angry they say more dirty words not so good to be heard.

Joko's comments typify the perception of most Indonesians interviewed. He admires the openness and efficiency of westerners he has encountered in the workplace. On the other hand he sees westerners as arrogant, and believes that they are prejudiced, regarding Indonesians as inferior. The problem with social habits relating to alcohol and sexual mores recurs.

Intercultural Level

The following extract from an interview with Tiwi demonstrates how increased cross-cultural experience may deepen understandings and attitudes, develop competencies and strengthen identity. Tiwi was an Indonesian woman from West Java (Sunda) in her mid-forties. She was the wife of a senior Indonesian manager and the chair of the *YPPSB* school foundation – a key position in the Indonesian community.

- S: What about your understanding of the people and their culture now? Do you feel you have learned more? From what you know now about western culture, what would you say are the most significant cultural traits that contrast markedly with your own

culture?

Tiwi: Yes, I have learned more. If I had lived in other places I would not have had that experience.

Westerners don't have '*suku*' [MH: literally, 'tribe' or ethnic group] or regional languages whereas Indonesians have many *suku* – Javanese, Sundanese, Batak, each with their own cultures and regional languages.

Westerners, as a community, they don't regard religion as important – although some families do have religion. Indonesians take religion much more seriously. Everybody has a religion.

Men and women's roles. Westerners share lots of things in the house – there is no such thing as 'women's' job' or 'men's job'. In Indonesia there is such a thing as women's job – such as kitchen work which Indonesian men would never do, 'serving husbands' and not interfering in husbands or men's business. Men are more dominant in decision-making in Indonesia.

Western families like to go out on weekends doing outdoor activities. Indonesian families prefer to stay at home doing home-related or work-related jobs.

S: What do you think of those cultural traits? Has your attitude towards western people and their culture changed any more?

Tiwi: Positive? It is good that men and women share household jobs. I myself don't mind to be the 'Indonesian-type housewife' who serves her husband. But there has been a change in many places in Indonesia. The negative impact is if the couple is not ready. Family breakdown is hard to avoid.

Negative? The absence of religious values isn't good for the community or for individuals. The individual in the community will think that she or he can do anything in this world without thinking about the consequences in the life after this world. This will make a big difference in the community level. A permissive community.

S: What do you think about westerners in the workplace or socially?

Tiwi: Good, helpful people. In the workplace they give several courses to *YPPSB* teachers (English, computer, leadership). Socially they are good – although some aren't easy to make friends with, which is the same as Indonesian.

S: How do you get on with western people?

Tiwi: Well – not many problems.

S: Do you enjoy living with westerners?

Tiwi: Very much. As long as we can communicate there shouldn't be misunderstandings.

S: Have you noticed any differences between groups within the culture?

Tiwi:	Yes – different hobbies, countries of origin, and the ones who have ‘distinguished’ Indonesian wives [MH: this refers to Indonesian women who have worked in the sex-industry and have become girl-friends, contract-wives, and sometimes legal wives of expatriate men]. There’s golf, tennis, and English, Australian and ‘distinguished Indonesian women’ groups.
S:	Do you tend to treat people from different groups differently?
Tiwi:	I respect all of them – but I don’t get on with the ‘distinguished’ Indonesian women’s groups because they have a different life and expectation, which are very different to my life and expectation.
S:	Would you say you are generally comfortable or uncomfortable in cross-cultural situations?
Tiwi:	Comfortable.
S:	Do you usually know what is expected of you socially or how you should speak to people or relate to them cross-culturally? Any examples?
Tiwi:	I don’t feel awkward at the dining table with them. Because I lived in a mixed community for a long time, I don’t find it hard or uncomfortable to get on with them. They are similar to Indonesians – nothing superior or inferior, just different.
S:	Do you think you understand a western sense of humour?
Tiwi:	Yes.
S:	Do you ever find yourself making jokes or laughing at a joke in English?
Tiwi:	Sometimes. I don’t find that westerners often joke about pornography or sexual stuff – but Sundanese jokes are very often about hidden pornography, which is called <i>cunihin</i> in Sundanese language.
S:	Can you imagine for a moment that you are a westerner. Do you think that a westerner sees the world or looks at life differently than an Indonesian?
Tiwi:	Yes. Westerners would be surprised to see how Indonesians live – because they find it different. Westerners are used to washing machines, doing shopping in the supermarket – not the traditional market with all the tricky strategies to get the bargain. Punctuality. They’ll find it hard to understand Indonesians not being on time and always looking happy despite their poverty. Living in a tropical county would explain why people are not as punctual as compared to non-tropical areas where people had to plan ahead of time to avoid having trouble in the winter.
S:	How do you think westerners see your culture?
Tiwi:	They find it confusing at first probably. Because there are a lot of differences. But then gradually they will understand and some would probably enjoy living here. For example – Jeannie, she enjoys the regional differences – languages and clothes – within Indonesia.

S:	Do you think you have an understanding of other cultures other than Indonesian and western?
Tiwi:	Yes – African, South American. Black Americans look more healthy -and free than their counterparts in Africa. I once went on a four-day visit to South America.
S:	Do you think some cultures are better than others or not?
Tiwi:	No. Each has positives and negatives. There are positives and negatives about Indonesian culture but as an Indonesian person I do things the way my culture has taught me. I'll still eat rice even though I live or stay in different countries – or serve my husband.
S:	I want to ask you now about the sorts of skills you might have learned that you need to live or work with westerners. Can you think of some examples of when it has been difficult or frustrating living or working with westerners?
Tiwi:	Not a problem because I lived with expatriates community in INCO [MH: mining camp in Sulawesi] for eleven years.
S:	How did you deal with these situations? Do you think you handle these situations differently now than when you were first here?
Tiwi:	I think you need to have communication skills – English is very important.
S:	What is the best advice you could give to someone new coming to site?
Tiwi:	Communication skill – language skill – speak English. Use as much time as you can to get to know them (westerners) and take the positive aspects you can learn from dealing with them because not many Indonesian can get the chance to live here. Read books to give you knowledge so that you'll always have something to talk about when you're around them.
S:	What do you think are the most important skills a person needs to live or work in a cross-cultural environment like this?
Tiwi:	Communication skills – wanting to talk. Don't be shy.
S:	Do you behave any differently when you're around westerners?
Tiwi:	No. I respect all people – Indonesian or westerners. I'll always treat them well. Although they do things differently, I understand.
S:	Do you think they (westerners) should behave differently around Indonesians?
Tiwi:	Yes, they should learn the language and culture – because there'll be less misunderstanding which can create a problem. For example – don't show your feet (it's rude), don't touch older people's heads.

Many of the same themes emerged in Tiwi's comments as in Tini's and others. As with Carlie, the expatriate woman categorised at the Intercultural Level, Tiwi regards language and communication as the most important cross-cultural skill. Westerners were seen positively as punctual, efficient, open and egalitarian. A lack of religious values and the relationships between expatriate men and local Indonesian women were seen as negative aspects of the culture. In Tiwi's case, however, these cultural traits were accepted more as a difference – not demanding a judgemental response. The one exception to this was the open liaisons and relationships between expatriate men and what Tiwi describes as 'distinguished' women in Tanjung Bara – something that Tiwi could not accept, but had learned to tolerate.

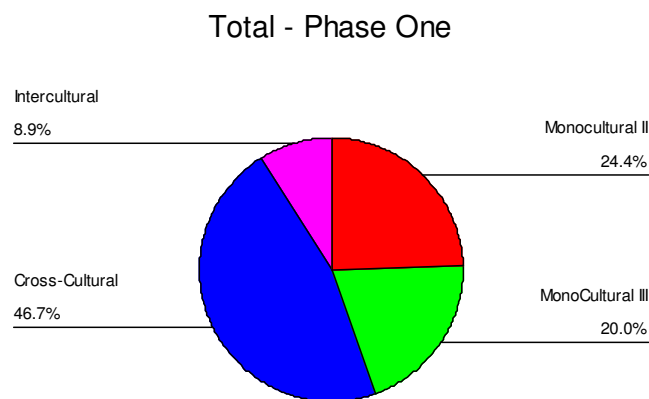
(The question of how expatriate women regarded the 'distinguished' Indonesian women is complex. On the evidence of interviews and unstructured discussions within the community, it appears that, whilst some expatriate women were unaware of the status of these women or denied it, others were concerned with a perceived threat to their marriages posed by the presence of sex-workers in the community. In some cases this is likely to have impacted negatively on the attitudes towards Indonesian culture.)

Summary: Intercultural literacy levels in the Tanjung Bara community Phase One

Overall, the intercultural literacy levels in Tanjung Bara, based on the interviews and observations conducted in Phase One, were spread between the Monocultural Level I (Naïve Awareness) and the Intercultural Level with the largest group at Cross-Cultural Level (47%), a positive learning phase. Within the total group, 20% were classified at

the Monocultural Level III (Culture Shock or Distancing) and 24% at the Monocultural Level I (Naïve Awareness).

Figure 4.14
Intercultural Literacy Levels



Breaking the figures down into sub-groups demonstrates that the international school children were typically at lower developmental stages in the Model than adults, both expatriate westerners and Indonesians. Whilst 33% of the children interviewed were classified as Monocultural Level II (Naïve Awareness) only 19% of adults were classified at this level. Similarly, 44% of children were classified as Monocultural Level III (Culture-Shock or Distancing) whilst only 4% of adults were classified at this level (one individual). Of the adults interviewed, 63% were classified at the Cross-Cultural Level (Emerging Intercultural Literacy) compared with only 22% of children. Whilst 15% of adults were classified as at the Intercultural Level, no children were classified at this level. These differences reflect the developmental difference between the children and adults.

Figure 4.15
Intercultural Literacy Levels
Phase One - Children

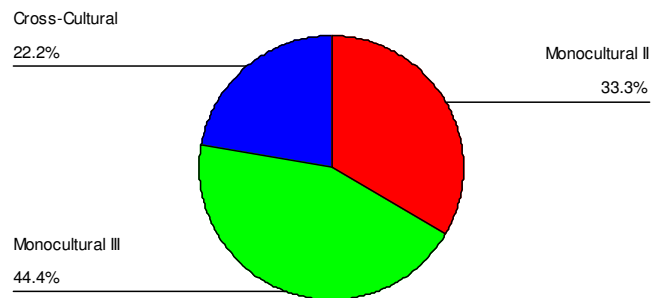
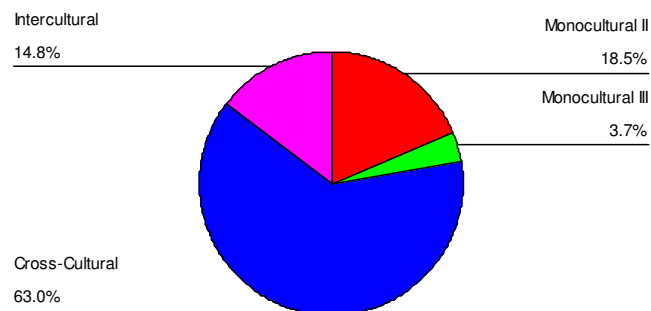


Figure 4.16
Intercultural Literacy Levels
Phase One - Adults (Indonesian & Expatriate)



It is interesting to note that only one adult participant was classified at the Monocultural Level III, (Culture Shock or Distancing), whilst 19% were at the naïve Monocultural Level II. A number of adults appear to have been ‘between’ the Monocultural and the Cross-Cultural levels - at times demonstrating behaviours consistent with the negative Monocultural Level III and at others behaviours consistent with the more positive Cross-

Cultural Level. These individuals were classified at the Cross-Cultural Level. In contrast, a significant number of children (44%) were clearly in a culture shock or distancing mode with little evidence of moving into the Cross-Cultural Level. The evidence of Phase Two interviews, discussed later in this chapter, suggests that a greater percentage of the adult group may have been at the Monocultural Level.

In summary, the picture of intercultural literacy in Tanjung Bara at the time of the study is of a group of children in the international school predominately at the Monocultural Level, nearly half at the negative Culture Shock / Distancing stage, and an adult community, both expatriate and Indonesian, predominately at the Cross-Cultural Level, with small groups classified at Monocultural or Intercultural Levels. Whilst there were individual variations, the majority were classified consistently across all dimensions.

This section aimed to provide an initial answer to the first research question: What was the level and type of intercultural literacy evident amongst the students and other groups identified? Phase Two interviews also provide important triangulation of the Phase One results. The following section discusses perceptions of Phase Two interview participants of community intercultural literacy levels – their own, their children's and the broader community. On this basis a more conclusive answer to the question is then provided.

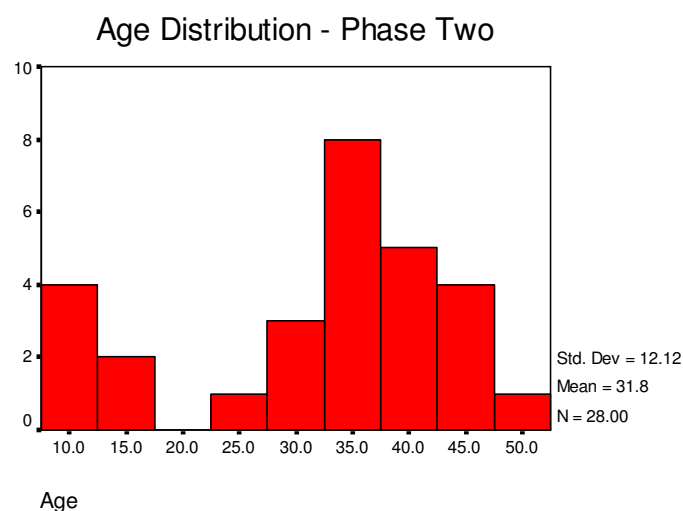
Phase Two Participant Group Profile

Phase Two interviews were conducted primarily in 1997. The interviews were structured to answer Research Questions 1 – 5, to assist with mapping the community intercultural literacy levels, to evaluate the school's curriculum and extra-curricular programs using

Stake's (1967) model of Contingency and Congruence, and to explore the dynamics within the school and community that contributed to the intercultural literacy levels in the community and school. Interview schedules are included in Appendix Nine.

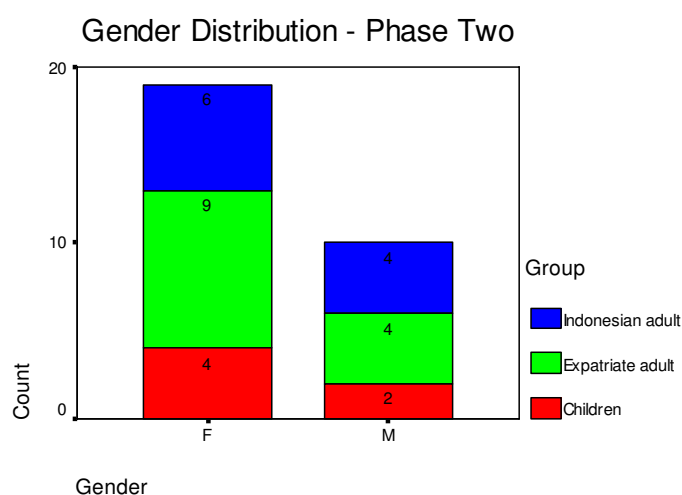
The objective of Phase One was to map the school and its community in terms of intercultural literacy levels, whilst the objective of Phase Two interviews was primarily to explore the dynamics of intercultural literacy learning in the school and community. In consequence, the two samples differ considerably. In Phase One the majority of participants were either children or staff of the school, the remainder being representatives of the expatriate and Indonesian communities. In Phase Two only a small number of children were interviewed, the focus being on adult members of the expatriate and Indonesian communities. In this section the profile of the participant group is discussed.

Figure 4.17



In Phase Two, twenty-nine participants were interviewed, eight of whom had been interviewed in Phase One. The ages in this sample ranged from nine to forty-eight. Only six children were interviewed in Phase Two (four from the international school and two from *YPPSB*) compared with nineteen in Phase One. As in the Phase One sample, the distribution pattern reflects that of the community surveyed, in that most are either school-aged children or adults in mid-career.

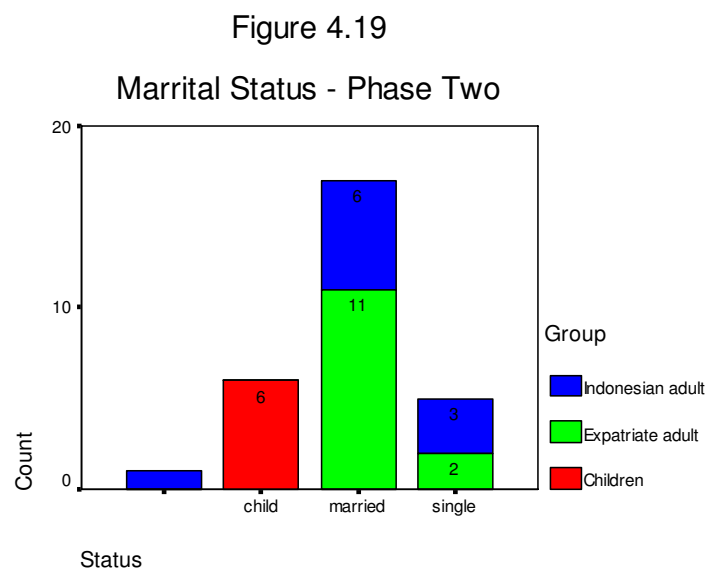
Figure 4.18



Nineteen females were interviewed in Phase Two compared with ten males. This difference is due in large part to the gender imbalance in the teaching staff and teacher-aides interviewed. From the school staff, eight women were interviewed compared with one male (the school principal). Aside from the principal, only one male teacher was employed in the school at this time and no male teacher aides. This individual was off-site and unavailable for interview. From the wider expatriate community, three men were sampled compared with four women – all were parents of children in the school.

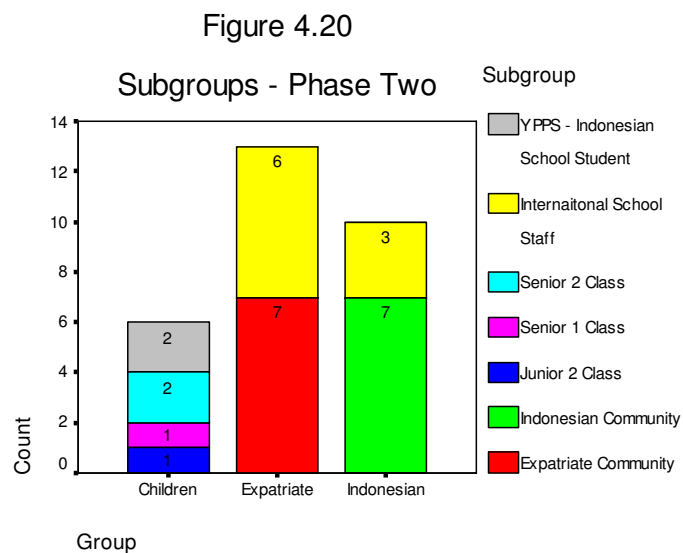
From the Indonesian community, four women were interviewed and four men. Three girls from the international school were interviewed and one boy. One boy and one girl from *YPPSB* were interviewed.

In addition to the two female Indonesian staff members of the international school, eight Indonesian community members were interviewed; four women and four men. In Figure 4.18 above, as in several other charts that follow, the sample is grouped broadly into: (1) children (expatriate and Indonesian), (2) adult members of the Indonesian community and (3) adult members of the expatriate community.



Within the twenty-nine participants interviewed in Phase Two, six were children and seventeen were married, of whom six were members of the Indonesian community and eleven expatriates. Five were single; three international school staff-members and two

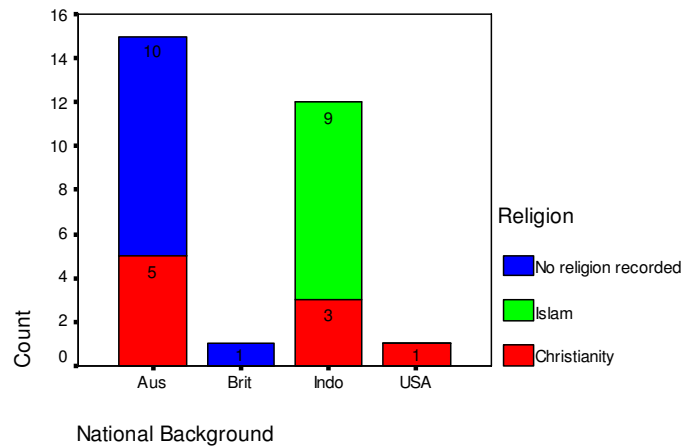
members of the Indonesian community. Data on marital status was not collected for one member of the Indonesian community.



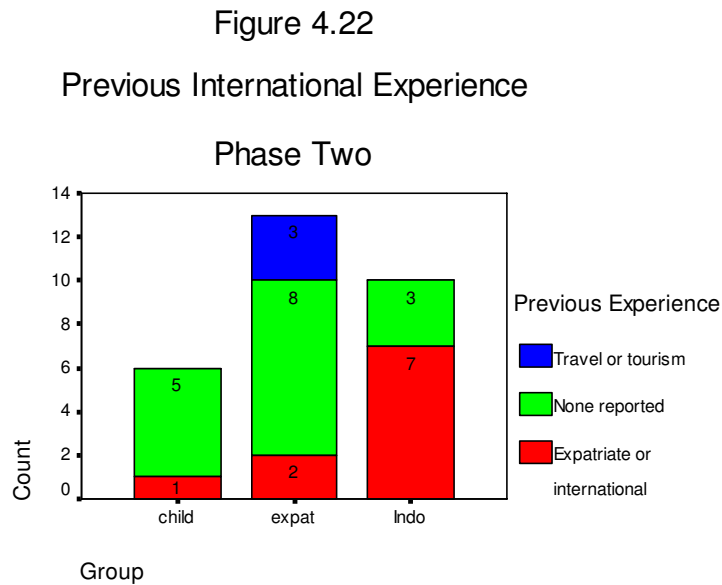
This breakdown illustrates how the six children interviewed were drawn from the class groups at Tanjung Bara International School: one from Junior Two (J2), one from Senior One (S2) and two from Senior Two (S2). No Junior One (J1) children were interviewed in Phase Two. The two Indonesian children interviewed were from *YPPSB*, the Indonesian company school, aged twelve and thirteen. Six of the thirteen expatriate adults and three of the ten Indonesians interviewed were international school staff. The remaining seven expatriates and seven Indonesians were members of the wider community.

Figure 4.21

National & Religious Background - Phase Two

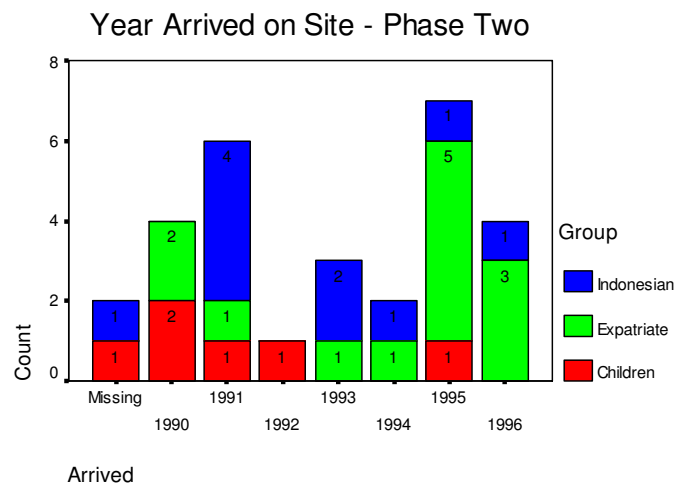


Of the twenty-nine participants sampled in Phase Two, fifteen were identified as Australians, twelve as Indonesians, one as British and one as American. This reflects the general make up of the Tanjung Bara community at the time. In twelve of the nineteen participants interviewed, no religious affiliation was indicated. All of these were Australian, British or American. Five of the Australian group and three Indonesians were identified as Christians (including Catholics) and nine of the Indonesians as Muslim. This may also be regarded as indicative of the general community. Within the sample of twelve Indonesians, seven were Javanese, three Sundanese (West Java), one Minahasan (North Sulawesi) and one Batak (North Sumatra).



Of the twenty-nine participants interviewed in Phase Two, sixteen (55%) reported no international or expatriate experience prior to coming to Tanjung Bara. Nine reported previous work/living experience in an international or expatriate context. This group comprised one child (from the international school), two expatriates, both mothers of children in the school, and eight Indonesians. Within the Indonesian group, the three who reported no previous experience were all staff members at the international school. The remaining Indonesians all reported previous experience, including one woman who was employed in a professional capacity in the medical service, was married to a Frenchman, and whose son was in the international school. The school staff group all reported either no previous experience or travel.

Figure 4.23



In addition to previous experience, length of time spent on site was thought likely to impact on levels of intercultural literacy. As was the case with Phase One interviews the distribution of time spent on site (indicated by the year of arrival) is skewed. With the exception of three interviews, which were conducted during the first site visit in 1996, all interviews were conducted during May 1997. Ten of the twenty-nine were newly arrived (within the last eighteen months). Six had arrived in 1992, 1993 or 1994 and had therefore been on site between eighteen months and four-and-a half-years. Ten had been on site for over four-and-a-half years. There were two participants for whom no data was collected due to oversight. Whilst the distribution is spread there are two main groups, those with lengthy experience and those relatively new to Tanjung Bara.

All of the seven teachers interviewed were in the latter group, having arrived within the eighteen-month period prior to the interviews. Five of the seven teachers were new to the researcher, having arrived between the first site visit (May 1996) and the second (May 1997). Since on both occasions all teachers who were on site were interviewed,

this reflected a major change in the staffing of the school. With one exception, the children interviewed in Phase Two had lengthy experience on site. The remaining groups, adult members of the expatriate and Indonesian communities, were spread across the years.

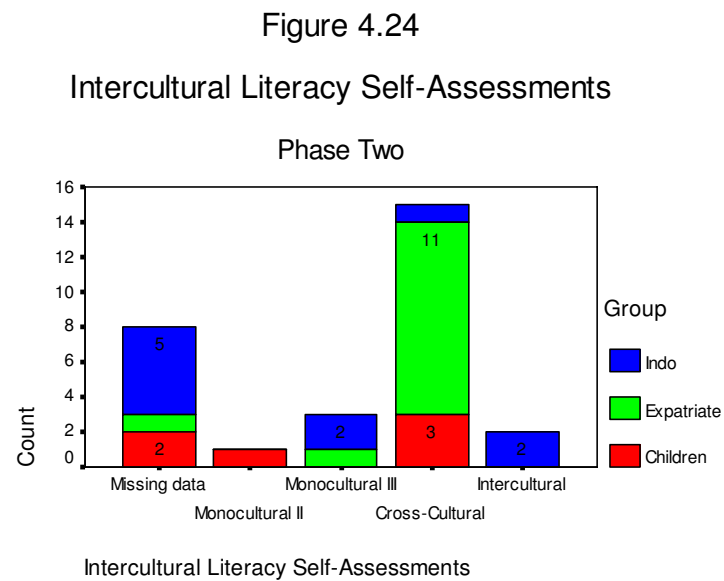
Mapping the Community's Intercultural Literacy – Phase Two

Phase Two interviews conducted in 1997 included a section in which participants were asked to comment on their perceptions of the intercultural literacy levels within the community – their own level, that of the international school children and the wider community²⁶. Parents were asked to comment on their own children's levels. Responses to these items are analysed in this section, providing a means of triangulating the Phase One data and analysis in the previous section.

Self-Assessments – Phase Two

In Phase Two interviews conducted in 1997, participants were shown the Model and asked to assess themselves. Figure 4.24, below, describes the responses.

²⁶ Three Phase Two interviews were conducted in 1996. On the basis of these interviews some modifications were made to the instrument, including the addition of a section asking the participant to make a self-assessment of intercultural literacy levels. For the three interviewed in 1996 there are thus no self-assessments available for analysis.



Eight participants did not respond to this item in a way that enables analysis here. This included three participants interviewed in 1996, who were not asked this question. In the remaining five cases, responses were unclear. Of those who did respond clearly (twenty-one), the majority (fifteen) assessed themselves as at the Cross-Cultural (Emerging Intercultural Literacy) Level. Notwithstanding the small numbers in this sample, these figures tend to support the assessments made on the basis of Phase One interviews.

The children interviewed saw themselves as either at the naïve Monocultural Level II or the Cross-Cultural (Emerging Intercultural Literacy) Level. Indonesians saw themselves as at the Monocultural Level III (Culture Shock or Distancing), the Cross-Cultural or the Intercultural Level. No expatriates or children assessed themselves as at the Intercultural Level.

Figure 4.16

Intercultural Literacy Levels

Phase One - Adults (Indonesian & Expatriate)

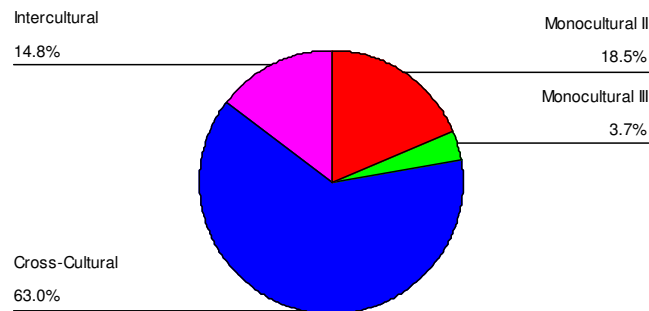
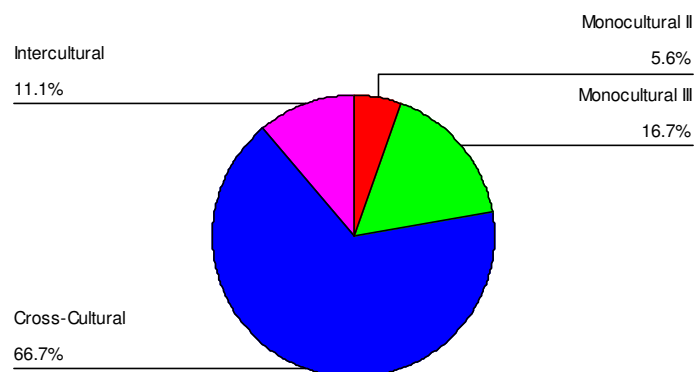


Figure 4.25

Intercultural Literacy Levels - Self Assessment

Phase Two - Adults (Indonesian & Expatriate)



Figures 4.16 and 4.25 above illustrate how the assessments made of average adult intercultural literacy levels in Tanjung Bara on the basis of interviews in Phase One compare with the self-assessments made in Phase Two. In both the Phase One assessments and the Phase Two self-assessments, 22% of participants were assessed as Monocultural Level (either Level I or II). In Phase One 63% were assessed at Cross-

Cultural Level and 67% in Phase Two. Whilst in Phase One 15% were assessed at the Intercultural Level, in Phase Two 11% assessed themselves at this Level.

One significant difference between the two phases relates to assessments of Monocultural Level II and III. Whilst in Phase One only 6% of the sample (one individual) was assessed at the negative Monocultural III Level (Culture Shock / Distancing), 17% of adult participants in Phase Two interviews assessed themselves at this level. This trend was reversed for the Monocultural Level II assessments. This suggests that, whilst the researcher tended to see individuals as at the Naïve Awareness stage (Monocultural II), when asked, individuals tended to more frequently assess themselves at the negative Culture Shock or Distancing stage (Monocultural III). In one sense, whilst the move from Monocultural Level II to III represents an advance in intercultural learning, since the indicators are negative at the higher level, an assessment at this level is more negative. Two of the three individuals in Phase Two who assessed themselves as at the Monocultural Level III were Indonesians.

The above analysis provides a general triangulation which supports the validity of Phase One assessments. Comparing the assessments of participants interviewed in both Phase One and Phase Two offers a more direct means of triangulation. In comparing the Phase One assessments and Phase Two self-assessments of individuals, it is important to keep in mind that one year had passed between the two interviews possibly resulting in a change in intercultural literacy level due to learning. Of the seven individuals interviewed in both phases, two were interviewed for Phase Two in 1996. This meant that the self-assessment item was not included. Of the five remaining participants, one

did not respond to the item, leaving a group of four where direct comparisons may be made. All of these were adult expatriates. The following table illustrates the comparison.

Table 4.6
Comparison Between Phase One and Phase Two Assessments

	Phase One Assessment 1996	Phase Two Self-Assessment 1997
John E	Cross-Cultural Level	Cross-Cultural Level
Doug E	Cross-Cultural Level	Cross-Cultural Level
Leigh E	Monocultural Level II	Cross-Cultural Level
Carlie E	Intercultural Level	Cross-Cultural Level

As can be seen in Table 4.7, two of the participants were assessed at the same level in both Phase One assessments and Phase Two self-assessments. In Leigh's case the data suggest that in the intervening year between the two interviews, her learning had progressed and she had moved from the Monocultural to the Cross-Cultural Level. In Carlie's case it seems possible that she 'marked herself down'; that is, she assessed herself more critically, more harshly, on the Model than did the researcher. This is an example of a possible tendency discussed by the Tanjung Bara Reference Group. In the view of Reference Group members, individuals judged to be at a high level of intercultural literacy are likely to rate themselves lower, whilst those judged to be at lower levels may tend to rate themselves higher. As suggested in discussion, this possible tendency recalls the adage: 'The more you know, the more you know that you don't know'. Some individuals may also tend to rate themselves lower in public than in private – in order not to appear boastful. Both Indonesian and Australian cultures typically value this kind of modesty.

In responding to the self-assessment item many of the participants indicated a dynamic rating. That is, they felt themselves to be between two levels, moving from one to

another, sometimes at one and sometimes at another, or at different levels on different dimensions. A number of expatriates, for example, saw themselves as moving from the Monocultural into the Cross-Cultural levels. John E, the principal of the school and a parent, and had been on site for eighteen months. John's comments typify this response:

John E: I didn't go through [Monocultural] Level Three. Sometimes I think I'm distancing. I prefer my own group. Moving into the Cross-Cultural Level (just).

Several participants indicated they felt they were less advanced in language ability than in other dimensions. Doug E, an Anglo-Australian working in the management of training and a parent, saw himself as follows:

Doug E: Level three to four. I don't think I belong to here [Intercultural Level], the weakness being language and understanding of course.

Bridie E's comments were similar. Bridie was the Australian wife of an Australian contractor, and the mother of three daughters, two in the international school and one in Poppets.

Bridie E: Language - no language, or very little. I'm too scared of failure - but at Poppets I pick up the language. In the last few months I've been going to the market alone. Now I want to learn the language. I listen to the Indonesia news. Attitudes? When I was first here I thought 'these people' are thick. That was what people had told me. When I had been here for a while and then returned to Australia I re-thought. Australian people were put on a pedestal. And we're exactly the same. Exactly the same!

The Indonesians interviewed responded variously according to their context. Whilst some had little contact with expatriates and felt unable to develop advanced understandings or competencies, limited by language and opportunities for contact,

others worked daily in cross-cultural contexts. Didi, an Indonesian language trainer, for example, assessed himself as follows:

Didi I: The truth is... I want to be at the Intercultural Level, but perhaps sometimes our opportunity is limited by time and the dominance of work – and so we are at the Cross-Cultural Level... I am at the Cross-Cultural Level...but if there was more opportunity, I would want to be here [at the Intercultural Level], because...for me, the interaction among nations is so interesting and I can't push myself to be here [at the Intercultural Level] because it's difficult...although sometimes I feel here [at the Intercultural Level]. For example if there is a fight between us and the expats, I always try to be neutral, a mediator.... because on the one hand I can appreciate that the expats are not [all] like that, based on my experience years ago, and, on the other hand, the expats are [the way they are] just because [that is their culture] so I try to plant that understanding in my friends.

Ina, the thirteen year-old daughter of an Indonesian contractor couple who had lived in Germany as a young girl, commented as follows:

Ina I: Language is most likely the problem. If we don't greet them [expatriates] first, they don't take the initiative to greet us. I feel too shy to take the initiative to speak to them. I can speak English but I'm shy.

Ina's comments make an interesting counterpoint to those of Becca, also thirteen and the daughter of a contractor family, but Australian.

Becca E: Language is the problem. I get confused. I know the words but can't make sentences...

Chelle, the eleven-year-old daughter of an Australian KPC manager, commented on a successful engagement in the context of the Science Fair hosted by the international school. Again, language is a key.

Chelle E: With the Science Fair, they may have learned bit about our culture. They talked to us. We taught them about a game and probably gained something [some

information about] when they were at school. ... When we were doing the Science Fair, they came along to talk to us. They're a bit shy, but they seemed really nice and the second girl, we can talk - we seemed so shy and [she] asked us lots of questions. I think most people, like, she wants to join in the activities; she is not shy to do it.

John E's comments on the Science Fair also highlight the significance of language ability:

John E: Both sides have a chance to see each other in a different role. At the Science Fair our kids were in a less helpless role [compared to playing sport at Sangatta Baru]. The kids were chosen from Sangatta Baru to be quite literate with good English. It made a difference.

A number of parents and teachers interviewed in Phase Two provided assessments of their children's intercultural literacy levels, enabling triangulation with assessments made in Phase One by the researcher or in Phase Two by the parent, teacher or self-assessment by the child.

The table below (Table 4.8) tells a mixed story. In four of the eight cases the different assessments made of individuals are strongly consistent. In each case where a parent assessment is available, the parent and child independently assessed the child at the same or similar level. In two of these, an independent assessment made by the teacher confirmed the assessments made by the child and parent. However, discrepancies are evident when comparing the assessments made by the researcher in 1996 with those made by the parent in 1997 for Suzie and Gina.

Table 4.7
Comparison Between Assessments of Children in Phase One and Phase Two

Children	Phase One Assessment by Researcher 1996	Phase Two Assessment by Parent 1997	Phase Two - Assessment by Teacher 1997	Phase Two Self- Assessment by Child 1997
Simon E		Monocultural III or Intercultural Level (it depends on the context)		Cross-Cultural to Intercultural Level
Meg E		Cross-Cultural Level	Cross-Cultural Level	Cross-Cultural Level
Becky E		Moving into Cross-Cultural Level	Cross-Cultural Level	Moving into Cross-Cultural Level
Ina I		Monocultural Level II		Monocultural Level II
Suzie E	Cross-Cultural Level	Monocultural – between Level II and III		
Gina E	Monocultural Level II	Moving into Cross-Cultural Level		
Jessie M	Monocultural Level II		Cross-Cultural Level	
Chelle E	Monocultural Level III		Cross-Cultural Level	Monocultural Level III to Cross- Cultural Level

In Suzie's case the difference may be due to the parent's greater knowledge of the child enabling a more accurate assessment – which is at a lower level than that made a year previously by the researcher. In interview notes made in 1996, the researcher indicates the possibility of a 'Hawthorn effect'; an impression that Suzie may have been responding in ways calculated to please the interviewer, perhaps masking a more negative attitude and lower level of intercultural literacy. Comments from teachers in the reference group at the time also urged the researcher to interpret the results of interviews with some of the older children (including Suzie) 'cautiously' as '...the children are extremely good at saying the right thing at the right time'. The assessment made by the

parent tends to confirm this impression, suggesting that Suzie would have been more accurately assessed at the Monocultural Level in Phase One. The difference in Gina's case is likely due to a period of learning in the interval between Phase One and Phase Two. At the time of the interviews in 1996, Gina had been on site for less than one year and Suzie for less than two years, a relatively short time in both cases.

Jessie was assessed in 1996 by the researcher as at the naïve Monocultural Level II, and by her teacher in 1997 at the Cross-Cultural Level. Jessie was five years old in 1996 and so it seems likely that the extra year may have allowed for development, making both the 1996 and 1997 assessments accurate. In 1996 it was noted that Jessie, a mixed child, identified as an expatriate. Given the influx of bicultural children into her class (Junior One) in the intervening year, it may also be that Jessie was prompted to develop a more integrated bicultural identity in this context with corresponding understandings, attitudes, language ability, competencies and participation.

Whilst Chelle was assessed in 1996 by the researcher as at Monocultural Level III (Distancing), a teacher assessment in 1997 placed her at the Cross-Cultural Level and her own assessment was Monocultural III to Cross-Cultural. This suggests a movement between the two levels – possibly depending on the context.

Perceptions of Community Intercultural Literacy Levels – Phase Two

Participants in Phase Two interviews were also asked their view of general intercultural literacy levels for the school children and the wider community. Responses provide a means of triangulating the aggregated results of Phase One interviews.

Children's intercultural literacy levels

Fifteen participants responded clearly to the question asking for a general assessment of intercultural literacy amongst the international children. This group did not include those Indonesian participants without a close contact with the school. All of the fifteen saw the majority of children at Monocultural – Level II (Naïve Awareness) or Level III (Culture Shock or Distancing). Several also commented on the growing number of bicultural children in Poppets and the school, particularly the Junior One class. These children were regarded as more advanced in intercultural literacy than their peers from single-culture families: Cross-Cultural or Intercultural. Comments from John, the principal, and Leigh, Junior One teacher, illustrate the view of teachers.

John E: There are very clear differences. For example some Indonesian [MH: mixed] kids are comfortable in Indonesian and expatriate settings - like the younger kids in Bali class [Junior One], for example Koko is bicultural. I definitely see new kids at Levels One to Three. Probably a lot are at Level One. Some kids are at Level Three – Distancing - they don't like the Indonesian community.

30% to 40% are moving into the Cross-Cultural level. For example, they are comfortable in mixed cultural groups. Not overly-confident but starting to see diversity within the Indonesian community; see more subtle differences. For example: 'Some are poor, some are quite well off'.

The home background is important. Some families value the culture, travel in Indonesia, have a few Indonesian friends, and try to expose their kids to the culture. Talk to them and explain aspects of the culture. Some have a dual-language background. For example, Joe [MH: mixed-culture child, son of Efi] is very confident with either culture. He can slip into either community easily. Some other older [mixed] kids are more expat than Indonesian.

70% would be Monocultural with some new kids at Level One or Two. 30% of children at the Cross-Cultural level (for example Meg, Liam, Chelle, the Woolmer girls, Jessie). Four or five children at the Intercultural Level (all mixed parentage); Koko more so than Tim or Carrie... [MH: all in Junior One class].

Leigh E: In Junior One class? The majority of expat kids may be higher than I think. They have had interaction with Indonesian children since they were two years old. Therefore they treat each other equally. I don't really know.

There is greater awareness there, but they can't articulate the understanding. They're very positive. There's no negative attitudes at school.

Generally in the school? Seems to be mixed. There is one group in culture shock. And another group that has moved on. Mainly due to home values. This has a major impact. You don't want to underestimate it because there's a group that has really moved on - but I don't know how this impacts on the other kids. The group that have moved on have positive attitudes at home. This is my personal view. Children's values and attitudes will determine whether they want to move past the culture shock stage.

These comments typify Phase Two responses and support the analysis of Phase One interviews, which found that 78% of children were at the Monocultural Level (33.3% Level II and 44.4% Level III) and 22% at the Cross-Cultural Level. In the year between Phase One and Phase Two the balance within the school had shifted, with an influx of bicultural children, mainly in the Junior One class. Parent, Alan E commented as follows:

Alan E: My kids are past culture-shock [Monocultural Level III] and into Emerging Intercultural Literacy [Cross-Cultural Level]. The school as a whole is struggling between culture-shock [Monocultural Level III] and Emerging Intercultural Literacy [Cross-Cultural Level], but there is now a group of kids with bicultural parents, definitely bicultural [Intercultural Level]...

Adult expatriate intercultural literacy levels

Of the twenty-nine participants in Phase Two, fifteen provided a general assessment of intercultural literacy levels for the wider community. The most commonly expressed view was that the majority of expatriates were at the Monocultural Level (II or III) with a significant group at the Cross-Cultural Level. The following comments from John E, Alan E and Doug E are typical.

John E: Staff? Yes, [there is] a big range, for example, within the staff... Newer staff members are at [Monocultural] Level Two moving into [Monocultural] Level Three. Some staff moving into Level Four [Cross-Cultural Level]. Some are at varying levels in the different dimensions; For example attitudes positive, but understandings lower...

Parents? There are different groups. Mothers have more opportunity to be invited [to participate in cross-cultural activities] with Indonesian wives. Some fathers are very paternalistic. They see their work role as paternalistic. A few [are at] Emerging Intercultural Literacy [Cross-Cultural Level] moving into Bicultural Literacy [Intercultural Level] ... I definitely see distancing and culture shock with some parents. The levels don't always correspond to the children. For example the mother moving into Bicultural Level but the child at Distancing Level.

The Indonesian community? I have limited contact. *Bahasa Indonesia* teachers have a high awareness based on the workplace. For example Didi thinks Australians are loud and drink a lot of beer. I don't have enough contact to say.

Alan E: The culture here is a very small sub-set of a sub-set in the mining culture. They're extroverts here. The expat culture; there's a naïve [Monocultural Level II] group – maybe a quarter [of the total]. A small group in Distancing [Monocultural Level II]. And transition through culture shock. Emerging intercultural literacy [Cross-Cultural Level]? It's a broad spectrum.

The company is now forcing employees to complete Level One of the Language [*Bahasa Indonesia* training course]. It takes six to eight weeks to complete Book One. This is a positive development. Carrying on the *Bahasa* language.

Maybe 5% to 10% are bicultural. Many expats married to Indonesian ladies like picking up the culture from their wives, but it's but very touristy - very expat.

Doug E: I think most [expatriates] are the same Monocultural Two to Three. Year One: Monocultural Two, Year Two: Monocultural Three. And a significant group in Cross-Cultural level. Both expats and Indonesians are at fault for making very subjective comments about the other.

These comments compare with the analysis of Phase One interviews, which found that 27% of expatriate adults were at the Monocultural Level (20% at Level II and 7% Level III), 60% at the Cross-Cultural Level and 13% at the Intercultural Level. Whilst the two assessments are not widely divergent, the assessment of participants interviewed in Phase Two tends to support a view that a greater proportion of expatriate adults was at a Monocultural Level – particularly Level III, Culture Shock or Distancing, than suggested by the Phase One analysis.

Indonesian community intercultural literacy levels

Six participants, five Indonesians and one expatriate, commented on perceived intercultural literacy levels within the adult Indonesian community. The majority view expressed was that the broad Indonesian community was at a low level of intercultural literacy – most at Monocultural Level II or III, and a small minority at the advanced Cross-Cultural or Intercultural Levels. Several participants suggested that the most significant determining factor was cross-cultural contact. For example, the married women, children, and members of the broader Indonesian community who have little contact with expatriates were seen as typically at the naïve level, Monocultural Level II, whilst the community of singles and married men working at higher levels in the company were seen as likely to be more advanced. Inny I (Indonesian teacher at the international school) and Alan E (parent) commented as follows:

Inny I: Indonesian singles [are] advanced, but some are negative about the *ayam* [literally 'chickens' referring to local female sex workers]. But they will say 'It's their business'. Indonesian families: Not enough contact with them. 'Chickens' are a threat. To *Ibu Ibu* [married women] it's also a threat.

Alan E: Many people here are bicultural but tend to be monocultural in the present. Like, Iwan can easily fit in but prefers his native culture.

Here, Alan is suggesting that Indonesians with potentially advanced intercultural literacy are, in the context of Tanjung Bara, in a distancing mode, preferring not to bother with intercultural participation.

Six participants commented on the general level of intercultural literacy in Indonesian children; two expatriates (one child and one adult) and four Indonesian adults. All of these expressed the view that Indonesian children are generally at the Monocultural Level – either the naïve Level II or negative, distancing Level III. Inny I's comments are again revealing.

Inny I: Indonesian kids? ... At the school their attitude is very negative: '*bule*' [literally a white buffalo, a mildly derogatory term for a white person] 'chickens' [sex workers], 'alcohol'. That is, Junior High School children and older. So they look down on expats. They tend to generalise. Some are very curious about the colour of their hair and eyes and skin. They think they're beautiful.

Conclusions

The evidence of Phase Two interviews, both the individual and general assessments of intercultural literacy, largely supports the results and analysis of Phase One interviews. Where differences were found between the results of Phase One interviews and the perceptions of Phase Two participants, the following analysis has allowed for these, with reference to data drawn from observations. On the basis of Phase One and Phase Two interviews, together with supporting data from observations, it is possible to offer an answer to the first research question: What was the level and type of intercultural literacy evident amongst the students and other groups identified? The picture of intercultural literacy in the Tanjung Bara community is of a community of individuals at various levels on the model.

No school children or adults were at Monocultural Level I (Limited Awareness) although it may be assumed that this level could apply to pre-school children who were not included in the survey.

A significant group of children were at the Monocultural Level II (Naïve Awareness). Approximately one third of the international school student population could be described as at this level, with greater proportions in the younger grades. The majority of Junior One children (aged four to five) were at the Monocultural Level, alongside a growing group of children from mixed cultural backgrounds who may have been at higher levels. In addition, a number of older children and expatriate adults who had newly arrived on site and did not have previous cross-cultural or international experience were at the Monocultural Level II. This group included several teachers from

the international school. Members of the Indonesian community who did not mix with expatriates, either socially or in the workplace, were at this level. It also appears that the majority of Indonesian children in Tanjung Bara were at this Naïve Awareness level, with older Indonesian children more likely to be at a negative distancing level (Monocultural III) and one child, Umah, at the Cross-Cultural Level.

Approximately half of the international school children were probably at the negative Monocultural Level III, distancing from the Indonesian community and evincing negative attitudes and limited competencies. Most children in the Junior Two class (aged six to seven) and many in the older grades appear to have been at this level. This group included a number of children from mixed-culture families who tended to deny their Indonesian or Asian identities in the school context. For the majority of children in the international school, contact with Indonesians was limited to staff in the school – all of whom were at a lower status than expatriates (excepting the Indonesian teacher whose status was ambiguous) – and low status workers in the home or community: maids, gardeners, labourers and catering staff. Children tended to view Indonesians as a servant class.

The picture in the broader community is ambiguous. It appears that a significant group of expatriates and Indonesians were between the Monocultural Level III and the Cross-Cultural Level. Depending on the context, individuals displayed characteristics consistent with the emerging intercultural literacy of the Cross-Cultural Level or of the negative Monocultural Level III, distancing themselves from the other culture and reacting in negative ways to cross-cultural engagement.

The great majority of individuals, Indonesian and expatriate, children and adults, did not seek cross-cultural engagement in social contexts, apparently preferring the company of their own groups. The community was divided; two sub-communities existing in parallel, generally intersecting only in the work context. The parents of international school children were either contractors or at high levels within the company. Paternalistic attitudes towards the Indonesian community were common. Contractor families often had more contact with Indonesians and thus more opportunity for learning intercultural literacy. The Indonesian wives of Indonesian managers and senior administrators typically had little contact with expatriates. Deep cultural divides were also evident, with fundamental value differences relating to use of alcohol, sexual mores, relationships between the sexes, dress codes, norms of touching and other social conventions keeping the two groups apart and, to some extent, antagonistic. These issues are taken up and explored in the following chapter.

Approximately 20% of the international school students, most of whom were in the senior classes, were at the Cross-Cultural Level, in a learning phase, positively oriented towards Indonesian culture and acquiring intercultural competencies. The majority of this group were likely to be at a beginning stage within the Cross-Cultural Level, still shuttling back and forth between the negative distancing of Monocultural Level III and the more positive learning of the Cross-Cultural Level. It appears possible that the growing group of young children from mixed-culture families were also at this level, comfortable and competent in either cultural context. This recalls Bennett's (1993) notion of 'accidental pluralism' discussed in Chapter Two (pp.149-150). It is also

possible that as this group grew older and developed a keener appreciation of difference, then identity confusion may have resulted, leading to a more negative assessment as with the older mixed children in the school. The theory discussed in Chapter Two suggests that this is largely dependent on the social and educational contexts. Where both cultures were equally valued in the home and school, these mixed-culture children in Poppets and Junior One class were more likely to progress rapidly in intercultural literacy learning. The theory also suggests that a more accurate assessment of this younger group of mixed children as at the naïve awareness stage of Monocultural Level II.

The largest group of adults, perhaps two-thirds of both Indonesians and expatriates, were either at the Cross-Cultural Level or moving into this level. As suggested above, the assessment is difficult for many since individuals tended to shuttle back and forth between the negative distancing of Monocultural Level III and the positive learning characteristic of the Cross-Cultural Level. Whilst the Phase One survey placed many in the Cross-Cultural Level, the evidence of Phase Two interviews and other observational data suggests that, on balance, more may have been at a distancing Monocultural Level.

There were no children at the Intercultural Level. Within the expatriate adult community, a very small group could be described as interculturally literate, at this level. This included individuals associated with Poppets and the school who had been on site for a period of four years or more. Within the Indonesian community, a group of senior managers and administrators with lengthy international and cross-cultural experience both at Tanjung Bara and previously, were at the Intercultural Literacy

Level. Notwithstanding this, cross-cultural participation for most people was confined almost totally to the workplace.

This chapter aimed to answer the first research question; the *What* question: What was the level and type of intercultural literacy evident amongst the students and other groups identified? An answer has been offered through a mapping of intercultural literacy in the Tanjung Bara community with reference to data from Phase One and Phase Two interviews, discussions and observations. The following chapter addresses the remaining four research questions; the *Why* questions.

Chapter 5

Introduction

This is the second of two chapters which present a case study of intercultural literacy in the Tanjung Bara International School and its community. The previous chapter described the level and type of intercultural literacy within the students and wider community of Tanjung Bara. This chapter is concerned with why the intercultural literacy levels and types were as described – particularly in the school and with reference to the school curriculum, but also in the broader community and with reference to non-core school activities and other community activities. It explores the dynamics at work within the school and community which produced the level and type of intercultural literacy within the various groups outlined in the previous chapter.

The previous chapter addressed the first research question:

1. What was the level and type of intercultural literacy evident amongst the students and other groups identified?

The aim of this chapter is to address the remaining four research questions:

6. To what extent was the school's intercultural literacy curriculum congruent (i.e. did the observed program match the intended program)?
7. To what extent was the school's intercultural literacy curriculum soundly based (in Stake's terms, 'logically contingent') using the proposed Multidimensional Model for the Development of Intercultural Literacy and supporting theory as a standard?

8. To what extent did the school's core and non-core programs and activities impact on the development of intercultural literacy in the students and the wider Tanjung Bara community?
9. To what extent did the activities in the wider Tanjung Bara community impact on the development of intercultural literacy amongst the students and other groups identified?

Stake's (1967) Model of Contingency and Congruence (Figures 3.6, 3.7, 3.8 and 3.9), discussed in Chapter Three (pp.243-249) is used as a conceptual framework to support an evaluation of the school program in this area. This framework is also used to help assess the impact of non-core school activities and community activities.

The section below clarifies the formal intent of the school in this context with reference to the mission statement and curriculum documents. The sections which follow address each of the four remaining research questions in order.

Intercultural Literacy in the Curriculum

The Tanjung Bara International School's mission statement for the period makes the following claim:

The educational programme will cater for and capitalise on the unique environment and the variety of backgrounds and future life paths of the students (Tanjung Bara International School 1992: 1)

More specifically, in the section of the School Charter (1992) which outlines school goals, the following are listed:

To develop in students.... a knowledge and appreciation of Indonesia's and their own country's cultural, historical and geographical context; a knowledge of languages with a particular emphasis on *Bahasa Indonesia*;.... an understanding of, and concern for, balanced development and the global environment; and a capacity to exercise judgement in matters of morality, ethics and social justice....

To develop knowledge, skills, attitudes and values which will enable students to participate as active and informed citizens in their society within an international context. (Tanjung Bara International School 1992: 5-6)

The curriculum program perhaps most directly related to the development of intercultural literacy in students was the Indonesian Studies curriculum. The curriculum document that sets out the school's objectives in this area was produced in 1993. It states the following:

At Tanjung Bara International School, two languages other than English are offered within the curriculum: *Bahasa Indonesia* and French. The learning of other languages helps take students thinking beyond the confines of their own culture. It has the potential to challenge students in new ways by causing them to consider what have become accepted patterns of thought by the single use of the English language. The learning of other languages promotes skill development in the areas of listening, speaking, reading and writing, and can thus assist children to develop their proficiency in their first language.

Language learning skills are also social skills. The study of another language makes it possible to view another culture through, and within its own terms of reference. This can result in improved understanding of the local Indonesian culture, and of our multicultural and multilingual world. At Tanjung Bara we are committed to an international perspective in the curriculum. Many of our students come to school with two languages, and may well move on to live in situations in which a variety of other languages are spoken.

....

The teaching of *Bahasa Indonesia* and Indonesian culture is a government requirement for international schools in this country. All students receive at least one hour and thirty minutes of lesson time with our Indonesian teacher per week. The teaching of a second language is best approached in the same way as a first language. That is, where the language is treated as whole, and not in isolated components, and where it is learned in a context that is both meaningful and purposeful. Teaching and learning in *Bahasa Indonesia* is integrated into the wider curriculum and into the daily life of the school where possible. It is also important that the language is not taught in isolation from its culture, and thus children will also learn about the arts and society which relate to the language. The Studies of Society curriculum, which includes a significant component, related to local and Indonesian studies thus overlaps with the *Bahasa Indonesia* Curriculum. Opportunities to mix with children from the Sangatta Baru school [MH: YPPSB], and to experience Indonesian culture first hand on excursions are a vital element in the program. (Tanjung Bara International School 1993a: 1-2)

According to the statement, the Indonesian Studies program was ‘...integrated into the normal class program and wider curriculum as far as possible’ (Tanjung Bara International School 1993a: 3). The curriculum document specifies a thematic approach to the study of Indonesian culture and language which integrates the two elements and requires class teachers to ‘... negotiate with the Indonesian teacher how best to structure the program within each class in order to best meet the needs of the children within the class. It is expected that the class teacher and the Indonesian teacher will operate as a team.’ (Tanjung Bara International School 1993a: 4)

The school’s curriculum outline for the Studies of Society and Environment (SOSE) program (1993b) refers directly to the study of Indonesian culture and the need to educate children for cross-cultural transitions:

At Tanjung Bara International School, particular emphasis is placed on: utilising our unique social and physical environment in East Kalimantan; developing respect for, and understanding of, the Indonesian culture [and] preparing children for transition from one environment to another ... (Tanjung Bara International School 1993b: 1)

The statement also refers to the role of the Studies of Society and Environment (SOSE) curriculum in ‘... providing an international perspective within the curriculum. Through these studies children should develop a global sense of the world, which includes a basic geographical knowledge and an understanding, appreciation and tolerance for cultural and ethnic diversity.’ (Tanjung Bara International School 1993b: 1)

As described in Chapter Three, the Tanjung Bara International School was established and operated by the Tasmanian Education Department (DEA). It was staffed, resourced and supervised much as other Tasmanian schools were at the time – although more

generously on all counts. The school was at the forefront of developing school-based curriculum in Studies of Society and Environment (SOSE) and Languages Other Than English (LOTE) described above, based on the, then, draft national Australian curriculum. The emphasis on integrated thematic learning embodied in these statements was not new to Tasmanian primary teachers at this time. A focus on Asian studies and Asian languages in Australia at this time was also reflected in Tasmanian policy and, consequently, in the Tanjung Bara documents.

What these policy statements provide is evidence that, in a formal sense, the school had a sense of the value of intercultural literacy and an intention to address many of the broad areas of understanding, competency, attitude, participation, language ability and identity that comprise intercultural literacy as defined in this study.

The Congruence of the Curriculum

The second research question is as follows: To what extent was the school's intercultural literacy curriculum congruent? Did the intended and 'observed' programs match at each stage in Stake's schema: antecedents, transactions, outcomes?

This section aims to answer this question. In order to do so, it is necessary to first inquire as to the intent of the school with regard to intercultural literacy. The analysis of documents above clarifies the school's formal intents regarding antecedents, transactions and outcomes. The question remains as to whether, in a less formal sense, the school saw intercultural literacy as a relevant educational objective. Did individual teachers,

parents and others see it as a relevant aim? Did teachers plan to achieve objectives consistent with intercultural literacy for individuals and groups of students?

Using Stake's schema to determine the congruence of the curriculum, the intended and 'observed' programs must be compared at each stage - antecedents, transactions, outcomes. To what extent did they match? In this and the following sections, intended and observed programs are compared at each of Stake's stages with reference to Phase Two interviews with teachers and others, to observations, and to the documents discussed above.

Antecedents

The school recognised certain antecedent conditions in its documents, including the cultural and geographical context as a learning resource, and the unique life-experiences of students as international people or 'Third Culture Kids' (without using the term). It also recognised some political antecedents including the Indonesian Government requirement that international schools teach a minimum of one-and-a-half hours Indonesian culture and language per week. The school curriculum documents were developed by teachers in 1992-1993 and endorsed by the School Board. The documents, however, do not mention what was uppermost in the minds of most teachers and others interviewed; that is, the powerful and often negative impact of family and community intercultural attitudes on the children's intercultural literacy learning.

All of the seven international school teachers on site at the time, including Inny I, the Indonesian teacher, were interviewed in Phase Two. (Don, the Senior One class teacher, was absent.) Teacher perceptions of the antecedent conditions varied – but they were consistent in their recognition of the largely negative influence of parental attitudes and a divided community on children’s intercultural literacy learning. Sandra E (Junior Two teacher), Inny I (Indonesian teacher), Sarah E (part-time teacher and librarian), John E (principal) commented as follows:

Sandra E: It [intercultural literacy] is a hidden agenda right now. The more obvious dimensions are Understandings, and Language. At the deeper level, [teaching for] intercultural literacy must be united with the community and the company – not just the school standing alone....

The home values. Children are not encouraged to use *Bahasa* with gardeners, maids and so on. There’s a perception of rank. They tend to use English. There’s a gap between knowledge and application.

Prior experience. Lack of understanding as to why Indonesians behave as they do. Fear. Modelling – perceptions, comments from adults and from other children.

For myself, I feel a sense of disillusionment and frustration. Lack of time, strategies and knowledge myself.

Inny I: Parent attitudes. Home values. It’s exclusive. No contact with Indonesians. Activities are all in Tanjung Bara. Holidays are taken outside Indonesia. What happens here around them doesn’t concern them.

Sarah E: I think the home is more significant [than the school]. They appreciate the language [*Bahasa Indonesia*] in the junior classes – they’re keener. In Junior One it’s easy. With the older grades – it’s not the cool thing to do. They don’t see the value – the life skill. Parents or children don’t have an appreciation of the value of being bilingual or bicultural in Australia. They don’t realise how valuable a language can be for the rest of your life. They’re in a time warp here!

John E: Organisational concerns have put us off in the past [MH: from increasing contact between the international school and *YPPSB*, the Indonesian school].

Problems? First: the planning aspect. [The school is] not clear on aims or strategies.

Second: parental expectations. They want a rigorous curriculum in the basic core areas. They all want to see a positive experience of Indonesia but in-depth learning is not a major aim. Some would like to see *Bahasa* as important due to the return to Australia.

Third: a question whether the staff see it as a priority.

How to improve? Getting a clear agreement from staff and parents about the school charter. Must be a top down model...

Parents and community members interviewed focussed less on the influence of parental attitudes and more on the distance between the Indonesian and expatriate communities; both the physical distance between Tanjung Bara and the main Indonesian community in Sangatta Baru, and the cultural distance within Tanjung Bara. The following extracts from interviews with Kelvin E (senior mine manager and school parent), Carlie E (parent and Poppets coordinator), Doug E (parent and training manager), Alan E (parent and mine administrator), and Bridie E (parent and contractors wife), illustrate the perceptions.

Kelvin E: Tanjung Bara is an expatriate school. So we have to bridge the gap. It's the same as the Tanjung Bara Club. Not enough Indonesians use it.... You can't get away from living in Tanjung Bara community. Not many would want to live in Sangatta Baru. The key is the physical separation. It's a natural proposition. For example the road condition.

Carlie E: Sangatta Baru and Tanjung Bara should have never been two different towns with separate facilities! Most mining towns have a 'hill' but the Managing Director's kids come to school with yours – all have a vested interest in community. [In Tanjung Bara, Indonesian children are not enrolled in the international school]

therefore Indonesians living in Tanjung Bara have a community life focussed in Sangatta Baru.

Doug E: The main problem is this 'us and them' and the Sangatta Baru / Tanjung Bara separation. It's evident in the children, teachers and parents. It is an effort to meet. There is an organisation that has to happen – Like, they [the children] had to stand in the sun [during a visit to *YPPSB*, the Indonesian school]. When they are immersed in the culture they don't like it. It highlights the deficiencies - for parents and teachers.

Alan E: [The international school is] suffering from location. I think it's really isolated from the Indonesian community. I think it's a problem of being in a small group, a compound. Physical isolation of Sangatta Baru and Tanjung Bara. The population density of expats in Tanjung Bara. Twenty kilometre distance. It's hard to build friendships rather than book learning.

Bridie E: The trouble with the children is that most of the contact they have is with Indonesians in a subservient role, so Inny [the Indonesian teacher] has trouble to start with. The peer group – especially with the younger children who've grown up here – is a negative influence. They see Indonesians as in a subservient role. Parents' attitudes.

A number of participants also commented on the problem of high turnover in teaching staff placements, resulting in low levels of intercultural literacy amongst the teachers.

Parent, Lisa E's comments are typical.

Lisa E: One of the things is that the teachers have no experience or exposure to Indonesian culture before coming here and so they are having to learn. They are learning the language when they're here. They didn't have a background to draw on so they learn at the same time as the children...

Comments made by teachers and other community members are consistent in that the starting point for discussing antecedents is negative. In all cases there is a sense that the

participant is looking for explanations as to why intercultural literacy is problematic in this context. Key themes are as follows:

1. the attitudes of parents and the expatriate community; negative and paternalistic attitudes towards Indonesian people, indifference towards studies of Indonesian language and culture;
2. the distance between Indonesian and expatriate communities; physical dislocation, economic disparity, status, distance in social and cultural contexts, privilege and access to facilities;
3. teachers' lack of experience; and
4. previous organisational and communication difficulties in arranging joint activities between the company's international and Indonesian schools; imbalance in numbers of students, difference in expectations of participants, negative experiences.

These perceptions are supported by the researcher's observations. Tanjung Bara was a divided community. Expatriates were in a privileged position in Tanjung Bara, outnumbering Indonesian families and engaging with Indonesians mainly in a context where power and status were clearly in favour of the expatriate. The attitude of the majority of expatriate families appears to have been that Indonesia provided a backdrop for the business of employment, mining and recreation – they were not in Tanjung Bara to learn about the culture and it was not a high priority. This translated into an ambivalent attitude towards study of Indonesian language and culture in the school.

On the one hand, all agreed that intercultural literacy was a worthy goal and should be pursued by the school. A recent Board meeting had responded to pressure from some parents and recommended an increased focus on Indonesian language and culture and greater integration between the Indonesian and international schools. On the other hand, whilst intercultural literacy was accepted as a worthy goal, perhaps the more common view amongst parents was that the school's mission was to ensure that children learned the basic academic skills that would prepare them for a successful future. In this context Indonesian language and culture were not considered a high priority. These attitudes, whilst not universal, were prevalent and spread to the children and, perhaps, to some staff members.

There is, then, a mismatch between the intended antecedents, as expressed in the school's formal documents, and the 'observed' antecedents, as expressed in interview and observation. Whilst the school's mission statement and curriculum documents focus on the positive context of Indonesian culture and geography, together with the children's international backgrounds, the observed antecedents are negative; a context not supportive of intercultural literacy learning. The antecedents in this area were thus not congruent.

Transactions

Consistent with the (then) draft Australian national curriculum documents for Studies of Society and Environment (SOSE) and Languages Other Than English (LOTE), which were used as a reference in preparing school-based curriculum documents in both

subjects, the approach recommended is integrated and thematic. The key feature of the school's curriculum documents, discussed above, is the intention that learning in Indonesian language and culture should be integrated. SOSE and LOTE curricula should overlap in implementation and the Indonesian language and culture program should be integrated across the curriculum in regular class programs.

The reality was somewhat different. Whilst integrated cross-curricular programming was the norm in primary classes, especially in the early grades, the integration of Indonesian Studies required by school policy had not been implemented by the current staff. Recent moves by the School Board to increase the focus on Indonesian language and culture in the school were a topic of conversation amongst the staff and parents. The recently developed 1997 School Plan identified two aims relating to the Indonesian Studies program (LOTE / *Bahasa Indonesia*):

1. To integrate the teaching of *Bahasa Indonesia* more fully into classroom programs.
2. To run a variety of extra-curricular activities to promote interest in Indonesia culture and language. (Tanjung Bara International School 1997: 6)

Some teachers, including the Junior One teacher, had attempted to make changes, increasing the integration of Indonesian language and culture into regular class programs. In general, however, the job of teaching Indonesian culture and language was left to Inny I, the Indonesia teacher.

Several key themes emerged from the interviews and observations:

1. Plans to improve the Indonesian Studies program, including greater integration of Indonesian Studies into SOSE and regular class programs, and better-planned, more frequent excursions and joint school activities had widespread approval, with the proviso that these plans should not result in a lesser focus on perceived core curriculum (literacy and numeracy). These proposals closely align with the official school policy discussed above.
2. Excursions to visit places of interest in East Kalimantan and other islands of Indonesia were regarded as successful in promoting intercultural literacy.
3. Joint school activities involving *YPPSB*, the company's Indonesian school, whilst recognised as potentially effective in promoting intercultural literacy, had on recent occasions resulted in negative and counterproductive experiences for children and others.
4. The Indonesian Studies program was generally delegated to Inny I, the Indonesian teacher. With the exception of Junior One class, there was very little integration of Indonesian language and cultural studies with SOSE or other curriculum areas in the classroom. The presence within the Junior One class of a group of bilingual, bicultural children had a positive effect on intercultural literacy learning.
5. The change of staff, from a group of teachers with some years of experience in Indonesia to a group with very brief experience, appeared to have impacted negatively on curriculum to promote intercultural literacy. The newer teachers appeared to be all at a Monocultural Level, unable and unwilling to address this area within the classroom at the time of Phase Two interviews.

These themes are exemplified in the discussion that follows. The changing and ambiguous context for teaching curriculum related to intercultural literacy in this context is reflected in the following comments from John E (principal), Leigh E (Junior One teacher), Sandra E (Junior Two teacher), Mandy E (Senior One teacher) and Dina E (relief teacher and parent).

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| MH: | Do you think that the school has any effect on what the children think and learn about Indonesia? |
| John E: | Yes, Indonesian Studies classes. We (Inny and I) have aims to improve the program; to make more cross-cultural activities. It [the Indonesian Studies program] could be more specific. There has been a call from some parents to make it more of a focus. Individual class programs tend to avoid Indonesian studies, In SOSE we could do more generally about Indonesia and about Asia. |

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| Leigh E: | In SOSE, no I don't plan formally. I am working together more now with Inny. The school has moved on a bit, developing a cultural influence. Particularly in '97. With Inny we set up more things. Better relations between Sangatta Baru [YPPSB, the Indonesian school] and here. Smaller group interactions between children. Don [Senior One teacher] had a group [of children from YPPSB] at the Science Fair. Inny set up all the classes to visit and practice language in real life. |
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It is still very separate. *Bahasa* is separate from everything else. They go to a different classroom. Although Inny comes in a lot more, especially in Junior One. Three children have *Bahasa* as a first language. She translates the aims some days. Once a week for an hour. Ina [teacher aide] plays a big role with language. For example, she talks in *Bahasa* about a concept I have talked about.

With my group it's important to model English. My *Bahasa* is not a good model. I use Ina as a good model. We have two languages running. Ina speaks *Bahasa* a lot.

Indonesian Studies is still separate but we are moving to bringing it closer. Now there are more Indonesian kids in the school. A year ago there was only Allison and Owen. Joe had an impact...

Sandra E: I don't do much in the classroom. Focus mainly on the 'Three Rs'. Inny does language, attitudes, awareness... They're not really connected, except for basic greetings; courtesy. But there's not much opportunity to use the broader language [in the mainstream classroom].

SOSE? It's not really relevant. Inny's program is counteracted by the home environment. We are trying to make Inny's program relevant – to the everyday context. Special days like *Kartini* Day [annual celebration of women's achievements in Indonesia] and Independence Day. Living in Indonesia...

Inny could be involved more in the class. Introduce *Bahasa* and culture. It's just a plan at the moment... The issue was addressed at the AGM of the Board. Use of the language. More exchanges with Sangatta Baru [*YPPSB*, the Indonesian school]. More language learning. 50% of the parents want this.

Mandy E: The classroom doesn't particularly focus on intercultural literacy at all.

The SOSE strand - living in and understanding how the community works, respect and community values, being a part of the community.

In school the model is the Indonesian staff. To teach respect and communication. The children tend to avoid – or not use – their *Bahasa* [Indonesian language].

But when we do go to the Indonesian school, there's a lot of discussion after. [The children's] comfort levels are low....

Inny has arranged some special days, some music and things...

My role? SOSE? There's nothing yet really. It's a cyclic program. ...[Intercultural literacy learning is] more incidental in the classroom; little points. For example, when the kids discuss the bus, the maid, the food, and the smells. The language. Children hear and don't understand. When we got back from Bontang [excursion to an international school to the south in Kalimantan] we discussed cultural differences - to do with showing affection, money.

Inny's program is separate. She encourages with cooking and excursions and working in the classroom using *Bahasa*, but she often uses the time to practice English. It needs to be more integrated. Basically it's separated. It doesn't mix well. For example, using *Bahasa* in the classroom. We need displays in *Bahasa* in the classroom. Immersion in words and language.

Dina E: Inny's program. The children go off to a special class with her. It shouldn't be a lesson a week or a couple of half-lessons a week, but more integrated into the classroom and then before Inny comes into the classroom - and sort-of not just being like a mother and a teacher, she also comes in as an equal ... I think I agree

with the parents on this... I agree with the ones that didn't want just half hour twice a week going to the *Bahasa* class, and that is it. I have to see it integrated more, and more meaningful, what Inny's been trying to do, with the shopping and the older children have been doing the colours and describing what people are wearing. Functional language for us here, the children...

My involvement? Sitting in all the classes, as a mother or a teacher. I find sometimes the children don't give Inny the respect. They are very noisy for her. She doesn't seem to have the class presence with teacher support to keep them under control. That's why I like to go and sit, assist with her in there. But at the same time, the kids are learning. Every time I go in I learn something new with the kids.

The views of parents generally coincided with those of the teachers. They too were ambivalent, on the one hand supporting recent calls for greater integration of Indonesian studies in the general curriculum, and on the other prioritising a focus on basic subjects such as English language and mathematics. Doug E, Kelvin E and Alan E, all parents who worked in the company and Bridie E, a parent and contractor wife, were asked the question: Do you think the school has a role to play in developing intercultural literacy in students? Responses were as follows:

Doug E: Yes

MH: How do you think this relates to the curriculum for Indonesian Studies and *Bahasa Indonesia*?

Doug E: Language. Introduction to the culture of Indonesian and daily activities like problem solving. For example, give Indonesian examples in maths and art.

Kelvin E: Yes, it could do more. Like mixing school activities, exposure to other [Indonesian] kids – but not to drop standards. Most parents agree...

Alan E: Yes, the school should present Indonesia as it is; not all servants. There's more to Indonesia than servitude. [The school has the] ability to facilitate friendships for

kids... And many in the Indonesians community want to interact. Sangatta Baru families with Tanjung Bara kids rarely interact. They [the two schools] operate on different times of day.

Bridie E: Yeah, it would be nice if school could encourage [intercultural literacy] like we have examples like *batik*, wearing national dress, dance evenings. It will be good, like the Science Fair was great [MH: This was a combined event for the two schools arranged by the international school]. *But* it's not solely up to the school. The main focus of the school is the children.

The views of both parents and teachers on intended transactions were generally consistent with the formal position of the school expressed in curriculum documents. That is, that the school should be running a program to address intercultural literacy in which Indonesian language and cultural studies were integrated into regular class programs and supported by more effective participation in joint activities with the Indonesian school and excursions to learn first-hand about Indonesian culture.

It was clear from interviews and observations that the current 'observed' program did not consistently match these intents. Whilst in the youngest class, Junior Two, integration of language and cultural learning was increasingly occurring, facilitated by the presence of a group of bilingual, bicultural children, in the other three classes this integration did not typically take place – and certainly not in a planned and systematic way. In the three older classes, teachers were all inexperienced in the Indonesian context, having been appointed within the last year. In the previous year, 1996, Chelle, a Senior Two student, commented that '...most mornings we talk about something in Indonesian, we get help from him [the class teacher] and ask something in Indonesian'. Chelle's comments referred to Tom E, a teacher who had been on site for four years at

that time and was assessed at the Intercultural Level. Tom had since left and been replaced by Don E. The newer teachers were not confident with the language or other dimensions of intercultural literacy, typically rating themselves as Monocultural²⁷. It was commonly observed that this prevented them from successfully integrating intercultural learning into the mainstream curriculum.

The task of teaching Indonesian Studies was left to Inny I. Inny was a Javanese woman in her mid-thirties, employed on single-status but with a young daughter in Java. The challenge of her job was compounded by three factors: (1) the negative attitude of many children towards Indonesia and Indonesians; a perception amongst students that Indonesians were a 'servant class' (2) a tacit message within the structure of the school that Indonesian Studies was a low-priority subject, and (3) the challenge for Inny of teaching cross-culturally, in a second language, and with an Indonesian rather than Australian teacher-training background.

The negative attitude towards Indonesian culture referred to was discussed above as an antecedent condition. This negative or ambivalent attitude, consistent with the Monocultural Level in the Model, was prevalent also within teachers. Given the general level of intercultural literacy in the Indonesian community, it also appears likely that the Indonesian staff of the school was predominately at a Monocultural Level. It is thus not surprising that Indonesian Studies was not given priority within the school and that the 'hidden curriculum' embedded in school structures supported this. The school employed

²⁷ Don E, who replaced Tom E as Senior Two teacher during the period between Phase One and Phase Two interviews was unavailable for interview or assessment.

six full-time expatriates and eight full-time Indonesian staff. All of the Indonesian staff were in positions subservient to the expatriates. The only professional Indonesian staff-member, Inny the Indonesian Studies teacher, was employed under local-hire conditions on an Indonesian Rupiah salary package equivalent to approximately 20% of the expatriate package. This was consistent with the disparity generally evident within the company. In many other subtle ways, Inny's relative status as a lesser-professional teacher was reinforced. Less participation in staff meetings and school assemblies was one example. The separation of Indonesian Studies lessons from mainstream classes may also have reinforced the lower status of this area of the curriculum. These factors were further reinforced by the relative inexperience and lower competency of the Indonesian teacher, specifically in teaching in a western or Australian educational and cultural context. Children often took advantage of this inexperience, misbehaving in Indonesian Studies classes, which, in turn, impacted negatively on the effectiveness of lessons and perceptions of students and others about the importance and value of Indonesian cultural and language studies. These assertions are based on many comments made by participants in both Phase One and Phase Two interviews and supported by class observations conducted in 1996.

The requirement of the school's curriculum policy, that SOSE be integrated into Indonesian Studies, providing an opportunity for integrated intercultural literacy learning, had also not been systematically addressed. As with the language component of Indonesian Studies, integrated learning did take place across the grades, but in an ad hoc and unplanned way.

Where the school was perceived to be achieving some success was in the area of excursions. Class groups were generally taken on extended trips out of the mining camp on an annual basis with the aim of introducing children to Indonesian culture and language and developing personal and social skills. Successful trips had been conducted to Bali, Java, and locally in East Kalimantan to Bontang, Balikpapan and up the Mahakam River.

Activities aiming to bring the two company schools together and encourage intercultural learning through interaction between the students had been less successful, with several activities perceived to have produced negative results. On several occasions when the expatriate children from the international school had been taken to *YPPSB*, the Indonesian school in Sangatta Baru, the experience had been unpleasant for children, parents and teachers from the international school, marred by unclear time schedules and expectations and a perception of unruliness and rudeness from the Indonesian children. Some expatriate children had reportedly been abused, physically and verbally, by older Indonesian children on a recent visit. In contrast, the Science Fair, which was a recent combined activity hosted in Tanjung Bara by the international school and arranged by Don E, the Senior Two teacher, was perceived to have been a success. Here the activity was held on home territory and managed by the expatriates. Comments from Indonesian children who participated in this event were also positive. Discussion of these activities is taken up in the section below on the impact of non-core school activities.

In summary, there was broad agreement between the school and community that the school's official policy on prioritising and integrating Indonesian Studies should be

followed. It was generally agreed that this should involve a more integrated, better-focussed class program and more frequent, better-planned excursions and joint-school activities. It was also clear that the current, observed school program did not match this intention. Transactions in this area were thus not generally congruent.

Outcomes

The Tanjung Bara International School's mission statement and curriculum documents, discussed above, establish intended outcomes for learning that are consistent with the definition of intercultural literacy used in this study and, more specifically, with the descriptors of the Cross-Cultural and Intercultural levels in the Model. Intended outcomes identified in the mission statement include: '...a knowledge and appreciation of Indonesia's and their own country's cultural, historical and geographical context; a knowledge of languages with a particular emphasis on *Bahasa Indonesia*; an understanding of, and concern for, balanced development and the global environment; and a capacity to exercise judgement in matters of morality, ethics and social justice....'; and '...knowledge, skills, attitudes and values which will enable students to participate as active and informed citizens in their society within an international context' (Tanjung Bara International School 1992: 5-6).

More detailed intended outcomes were outlined in the section above on *Intercultural Literacy in the Curriculum*. Teachers were asked in Phase Two interviews whether they thought intercultural literacy was an educational aim for the school and their view of the intended outcomes.

MH: Is intercultural literacy reflected in the aims for the school?

John E: Yes, in the Charter and Indonesian Studies curriculum. It could be more specific. There has been a call from some parents to make it more of a focus. Individual class programs tend to avoid Indonesian studies. In SOSE we could do more generally about Indonesia and about Asia.

Leigh E: My own aims as a teacher? For those children to become aware of the language and be able to speak some of it. To acknowledge the cultural differences. And to develop a positive attitude and values about all the differences and to be accepting of them.

I think the ideal would be to achieve that Level Five [Intercultural Level]. I think that's the ideal but whether you can achieve it in a community such as this I don't know. Sometimes I wonder whether that's unrealistic because we're so separate physically and socially and culturally. The two cultures are so separate from each other...

MH: Does the school have a role to play in developing intercultural literacy?

Sandra E: Yes, an important role. How could it be more effective? We could be living in the suburbs here! Yes. It's not realistic but it should be an aim. Attitudes and perception of Indonesia. More practical use of the language. A sense of purpose for LOTE. Greater understandings of where we are living – Kalimantan. Greater acceptance of individuals regardless of their culture. '98 may change - for example work with Koko [bicultural child].

Mandy E: Yes, we do have a role to play. If *we* don't, no one will. Why are we here? I mix with Indonesians – because we're here. To respect and understand the environment.

The issue is – it's a moral judgement – children's values of feeling superior to others. They can be very damaging.

But the curriculum is so full – so crowded. I'd hope they could communicate at a basic level and ... and show, probably, respect – in the way they speak, and be aware of where they are – geographically. They need another more positive experience with *YPPSB*. ... We can get bigger pictures. Understand politics and regional groups? That could be more from family or home. Bring respect to approach people in a positive way in the community.

MH:	Do you think the school actually aims to produce intercultural literacies? Should the school have intercultural literacy as an aim?
Mandy E:	Yes, but not successfully, because of our own lack of experience and understanding. Mostly incidental. ... Yes, but I don't know if we can make it happen.

Dina E:	<p>The attitude we're constantly trying to tell the children [is] to put themselves in other's shoes.... tolerance and empathy. Pride in one's own culture ... and also respect for someone else's different culture and country.</p> <p>I'd expect a lot of experience before we go through with the culture shock, but hopefully I'd like to see myself and my children and the children that we teach to be into cross cultural level, I think probably to be into tolerance.</p>
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MH:	Do you think the school should have intercultural literacy as an aim?
Sarah E:	I think they do – and I don't think you can actually blame the school for the problems. There have been many advances [made towards] Sangatta Baru (<i>YPPSB</i> , the company's Indonesian school) and it's just been difficult to organise with gaps between the timetables and philosophy of the two schools. For example, a competitive, levelling approach. I mean, let's just get to know each other and co-operate on some sort of fun task.
MH:	Do you think the school actually aims to produce intercultural literacies? Should the school have intercultural literacy as an aim?
Sarah E:	<p>Oh I do definitely. I think this is so valuable for the children. The goal is there but it's easy to get lost. Yes it's a valuable thing in terms of children and adults. It's a shame we're not all moving up that model.</p> <p>I would hope that everyone would achieve Emerging Intercultural Literacy [Cross-Cultural] Level. I don't think we can expect kids to get there but I think it's the willingness to look deeper than the tourist type environment. Why is Indonesia as it is? Why do people live as they do? Get children to ask the questions.</p> <p>Getting over generalisations to the stage where people are real entities. Then any culture becomes a reality. Getting past all the negatives in Tanjung Bara.</p>

All teachers agree that intercultural literacy is an appropriate aim for the school. There are, however, differences in individual's expectations of outcomes. Comments on

intended outcomes are generally made with reference to the constraints on achieving these intentions: community and parental attitudes, divisions within the community, teacher competencies, crowded curriculum and competing priorities, and difficulties in arranging satisfactory joint activities with *YPPSB*, the Indonesian school.

Intended outcomes mentioned by teachers include the following: understandings of cultural difference, of the deeper culture; attitudes of tolerance and empathy; competencies of perspective-taking and ability to differentiate, to individuate; communicative language ability; effective participation. There is no evidence of teachers regarding objectives in the Identity Dimension of the proposed model as a relevant educational aim. Inny I, the Indonesian teacher, commented: ‘I’m not sure about identity but the language and the other [dimensions], yes’. Teachers did not all articulate intended outcomes in terms of the levels in the Model but the comments made are all consistent with the Cross-Cultural or Intercultural levels. Two participants suggested that the Cross-Cultural Level was a reasonable, if ambitious, broad intended outcome.

Parents were also asked: Do you think the school should have intercultural literacy as an aim?

Bridie E: Yes, I think so, yes, they [the children] are living in *their* [the Indonesian’s] country. It’s a great opportunity. To be immersed in language here. Yes, it’s an Australian international school in a foreign country. Language and a positive acceptance of the culture, people and religion.

Doug E: Intercultural literacy as an aim? Yes, it has to be. It [the school] couldn’t function otherwise. It would be nice to think they [the students] could get to Level Four [Cross-Cultural] before leaving KPC. It depends on parents - like language in the home, behaviour with the ‘help’ around the house, social contacts and Indonesian friends.

Alan E: Yes, kids probably never quite get to the bicultural [Intercultural] level. Problems of isolation and location. Competency, fluency in the language. ...the best effort.

Carlie E: Very appropriate. Ideally, the curriculum can be put in place but it may create conflict with home values – the ‘Three-Rs’. Not sure if teachers would welcome it, either.

How successful [the curriculum is], is another matter. What we model at home is ultimately more important. Surround a child in language and intercultural literacy is a great aim. But be realistic about outcomes.

What is successful is when I see kids not allowed to show disrespect. Valuing differences – personal and cultural - *that works!*

All parents interviewed agreed that intercultural literacy was an appropriate and important aim for the school. Five commented that the location of the school in Indonesia demanded that the study of Indonesian language and culture be prioritised; the opportunity presented by the context should be exploited. Doug E went further to suggest that without a focus on intercultural literacy the school could not function. Whilst few specific intended learning outcomes were suggested, those that were, in agreement with teachers’ comments, suggested that the school should be aiming to produce intercultural literacy at the Cross-Cultural or Intercultural levels.

In contrast, Indonesian community members interviewed either did not comment on this item or were equivocal in their responses. Two Indonesians suggested that intercultural literacy was not a core goal for schooling and that, given that families were only likely to be in Indonesia for a brief period, it was unrealistic for them to see this as an important goal.

- MH: Do you think the school should have intercultural literacy as an aim?
- Abu I: It depends on them. Each of us has our own mission. The main mission of parents is to educate. To give children a foothold. As much as possible. And the foothold is relative. It depends on the aim of their life for themselves; I don't want to stay here for a long time. Of course they try to be more dominant – because they just stay here for a little while – so they have the point of view that: 'Don't expect too much, the important thing is the knowledge which is taught, about the society. So we just stay here for a while'. Maybe they have that feeling.

Teachers were asked how effective they thought the current curriculum in intercultural literacy. Responses ranged across the perceived effectiveness of Indonesian Studies programs, class programs, joint school activities and excursions.

- MH: Do you have a sense of the effectiveness of these programs [Indonesian Studies]?
- Leigh E: They have a great impact [in Junior One class]. It might depend on the age of the children. They love it. The singing and the vocab they use readily, colours and numbers....
- I guess the outcomes would be different from what I initially perceived if these [the mixed] children were not part of the group. They have more understanding and awareness. With Indonesian and expat children there to talk to them about the differences. It's harder if they're only expat.

- MH: What do you think are the actual outcomes for kids?
- Sandra E: Greater respect? Not yet achieved. Greater enthusiasm to visit and go places in the community? No. There's an element of fear to overcome. Exchange of western and Indonesian culture? Hmmm.

- MH: Do you have a sense of the effectiveness of these programs?
- Mandy E: The children don't discuss much of what they do in *Bahasa* [Indonesian Studies lessons with Inny I]. Values? Not much impact. Sometimes the kids will show when they have taken it further. But the whole class? Not really.
- I'd like to see them get more experience. To understand why Indonesian people do things like touch and grab, like Betty with her [blonde] hair. I think I would like to

get Joe [newly-enrolled mixed-culture child] to share more. It is really interesting talking about Indonesian people and understandings of the way Indonesian relationships are and they way Indonesian children respond...

What is the reality? They can communicate very basically – greetings. They can speak but they don't understand what they're saying. Trying to communicate with Pahan [groundsperson].

We're building respect for Inny and so they're learning to listen more. And I think they're starting to develop understandings of why Indonesians behave as they do and why we respond as we do.

Respect for the culture? It's unrealistic. There's conflict with the home environment. They hear so much. For example Kain doesn't acknowledge his Indonesian background.

Dina E: The majority of them are [cross-culturally tolerant]. There are some of the students, a few, [who] sling off, find fault. Some of them are very competent at speaking the language, but choose not to. But, I think, if the parents do it the children will follow their footsteps. They tend to, the ones I've seen in the class.

MH: So, you're saying kids in this class [Senior Two] are very competent in Indonesian?

Dina E: I do.

MH: But choose not to use it?

Dina E: Yes Chelle, she learned to speak, she can speak it so well, but chooses not to... She just chooses not, she's extremely good, she can carry a conversation up to a certain class, she chooses not to. Maybe she just shy, doesn't want to learn. My son, Ron, he's not bad, but "Oh... you're not gonna speak in *Bahasa Indonesia*" whenever I try to converse and my son says, "Oh... you're not gonna do that again, are you? You're gonna talk *Bahasa*, aren't you?" It's an embarrassment!

Sarah E: I think Inny's role is truly important because of who Inny is. There is change now at the lower end of the school and that's happening because kids are actually interacting with Indonesian [mixed] children. They learn to appreciate similarities and differences. I think that it's important to counteract some of the negative experiences (for example the Sangatta Baru visit) in the senior grades. The kids are spread across the Model. Even though some are at the high level it's difficult for kids to demonstrate the indicators. Some are in culture shock. Some long-term are at a higher level – a sophisticated understanding.

With the newer children – some progress quickly and some are slow. It might depend on how literate the parents are in *Bahasa Indonesia*. How many visits to

the village they take. This has a big effect on timing. Some are still stuck in the culture shock stage. The greater the access the faster they move through.

John E: Some activities have been especially negative. For example [joint school] sports days have been negative experiences for kids and teachers and parents.

The students do learn about customs, culture, norms and so on. Like how to address someone in Indonesian.

I think the excursions are effective in exposing children to aspects of the culture, but there is only one major excursion per year. Plus a few small excursions. Like to Rantau Pulung and so on...

Attitudes? The effect of these excursions can vary. For example the scout camp. This was quite positive. Having a *mandi* [bath] in the river. A few went to the school. Some were positive and some negative. Playing soccer on the beach was positive. Comments like 'Gee aren't they good soccer players...'

Some excursions, for example to the market, have been negative. It's hot, smelly, dirty, so the kids don't like it. They vary.

A consensus emerged that the Junior One program had benefited significantly from the influx of mixed-culture children (interestingly referred to by most participants as 'Indonesian'). This class also, perhaps, benefited from a class teacher, Leigh E, who had been on site for over two years unlike the other class teachers, all of whom had arrived within the last year. The use of Inny I, the Indonesian teacher, in a more integrated way in the classroom, together with the full-time presence of Ina, an Indonesian teacher aide, may also have impacted positively on intercultural literacy learning in this class. These extra personnel enabled the use of *Bahasa Indonesia* in an integrated way and translation of key points into *Bahasa Indonesia* for the mixed-culture children, for whom English was a second language.

A different picture emerges for the other classes. For the older children it seemed that intercultural literacy was not afforded high status within the peer group. The use of the Indonesian language was an embarrassment for some, so long-term children downplayed their proficiency. Older mixed-culture children denied their Indonesian or Asian identities in the school context. It seems likely that this resulted from a perception that Indonesian culture was relatively low status compared to the dominant western expatriate culture of the school. Some teachers, themselves Monocultural, regarded intercultural literacy with some ambivalence, expressing scepticism about the achievability of expressed aims, blaming the community, parent attitudes and their own lack of competency.

Parents were asked if they thought that the school had a positive effect on what the children think and learn about Indonesia. Responses focussed on the role the school plays in counteracting the perception of Indonesia as a culture of servitude. In this the role of the Indonesian staff was seen as critical. The following examples are typical.

MH: Do you think that the school has any effect on what the children think and learn about Indonesia?

Alan E: Yes it does – it's positive. But the kids have an expat orientation. The maid is the only regular contact and they mostly speak English. School is a balance - like the Indonesian *Bahasa* teachers and librarian.

Lisa E: I think it does, because they're really exposed to the real Indonesian here - so a lot of what we know about Indonesians comes from the school here.

In summary, the intended outcomes of intercultural literacy learning expressed in the school's mission statement and curriculum documents align well with views expressed by teachers and parents in Phase Two interviews. These intended outcomes were consistent with the Cross-Cultural and Intercultural Levels in the Model. A high level of concern existed, however, about the ability of the school to meet these objectives, given the current inexperience and low confidence of staff, and the context of the community. Most participants agreed that the level of intercultural literacy of the children was low; understandings and language ability were limited and attitudes commonly negative and paternalistic. One participant suggested that, where higher levels of language ability, understandings and competencies were evident, these were rarely displayed due to negative attitudes. The evidence of both Phase One and Phase Two discussed in the section above (Mapping the Children's Intercultural Literacy) suggests that the children's level of intercultural literacy was predominately Monocultural with a small group moving into or at the Cross-Cultural Level.

On this basis, the outcomes of intercultural literacy learning in the school were not congruent. That is, the official intended outcomes did not match the observed outcomes. The school's aims in this area were not achieved.

This section aimed to answer the second research question: To what extent was the school's intercultural literacy curriculum congruent? Did the intended and 'observed' programs match at each stage in Stake's schema: antecedents, transactions, outcomes? The answer, based on the evidence discussed, is that the curriculum was not congruent;

intended and observed programs did not match in all stages: antecedents, transactions and outcomes.

The Logical Contingency of the Curriculum

The third research question is as follows: To what extent was the school's intercultural literacy curriculum soundly based (in Stake's terms, 'logically contingent') using the proposed Multidimensional Model for the Development of Intercultural Literacy and supporting theory as a standard? This section aims to answer this question.

Whilst the previous section assessed the congruence of the school's curriculum for intercultural literacy - the degree to which the design of the program matched the 'reality' of what was observed at each stage – this section assesses the logical contingency from a theoretical point of view, or, put another way, the extent to which the design and implementation of the program was theoretically sound. The focus is on the relationship between the three time-ordered stages in the first dimension of Stake's model: antecedents, transactions and outcomes, primarily in the intents column.

The key antecedents discussed above and recognised in the school's mission statement and curriculum documents are: (1) the cultural and environmental context for learning and (2) the unique life experiences of the children as international people or 'Third Culture Kids'. These two factors were proposed by the school as positive conditions for what is effectively intended to be intercultural literacy learning. Parents and teachers

also believed that the school should capitalise on the cultural context, utilising this resource to enable children to learn Indonesian language and culture.

Ignored in these statements and ambitions were the relative status of host and expatriate cultures, the rationale for the school, and the role of the international school in defining difference within the community. The Multidimensional Model for the Development of Intercultural Literacy highlights the need for an authentic cross-cultural engagement to stimulate the learning required for intercultural literacy. The theory discussed in Chapter Two suggests that the ‘crisis of engagement’ typical of Monocultural Level III in the Model is a necessary stimulus and prelude to further learning. Without appropriate supports, many retreat at this point into distancing or arrested learning, remaining fixed at this level. Alternative forms of distancing at Monocultural Level III were described as separation (or cultural chauvinism), assimilation, marginalisation and integration (or mediation). What makes the difference, according to this theory, is the relative status or value afforded to the host and home cultures. Where both cultures are highly valued, intercultural literacy learning is supported. Where neither is valued, marginalisation is likely. Where the host culture is valued highly and the home culture lowly, passing or assimilation is likely. Where the home culture is valued highly and the host culture lowly, separation or cultural chauvinism is likely.

On the basis of this case study, it appears that for most families and for the broader expatriate community in Tanjung Bara this last configuration fits. The fact of the school’s location in an exotic environmental and cultural context is thus not sufficient to provide a positive condition for intercultural literacy learning. Without an increased

valuing of the host Indonesian culture the theory suggests that it is unlikely many will advance beyond the Monocultural Level.

In an important sociological analysis of expatriate communities, Cohen (1977) described how ‘...expatriates all over the world create their own ‘enclaves’ - ecological ghettos and institutional frameworks - which shelter them off from the environment of their host society’ (Cohen 1977: 16). The degree to which expatriates take refuge in these ‘environmental bubbles’ as an adaptation to the strangeness of their host environment provides the basis for a typology of expatriate adaptive styles. Cohen (1977) noted how two significant factors define the expatriate’s experience - transience and privileged status - giving rise to the establishment of ‘environmental bubbles’. In remote project sites such as Tanjung Bara and where the economic, social and cultural distance between expatriate and national communities is greatest, ‘planted expatriate communities’ are typically found, in which ‘... the whole bubble is provided by the sponsoring organisation’ (Cohen 1977: 21). Cohen’s analysis remains important in this context in that it describes the social dynamics of a typical planted community closely resembling Tanjung Bara.

The company’s decision to site its senior management camp so far from its other housing was reportedly related to both the perceived needs of an expatriate community and perceptions of status within the Indonesian community. The result of this policy in the early years leading up to and including the study period was to create what was effectively an expatriate enclave in which Indonesian members were in the minority and felt excluded from participation in many of the community’s defining activities and

institutions. Comments from one participant, a senior KPC manager, suggest that the company was re-thinking the policy, not with the aim of integrating the two groups, but, rather, with the aim of relocating senior Indonesian housing to Sangatta Baru in order to provide leadership within this community.

Using Cohen's (1977) terms, the two defining factors of transience and privileged status determined the nature of the expatriate experience and thus of the expatriate community, serving to distance the expatriate from the Indonesian community and Indonesian culture. From the Indonesian perspective these factors provided a common source of resentment and contributed to the distance between cultures. The disparity between Indonesian and expatriate salaries and conditions even at the senior management level was significant. The company's policy of employing a predominately expatriate management and training team in the development phase of the project, with an agreement ratified by the Indonesian government which provided for a gradual *Indonesianising* of the project, was well understood. Nonetheless, the image of white overlords with echoes of a not-so-distant colonial past presented itself with little imagination.

In his theory of the institutional structure of expatriate communities, Cohen (1977) described how institutions serve to facilitate adaptation for expatriates whilst at the same time symbolising separateness and exclusivity. In this context, the school has a significant role to play. In Tanjung Bara, specifically, the school was the only institution that formally barred Indonesians (as defined by the father's nationality) from participation. It also operated with a comparatively generous budget. At the time of the

study approximately twenty times the amount was allocated by the company to cover costs of educating a child in Tanjung Bara than at *YPPSB*, the Indonesian company school in Sangatta Baru. If the school was to have a role in developing intercultural literacy, then, it appeared to face major barriers and to operate in an ambiguous and problematic context.

On the evidence of discussions with senior managers in the company, the international school was established and existed primarily in order to mitigate against the disadvantage of an isolated overseas posting and enable the company to attract and retain high-quality expatriate managers on-site. The school's intentions with respect to intercultural literacy were thus ambiguous. Its primary function was to provide educational continuity within a western, and specifically Australian, educational and cultural context. So, whilst all agreed that intercultural literacy was worthwhile and the school's mission statement and curriculum documents supported this aim, it was secondary to the aim of teaching Australian and western cultural literacies. In pursuit of this primary aim, the school distanced itself from the host Indonesian culture, effectively sheltering the children from cross-cultural contact. In this context 'international' meant 'different from the host culture'. It meant 'expatriate'. The international school was thus a school defined by difference, by privilege and cultural distance. From a theoretical standpoint the school's intercultural literacy curriculum was founded on contradictory principles.

The second resource for intercultural literacy learning identified in the school's mission statement and curriculum documents is the children themselves, their international

backgrounds and life paths. Essentially this meant looking not to the resource of the host culture outside the compound for a teaching resource, but to the internal cultural and international mix within the school's student population. Whilst many international schools are defined by a multicultural and international population of students and faculty, however, as has been suggested in recent studies such as those of Allan (2002, 2003) and Pearce (1998, 2003) discussed in Chapter Two, they are typically dominated by an Anglo-American western culture. In the case of Tanjung Bara International School, the expatriate teaching faculty was exclusively Australian. In fact, since the school was established and operated under contract by the Tasmanian Department of Education and the Arts (DEA), with the exception of the one Indonesian teacher, the teachers were all Tasmanian. As was made clear above, the expatriate teachers were also, for the most part, inexperienced in terms of international or Indonesian experience.

The student population did offer something of a resource for intercultural literacy learning. In 1996, 66% of the children were Australians, 4% New Zealanders, 4% British, 6% American and 20% mixed. A group of 18% had previously lived in an expatriate context and a further 20%, all in the youngest grade, Junior One, had been born whilst their families were on site and had grown up in Tanjung Bara. This balance was changing. Between 1996 and 1997 an influx of mixed-culture children, particularly in Junior One, was creating conditions conducive to intercultural literacy learning. It was clear, however, from Phase One and Phase Two interviews and observations that the western expatriate and predominately Australian culture of the school was dominant. Older children with mixed-culture backgrounds tended to deny or downplay their Indonesian or Asian identities. Those who could speak *Bahasa Indonesia* - mixed-

culture and long-term expatriate children - chose not to do so around their peers. It was clearly not 'cool' to be seen as bilingual or bicultural. What was valued amongst the children was international travel experience, evident in the recounting of holidays stories from Las Vegas, Disneyland, Switzerland or Hawaii. This was particularly the case in the upper grades. Dina told a story which illustrated the reluctance of expatriate children to use *Bahasa Indonesia*:

Dina E:	I've actually seen the new secretary when some children went in and wanted some keys. She told him to ask for the key in <i>Bahasa</i> , he refused to. She said what you say is " <i>Boleh saya pinjam kunci?</i> " and he said "Alright, I'll go to somebody else for the key then."
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From a theoretical standpoint, the Multidimensional Model for the Development of Intercultural Literacy proposed in Chapter Two provides some explanation for this dynamic. Children in Junior One, aged four or five, were likely to be at an early naïve stage of learning, Monocultural Level II. For these children, awareness of cultural difference was limited to stereotypical comparisons. Since, as described in Chapter Two (pp.86-94), the family plays such a significant role in determining intercultural attitudes and identity for young children, the home values prevailed. Since many Junior One children had either been born on site or spent significant time there, and their values were framed primarily in the home context, none were likely to have experienced culture shock. Whilst their language abilities and cross-cultural participation may have suggested a higher level of intercultural literacy, then, none could have been higher than Monocultural Level II. This accords with references made by Bennett (1993) and discussed in Chapter Two (p.149-150) to young children raised abroad displaying characteristics of 'accidental' pluralism' unable to generalise or transfer what appear to

be advanced intercultural competencies. Gabe E's comments reflect this reality for her own children who had grown up in Indonesia:

Gabe E:	You've got to think we're not like a lot of families that came up here. These kids don't know any difference. They were born in Australia but Tammy was only two months old [when she came to Indonesia] and Monica was six-months old. So they don't really know any different. To go back to Australia was more of a shock to them than being here.
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Many of the children in the next class, Junior Two, aged six-seven, appeared to be at the Monocultural Level III – Distancing or Culture Shock. For these children, the cultural differences were apparent and caused discomfort and negativity. Whilst the children were able to operate within a framework which afforded them the protection of higher status, as with house servants and school staff, they were likely to feel comfortable, but when they were outnumbered and without this protection, as in visits to the village or the Indonesian school, they felt uncomfortable, angry, frightened.

With the exception of new arrivals, children in the two senior classes, aged between eight and twelve, were generally between Monocultural Level III and the emerging intercultural literacy of the Cross-Cultural Level. Most were either firmly in the negativity and distancing characteristic of Monocultural Level III or shuttling back and forth between the two as they dealt with cross-cultural engagement and then retreated to the safety and comfort of a Monocultural framework. Since, as suggested in Chapter Two (pp.86-94), primary school children in all grades may be motivated to learn languages and intercultural literacy primarily by social needs, and in this context the dynamics of the community and school made it unnecessary and even a social liability to

be bilingual or bicultural, the use of the children themselves as a teaching resource was problematic.

What the theory discussed in Chapter Two, and embedded in the Multidimensional Model for the Development of Intercultural Literacy, suggests is that the program to teach intercultural literacy should be differentiated according to the level of the children and supported by an understanding of the theory by the teachers. Since both the children and the teachers were for the most part at a Monocultural level this is problematic. The children's life experiences certainly make a good starting point for intercultural literacy learning, but in order to move beyond the stereotypical focus on exotic and touristic elements of 'foreign' cultures typical of the Monocultural Level II, and to provide the supportive environment necessary to move from Monocultural Level III to the Cross-Cultural Level, greater understandings and competencies were required of the teachers.

The intended transactions or delivery of the program described in the school's curriculum documents are logically coherent. Minimum time allocation is set at one and a half hours per week for Indonesian Studies. An integrated approach is specified which requires negotiation between class teachers and the Indonesian Studies teacher and integration of Indonesian Studies, LOTE, SOSE and other curriculum elements on a thematic basis in all grades. Whilst it is recognised as logical and potentially effective, however, the approach does not allow for a significant theoretical factor arising from the Multidimensional Model for the Development of Intercultural Literacy and the analysis of Chapter Two. The most important determinant of success in intercultural literacy

learning, as suggested in Chapter Two, is not the formal curriculum of the school but, rather, the social and cultural supports available.

In Chapter Two (pp.134-140) a number of institutional and social conditions likely to facilitate intercultural literacy learning in schools were identified. It was suggested that in the cross-cultural context, learning and social interaction should be structured with students of equal status and competency so that co-operation rather than competition is the focus. Students should be encouraged to develop cross-cultural friendships and the contact should continue out of school and in a variety of contexts over time. Ideally, cross-cultural contact and participation should be voluntary.

In Tanjung Bara it was difficult to create these conditions since the Indonesian and expatriate communities were so divided. Indonesian children living in Tanjung Bara, the children of senior KPC managers, were potentially the equal-status, equal-competency peers required. Friendships between these children and the expatriate children could have facilitated two-way intercultural literacy learning, each providing a cross-cultural mediation for the other. Several factors, however, prevented this from occurring. The minority group of Indonesian children in Tanjung Bara was unable to attend the international school and so the children daily travelled the fifteen kilometres to *YPPSB*, the company's Indonesian school in Sangatta Baru. The timing of the school day and daily routine of these children also differed from the expatriates' routines. The Indonesian school operated on a six-day morning program. Children typically returned home for lunch followed by a nap and then completed their homework prior to the evening meal. The expatriate children, in contrast, finished school at around 3.30 PM

and went straight to either structured after-school activities or free play. Attempts to include Indonesian children in either the structured after-school program or free play generally failed, in part since these activities competed with the Indonesian children's routine homework time or Saturday school. The Indonesian children formed friendships, not with their expatriate neighbours in Tanjung Bara, but with their Indonesian school-mates in Sangatta Baru. Apart from these structural obstacles, language remained, perhaps, the greatest barrier. None of the children, expatriate or Indonesian, could be said to have voluntarily chosen to form a cross-cultural friendship or indeed to be in the cross-cultural context.

The intended outcomes of learning, consistent with the Cross-Cultural and Intercultural Levels in the Model, were theoretically achievable only for the older children. As suggested above, it is unlikely, from a theoretical standpoint, that children below the age of eight or nine would demonstrate characteristics consistent with the Cross-Cultural or Intercultural Levels in the Model. These younger children could be expected to be at the Monocultural Level, either Level I for pre-school children, Level II for four-five year-olds or children with only brief cross-cultural experience, or Level III for six-seven year-olds. It was also suggested in Chapter Two that learning is more likely to proceed in a recursive fashion with learners shuttling back and forth between levels, particularly between the Monocultural Level III and Cross-Cultural Level, as they problem-solve and come to terms with, or make sense of, the second culture. In the best possible context for intercultural literacy learning it could be expected that primary-aged children would achieve learning outcomes at the Monocultural or early Cross-Cultural Levels, depending on the developmental age of the child.

The intended program in Tanjung Bara International School could therefore not be said to be logically contingent. From a theoretical standpoint, the curriculum is based on an incomplete understanding of the antecedent conditions required for learning, it ignores the highly significant role of cross-cultural engagement and informal learning in the intended transactions, and it aims for outcomes beyond those that are theoretically achievable.

Having made this statement, it should be recalled that the school's intended curriculum for intercultural literacy is not clearly stated as such. The mission statement and curriculum documents previously discussed do make claims regarding intended antecedents, transactions and outcomes, but these are not made within a coherent theoretical framework and, whilst broadly accepted, were contested by some teachers and parents. The term 'intercultural literacy' does not appear in the school's documents and was introduced by the researcher. The curriculum documents were developed by previous teachers in the school prior to any of the current (1997) faculty commencing work at Tanjung Bara. Nonetheless, it seems clear, and was agreed by all those interviewed, that the intended curriculum was consistent with the notion of intercultural literacy.

As suggested in Chapter Two (p.139), and reinforced in the discussion above, it is likely that intercultural literacy learning in Tanjung Bara occurred incidentally both inside and outside the school. Whilst this and the previous section have considered the intentional curriculum of the school, the following two sections consider the *unintended* program

and *out-of-school* activities in addition to *in-school* activities. The case study is thus broader than an evaluation of the school's intended programs – a curriculum evaluation. It is a study of the development of intercultural literacy in the Tanjung Bara community and the role of the school and community in relation to that development.

The Impact of the School Program on Intercultural Literacy in the Community

This section addresses the fourth research question: To what extent did the school's core and non-core programs and activities impact on the development of intercultural literacy in the students and the wider Tanjung Bara community?

It is concerned with the impact of the school program, the school curriculum and related activities both within and without the school, not only on the students, but also on the wider community. This includes those closely associated with the school - teachers, staff and parents - and also those beyond this 'inner circle'; the wider community of Indonesians and expatriates living in Tanjung Bara. The study is concerned with whether or not the school acted in any way as a cultural mediator; a facilitator of intercultural literacy development for the wider community.

The previous two sections evaluated the impact of the school's core program, the curriculum, on the students for whom it was intended. This section explores the impact of the curriculum on others: 'Poppets' children, teachers, Indonesian staff, parents, members of the expatriate community, and members of the Indonesian community. It also explores the impact of non-core or peripheral school activities - 'special events',

‘summer schools’, extra-curricular activities, incidental in-school teaching and learning, and ‘family assemblies’ – both on students and others.

In order to answer the question, this sub-section considers: (1) the school’s profile in the community; (2) the impact of the curriculum on the wider community; (3) the impact of non-core activities on the students; and (4) the impact of non-core activities on the wider community.

The school’s profile in the community

Prior to considering the impact of the school on the community, it is important first to clarify the level and type of contact that different groups had with the school and its activities (core and non-core). How visible was the school? To what extent was the community aware of its activity?

As described in Chapter Three, Tanjung Bara was an unusual community. It was a planted company town. The school had been established in order to enable the creation of a more stable family-oriented community than would otherwise have been possible. This, it was thought, would in turn attract high-quality senior managers to live and work on-site. The school was sited strategically adjacent to sports and social facilities shared by the school and community, adjacent to the Poppets child-care centre and nearby the Tanjung Bara single camp. The buildings housed a community library managed by the school for both the community and the school. The school was also provided with a

budget to manage ‘special events’ intended to enrich the cultural life of the community. Its role was thus broad and its place within the community significant.

At a less formal level, the school was also intended to provide a focus for non-working spouses housed on site – typically, married women, some of whom were mothers. A number of women were involved in the school as part-time paid teachers and many more as volunteer helpers. The school’s facilities were also used to produce a community newsletter, the *Bara Bugle*. The school staff typically took a leading role in initiating and facilitating community events and activities – for the children and, often, for the wider community. Parents and sometimes single men were also involved in these activities. These included a range of after-school activities for children: Scouts and Brownies, swimming club, aquatic club, football, cricket, tennis, family hash-house-harriers, gymnastics, flute, and dancing. Indonesian children were invited to participate in many of these activities and from time to time there were one or two involved in Brownies, dancing and the swimming club. (The participation of Indonesian children was limited by the small number that lived in Tanjung Bara and the distance to Sangatta Baru.) The school also produced a weekly newsletter and monthly family assemblies to highlight the children’s learning.

Teachers in Phase Two interviews were asked about the contact that community members had with the school.

Leigh E: Well, there’s a distinct group that has a lot of contact with the school and I guess this would be the majority of parents – especially mothers – but there’s a small group that don’t have anything to do with the school.

Other expats? Some connections with the services, the medical centre, the

emergency services. A big connection.

Indonesian community? I'll start with the parents of my children [MH: Indonesian mothers of mixed-culture children in Junior One]. It's taken a while, but the parents or the mothers of the children that I teach, there's much more connection now – but it's taken a while for them to actually feel comfortable about coming to the school with that – that's a cultural thing, I think. They take part in the tuck shop [canteen run by volunteer parents], and I make them come along to parent-help [in the classroom] and things. I see them interacting more with the other expat mothers. For example, at birthday parties. They come along to watch the [weekly] assembly. That would not happen unless we actually worked hard in doing it – otherwise they would just sit back and ...

The wider community? Only at Poppets really, it's a very big connection there.

MH: Do the Indonesian community see Poppets as being closely acquainted with school?

Leigh E: Yes, I think they do. They're very, very supportive at Poppets and all that - but nowadays we have quite a few sessions with Poppets and they're very supportive about these sessions - both the fathers and the mothers. ... They're very keen to know about what was happening.

The school is a central part of the community – whether the opinions are positive or negative, I don't know. It's interesting – particularly with the parents of both [mixed] Indonesian children and expats – they are very positive.

I don't know about the [wider] Indonesian community. I guess they see that we run a different education system ... so whether they believe... They probably don't think it's good for their children. It would be ideal to have the schools together on one campus. That would make a difference.

Sandra E: Parents are the dominating group. KPC employees have some involvement. That's about it.

The [single] camp has nothing to do with the school. The children don't know what the camp is.

The Indonesian community? They [the children] see them as PBU [catering company] staff, gardeners, bus driver and so on...

People drive past and you see the interest on their faces. Curiosity. Watch them. We could make them become more involved. We could extend an invitation to the broader community. To Indonesians, school is a very mysterious place. I see them watching, looking in...

Sarah E: Parents? There's a lot of contact – especially women. More than in an Australian community.

Other expat community members? Batu Putih [the senior family housing area]. They have less contact but are involved in school issues. Issues can become very big. The single camp. I think they make little assumption about the school. More assumptions from the children. But that reflects more on the families than on the school I think... than on the educational program of the school.

Indonesian community? Status. Children are considered to be well-educated and well-versed in the ways of the world – because they are expatriate. Possibly many would love to have their children educated in this school. So they want Sangatta Baru [YPPSB] to compete and show that they're as good. Like in soccer. The facilities are different...

The teachers clearly felt it to be part of their mission to encourage parent-participation in the school. There was a common perception that parents were more actively involved in the life of the school than in a typical Australian school – particularly the mothers. Observations certainly support this perception. Other sectors of the community – expatriate and Indonesian - were seen to be much less involved and in general to have very little contact with the school.

Parents were asked about their own level of contact with the school.

Kelvin E: I go into the school daily to take my daughter in. I see the teachers weekly – informally, at the bar, the pool, home.... We can't talk for long without talking about school. I am the Chairman of the Board. And a parent. The Board meets once a month.

The Indonesian staff? Infrequently.

Doug E: I am a parent. Since August '96 I've been a member of the School Board. I've been there for a computer night.

MH: Contact with the staff?

- Doug E: Yes, like parent-teacher nights.
- MH: Indonesian staff?
- Doug E: Yeah, most of them, admin staff and so on. Socially with the teachers.
- MH: Do you ever observe the children's activities?
- Doug E: No. Not a lot. I'm more involved with parents and teachers. Socially.

- Alan E: I think it's varied over years. Less now because I'm busy in the office. Once a month, like parent and teacher interviews or father and child excursion. Yes.
- MH: Do you meet outside the school with the teachers?
- Alan E: I meet regularly with John and Don.
- MH: Indonesian staff?
- Alan E: Yes, like sometimes we ask Inny for dinner.
- MH: Other involvement?
- Alan E: Yes like when I was on the School Board. Like once a month I watch the three classes. I see and hear about Sue's involvement [MH: Sue was Alan's wife; a volunteer music teacher]. And family assemblies.
- MH: Is your involvement typical?
- Alan E: I think I know about the school activities. I see the teachers socially and at work. People without kids do not have contact. Library only and social interaction.
- The Indonesian community - especially those with kids – is aware of differences. I haven't heard bad comments [about the school] in the mine. There are derogatory comments [about] unfair funding. And many in the Indonesian community want to interact. *YPPSB* families with Tanjung Bara kids rarely interact. They operate on different times of day.

- Bridie E: Yes, like for lunch three times per week. [Volunteer parent-help in the classroom in] Junior One two times per week but now with Don's class one time per week. I also speak with Mandy and Sandra....
- MH: Any other contact?

Bridie E: Yes like in the classroom, Assemblies, Sports - and also Girl Guides and Brownies and Gum-Nuts (for over five-year old girls).

MH: What about the wider community – what do you think about their contact with the school?

Bridie E: In the expat community, the school is the whipping post. Just pick on the school! It's the only visible business. The school is in the firing line.

The Indonesian community? I think not really. Indonesian children could be involved more, like in after-school activities and sport. Brownies? Not now that Umah has gone to Jakarta.

For expats, people ask and I speak to them, the school is never good enough. They need to wake up or it will be not enough!

For Indonesians, it's excessive (that's a guess), too much - they just look a bit.

Gabe E: The things I do for school; Monday morning I try to help with Tamara's classroom [Junior One]. When I go to school, I go to the library. Yeah, for one and half hours. Once in a week. I don't generally see the teachers or the Indonesian staff.

... And I see the kids playing around the school in the morning when I take Tamara to school. Occasionally I have a morning chat with mums and I watch the kids playing in the playground sometimes. If I'm swimming down at the pool I see the kids doing athletics and PE [physical education], running around the grass. Assemblies, we're going every Friday morning.

The picture that emerges from the interviews – and is supported by the evidence of observation – is of a school that was highly visible within the married expatriate community. All of the parents interviewed indicated that they had frequent contact with the school and its staff. The majority of mothers were involved in school activities on a regular basis and dropped into the school routinely to chat with other parents, drop their children in or talk to teachers. The school held evening events to enable fathers to be involved and the majority took up the invitation. These included family assemblies, sports activities, 'special events' and parent-teacher interviews. Parents and other

members of the expatriate community mixed socially with teachers, frequently spending time together at community and social events. This social interaction often provided opportunity for discussion of educational and school-related issues. These issues sometimes spilled over, becoming community controversies with parents and teachers taking sides over heated disputes; in the words of one participant, the school acting as a 'whipping post'. Many interpreted this as resulting from the 'hot house' environment of the camp where there was too little to distract individuals – especially unemployed spouses – from the tedium of a life without significant responsibility (beyond work for those with employment).

In contrast, the Indonesian and single expatriate communities had negligible contact with the school. The little contact that did take place was limited to occasionally observing the children in sporting activities or other recreational contexts.

Didi I:	I am not involved in the school, but yes, I often see the children in the community. For example, when they swim at the pool. They occasionally play touch football. Touch football at this small field. I often see that and I am happy. Once I saw that there were some members of the families there. The fathers were really, really involved in daily life - connected with the children. And they joined in playing the game. They're very active. In my view it's very good. In many cases there are activities that would be good to be copied by our school.
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The impact of the curriculum and non-core programs on students and the wider community

Participants in Phase Two interviews were asked to comment on what they perceived to be the impact of the school's programs on the wider community – expatriate and

Indonesian. They were also asked whether they thought it was a relevant aim for the school to impact positively on intercultural literacy in the community.

Of the seven teachers interviewed, five believed that the school did have a positive impact on the expatriate community and five believed that this was an appropriate aim for the school. All of the positive responses suggested that the school impacted on parents primarily through the children – and that major impacts were through the staff modelling and presenting positive values and attitudes relating to intercultural literacy. Two teachers, including Inny, the Indonesian teacher, believed that the school impacted in positive ways on the Indonesian community. Leigh commented that the most positive impact was through Poppets, where Indonesian families were directly involved. Two indicated that they believed there was no significant impact. Three indicated that they believed the impact was negative; the school and the approach to education being perceived as lacking discipline and moral structure; the children too free and independent, and the school over-resourced and elitist. This perception, from three of the expatriate teachers, echoes views expressed by Indonesians in Phase One that western culture is generally ‘too free’, lacking in controls and religious discipline. At the same time it contrasts with comments made by Indonesians in Phase One suggesting that the education and child-rearing practices of westerners were admired. Two of the participants indicated that impacting on the Indonesian community was not a relevant aim for the school, being too broad and too far removed from the school’s mission. Four indicated that they saw it as a relevant aim. Two of these stressed that it must be ‘two-way’; the Indonesian community also had a responsibility to share their culture and to keep an open mind. Sandra’s comments are typical:

- MH: Do you think that the school has any role to play in influencing what parents and other expats think and learn about Indonesia? On intercultural literacy in the community?
- Sandra E: We could, but I don't know how. Some attitudes are very fixed.
- One successful activity was Trios Madios [MH: visiting cross-cultural music group arranged through the 'special events' fund]. The wider community was involved. Cultural sharing. Summer School – *batik* near the commissary [company supermarket]. Dance activities.
- MH: Do you think the school should have this as an aim?
- Sandra E: It is a relevant aim for the school. Education should not be restricted just to the kids. We aim for life-long learners. It's also an avenue for *me* to learn...
- MH: Do you think that the school plays any role in helping Indonesians in the community to learn about western or Australian culture? On intercultural literacy in the community?
- Sandra E: The school as such – has a negative impact. They look at the resources, facilities, and the small numbers. So it misrepresents the real Australian education set-up. Our material belongings build up resentment.
- MH: Do you think the school should have this as an aim?
- Sandra E: Yes. It's a two-way exchange. For everything needs sharing. Peace and harmony.

Teachers' perceptions on the school's impact on the wider community and specifically on intercultural literacy levels are varied, ambivalent and ambiguous. There is no statement of this as an aim in the school's formal documentation. On the other hand, several responses suggest that teachers saw this as an important aim and in some cases being achieved. Expatriate and Indonesian community members interviewed in Phase Two expressed similarly ambiguous and ambivalent perceptions. In both groups, the responses were typically tentative and exploratory suggesting that participants had not previously given the topic much thought.

Ten community members commented on the school's impact on the wider community; three Indonesians and seven expatriates. Comments were mixed. Three of the expatriates believed that the school impacted positively on intercultural literacy levels in the expatriate community and three that it did not impact. One Indonesian believed that the school had a positive impact on intercultural literacy levels and two that it possibly did. The Indonesians mentioned joint school activities and the role of the Indonesian Studies teacher as an ambassador for Indonesian culture as the key strategies. Four of the seven expatriates indicated that they did not see this as a relevant aim for the school, being too broad. Two indicated that they thought it a relevant aim. The responses of Indonesians were less clear, one indicating that he thought it a relevant aim.

Asked about the school's possible impact on intercultural literacy in the Indonesian community, five indicated that they believed the school had a positive impact on intercultural literacy in the Indonesian community and four that it did not. Four indicated that they saw this as a relevant aim for the school, one that it was not relevant and three were unsure.

MH:	Do you think that the school has any role to play in influencing what parents and other expats think and learn about Indonesia? On intercultural literacy in the community?
Kelvin E:	Yes, it clearly does. It definitely happens. Firstly from what parents hear from their kids. Secondly, from the extent of the school's involvement with other community activities. Thirdly through the language. Teachers model <i>Bahasa</i> to the community [MH: Note that these comments were made in 1996 referring to the teachers at that time]. There is a tendency of others to start the process and then drop out. Fourthly, trips. Like to Bali and the Mahakam River. Stimulates parent trips.
MH:	Do you think the school should have this as an aim?
Kelvin E:	Is it appropriate? Yes.
MH:	Do you think that the school plays any role in helping Indonesians in the

community to learn about western culture? On intercultural literacy in the community?

Kelvin E: Yes, first the [Indonesian] staff themselves. Second: Combined activities, especially sport, including parents. Indonesians and westerners in sport...

MH: Do you think that the school has any role to play in influencing what parents and other expats think and learn about Indonesia? On intercultural literacy in the community?

Don: No.

MH: Do you think the school should have this as an aim?

Don E: They try to by forcing the parents to look at Indonesia through the kids' eyes but people are pig-headed and they're not very successful. We have a similar aim in training [Training Department] but there is negativity.

I think school has to do it, but how? I don't know how to measure it - but it has to be a success, though. Subtle things like class names [the names had been changed from Junior One, Junior Two etc. to Bali, Kalimantan etc.]. Interaction with *YPPSB* is critical...

Several participants, both Indonesian and expatriate, saw the school's key role as modelling intercultural literacy to the wider community – Indonesian and expatriate. As Hadi I commented, the school can have an impact by demonstrating that '...white people can be polite, patient and gentle...'. A number also commented on the significance of specific activities including 'special events', major excursions, and joint school activities. Several expressed scepticism about the notion that the school, through its formal curriculum, could impact on broader community intercultural literacy.

In summary, community members interviewed expressed the ambivalent view that the school's core mission was to educate the children and objectives beyond this were not relevant, but that at the same time it was a worthwhile, if ambitious, aim to attempt to

impact positively on intercultural literacy in both the expatriate and Indonesian communities. The teachers, parents and broader community members interviewed were also ambivalent about the question of whether the school did impact positively on intercultural literacy in the wider community. It was not clear whether, in the view of participants, there was any significant perceived impact, and, if there was, whether it was positive or negative. Put together with the observations of the researcher, the data suggest a complex picture. The international school was certainly prominent in the expatriate community and interacted in significant ways with individuals and groups. It engaged in a range of cross-cultural activities, some of which were intended to impact positively on relations between the Indonesian and expatriate communities and to contribute to the development of intercultural literacy in the children and, in the view of some, the broader community. The outcomes of these activities, however, were not always as intended, many producing a mix of positive and negative impacts.

Participants were asked to comment on specific activities arranged by the school which may have impacted directly on their own intercultural literacy learning or were perceived to have impacted on others: children, expatriates or Indonesian community members.

The activities discussed were all managed or jointly managed by the school, and all were intended to impact on the intercultural literacy of students and to improve understandings and relationships between the Indonesian and expatriate communities in some way. Visits from Indonesian craftspeople and Australian musicians and artists had been arranged over the years with funding under the 'special events' allocation. They

were intended to enrich the cultural life of the broader community and to support the school's Arts program. Recent visits by Indonesian craftspeople had included a group of *batik* craftspeople and potters from Bontang, a city to the south, whose visit had been integrated into a two-week summer school program for children in January. Similar visits had been hosted by the school in the past including *batik* craftspeople, traditional dance groups, and Dayak carvers, dancers and weavers. Due, in part, to the isolation of the site, visits were usually arranged as an 'artist in residence' program lasting for one week or longer. This enabled extended workshopping with children plus participation of parents and others from the broader community.

Visits from Australian and other western artists and performers had been arranged on a similar basis and had included Sirocco, a multicultural group from Australia who were touring with an Aboriginal dancer, Trio Mardois, a cross-cultural Indonesian-Australian contemporary music group, and Green Tree, an Australian theatre group. In addition the company and contractors had sponsored visits by Irish folk-music bands and dancers on an annual basis to coincide with a St. Patrick's Day event. These visits included performances and workshops for the international school children, together with performances for *YPPSB*, and the Indonesian and expatriate communities.

The Indonesian community of Tanjung Bara had for some years organised an Indonesian Night as part of the annual Independence Day celebrations. This was intended to showcase Indonesian culture to the expatriate and Indonesian communities. The most recent of these events included a combined Indonesian dance performance by expatriate and Indonesian children from Tanjung Bara. Children from the international school had

also been involved in a joint marching activity for the last Independence Day. The school had arranged community service activities over the years generally involving the collection of funds and/or goods for distribution to poor Indonesian communities in transmigration camps and villages off the mine lease. Children were involved in trips to the sites to present the gifts and meet with local children. The most recent of these visits, to a village called Rantau Pulung, had included a dance performance by the recipient children.

A number of joint school activities had been held over the years, most recently involving joint sporting activities including swimming at Sangatta Baru, and a Science Fair held at the Tanjung Bara International School. The final activity mentioned was family assemblies which were run by the school on a regular basis to showcase children's achievements to the parent community. From time to time these events had an Indonesian cultural focus with, for example, children playing music on *angklung* (traditional bamboo instruments) or performing Indonesian drama. The results of the interviews in this context are best illustrated in table format. The following table shows participants' perceptions of the impact of non-core school activities on the intercultural literacy levels of self, international school students, the wider expatriate community, and the Indonesian community, respectively.

Table 5.1
Perceived Impact of Non-Core School Activities on Intercultural Literacy – Self

Activity	Positive Impact	Negative Impact	Mixed Impact	No Comment or No Impact
Visits from Indonesian craftspeople	7	0	2	19
Visits from Australian musicians/artists	6	0	1	22
Indonesian Night / Children's dancing	5	1	1	22
Community Service	5	3	1	21
Joint school sport and other activities	3	4	1	21
Family Assemblies	2	0	0	27

Table 5.2
Perceived Impact of Non-Core School Activities on Intercultural Literacy – International School Students

Activity	Positive Impact	Negative Impact	Mixed Impact	No Comment or No Impact
Visits from Indonesian craftspeople	11	0	1	17
Visits from Australian musicians/artists	2	1	0	26
Indonesian Night / Children's dancing	6	0	4	19
Community Service	8	1	4	16
Joint school sport and other activities	1	4	7	17
Family Assemblies	3	0	0	26

The most significant feature of these results is that, rather than positively impacting on intercultural literacy as intended, in many cases these activities appear to have had negative or mixed impacts. The high numbers in the right column in some cases indicate that the participants were unaware of the activity, in others that they were aware but

there was no perceived impact, and in others, simply that no comment was made. Entries in the negative and mixed impact columns mean that participants were aware of the activity and in most cases actively involved, but that the perceived impact was either negative or mixed; partly negative and partly positive. Good intentions were clearly not enough to ensure success in this context.

Table 5.3
Perceived Impact of Non-Core School Activities on Intercultural Literacy –
Expatriate Community

Activity	Positive Impact	Negative Impact	Mixed Impact	No Comment or No Impact
Visits from Indonesian craftspeople	4	0	0	25
Visits from Australian musicians/artists	4	1	0	24
Indonesian Night / Children's dancing	5	1	0	23
Community Service	0	0	2	27
Joint school sport and other activities	1	1	1	26
Family Assemblies	3	0	0	26

Table 5.4
Perceived Impact of Non-Core School Activities on Intercultural Literacy –
Indonesian Community

Activity	Positive Impact	Negative Impact	Mixed Impact	No Comment or No Impact
Visits from Indonesian craftspeople	1	0	0	28
Visits from Australian musicians/artists	7	0	2	20
Indonesian Night / Children's dancing	3	0	0	26
Community Service	2	1	0	26
Joint school sport and other activities	1	0	1	27
Family Assemblies	2	0	0	27

Whilst the majority of those who had been involved saw the visits of Indonesian craftspeople as positive, two participants, one Indonesian and one Australian, saw it as too shallow and touristic a form of cultural learning. Alan E, for example, described it as ‘culture like a little pill’.

Alan E: Yes I was aware of the activity, I wasn't involved, but ... *batik* shirts and bags! It was good in the context of intercultural literacy but out of context – with our home background behind it. Culture like a little pill. I treat it like an entertainment. The Dayak dancers were better, Trio Madois a smoother version of cross-over.

Similarly, the majority saw the visits of Australian and other western performers as positive but one Indonesian participant described his disappointment with the visit of Irish musicians:

Abu I: The visit of the Irish [band] or whatever can add to our knowledge if we come to see that. But I was a little disappointed because, as usual in the end, the climax of the evening was only drink. I wanted [to join in] but I was sick of seeing drunk people. As usual they were drunk and you can't watch or learn the culture because the drunkenness is not the culture but in the end that's what will happen...

Comments typical of those with positive perceptions include the following:

Sandra E: I was involved in the *batik*. It was excellent. The children used some *Bahasa* in context. It showed them Indonesians with talent. Taught them respect; that you can learn something from them. Friendship and respect – over five days.

Mandy E: Yes, good. Very well organised. The children listened. It was positive but Inny communicated. They admired her skill and the interaction between children and Indonesians was very positive, but there was very little language. They had no fear. It was very positive, the *batik*.

Abu I: The Irish dancers? Aborigines have come, yes. Are there any impacts on the intercultural process? Well, Indonesian people were invited to come. Introduced to Australian people. Now the Australian people are invited to come with us...

I don't look at it from the cultural perspective – but I look at it from the music. The music is great. Because I like listening to music, I'm happy to hear that. For my children, yes. So – if they learn, they don't just see the tradition, the music, but they are also told what it consists of and how it's created.

A negative impact? No. Because they were sent here, they were polite ... the musicians were polite... and I thank God it's not like [some expatriates] which were sent here...No – it's good – positive.

The good thing is the addition of knowledge for the family and me.

The programs designed to involve Indonesian and expatriate children together in joint activities, the Indonesian Night, joint dancing and marching activities and combined school sporting activities prompted the most comment from participants, both positive and negative. On the positive side, the activities were seen as a valuable way of bringing the children together, encouraging interaction and shared cultural experience. On the negative side, the interaction often proved frightening and negative for expatriate children and adults. The organisation of events held at Sangatta Baru, from the expatriate perspective, was often unsatisfactory and the discipline of the Indonesian children inadequate. Conversely, Indonesian perspectives of the events also varied, with one participant observing that there was no follow-up and he didn't understand the purpose of the inter-school visits. Comments from Meg E, a student from the international school, are mirrored by those of teachers, Sandra E and Sarah E:

MH: How about the dancing for Independence Day? You were involved?

Meg E: I liked it very much and people liked it very much. We learned so much. The dancing [lasted] four to five months. I could not stop doing the dances! Got to know some Indonesian kids. Yeah, they are just like us.

MH:	Marching?
Meg E:	Yes it was good but I got sick of it. But I liked it when it was at the end. We went up the streets. We were in the local news.
MH:	The inter-school sport?
Meg E:	We know what's rude to them, but they don't know what's rude to us. They burp, spit and kick... Sometimes teenagers swear at us...

Sandra E:	Marching? Yes, I was involved. It was good for the kids. Made them do something totally alien to their culture: the uniform, the discipline. Being a member of team, not an individual. The language for the commands. The girls were very motivated...
MH:	Combined school activities? Sports?
Sandra E	The '96 Sports Day at <i>YPPSB</i> . It was a scary experience. It was like the children at Sangatta Baru resent us. The large numbers. We felt threatened. They came up, huddled around us, followed us around. Material possessiveness. Trying to steal things from bags. It was a negative experience. Children were spat on. So they labelled Indonesians as rude, as thieves.....

Sarah E	Dancing. I heard a lot of community feedback. Very positive! Including from Tiwi. The marching. The children had a sense of achievement. Felt that they had a place... interspersed with the Indonesian kids. Totally overawed. A very positive experience of change. To appreciate the discipline and expectations. There was a big expat turnout.
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Indonesian parent, Abu I, expressed some disappointment:

Abu I:	The truth is, that is the way to go, but it would be good if there were follow-up activities ... I don't know what, because the children are shy, all of them... My children study English at school. If I speak with my wife using English, they understand, but they don't use it themselves. My son has [been involved in joint school activities] but I don't know if there was communication or not.
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The community service program also prompted mixed comments. On the one hand, it was perceived as important for children to experience a range of Indonesian contexts and

to appreciate their own privileged position whilst engaging in an activity to benefit others. On the other hand, there was a common perception that the activity tended to cast the children in a 'Santa Claus' role which reinforced paternalistic attitudes. A lack of understanding or ability to accurately attribute the behaviour of children in the villages also reinforced negative attitudes. The ambivalent perceptions of the impact of this activity on intercultural literacy are reflected in the following comments, first from a student, then from three teachers and, finally, a parent.

MH: The trip to Rantau Pulung. Did you go on that?

Meg E: I sort of liked it – but those teachers should teach those kids some manners. The food was great but when we were handing out the toys, they snatched.

Sarah E: Rantau Pulung. It was very beneficial for the children. An element of mystery about Rantau Pulung. How they live. Children are keen to go and see, to share, the charity. It's a frightening experience, though, to be treated as important guests. Important speeches. It's one way to learn.

Inny I: The kids were OK. They felt sad too. I don't think they were prejudiced. [They were] scared but it went smoothly. They weren't touched. They asked, for example, 'Why don't they wear shoes? So poor!' It had a positive impact for the kids. But for the transmigration families, they think you are Santa Claus. For example they fight for just one thing. They (our kids) can see a part of Indonesia as poor.

John E: Rantau Pulung was a highlight for the kids that went there. I have concerns about the way they are treated like kings when they got there, though. Sat up in front of 300 kids, given food, the horse dance.

Impact? It gives the impression that many children are poor. This year they thought the kids at Rantau Pulung were nicer than the Sangatta Baru kids. (There were negatives from the contact on the Swimming Day at Sangatta Baru.)

Carlie E: Yes. I'm not very comfortable with it. It feels a bit too much as if we confirm first world / third world stereotypes. You know, the kids give away discards and play God! For the Indonesians it just confirms the stereotype of rich expats who aren't very sensitive.

For the expat kids – people were assertive about getting hold of the gifts, therefore kids don't see the best aspects of Indonesian culture.

Finally, family assemblies were discussed as a non-core school program which could potentially impact on intercultural literacy. Fewer participants saw the assemblies as relevant in this context, a number commented that there was no perceived impact, and there was generally less comment. Comments from Chelle, a student, and Leigh, a teacher, typify the responses of those that did see the relevance:

Chelle E: We were in a performance of Ramayana [MH: traditional Indonesian drama] which purposely we watched them do it in Indonesian on the excursion [to Yogyakarta in Java]. And when we came back to the school and we were interested so we remembered ... so we could do all the dancing and also we learned about how the story happened. And probably [that performance was] quite important to the Indonesians.

Leigh E: Well there's always something about Indonesia as part of the program, you know, particular family assemblies which Inny also comes and organises, Indonesian songs. Independence Day.

Something else too, Kartini Day [a national day to celebrate the achievements and contributions of Indonesian women], has happened since I've been here. Yeah and that was great, she [Inny] dressed up in the costume, traditional costume. We played games, so that the children learn more about special days, Independence Day, we do a lot at school.

The Phase Two interviews suggest that the school's non-core activities did not always achieve intended results in facilitating the development of intercultural literacy in the

children. Rather, the activities often had negative or mixed outcomes, at times reinforcing prejudice, stereotypical and negative attitudes and understandings. Opportunities for developing language abilities existed but were limited. What is clear from the discussion is that, with some exceptions, the activities discussed were conscious attempts to bring two quite separate groups together, to help develop cross-cultural understandings and relationships. As such they were to some extent artificial; not part of the normal routine for the children or adults and not providing the opportunity for sustained cross-cultural interaction or communication beyond very brief and simple exchanges.

The activities which appeared to achieve the most success for children were the combined dancing and marching activities for girls from the two schools. These activities provided for an extended and routine contact. The focus was on collaboration rather than competition as with sport. Visits from Australian and other western musicians and performers were also regarded as successful, particularly by Indonesians, in promoting a more rounded and positive image of Australians and westerners.

In addition to the Phase Two interviews, a number of group discussions were held in 1996:

1. students from year five, six, seven and eight from *YPPSB*, the company's Indonesian school;
2. students the Senior One and Senior Two classes;
3. teachers from *YPPSB*; and
4. teachers from Tanjung Bara International School.

The Indonesian children, girls and boys from grade five and six in the primary school and first and second year high school at *YPPSB*, had all been involved in joint activities with expatriate children. Activities mentioned included: Indonesian dance, Scouts, *kasti* (a traditional Indonesian game similar to baseball, played as a joint-school activity on one occasion), Swimming Club, Sunday School (church group) and soccer. The children all said that they enjoyed the activities and the majority indicated that they were able to communicate with the expatriate children – generally using a mix of English and *Bahasa Indonesia*, but predominately English. Those who appeared to be most communicative were the older girls – from the Junior Secondary School – who were involved in the dance lessons over an extended period. Although most admitted to feeling anxious and self-conscious, this group chatted to the younger expatriate girls on simple topics such as their homes and their friends.

All of the children indicated that they behaved differently with the expatriate children than with their Indonesian friends. They generally thought the expatriate children to be ‘normal’ but they did not feel comfortable and close to them in the way that they did with their own group. Language was clearly a major barrier. Many indicated that they thought the expatriate children to be generally friendly and fun but sometimes rude and unfriendly. They typically adapted their behaviour to play with the expatriate children, whom many thought had different wants, abilities, games and toys. All commented that the joint activities had increased their confidence in meeting with westerners. Most, however, did not extend the contacts beyond the organised activities, although several reported meeting expatriate children informally, particularly those few living in Tanjung

Bara. All valued the joint activities, most commenting that the main value was the opportunity to practice English. Some also mentioned making friends and learning about how westerners live.

Their impressions of westerners in general were similar. Most thought that there were good and bad; most were polite, friendly and responsive but some seemed unfriendly and arrogant. Many commented on the dress code of expatriates and westerners as a negative, the older children recognising that this was a clash of cultural values. When asked their impressions of western culture, most suggested that there were good and bad features. The positives included such things as openness, efficiency and discipline in time management, broad experience and developed thinking skills. Negatives included social habits, impolite clothing, a bad attitude towards 'eastern people' and not following the tenets of religion. When asked how these impressions were formed, most indicated a mix of mass media – TV and magazines – personal experience and observations, plus stories from parents and others.

The joint activities, from an Indonesian perspective, were clearly entertaining and enjoyable as well as a useful opportunity to practice English. The children's comments also suggest that the activities may have had some positive impact on intercultural literacy in the Indonesian group, helping develop language abilities, understandings, competencies and positive attitudes, and providing an opportunity for cross-cultural participation. The impact, however, would seem to be limited since the activities were generally one-off events and in most cases did not lead to ongoing interaction between the children.

The teachers from *YPPSB* expressed few opinions on the joint activities, the majority of the group indicating that they had not been directly involved. Comments that were made were positive. Most saw the activities as a worthwhile extension of the school's program and would like more joint activities, seeing this as a way of sharing the resources of Tanjung Bara and providing opportunities for the children to practice English.

It appears from the discussion that a common view was generally held of the Tanjung Bara International School. The school was perceived as extremely generously funded with excellent facilities, buildings, teaching aids, well-stocked library, well-paid and highly qualified teachers, and provision of support staff. It was seen as well-resourced and well maintained. Whilst the teachers generally admired the educational approach in that it produced creative children, there was some concern at the apparent lack of respect shown by students to teachers and adults. How much of this attitude was a carry-over from a more generalised distrust of western society with its perceived lack of discipline and ethical values, and how much derived from direct or indirect observation of the school is unclear. One comment suggests a level of direct observation. One teacher expressed surprise at the habit of students in the international school reading and working whilst lying on the floor of the classroom. Previously some visiting kindergarten teachers from *YPPSB* had expressed a similar concern at what they perceived as bad habits in international school students including the habit of lying on the floor. Discussion with the Indonesian assistants suggested that this concern was primarily due to an Indonesian perception that a good quality education may be judged by the attitude of the students, evidenced in ways such sitting attentively with good

posture. Indonesian classrooms are arranged traditionally with rows of desks. Discipline and group conformity are valued highly.

The concern at seeing children lying on the classroom floor illustrates a deeper difference in the two educational philosophies, which in turn reflects deeper cultural, political and ideological differences. The philosophy of the international school, as expressed in the School Charter (Tanjung Bara International School 1992) and based on an Australian cultural and political ethos, valued critical thinking, independence and creativity. In contrast, the Indonesian school philosophy, in compliance with the philosophy of the highly-centralised national education system as expressed in the national Education Act (Government of Indonesia 1989) and consistent with the national culture, valued discipline, good manners, religious faith, morality and patriotism. Whilst in many ways the two systems were compatible, at a deep level they aimed in different directions. Based on comments from individual participants and the group discussion with *YPPSB* teachers, the Indonesian attitude towards western or ‘international’ education systems was ambivalent. On one hand the creativity, independence and high level of motivation towards learning was admired. On the other hand there was a distrust of the apparent lack of discipline and respect for authority displayed.

These discussions support the analysis of Phase Two interviews above. Attitudes and understandings of children and teachers from *YPPSB* expressed in the discussions are generally consistent with the naïve Monocultural Level of intercultural literacy. The impressions most seem to have of westerners and western culture, formed through exposure to mass media, discussion with friends and family, and in some cases

observation and experience in Sangatta and Tanjung Bara, are typically stereotypical and a mix of positives and negatives.

The international school children, in group discussions, described mixed impressions of the joint school activities, particularly referring to a recent activity: *kasti*. The Indonesian children were characterised as ‘a bit pushy’. Several children mentioned an incident in which the Indonesian children lifted up the T-shirts of the expatriates and made rude comments. They also described the Indonesians as friendly and encouraging; they shared lollies (candy). The children were placed in mixed teams, which was generally felt to have been beneficial. Most of the children indicated that they would like to participate in more joint activities – particularly if they were hosted at the international school.

In general, these discussions, together with the group discussion with the international school teachers, confirmed the conclusions drawn from individual interviews. The children were aware that they often misbehaved in Indonesian Studies lessons, and that they could make more effort to use their *Bahasa Indonesia* outside the classroom – including in joint school activities. Their attitudes towards Indonesians were mixed, but generally shallow and stereotypical. The overall impression is that they were clear on what they would need to do to increase their intercultural literacy levels, particularly cross-cultural participation and language abilities, but could see no reason to make the effort. Motivation was lacking.

On the evidence of these discussions, the Indonesian children who had been involved in joint school and other combined community activities did not appear to have advanced in intercultural literacy beyond the Monocultural Level. Contact between the two groups of children was mainly limited to the arranged activities. These were too infrequent to provide conditions for the development of sustained friendships and communication which would facilitate intercultural literacy learning. Language was a major barrier. The Indonesian teachers and children, with the exception of Umah, an eleven year-old girl living in Tanjung Bara, all lived in Sangatta Baru and so had limited opportunity to interact informally with the expatriate community; children or adults.

Summary

On the basis of the above analysis it is now possible to offer an assessment of the impact of non-core activities on the expatriate community, the Indonesian community and the international school children. To what extent did the school's core and non-core programs and activities impact on the development of intercultural literacy in the students and the wider Tanjung Bara community?

There is no evidence to suggest that the school's core program, the curriculum, had any impact on the development of intercultural literacy in the wider community. There was no intention on the part of the school in this regard, and no real connection which would have enabled it other than the possibility of parents learning or acquiring intercultural attitudes through their children. Since the children's intercultural literacy levels were generally lower than hoped for by the school, the majority of children being at the

Monocultural Level, this seems an unlikely process. The elements of the school's core program which appear to have been most successful in facilitating intercultural literacy in the students were the major excursions for older students and the Indonesian Studies program; particularly in the Junior One class where the mix of children and the integration of language learning into the broader curriculum provided supportive conditions. The results, however, were less than expected for the older children.

The school also managed or jointly managed a range of non-core activities which were thought to potentially facilitate intercultural literacy learning. These activities had varied success, many producing negative and mixed outcomes in terms of intercultural literacy in the students. Applying Stake's (1967) Model of Contingency and Congruence helps clarify the problem and possible causes. It is difficult to find in the interview data or in school documents a clear statement of intents linking the non-core activities discussed with intercultural literacy. In broad terms it was accepted by teachers and parents that it would be a good thing to provide opportunities for the Indonesian and expatriate children to interact; that this could facilitate language and cultural learning and produce positive outcomes in terms of understandings and attitudes. In early 1997, discussions in the School Board centred on how the school could increase the interaction and better integrate Indonesian Studies into the curriculum. There was no real disagreement with this plan evident. What, in detail, the intended program or outcomes were, however, was less clear. In part this may have been due to the difficulty in joint planning. There was little evidence of effective joint planning, clarification of objectives and strategies, involving both parties. Most planning had relied on the international school's Indonesian teacher acting as mediator; a 'bridge'. Tiwi I, the Chair of the *YPPSB* Board had also

played a key role. This planning, however, had focussed on logistics with little attention paid to linking the activity to agreed intended outcomes.

As discussed, the observed program of non-core activities had mixed results sometimes producing negative outcomes. In some cases this was due to problems with logistics, as when Tanjung Bara children were required to wait in the sun beyond the agreed starting time for a particular activity, or when the children were overwhelmed by Indonesian students at the swimming activity. Behind these logistical problems, however, lay the deeper issues of communication and common understandings. It is clear, on the evidence of interviews and discussions, that culturally-determined expectations of the activities differed between the Indonesian and expatriate participants. The agreed start-time for an event is one example of this. Whilst the Indonesian teachers, parents and children, conditioned by the notion of 'rubber time', would have found nothing strange or disconcerting in the fact that the activity commenced some considerable time after the 'agreed' start time, this caused considerable frustration and ill-will in the expatriate group. Similarly, whilst the international school parents, teachers and children found it perfectly acceptable for the children to wear light, loose-fitting school uniforms and to relax in the school environment, sometimes lying on the floor to read or work, this being the norm in Australian primary schools, Indonesian visitors found this strange and to some extent offensive or worrying. Language created a significant barrier and sufficient time for interaction between the groups to allow the development of shared understandings and expectations was not provided.

The intents of the program - antecedents, transactions and outcomes – had not been clarified and, insofar as it is possible to identify them from interviews and discussions, it appears that these intents were not always shared between the two schools. The congruence of the program is difficult to determine since the intents were unclear. What is clear is that expectations were often not met and thus the intended and observed programs did not match. The programs were not congruent.

This is also true of activities other than the joint school activities: visits from Indonesian and western artists and performers, the community service program, and family assemblies. Since the objectives of the programs were not clearly stated, it is difficult to determine their congruence. This lack of clarity seems likely to have been a significant element in the sometimes disappointing outcomes.

Matching the program, intended and observed, to the standards provided by the theory discussed in Chapter Two, helps establish the existence or otherwise of logical contingency. The key theoretical principle established in Chapter Two is that intercultural literacy requires a sustained cross-cultural encounter and, further, that the key to moving beyond the naïve and negative Monocultural Levels to the emerging intercultural literacy of the Cross-Cultural Level is the development of a cross-cultural relationship or relationships through which the learner is able to individuate and develop understandings, competencies, attitudes, language abilities, participation and identities beyond the Monocultural. Individuals, especially children and adolescents, are motivated to learn intercultural literacy primarily by social needs, and learn best through

the medium of cross-cultural friendship. Friendship provides the necessary cultural mediator to 'translate' a second culture and enable learning.

A number of conditions likely to support the development of intercultural literacy were identified (pp.134-139). These include voluntariness and the grouping of children cross-culturally with similar numbers, status, competency levels and interests. Activities which maximise cross-cultural interaction and entail cooperative small-group work towards the achievement of shared goals with high success-potential are likely to impact positively on intercultural literacy. Competition between individuals and groups should be avoided in favour of goal interdependence. Extra-curricular activities which promote cross-cultural interaction and allow for voluntary, non-superficial contact over many occasions in a variety of contexts are likely to have the best outcomes.

For both the children and the wider community, these conditions did not exist within the non-core activities of the school described in this section. There was insufficient time to allow for the development of communicative and mutually satisfying cross-cultural relationships. The activities which appear to have been most successful were the combined dancing and marching, which did provide for regular cross-cultural interaction over a period of time and involved cooperative small-group work towards the achievement of the shared goal of a well-received and satisfying performance. Most of the activities, however, were one-off and competitive in nature and the children were not always evenly matched or voluntary participants. These factors, compounded by the barriers of language and physical distance between the groups, prevented the development of friendships which may have facilitated intercultural literacy learning.

The artistic and performance-oriented activities – family assemblies and visits from artists and performers - may have succeeded in encouraging more positive attitudes and understandings for both groups, but could not facilitate intercultural literacy learning in a significant way beyond the naïve, touristic understandings of the Monocultural Level. The community service program also did not provide for the development of friendships and, since the children were clearly not matched in terms of status, risked reinforcing paternalistic and negative stereotypes.

The key structural element hindering the development of intercultural literacy in the school and its community, was the separation of the two cultural groups. This separation, defined by location of the schools (and housing for most), language, status and economic conditions, prevented the development of relationships which may have facilitated intercultural literacy learning. Had, for example, the children of senior Indonesian managers (contractors and KPC) been housed alongside the expatriates and shared the same campus for their schooling, the conditions may have existed for relationships to develop. Given the situation imposed by the structures within the company and the community, a much more significant and sustained joint program between the two schools was required to facilitate the development of intercultural literacy beyond the Monocultural Level for children, teachers and parents, both Indonesian and expatriate. This division between the two cultural groups also permeated the school, reinforcing the many stereotypical attitudes and understandings prevalent within the community; reinforcing the separation. A group discussion with the Indonesian staff of the international school highlighted the sense of separation felt by this group. The Indonesians used a different room to the expatriates for their breaks and

felt excluded from information and decision-making. The perception of disparity in status and employment conditions was also discussed. The biggest barrier was felt to be language.

Joint school activities and other non-core activities aiming to support intercultural literacy learning were thus hindered by the structures within the community and the school itself. Incidental learning within the school was also limited by these factors. Where the beginning of a successful program did seem to be apparent was in the Play Group, Poppets, and Junior One class contexts, where children and parents of Indonesian, expatriate and mixed families interacted on a daily basis, and the more integrated nature of the program and presence of bilingual children, teacher assistants and helpers facilitated the integration of Indonesian Studies across the curriculum. In these contexts, incidental learning is likely to have helped facilitate intercultural literacy learning.

With this one possible exception, the school's non-core program was thus, in general terms, neither congruent nor logically contingent. Whilst in some cases it succeeded in facilitating increased understandings and positive cross-cultural attitudes, in many the results were negative or mixed. Its impact on the development of intercultural literacy in the students and wider community was limited and unlikely to support intercultural literacy learning beyond the Monocultural Level. The school's core program, the curriculum, had limited impact on intercultural literacy within the students, and no significant impact on the wider community.

The Impact of Community Activities on Intercultural Literacy

The fifth and final research question posed is: To what extent did the activities in the wider Tanjung Bara community impact on the development of intercultural literacy amongst the students and other groups identified? In order to answer this question, this section considers a range of Tanjung Bara community activities: sporting activities, church groups, social activities, non-school-based activities for children, language training, incidental out-of school teaching and learning, family activities and other community activities, and asks what, if any, was the impact on the intercultural literacy of students and of other groups: teachers, Indonesian staff, parents, members of the expatriate community, members of the Indonesian community. This research question recognises that learning, and specifically, the development of intercultural literacy, is not the sole domain of the school, but takes place in many unplanned ways in the broader community.

The section considers: (1) the context for cross-cultural contact and engagement within the community; (2) the impact of that contact on intercultural literacy within the international school student group and the broader community: expatriates and Indonesians.

The context for cross-cultural contact and engagement

Tanjung Bara has been described as a divided community. Expatriates and Indonesians were seen by many to be living side-by-side rather than together. This figurative truth was quite literally observable in the company's mess hall, where meals were served to

employees and contractors; mainly those living in the single camp but also, from time to time, families. An Indonesian and a western menu were provided for each meal, the food served from two stations at the end of the hall, Indonesian food on the left and western on the right. Although seating was free and informal, typically, Indonesians sat on the left side of the hall and expatriates on the right – with very little interaction. A clear demarcation line down the centre of the hall marked the divide.

Notwithstanding this separation, there were activities and contexts within the community which provided opportunity for the two groups to mix. The twenty-nine participants in Phase Two interviews were asked to comment on which activities they thought did result in interaction and engagement between Indonesians and expatriates, both children and adults. Table 5.5, below, illustrates the perceptions of participants in relation to interaction between children.

Table 5.5
Community Activities Involving Cross-Cultural Interaction between Children and Families in Tanjung Bara

Activities identified	Significant cross-cultural contact	No significant cross-cultural contact	No Involvement in the activity / no comment
Fun Run	3	10	16
Aquatic Club	3	11	15
Swimming Club	3	6	20
Family Hash-House-Harriers	0	6	23
Scouts, Guides, Brownies, Gumnuts	1	5	24
Swimming Pool	0	6	23
Church Groups	3	0	26
Social Activities	1	0	28
Poppets / Play Group	11	0	18
Tanjung Bara Club	1	3	25

Significantly, in most activities where participants identified a potential for engagement, little or no interaction was observed. A number of activities were perceived to be predominately expatriate activities – so, whilst ostensibly open to Indonesians, did not attract many or any Indonesian participants. These included the Fun Run, Swimming Club, Scouts, Brownies and Gum Nuts, Family Hash-House-Harriers and the Tanjung Bara Club. Several participants, Indonesian and expatriate, noted that a significant barrier to participation of Indonesians in many activities was the financial cost associated. Some Indonesians were also dissuaded from participation in some community activities due to the presence of the ‘girl friends’ and ‘contract wives’ of single expatriate men – and consumption of alcohol. Timing of activities was also a problem in some cases with clubs and activities, such as Scouts and Swimming Club, being held at times suitable to the expatriate children but not the Indonesian. In the case of the Scouts, Brownies and Gum Nuts, activities were routinely held in Tanjung Bara on Saturday mornings, clashing with Indonesian school times. This clash does not seem to have been deliberate, but the result of differing family and community routines. The Tanjung Bara Club, which purported to represent the entire Tanjung Bara community, in many ways served as one of the institutions which defined the expatriate bubble, to use Cohen’s terms (1977), through privilege and exclusivity.

Liz E: Aquatic club? No, that’s a real ‘them and us’ situation...

Play Group? Yes ... certainly, the two groups are more ‘living with’, doing things together, than when I think back to play group, say, four years ago. [At that time] it was largely an expatriate play group and that’s changing, just because the community’s changing, but it’s a great that it is.

What about Poppets? It seems to be largely for Indonesian kids at the moment. I think that there’s just three expatriates so now they are really mixing as playmates.

Alan E: The main barrier to intercultural literacy is the cost of things. Like, Indonesian salaries are climbing – but they're not enough. The prices are high. This means lack of access. For example, boating costs Rp.5,000 an hour.²⁸ It's a hindrance to the communities becoming closer knit. Like within KPC it doesn't promote interaction. Sangatta Baru and Tanjung Bara facilities are very different, particularly for water sports. There are restrictions [on who can come into Tanjung Bara]. The company could do more to promote community.

Other activities were seen to involve significant numbers of Indonesian and expatriate children together – but little interaction was seen to occur. These included the Swimming Pool and the Aquatic Club, where many families spent Sundays side by side but did not generally interact. The following comments are from expatriate children:

Chelle E: At the Fun Run there's always lots of Indonesians join in and at the Aquatic Club. I don't know which ones I've seen there - don't know definitely. They keep themselves pretty much to themselves, the kids at that place. ...

Swimming at the pool; there's not many Indonesians there and, like, I try to stay away from them. They don't really like to play or be friends so I don't know them. I never talk to them or any of my friends talk to them.

Meg E: Swimming club? No.

Fun Run? Yes, Indonesian men. Not so much kids

Family Hash? No

There used to be at Guides and Brownies [Umah] but the new kids don't come.

Tanjung Bara Club; the Pool Bar? Yes. And in the pool. But they keep away. We keep separate – except for Timmy [mixed child].

Sport? No.

Aquatic club? Yes, but they stay on the wharf.

I go to church at Sangatta Baru. There's lots of Indonesians I know at church.

²⁸ At Rupiah-Dollar exchange rates of the time Rp.5,000 is approximately equivalent to US\$2.00.

Becca E: I don't see any Indonesian kids or talk to them....

Activities seen as successful in engaging expatriate and Indonesian children together were the Poppets and Play Group sessions, church groups and social activities – although the last two of these were only identified by a small minority. In the case of the church group, one or two expatriate families were involved. The interaction was seen to be significant and carry over to other social contexts. Only one participant indicated that social contexts were seen as relevant, Bridie's comments suggesting that she had the benefit of cross-cultural mediators or insiders who could interpret the Indonesian culture for her. For most families, social mixing occurred in formal contexts only. Children were often not involved. A one-off activity regarded as successful in bringing the two groups together was a combined Scout camp involving some of the older expatriate boys.

Bridie E: Through Mick's work, the staff and so on. Like dinner and stuff. Davey's wife, Dini, fills me in on the rights and wrongs. I rely on Dini and Ashari, Mick's off-sider, who is a strict Muslim.

Poppets, for three-year olds, and the associated Play Group, for one and two-year olds, emerged as the most interactive context involving children. The children, however, were pre-school aged and did not include international school students except for some combined events involving the Junior One class. The Play Group session required the participation of parents, typically mothers, from both Indonesian and expatriate groups and so provided a forum for interaction between women. A number of women, both expatriate and Indonesian, had taken to sending the children with the home helper, so

reducing the potential for this activity to act as a catalyst for interaction and causing some controversy amongst organisers and some other parents. Both Poppets and the Play Group also provided significant opportunity for the children to interact in structured and unstructured play contexts.

Notwithstanding this, in the Poppets session observed in 1996, expatriate and Indonesian children played for the most part in separate groups, with one or two mixed children acting as mediators. The behaviour of expatriate and mixed children, boys and girls, was noticeably more verbal and physical than that of the Indonesians. The Poppets sessions were planned and run by two expatriate women at this time, Leigh E, a qualified early-childhood teacher and Carlie E, both of whom were also parents of children in the school. Efforts to engage an Indonesian teacher and develop a bilingual program had reportedly failed, due in part to the Indonesian mothers' insistence that they wanted their children exposed to an English-speaking environment. This preference was likely due to the perceived high status and consequently the high value placed on English language proficiency by Indonesians in this context.

In discussion following the observation, Leigh and Carlie commented that the relationships between the two groups rarely carried over into the community, with occasional exceptions being birthday parties and 'special events'. It was also noted that some of the mixed children presented with very limited language ability – either English or Indonesian. This deficiency was attributed to the use of a poor model of English in the home by the mother and limited exposure to native-speaker English from the father. It is also likely that the children used Javanese or other regional languages in the home.

A number of activities which provided opportunities for adults to interact cross-culturally were mentioned in interviews.

Table 5.6
Community Activities involving Cross-Cultural Interaction between Adults in Tanjung Bara

Activities identified	Significant cross-cultural contact	No significant cross-cultural contact	No Involvement in the activity / no comment
Sport (golf, tennis, diving)	10	0	19
Library Usage	5	2	22
Language Training	8	0	21
Women's Groups	6	1	22

Sport, the most prominent recreational activity for adults in Tanjung Bara, provided the greatest opportunity for cross-cultural interaction. Senior Indonesians, men and women, participated equally with expatriate men and women in casual and organised golf tournaments on a routine basis. Tennis was also a popular activity where men and women mixed cross-culturally and scuba diving was mentioned as an activity where the two groups mixed.

The community library, housed in the Tanjung Bara International School, was open to the wider community two evenings per week. This was largely utilised by members of the Indonesian community, whose access to reading or video material would otherwise have been very limited. Whilst cross-cultural interaction was limited in this context, the library was seen to be providing an opportunity for intercultural literacy learning for Indonesians and expatriates by providing learning resources: books, video films, and magazines; almost exclusively in English. The Company's Training Department also

offered free Indonesian language training sessions to the expatriate community, run weekly during evenings. These sessions were attended mainly by expatriate women and also provided a resource for learning. More than a language lesson, however, the sessions were an opportunity for participants to discuss cross-cultural issues with an educated Indonesian and were a significant factor in the intercultural literacy development of this group.

Mandy E: The Tanjung Bara Club? Very big segregation. The only mixing is on a very superficial level.

 Sport? A good venue for mixing. Tennis and golf.

 Aquatic Club? It's used by Indonesians but there's no mixing.

 Training programs. Good. Personally I learn a lot of Indonesian culture through the language training program...

 The Tanjung Bara Library? Used a lot by Indonesians. More than expats.

 The Tanjung Bara Women's Club - there is the potential to be very good but it's [arranged from] expat viewpoints. At the first meeting an Indonesian lady raised the issue of babies in the single camp and she wasn't listened to. But it's a source of contact. Also the Christmas women's group.

Liz E: The library? Only Tuesday, and if you go on Tuesday and Thursday evening - that's when they are open - a lot of Indonesians are coming there. I think it's well used, whether it's just the video or the tabloid, it is used, and that's good.

 Women's groups? Yes, we have the Tanjung Bara Women's Association. ... I'm in the committee for that, too. And we were hoping that would appeal to the two major groups in the community, the expat and Indonesians. We have had some successful [activities] and it's like a learning curve, to know what would appeal to the Indonesian women.

Women's groups offered a forum for cross-cultural interaction in Tanjung Bara although there were issues to resolve relating to the purpose and focus of the groups. Whilst some saw the newly-formed Tanjung Bara Women's Association as a forum to lobby for

women's issues, others saw it as a diversion, a forum to share experiences and learn. In the extract above, Mandy mentions that an Indonesian woman had raised the issue of babies in the single camp, but that the issue had not been pursued by the group. This issue underscores a larger issue for many married women – Indonesian and expatriate – which emerged in many interviews and discussions. That is, the presence of sex-workers, girl friends or 'contract wives' in the single camp. For some it posed a perceived threat to their marriages. For others it was simply an affront, an offence against religious and social values and/or the public decency that they felt a community which included families and children required. The presence of the sex-workers coloured the attitudes of many expatriate women towards Indonesians and Indonesian culture. It coloured their attitudes of many Indonesians, men and women, towards westerners and western culture. The issue may ultimately have been too sensitive for discussion in an open forum. The women's groups had potential to facilitate intercultural literacy learning for participants. Whether or not they succeeded is unclear.

One further significant context for cross-cultural interaction which was not raised in interviews and is not considered in the study is the work context. Aside from the context of work for teachers and staff of the international school, this was considered beyond the scope of the study. Nonetheless it is clear from observations and discussions that a great deal of cross-cultural interaction occurred in the workplace, some of which may have supported the development of intercultural literacy and some of which is likely to have hindered it. A study of internal communication commissioned by the company and conducted by a team of researchers from the University of Indonesia in 1996 found that language, cultural divisions and cultural loyalties created informal culture-based

structures and hierarchies within the company, which impacted negatively on internal communication and efficiencies. There were also many daily misattributions occurring within the work context which reinforced cross-cultural stereotypes and negative attitudes (Kaltim Prima Coal 1996).

The impact of community activities on intercultural literacy in international school students and the broader community

The most significant feature of the above analysis is that, in so many of the potential contexts for cross-cultural interaction and engagement, the two groups appear to have existed in parallel, side-by-side, with negligible interaction or communication. Given this, the impact on intercultural literacy was also negligible for both groups; adults and children, expatriate and Indonesian. Without a more substantial interaction this 'contact' could do little more than produce or reinforce the shallow understandings and stereotypical cross-cultural attitudes consistent with the Monocultural Level II or III.

Exceptions to this, the activities which appeared to have provided the greatest opportunities for interaction, were, for a small group of adults and children, the church group, and for a larger group of adults, sport. Both of these provided a context for ongoing, routine contact where the purpose was not primarily to facilitate intercultural literacy or cross-cultural contact. Individuals participated on a voluntary basis, as equals in terms of competency, and were able to satisfy personal needs unrelated to intercultural literacy. Poppets and the Playgroup also offered an opportunity for cross-

cultural interaction between young children and their mothers. However it did not appear that relationships formed in this context extended beyond the immediate activity.

The language training program and women's groups also offered significant opportunities and did appear to have a positive impact on the intercultural literacy of participating adults. Indonesian language trainers, single educated Indonesian men and women employed by the company's Training Department, took the role of cultural mediator in this context, interpreting Indonesian culture to expatriates in a semi-structured learning environment. Language learning was also significant in this context. Usage of the Community Library by Indonesian adults provided another opportunity for learning, though there is no evidence to determine whether the impact was positive, negative or negligible. In all of these more successful instances, participation was entirely voluntary; presumably meeting the social and educational needs of individuals.

Applying Stake's (1967) Model of Contingency and Congruence to this context suggests that whilst the community activities may have had potential to support intercultural literacy learning there is little evidence that they succeeded in this. For the most part, activities described were not planned with the intention of impacting on intercultural literacy. In these cases, the question of congruence does not arise. Where there may have been an intention is in the language training program and possibly in some activities of the women's groups. There is insufficient evidence available, however, to determine what relevant intentions may have existed.

The theory developed in Chapter Two can assist in answering the question of logical congruence. To what extent did the community activities observed conform to the theoretical standards established? As suggested in Chapter Two, and again in the section above, intercultural literacy requires a sustained cross-cultural engagement and the support of mutually-supportive cross-cultural relationships to facilitate a move from the Monocultural to Cross-Cultural Levels and beyond to the Intercultural Level. To the extent that the community activities described provided the opportunity for such engagement and relationships to develop, the potential may have existed for positive impact on intercultural literacy. Women's groups, language training classes, church groups and sporting activities appear to have offered the best chance for this. With some exceptions, however, there is little evidence of relationships developed in these contexts extending beyond the activities themselves in a way that might promote intercultural literacy learning.

This section set out to answer the fifth research question: To what extent did the activities in the wider Tanjung Bara community impact on the development of intercultural literacy amongst the students and other groups identified? On the evidence of interviews, observations and discussions, the answer is that, in general terms, community activities did not impact on intercultural literacy levels in students from the international school. Exceptions may have included the case of Meg, an expatriate child who was involved in the church group in Sangatta Baru, and young children who had been involved in Poppets prior to entering the Junior One class in the school.

The only case where an Indonesian child could be said to clearly have developed intercultural literacy as a result of participation in cross-cultural activities is that of Umah, an eleven-year old Indonesian girl and one of only three or four primary-school-aged Indonesian children resident in Tanjung Bara. In Phase One Umah was assessed at the Cross-Cultural Level. She had learned to adapt her expectations and behaviour to the culture of expatriate children, had developed differentiated and realistic attitudes and understandings of the western culture of the children, and had advanced English language abilities. Her identity was firm but flexible and she participated cross-culturally when the opportunity presented and it met her social needs. Umah had been involved in many of the activities discussed.

A number of community activities involving adults may have had a positive impact. The impact of sporting activities on expatriate and Indonesian adults is likely to have been positive to the extent that it allowed the formation of cross-cultural friendships between men and women in Tanjung Bara. Language training and some activities of women's groups also appear likely to have impacted positively on the intercultural literacy levels of participants.

Conclusions

The picture of Tanjung Bara sketched in this case study is of a complex and dynamic community made up of individuals and groups engaging in a range of activities, some of which impacted positively on the development of intercultural literacy for international school students and members of the expatriate and Indonesian communities and some of

which had negative or mixed impacts. The international school and its curriculum and non-core or extra-curricular program operated within this broader community context.

The deep divide within the community between expatriate and Indonesian groups, between western and Indonesian cultures, is the most significant reality emerging from the study. Comments from Sarah E, a part-time teacher and the wife of a KPC manager, make it clear:

Sarah E: Well, I think [what is required for intercultural literacy learning is] actually living *with* Indonesian people, I mean living *with* the children. Being in contact with the children at this age. That's how they can learn; get to know the culture.

Here it's more isolated than Melbourne in terms of cross-cultural interaction. [In Melbourne] I was actually working in a school, being in contact with Indonesian staff on a daily basis. There are many days here would go past and the only other contact with another Indonesian person would be with my maid.

A number of factors, systemic and cultural, contributed to this divide. Systemic factors included:

1. the location of housing and facilities, including the school and recreational facilities;
2. the officially imposed enrolment policy of the international school barring the participation of Indonesians²⁹;
3. company and contractors' economic structures and income disparities between Indonesian and expatriate employees;

²⁹ This policy was required by Indonesian Government regulations governing the operation of international schools.

4. employment of Indonesians in Tanjung Bara predominately as servants and low-level workers; and
5. the international school's recruitment policy and resulting employment of teachers with limited international experience and low levels of intercultural literacy.

Cultural factors included:

1. language differences;
2. Indonesian reluctance to complain about offensive behaviours and to manage conflict by quietly avoiding offensive and conflict situations; confrontational western conflict management strategies;
3. Indonesian tendency to act in groups compared with western tendency to act individually; Indonesian individuals were unlikely to join activities or initiate interactions alone; the collectivist culture of Indonesia culture typically leading to an 'all or none' decision to participate;
4. differing expectations of social interaction; westerners expecting to spend lengthy periods of time interacting in groups, often consuming alcohol; Indonesian tendency not to spend lengthy time in social contexts and to arrive and leave in large groups; differing norms relating to touching and greeting;
5. religious differences relating to dress codes, use of alcohol, sexual mores and religious practice; and

6. the western, and typically Australian, expatriate mining culture of 'work hard – play hard' which valued traditionally masculine behaviours and traits; Indonesian, especially Javanese, valuing of gentleness.

This second category of cultural factors echoes the theory of Noesjirwan (1978, 1986) discussed in Chapter Two (pp.142-143). Noesjirwan's three Indonesian 'cultural value-orientation themes' can clearly be seen at work here: *sociability*, *community* and *steady state*. Perhaps the most significant element is the Indonesian value of steady state. The expatriate western culture valued efficiency, getting the job done, and a direct open style of communication - often loud and sometimes combative. In contrast, the Indonesian culture valued a smooth and graceful lifestyle. Emphasis was on correct form and politeness. In this framework it was extremely difficult for the Indonesian community to raise concerns with western counterparts. The more Indonesians felt offended by expatriate behaviours, the more likely they were to retreat from contact, to become quiet and distant. To the western mind this appeared as acquiescence or ambivalence. Without an advanced level of intercultural literacy in this context, the risk of misattribution was high – but without a real cross-cultural engagement the opportunity to develop that literacy was missing.

According to the theory discussed in Chapter Two, intercultural literacy learning requires a significant and sustained cross-cultural engagement. That is, the formation of cross-cultural friendships which enable learning. The separation of the Indonesian and expatriate groups in Tanjung Bara was a self-perpetuating barrier to that engagement, and thus to the development of intercultural literacy.

The international school operated within this ambiguous and problematic context and without the understandings which may have enabled it to plan and implement a curriculum and extra-curricular program which recognised the context and compensated for it. The school's recruitment policy meant that teachers were inexperienced in international and cross-cultural contexts and, specifically, in Indonesia. Their understanding of the school's aims in relation to intercultural literacy and their commitment to addressing them were limited by this inexperience. The relatively low levels of intercultural literacy amongst teachers and parents seriously limited the capacity of families and the school to support intercultural literacy learning in the children. Any potential impact of the school's core and non-core programs on the wider community was also limited.

The school's curriculum which addressed intercultural literacy, predominately the Indonesian Studies (including LOTE) and SOSE curricula, was generally failing to achieve the intended outcomes. Recent moves initiated by the School Board to increase inter-school interaction and the integration of Indonesian Studies across the curriculum reflected the school's official policy and were consistent with the theory discussed in Chapter Two. At the time of the study, however, these plans had not yet been clarified or implemented.

Activities which achieved the greatest success both for children and adults were those which allowed for the development of ongoing cross-cultural relationships. However, the systemic and cultural structures discussed above combined with the school's limited

understanding and capacity in this context, made it extremely difficult to arrange and support such activities. There were no cross-cultural relationships of this kind amongst the children with the possible exception of one or two mixed-culture children who may have formed such relationships outside the school context and within family circles. Ultimately, without a policy revision allowing for Indonesian and expatriate children living in Tanjung Bara to attend the same school, or at least to attend school on the same campus, it is difficult to see how the situation could be reversed. The employment of teachers with higher levels of intercultural literacy, including proficiency in *Bahasa Indonesia*, could also have assisted.

Chapter Four addressed the first research question, mapping the intercultural literacy of the community, including the school and its student population. It was found that, whilst groups and individuals within the community were spread across the levels of intercultural literacy identified in the Multidimensional Model for the Development of Intercultural Literacy, some trends were evident. There were no children at the Intercultural Level and few at the Cross-Cultural Level, the majority being either at the naïve Monocultural Level II or the culture shock and distancing of Monocultural Level III. Children in the youngest class, Junior One, were likely to be at the Monocultural Level II, and children in Junior Two were likely to be at the Monocultural Level III. Children in the senior classes were spread between Monocultural Level II, Monocultural Level III, and the Cross-Cultural Level.

Within the adult community, individuals and groups were spread across all levels with the exception of Monocultural Level I. The majority of Indonesians and expatriates were

between the Monocultural Level III and the Cross-Cultural Levels with a smaller group in the Intercultural Level. Many appeared to be shuttling back and forth between the culture shock and distancing of the Monocultural Level III and the emerging intercultural literacy and learning characteristic of the Cross-Cultural Level as they responded to varying contexts.

This chapter explored the dynamics within the school and community which created this profile. It aimed to address the four research questions relating to the impact of the school's curriculum, non-core activities and community activities, on the intercultural literacy of students and members of the community; expatriate and Indonesian. The answers to these questions, based on the analysis in this chapter, are summarised below.

To what extent was the school's intercultural literacy curriculum congruent (i.e. did the observed program match the intended program)?

The international school's intercultural literacy curriculum was generally not congruent. That is, the observed program did not generally match the intended program, as expressed in the school's mission statement and curriculum documents. Whilst the school did not formally aim to teach intercultural literacy, the intentions expressed in these documents were consistent with the concept and all participants agreed that intercultural literacy was an aim of the school. The program, however, was not consistent with these intents. Specifically, the Indonesian Studies program was divorced from the Studies of Society and the Environment and other class-based curricula and generally unsupported in the classroom. This problem had been recognised by the

School Board and, at the time of the study, plans were being formulated to address it. The program in the Junior One class was already moving successfully in this direction.

To what extent was the school's intercultural literacy curriculum soundly based using the proposed Multidimensional Model for the Development of Intercultural Literacy and supporting theory as a standard?

The international school's intercultural literacy curriculum was, in general terms, not soundly based (in Stake's terms, 'logically contingent') using the proposed Multidimensional Model for the Development of Intercultural Literacy and supporting theory as a standard. The curriculum was not based on a sound understanding of the dynamics of intercultural literacy learning. The school's mission statement indicated that it recognised the significance of antecedent conditions – the background of the students and the unique cultural and environmental context for the school – but not that these were insufficient for intercultural literacy learning. Conditions necessary to support the development of intercultural literacy identified in Chapter Two were not in place. Specifically, for intercultural literacy learning to take place, children need to form mutually need-satisfying, ongoing cross-cultural relationships. Without this, the learning can only ever be *about* a second culture leading to Monocultural Level literacy. The imbalance in perceived status between the dominant expatriate western culture of the school and the host Indonesian culture produced a negative chauvinistic response to the cross-cultural experience consistent with the distancing and culture shock of Monocultural Level III in many children. The school was also not clear in its curriculum statements on intended outcomes of intercultural literacy learning. The theory surveyed suggests that primary aged children are unlikely to achieve outcomes at the Intercultural

Level and that the early grades are more likely to be at the Monocultural or early Cross-Cultural Levels.

To what extent did the school's curriculum and non-core programs and activities impact on the development of intercultural literacy in the students and the wider Tanjung Bara community?

The international school's core and non-core programs and activities did not generally impact positively on the development of intercultural literacy in the students and the wider Tanjung Bara community. As indicated above, the curriculum did not generally achieve intended outcomes for students in this area. This curriculum also did not appear to impact significantly on intercultural literacy in the broader community. In addition to its curriculum (the school's core program) the school managed, or jointly managed, a range of extra-curricula or non-core activities to encourage cross-cultural interaction and the development of intercultural literacy in students. Some of these activities may also have impacted on intercultural literacy in the broader community; expatriate and Indonesian. Some activities were found to have positively impacted on intercultural literacy for students and others involved, including Indonesian students. These included the combined dancing and marching program. Others were found to have impacted negatively, or to have had mixed impacts, on children and others. These included combined school sporting activities and a community service program. Visits from artists and performers were found to be generally positive but limited to supporting learning at the Monocultural Level.

To what extent did the activities in the wider Tanjung Bara community impact on the development of intercultural literacy amongst the students and other groups identified?

With some exceptions, activities in the wider Tanjung Bara community also did not generally impact positively on the development of intercultural literacy amongst the students and other groups identified. A range of community activities were thought to potentially offer a context for intercultural literacy learning: sporting activities, Aquatic Club, swimming pool usage, the Tanjung Bara Club, church groups, social activities, women's groups, language training, library usage, incidental out-of school teaching and learning, family activities and other community activities. None of these activities was found to have a significant positive impact on the intercultural literacy of international school students.³⁰ The divide between the two groups – Indonesians and expatriate westerners – was found to be so great in Tanjung Bara that even where the two groups participated in the same activity, such as use of the swimming pool or Aquatic Club on weekends, the interaction was negligible and insufficient to facilitate intercultural literacy learning beyond the Monocultural Level. Within the adult community, activities found most likely to have supported intercultural literacy learning were sporting activities, language training and women's groups. In these cases, many of the conditions identified in Chapter Two as supportive of intercultural literacy learning were present. Specifically, these more successful activities provided opportunity for the development of ongoing cross-cultural relationships; they were voluntary and mutually need-satisfying.

³⁰ One possible exception to this was the participation of Meg in a church group in Sangatta Baru.

In the final chapter, which follows, discussion will return to the broad aim of the thesis, that is, to propose and trial a developmental model which describes the nature of intercultural literacy and how it is learned. In Chapters Four and Five the proposed model, in its final iteration having been validated and modified through the reference group process, was trialled in the context of a case study of Tanjung Bara International School and its community. In the final chapter the question of the utility of the proposed model in this case study will be addressed.

Chapter 6

Introduction

The aim of this study, as set out in Chapter One, is to propose and trial a developmental model which describes the nature of intercultural literacy and how it is learned. Intercultural literacy is defined as the understandings, attitudes, competencies, language abilities, participation and identities which enable effective participation within a second culture or in a cross-cultural setting.

This study is essentially a confirmatory case study. The Multidimensional Model for the Development of Intercultural Literacy was developed on the basis of theory from the fields of social psychology and international education surveyed in Chapter Two. The proposed model was checked for validity with reference groups drawn from international and internationally-oriented school practitioners in Indonesia, Singapore and Thailand. The validity of the model was supported and some modifications were made to the first draft as a result of this process. In its final iteration, the model was then trialled in the field by means of the case study of the Tanjung Bara International School and its cross-cultural community in East Kalimantan, Indonesia as reported in Chapters Four and Five. The central question is: Did the model help in arriving at useful understandings of the case?

As outlined in Chapter Three, the case study aimed to test the theory in the proposed Multidimensional Model for the Development of Intercultural Literacy; to determine whether the model proved useful in this particular case, and, potentially, to increase the probability that the model may be of use in other contexts.

In this final chapter, the conclusions of the study are presented and this original aim is addressed. These conclusions fall into four broad categories which form the structure of the chapter:

1. the utility of the Multidimensional Model for the Development of Intercultural Literacy;
2. the nature of intercultural literacy;
3. intercultural literacy and cross-cultural engagement; and
4. intercultural literacy and the international school.

The chapter then concludes with a final summary.

The Utility of the Multidimensional Model for the Development of Intercultural Literacy

As described in the introduction above, this study aimed to test the utility of the proposed Multidimensional Model for the Development of Intercultural Literacy. On the basis of the study - the theoretical survey presented in Chapter Two, the reference group validity-check described in Chapter Three, and the case study reported in Chapters Four and Five – a number of conclusions are drawn. These conclusions are evaluated in this section:

1. The proposed model ‘made sense’ to members of the reference groups and participants in the case study; it resonated with practitioners and other participants; it thus has surface validity.
2. The proposed model was useful and effective in the context of the case study. It provided a conceptual framework for a study of intercultural

literacy, enabling a mapping of the community and an exploration of the dynamics of intercultural literacy learning in a particular context.

3. Intercultural literacy learning is typically experienced not as a linear progression but as a dynamic problem-solving process in which the individual shuttles back and forth between the levels; particularly between Monocultural Level III and the Cross-Cultural Level.

The surface validity of the model

Practitioners and other participants interviewed found that the model resonated with their cross-cultural experience. The concept of intercultural literacy and the levels and dimensions of the model were immediately recognisable to most participants. No participants interviewed, either as members of a reference group or in Phase Two of the case study, rejected the model or reported finding it difficult to interpret or understand. The fact that the model was so immediately recognisable to participants, that it resonated so clearly with their cross-cultural experiences, provides a strong case for its surface validity.

In making this assertion it is important to stress that this is not a claim for the objective truth of the model. The epistemological and ontological position underlying this study accepts the existence of an objective reality but sees this reality as essentially unknowable. Within this paradigm the model is neither true nor false, but may be described as useful or not useful. As suggested in Chapter One (p.41) the model is an attempt to usefully frame reality rather than accurately portray it. A model is a tool; an

instrument to assist in making sense of a more complex, dynamic and multiple reality. A model necessarily simplifies this world.

The claim for surface validity of the proposed model is therefore a claim for the utility of the model. That it had intuitive appeal to participants in the reference groups and case study argues not that it is in some sense 'true' but rather that it accurately reflected the individual realities, the lived experience, of participants. The immediate reaction of many participants to the model was a sense of relief that it in some way provided an explanation, a rationale, for a complex, problematic and ill-defined experience. In some sense it validated that experience, making it shared and offering a language to describe and discuss it. Naming a problem may be the first step to solving it. That this reaction occurred across a wide range of participants, including potential outliers, in a variety of contexts, argues that this utility or surface validity may generalise to wider populations.

The utility of the model

The case study of Tanjung Bara International School and its community reported in Chapter Four and Chapter Five was based on the proposed model. The model was employed as a conceptual framework to help answer a series of research questions which derived from real-life issues within the case. The case study succeeded in answering the research questions and, in doing so, providing a basis for addressing the issues.

In this way the utility described above at an individual level, applied in a collective and more structured context. The model provided a language and a structure enabling pairs

and groups of individuals to discuss the issue of intercultural literacy at a personal and communal level. It enabled the identification and clarification of problems to be solved and questions to be answered within the case study, and then the means to begin formulating solutions and answers. It helped to make sense of the case, to describe a complex reality and to make links between antecedent conditions, transactions and outcomes in relation to intercultural literacy in the school and community. The model thus proved to be a useful tool. Its utility was confirmed in the case study.

Intercultural literacy learning; a dynamic and recursive process

The study confirmed the model's surface validity and utility. It also made clear that it is not always a simple matter to determine exactly where an individual should be placed on the model; which level on each dimension represents a fair and accurate assessment of an individual's intercultural literacy. This apparent weakness points to the complex and dynamic nature of intercultural literacy learning. Whilst on first appearance the proposed model suggests a linear process of learning in which the individual moves progressively from one level to the next, the study suggests that, for many, the reality is more complex.

The dimensions and levels in the model were clearly recognisable to participants in Phase Two interviews and individuals consulted in the reference groups. When applying the model, however, it was not always clear how to categorise an individual. This was primarily due to two factors:

Firstly, individuals behave differently in different contexts. Many factors may influence how an individual responds in a specific cross-cultural context: state of health, tiredness, stress levels, motivations and social dynamics: Is it a work or social context? Which others are present? and so on. For example, on one occasion an individual may behave in ways consistent with the negative distancing or culture-shock of Monocultural Level III in the model and on another occasion in ways consistent with the more positive learning associated with the Cross-Cultural Level.

Secondly, the levels themselves may seem too broad to capture the complexity of lived experience. Many individuals assessed in the case study could be classified as at the Monocultural level but moving into the Cross-Cultural, or at the Cross-Cultural and moving into the Intercultural. Some individuals saw themselves as at ‘...early Cross-Cultural Level’ or ‘...late Cross-Cultural Level moving into the Intercultural’. The model, as it stands, does not allow for this level of categorisation and, inevitably, individuals were categorised as at one or other level using the model and relying on the sensitivity and judgement of the assessor.

The case study thus supports the theory developed in Chapter Two which suggests that, rather than progressing evenly and in a linear fashion, individuals tend to shuttle back and forth between the levels in the model, depending on the context and as they respond to challenges of making meaning and achieving objectives in the cross-cultural environment (p.139). This finding is also consistent with Anderson’s (1994) recursive Cross-Cultural Adaptation Model discussed in Chapter Two (pp.79-80). A number of participants, in attempting to self-assess, described themselves as ‘between’ the levels,

sometimes at one level and other times at another or, as suggested above, at an early or late stage of a particular level in the model. This was particularly true of the Monocultural Level III and Cross-Cultural Levels. The theory introduced and developed in Chapter Two suggests that Monocultural Level III is the most critical in the development of intercultural literacy. It is at this point that the individual either retreats into the negative distancing and arrested development of Monocultural Level III - passing, cultural chauvinism or marginalisation – or advances into the positive learning of the Cross-Cultural Level. It is at this point that the presence of environmental, social and cultural supports for intercultural literacy learning is most critical. The inconsistency between the researcher's assessment of participants in Phase One of the study and the participants assessments of themselves and others in Phase Two (see p.365) suggests that some clearer protocols may be required for assessing individuals who are at a stage of moving from the Monocultural to Cross-Cultural Levels, shuttling back and forth between levels, as they engage and re-engage, solving cross-cultural problems.

On the basis of the study, intercultural literacy learning is best seen as a complex, recursive and dynamic process in which the individual learns principally through cross-cultural problem solving in a variety of contexts. Depending on the context and a range of variable individual and environmental factors, the individual may respond to a cross-cultural engagement in ways consistent with the Monocultural or the Cross-Cultural levels. Some individuals do not recognise the experience of culture shock which, for many, is not an event or a one-off crisis. It is experienced as a series of engagements which may result in the extended distancing of the Monocultural Level III or the further engagement and learning of the Cross-Cultural Level. The challenge for international

schools and other agencies aiming to support intercultural literacy learning is to provide the necessary supports for individuals to advance from the Monocultural Level to the Cross-Cultural Level. These supports are outlined in the section below on *Intercultural literacy and cross-cultural engagement*. The section prior to this, below, discusses the nature of intercultural literacy.

The Nature of Intercultural Literacy

Intercultural literacy is defined in this study as the understandings, attitudes, competencies, language abilities, participation and identities which enable effective participation within a second culture or in a cross-cultural setting. The study demonstrates that the concept of intercultural literacy is useful and that intercultural literacy may be usefully conceived as multidimensional and developmental. The Multidimensional Model for the Development of Intercultural Literacy builds on this concept of intercultural literacy and is the first stage-model proposed which integrates multiple dimensions and levels in this way.

Whilst the earlier conceptions of cultural literacy referred to in Chapter Two were generally one-dimensional and non-developmental, the concept developed in this study draws on the theory of social psychology and research in international education and is multidimensional and developmental. It characterises intercultural literacy as a complex learning process rather than as adaptation or acculturation. It is an inclusive and additive concept as opposed to some earlier constructs which saw the cross-cultural process in narrower, subtractive terms (e.g. Lysgaard 1955; Sewell and Davidson 1956). The use of the term 'literacy' in 'intercultural literacy' contrasts with narrower terms found in the

literature including: ‘intercultural competency’, ‘intercultural communication’, ‘intercultural understanding’ and ‘intercultural awareness’ as well as such terms as ‘world mindedness’, ‘international attitude’ and ‘global perspective’.

The concept of intercultural literacy developed also suggests a two-way, interactive and mutually-enriching process in which two cultures engage, each potentially learning from the other at an individual and a communal or societal level. In this way, this study addresses Young’s (1990) call, cited in Chapter Two (p.84), for a ‘...theory which outlines, in the place of adaptation, a notion of mutual adaptation and critique, and of inter-evolution...’ (Young 1990: 305)

This study has argued for the usefulness of conceptualising intercultural literacy in this way; as multidimensional, developmental, inclusive and additive. The proposed model realizes this conception, building a conceptual framework on the definition of intercultural literacy proposed. Applying the model in the case study has demonstrated its usefulness and therefore the usefulness of the concept of intercultural literacy, and of the definition proposed.

In this context, one further conclusion may be drawn relating specifically to the Identity dimension in the model. Intercultural identity is likely to be multiple and layered: local, ethnic, national, regional, international and global identities coexist and form part of the total cultural identity construct of individuals. The ‘third culture’ of ‘Third Culture Kids’ described in Chapter Two may thus be conceived of as one layer in an individual’s multiple cultural identity.

Narrow one-dimensional cultural identity constructs have proven to be both limiting and dangerous in an increasingly globalised world. Extreme Islamist militancy is one contemporary example of this trend. When an individual or community is self-defined by reference to one dominant cultural construct, in this case Islam, to the exclusion of other potential layers in a more complex multiple-identity, the result is an exclusive and intolerant perspective on others. It is an oppositional identity, defined by its distinction from others. In contrast, individuals and communities may define themselves as simultaneously members of a range of cultural groups; for example: Yogyanese³¹, Javanese, Indonesian, Asian, Islamic, and a global citizen.

In the former case, humanity is divided into ‘them’ and ‘us’; in the terms of social psychology, the ingroup and the outgroup. Lines are drawn, sides are taken. There is no middle ground: ‘You are either with us or against us’. The ‘other’ is demonised, the human world reduced to a simplistic ethical divide; good verses evil. Rhetoric surrounding the so-called ‘War on Terror’ echoes this dangerous, narrow and exclusive thinking. Tajfel’s (1978d) Social Identity Theory discussed in Chapter Two (pp.66-69) offers a theoretical explanation for this effect. As globalisation simultaneously threatens the definitional boundaries of cultural groups and provides the tools to establish and develop non-locational, global culture-based groups, so ‘fence-mending’ responses take place on a global scale. Cultures which see themselves as under threat from the forces of globalisation, westernisation or modernisation may respond by reinforcing their distinctiveness, retreating into fundamentalism, seeking to more clearly and distinctly

³¹ From Yogyakarta in Central Java.

define the difference between 'them' and 'us', encouraging through terrorism the conflicts which will create that divide and 'build that fence'. Equally, western societies may react in defensive ways to preserve their traditional, national cultural identities through opposition to immigration and a rejection of multicultural policies in favour of assimilation.

A more sophisticated awareness of multiple cultural identities as reflected in the concept of intercultural literacy developed in this study counters this kind of simplistic cultural reductionism. This study has demonstrated that cultural identity may usefully be conceived of as multiple and layered.

At the level of the international school, the question of multiple identities is also significant. International school students, many of whom fit the profile of the 'Third Culture Kid' outlined by Pollock and Van Reken (1999), may struggle with their cultural identity in an ambiguous and changing cultural context. The concept of the 'third culture' has been welcomed within the international expatriate community and in international schools since it offers globally-mobile expatriate children and adults a meaningful identity which in the past may have alluded many of them. The concept, however, deserves critical analysis. Does the global expatriate community constitute a culture, or even a 'transculture', or is it a thin overlay on deeper traditional cultures? For example, is the third culture construct as real and meaningful for Europeans and Asians as for North Americans? The tendency of 'new world' North American theorists to homogenize and to seek a unifying one-world vision, has been contrasted with an 'old world' European preference for diversity and divergence (Pearce, 2001).

A useful concept, proposed in this study, is that of multiple cultural identities. Where schools, teachers, parents, and children understand the concept of multiple cultural identity, and are interculturally literate beyond the Monocultural levels, the risks of negative distancing and identity confusion such as passing, cultural chauvinism or marginalisation are reduced. At a communal or societal level, such as in an international school, the subtractive and negative forms of adaptation (assimilation, segregation and marginalisation) may be avoided, and an additive, pluralistic culture developed. As suggested above, a pluralistic culture has clear advantages for an international school given that it creates an environment in which all individuals and cultures are valued, which is supportive of cross-cultural and intercultural learning.

Intercultural Literacy Learning and Cross-Cultural Engagement

Intercultural literacy requires cross-cultural engagement. The concept of intercultural literacy on which this study is based assumes a cross-cultural engagement. Without such an engagement, learning can only ever be *about* another culture. In order to become interculturally literate, as defined, cross-cultural engagement is necessary since intercultural literacy requires cross-cultural participation. Furthermore, the study has shown that the competencies, understandings, attitudes, language and identities required are likely to be learned best in a cross-cultural setting. Cross-cultural engagement is thus a necessary, though not always sufficient, condition for intercultural literacy learning.

A number of conclusions relating to the nature of that engagement may be drawn from the study. Each of these is discussed in this section.

1. Intercultural literacy learning is likely to be driven primarily by social needs.
2. Intercultural literacy learning may be best facilitated by an ‘insider’; a cross-cultural mediator who is able to interpret the culture.
3. Monocultural Level III (Culture Shock or Distancing) is a critical point in the development of intercultural literacy; this is where the social and learning supports are most required.
4. The perceived relative status of cultures in contact is a significant determinant of success in intercultural literacy learning.

Intercultural literacy learning and social needs

The discussion of theory in Chapter Two concluded that intercultural literacy learning is primarily motivated, particularly in children but in people of all ages, by social needs. That is, people learn the understandings, competencies, attitudes, language and identities of intercultural literacy primarily in order to satisfy social needs; to make and maintain friendships and to meet social objectives. Conversely, people are less likely to successfully learn intercultural literacy in an educational setting where social motivations are not perceived to be met by doing so, or even, as was the case for some in Tanjung Bara International School, where there was a risk of social standing being diminished by displays of intercultural literacy.

The case study supports this conclusion. Children in Tanjung Bara, both Indonesian and expatriate, did not appear to see a realistic social benefit in learning the language and intercultural understandings, attitudes, identities and competencies to enable cross-

cultural engagement. The divide between the two cultural groups, Indonesian and expatriate western, was so deep and broad that the possibility of friendship did not appear to be real. Much the same could be said of the adult community. With few exceptions, individuals from the two groups generally interacted at a superficial level to enable the business of living and working side by side to be transacted, but not in order to satisfy social needs. Social needs were satisfied through interaction within ones own cultural group³². Consequently intercultural literacy learning in Tanjung Bara was limited and generally unsuccessful.

In isolation, the case study does not support a conclusion that the successful learners, those categorised as at the Cross-Cultural or Intercultural levels in the model, had been motivated primarily by social needs. What it does do is support this conclusion - that intercultural literacy learning is primarily motivated by social needs - by suggesting a link between the lack of a perceived need for social interaction between the two major cultural groups in Tanjung Bara and the low levels of intercultural literacy in the school and community. Constraints on the frequency of cross-cultural engagement were imposed by both physical location and incompatible schedules. Cross-cultural social interaction was not perceived as a need. The two groups were socially self-sufficient and the cultural factors described in Chapter Five, such as differences in language, communication and conflict management styles, social habits and religious values, generally kept them apart socially.

³² The sexual liaisons between single expatriate men and Indonesian women were an exception to this.

As suggested in Chapter Five, if the company's Indonesian and international schools had shared a single campus in Tanjung Bara, creating a situation where Indonesian and expatriate children of equal status and from the same neighbourhood could mix socially in the classroom and playground, the situation may have been different. Children sharing a single space must interact to meet social needs, to negotiate play and establish relationships. In this context, it may be hypothesised, intercultural literacy learning could be facilitated.

Further research could test this hypothesis or more thoroughly explore the learning processes employed by successful learners - those identified as highly interculturally literate – to confirm whether or not they did learn primarily in order to meet social needs.

Intercultural literacy learning and the cross-cultural mediator

A related conclusion to be drawn from the study is that intercultural literacy learning may be facilitated by an 'insider'; a cross-cultural mediator; a friend or confidant who is sufficiently literate in both cultures (and languages) to be able to interpret or 'translate' the second culture into terms understandable to a learner, to an 'outsider'. As described above, intercultural literacy learning typically proceeds in a dynamic, recursive fashion as the learner shuttles back and forth between levels, solving problems arising from cross-cultural encounters. It is this problem-solving process that may be best facilitated by a cross-cultural mediator.

The case study identified a small number of successful intercultural literacy learners, but did not demonstrate conclusively whether or not these people had established a relationship with a mediator which facilitated their learning. There were no children in this category. On the basis of the broader study it may be concluded that intercultural literacy learning is likely to be supported where a cross-cultural mediator is able to assist the learner to make meaning cross-culturally; to interpret the second culture and develop the competencies, attitudes, understandings, language ability, participation and identities that constitute intercultural literacy.

What the case study suggests is that the absence of relationships which may have provided for this cross-cultural mediation hindered intercultural literacy learning in this school and community. The study can therefore tentatively conclude that intercultural literacy learning is likely to be facilitated by a cross-cultural mediator. Further research is required to support this conclusion.

Monocultural Level III; a critical point in the development of intercultural literacy

The Multidimensional Model for the Development of Intercultural Literacy describes Monocultural Level III (Culture Shock or Distancing) as the critical point in the development of intercultural literacy. This is where the social, environmental and cultural supports are most required for learning. At this stage that the individual moves beyond stereotypical and touristic perceptions of a second culture, begins to engage at a deeper level, and may experience what has been described as a ‘crisis of engagement’. As outlined in Chapter Two, if appropriate supports are not available at this point, the

risk is that the development of intercultural literacy is arrested and the learner retreats from cross-cultural engagement and further learning either into cultural chauvinism, passing or marginalisation.

The case study supports this theory. As with the previous two conclusions, it does so, not by establishing a link between successful learning and the presence of supports, but by suggesting a link between unsuccessful learning and the absence of supports. The social context in Tanjung Bara, both in the international school and the broader community, did not support intercultural literacy learning, with the result that the students and broader community were not typically advanced in intercultural literacy. A majority of children in the international school were at the Monocultural Level and around half in an arrested distancing mode. A significant number of adult community members were found to be shuttling back and forth between the Monocultural Level III and the Cross-Cultural Level lacking the supports to facilitate the development of intercultural literacy at a higher level. The outcome for the majority was a form of cultural chauvinism in which the perceived virtues of the primary culture and deficits and negatives of the second culture were given exaggerated significance.

The case study found that the main reason for this profile was that the community was deeply divided along cultural lines in ways that limited the opportunity and motivation for social interaction and cross-cultural engagement. The two cultural groups were distant and to some extent antagonistic.

The discussion in Chapter Two concluded that the following conditions are likely to support positive outcomes from cross-cultural contact and intercultural literacy learning:

1. the development of positive cross-cultural relationships, particularly where these persist beyond structured environments such as the school;
2. activities which maximise cross-cultural interaction, entail cooperative small group work towards the achievement of superordinate goals, and are likely to produce successful shared group outcomes;
3. voluntary participation;
4. grouping of participants cross-culturally with similar status, competency levels and interests;
5. small groups (two to four) to encourage high levels of interdependence and participation; and
6. the absence of practices which segregate groups on the basis of ability (tracking, streaming, ability grouping) and reinforce negative stereotypes and cultural divides.

(Chapter Two pp.134-140)

These conditions were largely absent in the Tanjung Bara context. For students in the international and Indonesian schools, cross-cultural contact was mainly limited to participation in joint school activities. In the majority of these, none of the above conditions were present. In those activities judged to be most satisfying and successful, the combined dance and marching programs, some of these conditions were present, particularly the second, third and fourth. In no case was the first condition present.

Additionally, language created a significant barrier to the development of meaningful relationships which may have supported further intercultural literacy learning. The children were generally unable to communicate at a level which could have led to shared understandings, positive attitudes and the development of relationships which may have allowed for cross-cultural mediation.

In the adult community some activities did allow for some of these conditions. In particular, the work context provided, for many, a context for cooperative small group work towards the achievement of superordinate goals. Group outcomes in this context may or may not have been always judged successful. The work context also allowed for routine, sustained and ongoing cross-cultural interaction which may have led to the development of supportive relationships for some. However, in this context the condition of equal status was clearly absent. Expatriates were generally placed in superior positions in the company and even where they were ostensibly equal, differences in salary conditions undermined the sense of equality. The second potentially supportive context for cross-cultural adult interaction was sport. Here participants voluntarily participated in small group activities in which superordinate goals were sometimes shared and outcomes sometimes successful. Relationships, however, did not often appear to extend beyond the activity.

The case study found that the absence of the conditions for intercultural literacy learning created an unsupportive environment for that learning.

Intercultural literacy learning and culture status

The theory discussed in Chapter Two (pp.131-132; pp.134-140) suggests that the perceived relative status of two cultures in contact determines the outcome of that contact. The status of a culture is likely to be a significant determinant of success in intercultural literacy learning. Where the home culture is perceived as high status and the target culture low status, cultural chauvinism, a rejection of the second culture and exaggerated valuing of the primary culture, is likely to result. A perceived low status home culture in contact with a high status target culture is likely to result in passing, with the individual rejecting the primary culture in an effort to gain acceptance and identity within a second culture. Where both cultures are perceived as low status, marginalisation is the likely outcome. Successful intercultural literacy learning requires that both cultures be valued and perceived as high status.

The case study supports this theory. In Tanjung Bara it was found that expatriates generally perceived the host Indonesian culture as low status. Children in particular generally saw the Indonesian culture in the context of poverty, servitude and low status menial labour. The prevailing attitudes were paternalistic. The Indonesian perspective was ambiguous. The western expatriate culture was perceived as high status. Aspects such as English language, creativity, wealth and efficiency were valued. At the same time aspects such as a perceived moral lassitude and abuse of alcohol, coarseness and arrogance were not. One of the core conditions for intercultural literacy learning discussed above is cross-cultural engagement with equal-status peers. In Tanjung Bara this was not possible. Without radically altering the prevailing perception of status within the community, intercultural literacy learning could not be supported.

It may therefore be concluded that where the target culture is low status, the development of intercultural literacy is likely to be hindered. The case study found that some bicultural (Asian-western) children suppressed their second identity and language proficiency in the school setting. In this way they hid their intercultural literacy. It may also be concluded that reinforcing the value and high status of all cultures and languages represented in a school is critical in order to create a learning environment supportive of intercultural literacy. Status is established and reinforced by the 'hidden curriculum' embedded in systemic, structural and cultural features of the school. In Tanjung Bara, the low status of Indonesian culture was established and reinforced through the significant impact of broader community values, the structure of school staffing and a policy which segregated schooling for expatriates and Indonesians. The school helped define the exclusive, privileged and elite status of the expatriate children and their culture.

Intercultural Literacy and the International School

This study is situated in the context of the international school. A number of conclusions may be drawn which inform this context in relation to intercultural literacy. Each of these conclusions is discussed in turn below.

1. International schools are in an ambiguous and problematic position in relation to intercultural literacy.

2. Intercultural literacy learning is likely to be supported in an international school with a pluralist culture and interculturally literate teachers and parents.
3. Intercultural literacy learning is likely to be supported in the international school curriculum with an in-depth study of the host culture and in extra-curricular programs that facilitate the development of ongoing, meaningful and mutually need-satisfying cross-cultural friendships.

The ambiguous and problematic position of international schools

In Chapter One it was suggested that the international school is defined by difference. Essentially what makes a school 'international' is that it offers a different curriculum, a different style of education, and often a different standard of facilities and professionalism, to that of the local, 'national' school. In many settings international schools are perceived to offer a higher standard of education than local schools. In Tanjung Bara this difference was clear. Under Indonesian law the company's national school, *YPPSB*, was required to teach the centralised national curriculum in *Bahasa Indonesia*, the national language. The international school was licensed to teach an 'international' curriculum (i.e. a curriculum other than the national curriculum; in this case an adapted Australian national curriculum) and to use English as an instructional language. As a licensed international school it was prohibited from enrolling Indonesian children.

International schools are generally established in order to provide educational continuity for expatriate children. In many contexts this means acting to shelter children from perceived deficits and risks in the host national education system and local environment. Typically, international schools either provide a form of national education off-shore such as in the Australian International School or the Japanese School of Jakarta, or endeavour to provide a more genuinely international curriculum such as in the Jakarta International School or the United World College in Singapore. In all cases it may be argued that the international schools are defined by distance; the cultural distance they place between themselves and their host cultures, the physical distance between the schools and the 'home' cultures of their students and teaching faculty. As described in Chapter Two (p.122), the majority of international schools use English as an instructional language. They also employ predominately Anglo-American or other western-trained English-speaking teachers and reinforce the high status of a western expatriate culture.

The case study reported in Chapters Four and Five was of an international school in many ways typical of 'project schools'; those established by companies or other institutions such as the military to serve an expatriate community in a 'planted town' in an isolated overseas setting. In this particular case, the ambiguous and problematic position of the international school in relation to intercultural literacy was clear. The Tanjung Bara International School was essentially an Australian school located in Indonesia. It was the only institution in the community which formally barred the participation of Indonesian nationals. These factors, together with its generous budget, defined the school as privileged, distant and distinct from the host Indonesian culture.

This distance was at the heart of the problem that the school had with intercultural literacy learning. Not only did the school exist within a broader community context which was unsupportive of intercultural literacy, but the school itself contributed to that reality in systematic ways.

In this context, the ideological goals of international schools may be seen to conflict with pragmatic goals. Since international schools exist principally to provide an international or nationally-oriented curriculum to expatriate children, to provide educational continuity for a mobile expatriate community, and often, as in Tanjung Bara, to help an expatriate community define itself, engagement with host cultures may be perceived as counter to this aim, or at least a distraction. Despite this, the case study of Tanjung Bara found that the majority of parents, along with representatives of the sponsoring company, did want the school to teach for intercultural literacy and to more effectively engage with the Indonesian school and host culture. There was also a concern expressed that this focus should not distract from the school's main mission, to teach core subjects, such as basic literacy in English language and numeracy.

In summary, this study has suggested that international schools are typically defined by their distance, culturally and educationally, from the host culture. They help expatriate communities to define themselves both in discrete locations and internationally, helping to create the 'third culture' or 'transculture' of a globally-mobile expatriate community. This community is predominately English-speaking and western. It exists in large part to serve the economic, political, military and, sometimes, evangelistic religious agendas of the west. It is an economically, educationally and politically advantaged community in

global and local terms. The international school exists primarily to serve the needs of this community, indeed to help create the community, and ultimately to serve the broad global agendas of the world's wealthy nations and communities.

The case study of Tanjung Bara reported in this thesis supports this analysis. The study found that in Tanjung Bara intercultural literacy levels were low and intercultural literacy learning was hindered by a deep cultural divide within the community, which was in part created by the school itself; by its exclusive and privileged status. Whilst the school aimed to teach for intercultural literacy and the community supported this aim, its achievements were disappointing.

The study may therefore conclude that internationally schools are likely to be in a problematic and ambiguous position in relation to teaching for intercultural literacy. On the one hand their ideological goals, often enshrined in mission statements, typically embrace the notion of global citizenship and are consistent with intercultural literacy as defined in this study. On the other hand, their pragmatic goals are likely to run counter to the aim of intercultural literacy. Within many schools an expatriate Anglo-American western culture is likely to dominate. Engagement with host cultures is problematic since in most cases perceived status is unequal. The international school is likely to play a significant role in defining the culture and identity of the expatriate community, particularly where cultural distance is great. In many cases, both within the school and between the school and its host community, an imbalance in cultural status exists; the international school representing a high status English-speaking western culture. This imbalance is likely to result in arrested intercultural literacy learning; a form of cultural

chauvinism or 'fence-mending' for members of the English-speaking western elite and passing or marginalisation for members of minority cultures within the school.

Solutions to this dilemma are unlikely to lie in denying the importance of dominant 'home' cultural values, which runs counter to the development of intercultural literacy. Rather, the study suggests that schools should examine their own structures, curriculum, and school-based cultures, in light of understandings about the development of intercultural literacy represented in the model.

Supporting intercultural literacy learning with a pluralist school culture and an interculturally literate teaching staff and parent community

On the basis of the study it may be concluded that intercultural literacy is likely to be supported in international schools with an additive, pluralist school culture which values all cultures equally rather than a subtractive monoculture which systematically promotes the dominance and comparatively high status of an English-speaking western culture. In the context of the Tanjung Bara International School this could mean enabling the enrolment of Indonesian students from high status families, the employment of high-level Indonesian teachers and the development of a thematic curriculum which integrates Indonesian Studies. The growing number of bilingual international and internationally-oriented schools in non-western nations enrolling local students may fit this model and provide a fruitful context for further research. Recent changes to national policy in Indonesia, for example, permit the enrolment of Indonesian students in international schools in certain situations, and the development of 'national-plus' schools which may

enrol Indonesian or foreign students and teach in English or bilingually. These developments are paralleled in countries throughout Asia and the Middle East. In some other contexts, such as Argentina, the problem of international schooling and host-culture preservation has long been addressed with policies which contrast with those in Indonesia and South-East Asia and require international schools to enrol a significant percentage of host-national students and teach in the national language - in this case, Spanish - for a significant proportion of the school day.

This study suggests that the intercultural literacy of teachers and parents is likely to play a significant part in facilitating the intercultural literacy learning of students. Students appear to form their responses to the cross-cultural experience primarily through interaction with friends, parents and other key adults in the home and community. It follows that teachers or intercultural trainers should be at least one step ahead in developmental terms (Scott 1998; Fowler 1999). Any program to address the issue of intercultural literacy in an international school could therefore profitably commence with professional development and intercultural training for teachers and staff, followed by the development of school-based responses in curriculum, extra-curricular programs and the broader socio-cultural structuring of the school and then with parent and community education programs.

Intercultural literacy learning, the international school curriculum and extra-curricular programs

On the basis of the theory developed in Chapter Two, it was concluded that non-formal learning that takes place through social interaction is likely to have a greater impact on intercultural literacy learning than the formal school curriculum. In international schools, the diverse cultural mix within the student population may provide a context for this intercultural literacy learning. In many, including Tanjung Bara International School, the culture of the school, its teaching faculty and student population, is dominated by an English-speaking, expatriate, western culture. The conditions necessary for intercultural literacy learning, including the potential for cross-cultural engagement, may not always be present within such schools. The culture of the host community in these situations is a resource that must be utilised if the school is to be successful in this context.

The Tanjung Bara International School recognised the resource provided by the local culture and context and sought to facilitate cross-cultural engagement for children through a range of extra-curricula activities including joint-school programs involving *YPPSB*, the company's Indonesian school, excursions and field trips, community service programs, 'special events' and summer schools. For a variety of reasons discussed in Chapter Five these programs were largely unsuccessful in facilitating intercultural literacy learning. None of the activities provided the conditions discussed above which support intercultural literacy learning and facilitate the shift from Monocultural to Cross-Cultural levels. Those children who were assessed as at the Cross-Cultural Level are

likely to have been at an intermediary stage between the Monocultural and Cross-Cultural Levels.

The case study also found that the intercultural literacy curriculum in Tanjung Bara International School failed to achieve intended outcomes due to a number of factors. The deep cultural divide and resulting low levels of intercultural literacy within the wider community impacted directly on intercultural attitudes and the motivation of children to learn. It also permeated the school and its staff. It was intended that the study of Indonesian culture and language be integrated across learning areas in class programs, supported by the designated Indonesian Studies teacher working in partnership with expatriate class teachers. This policy had not been implemented. Indonesian Studies classes were undervalued and not integrated into the thematic cross-curricular class program as intended. The Indonesian teacher struggled to engage students who lacked motivation and respect for the teacher. The class teachers were generally at a low level of intercultural literacy and lacked the confidence to support an integrated program. The curriculum was found to have failed, in part, due to a lack of understanding of the conditions necessary to support the learning.

As with the conclusions outlined in the sub-sections above, the case study is not able to answer questions about 'what works' except by inference from 'what does not work'. In the case of Tanjung Bara International School, intercultural literacy learning was found to have been largely unsuccessful both in the context of the formal curriculum and the non-formal extra-curricular program. It was concluded that this failure was due to a lack of appropriate supports in the social environment for learning, to a lack of understanding

and competency within the teaching faculty, and to a deep cultural divide within the broader community to which the school itself contributed.

The theory discussed in Chapter Two suggests that intercultural literacy learning may be facilitated by an extra-curricular program which promotes sustained and ongoing cross-cultural engagement and the development of meaningful and mutually need-satisfying cross-cultural friendships between children which endure beyond the confines of the activity. The case study found that the extra-curricular program at Tanjung Bara International School did not meet these requirements and as a result was unsuccessful. Activities which allow for genuine equal-status engagements with local host cultures; collaborative activities and joint projects where students from international and local schools both clearly benefit from the experience; are likely to prove more successful.

It may also be suggested on the basis of the theory developed in the study that intercultural literacy learning is likely to be best supported in the international school curriculum with an in-depth study of the host culture. Since intercultural literacy has been found to require a cross-cultural engagement it may be hypothesised that, in the context of the formal curriculum, the learning may be better facilitated through a deep and sustained engagement at a direct and an academic level with the host culture rather than a shallower and broader study of the 'cultures of the world' within the classroom and an engagement with the dislocated expatriate cultures within the school. The study of one culture in depth allows the 'thick description' recommended by Geertz (1973) and may be integrated in a whole-school, cross-curricular thematic approach, thereby gaining synergies and efficiencies in curriculum implementation. It is likely to promote

far greater development in intercultural literacy than a 'Cook's tour' of the world's cultures or annual 'dress-up' international days or ethnic festivals (Ralph 1995; Reese 1998; Endicott, Bock and Narvaez 2003), which are unlikely to facilitate intercultural literacy learning beyond the touristic impressions of Monocultural Level II in the proposed model.

The curriculum at Tanjung Bara International School did aim to engage successfully with the host Indonesian culture in this way, but failed for the reasons outlined. International schools in developing nations face particular obstacles in this context. In being defined by distance, they are also defined by exclusivity, by economic and political advantage, by elitism. Genuine attempts to engage with local cultures perceived to be relatively low status may unwittingly reinforce attitudes of superiority and paternalism, of cultural chauvinism. Disparities in salary and conditions for host-national teachers, coupled with the problems of cross-cultural teaching, may also devalue the study of local culture and language, further reinforcing distance and chauvinistic attitudes.

Where international schools are defined in terms of a specific expatriate national culture and education system, they face additional complications in relation to intercultural literacy. As described in Chapter Two, one common response to the cross-cultural experience is exaggerated affirmation of the home culture, of its symbols and values. Expatriate communities can tend to encourage this response in attempting to cope with the dislocation of expatriation. National days, sporting events and other activities celebrating the home culture take on an exaggerated significance creating the common

phenomenon of, for example, the American or Australian abroad who becomes ‘more’ American or Australian than his/her family and friends back ‘home’. Nationally oriented international schools are a part of this dynamic, often unwittingly fuelling the chauvinistic response.

Summary, Recommendations and Final Conclusions

The study concludes that the proposed Multidimensional Model for the Development of Intercultural Literacy offered a useful framework for the study of intercultural literacy in a case study of Tanjung Bara International School and its community – and, potentially, offers a useful framework for other settings. In summary, the utility of the model is confirmed.

As outlined in Chapter Two, the proposed model is intended to provide a tool to assist educators in understanding the development of intercultural literacy and so to be able to facilitate the process. The model is both predictive and explanatory. It is intended to support the development of policy and practice – curriculum, extra-curricular programs and assessment - in international schools and in contexts where intercultural literacy may be seen as an educational goal. On the basis of the study it is concluded that the proposed model may indeed fulfil these intentions.

The model potentially enables educators to assess students and then design curricula and extra-curricula programs to support intercultural literacy learning appropriate to the assessed levels of individuals. Recognition that intercultural literacy depends, not only on age and maturity, but also on previous cross-cultural experience, suggests the need

for a differentiated program which caters for individual difference within the classroom. Curriculum which aims for outcomes at the advanced intercultural level in the model and ignores the earlier stages, particularly at the primary/elementary level but also throughout schooling, is unlikely to succeed. The model also suggests that, since the Monocultural Level III is a critical stage, significant supports should be provided at this stage. The importance of recruitment, professional development policies and programs which produce an interculturally literate teaching faculty is highlighted.

Perhaps the most significant implication of the study is the need to institutionalise intercultural literacy by taking steps to increase the status of all cultures represented in a school and its environment, and to avoid reinforcing the dominance of a 'western' English-language culture. Bilingual or multilingual international schools which integrate with local host cultures may be better placed to address this need than 'Anglo-American' international schools which distance themselves from the host culture. Recently established 'national-plus' schools in Indonesia, such as *Sekolah Nusa Alam*, meet these criteria and could be usefully studied to confirm the findings of this study.³³ In such schools, the local host language and culture (in this case, Indonesian) are given equal value and status in the school to the international English-language culture. International schools which aim for intercultural literacy should endeavour to create pluralist school

³³ *Sekolah Nusa Alam* (literally 'Natural Island School') is an international / national-plus school established by the researcher in collaboration with a community group and professional colleagues in Lombok, Indonesia, in 2000. The school's philosophy and practice embody many of the findings and recommendations of this study. The school successfully prepares children for further education in both an Indonesian and an international (e.g. USA, Australia, UK) context.

cultures which support integration at an institutional and individual level and reduce the risk of cultural chauvinism, marginalisation or passing.

Implications for national schools and education systems such as exist in Australia should also be considered. The dynamics and context of the international school differ from those of the national school. However, national schools and systems across the world are increasingly aiming to address intercultural literacy and global perspectives in their increasingly multicultural and globally-connected settings. The model proposed and trialled in this study provides a tool for educators in national contexts to address similar concerns as in international schools.

The model has surface validity and was welcomed by international school practitioners interviewed in a study tour, the majority of whom found it offered an immediately recognisable framework for understanding the cross-cultural experience. It proved useful in the case study of Tanjung Bara, enabling an assessment of intercultural literacy in the international school and its community and an exploration of the dynamics of intercultural literacy learning in that context. It enabled the research questions posed in the case study to be framed and answered and, potentially, for the problems identified within the case to be addressed. On this basis, the proposed Multidimensional Model for the Development of Intercultural Literacy is likely to be useful in other contexts, particularly in international schools.

The significance of this was outlined in Chapter One. Globalisation is simultaneously bringing the world together, enabling the formation of international communities, and

radically increasing the cross-cultural contact of individuals and groups across the world. Where, previously, stable monocultural societies were the norm, the majority of people experiencing little cross-cultural contact in their daily lives, increasingly, societies are becoming multicultural and globalisation is changing the cultural landscape of the world. For many, cultural diversity, mobility and change are now the norm. The influences of western pop and consumerist cultures are being felt in the most remote and previously isolated corners of the world and the sometimes violent reactions of threatened cultures are being felt from New York to Bali; Baghdad to Madrid. The need for intercultural literacy has never been greater.

International schools are in a unique position in this rapidly globalising world to facilitate the development of intercultural literacy. They are also in an ambiguous and problematic position as outlined in this final chapter. It is only through developing understandings of the nature of intercultural literacy and of how it is learned in this context that the level of intercultural literacy amongst international school students is likely to be increased and the issues of cross-cultural engagement may be addressed on a broader scale. The model developed and trialled in this study offers a useful tool to develop those understandings and ultimately to contribute to the development of strategies and solutions to the broader, global challenges of cross-cultural contact.

The choice lies with individual schools, administrators, teachers, and parents. We can ignore the threat of societal fragmentation and global cross-cultural conflict, paying lip service to stated educational goals of internationalism and intercultural understanding, or we can address the issue seriously, developing policy and programs to facilitate

intercultural literacy learning and prepare students for the realities of a globalised world. This study is a contribution to the development of theory which can inform the practice of those who choose the latter.

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Appendices

Appendix 1	Multidimensional Model for the Development of Intercultural Literacy – First Iteration	549
Appendix 2	Multidimensional Model for the Development of Intercultural Literacy – Final Iteration	551
Appendix 3	Schools Visited in 1996 Study Tour	553
Appendix 4	Study Tour Itinerary	555
Appendix 5	Study Tour Discussion Guide	558
Appendix 6	Multidimensional Model for the Development of Intercultural Literacy – Indicators (For Children and Adult Learners)	561
Appendix 7	Interview Itineraries (Summary of Interviews Conducted – Phase One and Phase Two)	584
Appendix 8	Research Questions / Data Sources / Data Collection – A Matrix	590
Appendix 9	Interview Schedules (Phase One and Phase Two for Children and Adults)	594
Appendix 10	Group Discussion Guides (<i>YPPSB</i> , Tanjung Bara International School Class Groups)	629
Appendix 11	Back-Translated Interview Schedule (Adult Phase Two)	635

Appendix 1

Multidimensional Model for the Development of Intercultural Literacy First Iteration

First Iteration – Feb. 1996
A Multidimensional Model for the Development of Intercultural Literacy

	Level 1	Level 2	Level 3	Level 4.1	Level 4.2
	Pre- and Early Contact	Culture Shock	Cross-Cultural Literacy	Intercultural Literacy	Transcultural Literacy
Understandings	Aware of superficial and highly visible traits: stereotypes. A touristic view of the exotic and bizarre.	Growing awareness of significant and subtle cultural traits that contrast markedly with one's own. Knowledge of socio-cultural structures and traditions at a basic level.	Deeper awareness of significant and subtle cultural traits that contrast markedly with one's own. Increasingly sophisticated knowledge of socio-cultural structures and traditions.	Aware of how culture/s feels and operates from the standpoint of the insider. Relatively complete knowledge of socio-cultural structures and traditions.	Awareness of the relativity of all cultures. Awareness of global interdependence and global nature of problems and solutions.
Competencies		Ability to discern significant cultural traits in real life situations.	Intellectual analysis: Ability to understand cultural differences in real life situations at a cognitive level. Emerging capacity to be flexible, non-judgemental, empathic and to take turns, tolerate ambiguity, and personalise one's knowledge and perspectives.	Transpection: Advanced ability to empathise. Capacity to be flexible. Capacity to be non-judgemental. Tolerance for ambiguity. Capacity to communicate respect. Capacity to personalise one's knowledge and perspectives. Capacity for turn-taking.	Transpection: Advanced ability to empathise. Capacity to be flexible. Capacity to be non-judgemental. Tolerance for ambiguity. Capacity to communicate respect. Capacity to personalise one's knowledge and perspectives. Capacity for turn-taking.
Attitudes	Curiosity. Fascination with the exotic and different. Paternalistic or stereotypical views. Tolerance of cultural differences.	Frustration. A sense of the irrational nature of the culture. Critical. Avoidance.	Respect for second culture. Cognitive believability. A sense of ease in cross-cultural situations. Desire to participate in cross-cultural work and social events.	Deep respect for second culture. Believable because of familiarity. Emerging sense of bicultural identity. Desire to participate in play and humour in cross-cultural situations.	Deep respect for all cultures. Sense of identity with a global, transnational culture and community.
Participation	Tourism or touristic activity. Textbooks, novels, magazines, films, etc.	Culture conflict situations. Living/working alongside second culture.	Living and/or working effectively in cross-cultural or second cultural situations. Cross-cultural social participation.	Cultural immersion: Living the culture. Established friendships and/or working relationships within a second culture.	Participation in a global community. Friendships and/or working relationships within a variety of cultures and transculturally.
Language	Awareness of the language in general terms. Ability to communicate at a superficial level.	Knowledge of simple vocabulary and language structures. Increased ability to communicate in second language.	Knowledge of extensive vocabulary and language structures. Functional fluency in second language in specific contexts.	Relatively complete knowledge of vocabulary and language structures. Bilingual. Fluent in a full range of contexts.	Knowledge of a variety of languages. Multi-lingual. Tendency to use mixed and hybrid language.

Appendix 2

Multidimensional Model for the Development of Intercultural Literacy Final Iteration

Final Iteration

A Multidimensional Model for the Development of Intercultural Literacy

	Monocultural Level 1	Monocultural Level 2	Monocultural Level 3	Cross-cultural Level	Intercultural Level
	Limited Awareness	Naïve Awareness	Culture Shock or Distancing	Emerging Intercultural Literacy	Bicultural or Transcultural
	Unconsciously Incompetent	Unconsciously Incompetent	Consciously Incompetent	Consciously Competent	Unconsciously Competent
Understandings	No significant intercultural understandings. Unaware of own culture or of the significance of culture in human affairs.	Aware of touristic, exotic and stereotypical aspects of other culture/s. Little understanding of metaculture.	Aware of significant cultural differences. Other culture/s perceived as irrational and unbelievable.	Increasingly sophisticated understandings of socio-political and intergroup aspects of culture and metaculture.	Aware of how culture/s feel and operate from the standpoint of the insider. Understandings of primary and metaculture and global interdependence.
Competencies	No significant intercultural competencies.	No significant intercultural competencies.	No significant intercultural competencies.	Developing competencies include mindfulness, empathy, perspective-taking, tolerance and communication.	Advanced competencies include mindfulness, empathy, perspective-taking, tolerance and communication.
Attitudes	No significant intercultural attitudes. Assumes that all groups share similar values and traits. Value neutral.	Naïve and stereotypical attitudes which may be positive, negative or ambivalent.	Typically negative attitudes. Stereotyping, prejudice and discrimination.	Differentiated, dynamic and realistic attitudes. An overall respect for integrity of culture/s.	Differentiated, dynamic and realistic attitudes. An overall respect for integrity of culture/s accompanied by legitimate and informed criticism.
Participation	No significant participation or unaware of cultural dimension of contact.	Tourism, early contact, 'honeymoon' period or experience of culture/s through texts, media etc. 'Living alongside' rather than 'living with'.	Culture conflict. 'Living alongside' rather than 'living with'.	Increasing cross-cultural engagement and development of meaningful relationships. 'Living with' rather than 'living alongside'.	Well established cross-cultural / transcultural friendships and/or working relationships. 'Living in' the culture/s. the 'mediating' person.
Language	No significant second language competencies. May be unaware of language differences.	Aware of language differences. Possible ability or communicate at a superficial level in the second language/s (greetings etc.)	Limited functional competencies in the second language/s.	Language learning. Increasingly sophisticated knowledge of and ability to communicate in second languages/s.	Bilingual or multilingual understanding and competencies.
Identity	Unformed cultural identity.	Basic cultural identity characterised by stereotypic comparisons with other cultures.	Culture shock may force an examination of cultural identity.	Increasingly highly developed and secure primary cultural identity.	Bicultural or transcultural identity. 'Species' or 'global' identity may emerge.

Appendix 3

Schools Visited in 1996 Study Tour

Schools visited in 1996 Study Tour

Schools visited	Country	Small community-based international schools	Small company-sponsored international project schools	Large independent international city schools	Recently-established schools	Well-established schools	Australian oriented schools	USA orientated schools	UK orientated schools	Canadian orientated schools	Internationally-oriented Indonesian schools and systems
Makassar International School	Indonesia	√									
Phuket International School	Thailand	√									
Pasir Ridge International School	Indonesia		√								
Bontang International School	Indonesia		√								
Surabaya International School	Indonesia			√							
North Jakarta International School	Indonesia			√							
Jakarta International School	Indonesia			√		√		√			
United World College	Singapore			√		√			√		
Singapore American School	Singapore			√		√		√			
International School of Singapore	Singapore			√		√					
Canadian International School	Singapore			√						√	
Bangkok Patana School,	Thailand			√					√		
Ruamrudee International School	Thailand			√							
International School of Bangkok	Thailand			√		√		√			
Australian International School Singapore	Singapore			√	√		√				
Australian International School Jakarta	Indonesia			√	√		√				
Chatsworth International School	Singapore			√	√				√		
Dulwich College	Thailand			√	√				√		
Sekolah Ciputra	Indonesia			√	√						Non-denominational
Djakarta Christian Schools Association	Indonesia			√		√					Protestant
Sekolah Pelita Harapan	Indonesia			√	√						Protestant
Sekolah Santa Laurensia	Indonesia			√	√						Catholic
Al Ishar Pondok Labu School	Indonesia			√	√						Islamic

Appendix 4

Study Tour Itinerary

Study Tour Reference Group – Interviews conducted 1996

Number	School	Location	Participants	Date interviewed
1.	Pasir Ridge International School	Balikpapan, Indonesia	Principal Science Teacher/ Deputy Principal Indonesian Teacher	Feb 14 1996
2.	Bontang International School	Bontang, Indonesia	Principal Class Teachers	March 13 1996
3.	Makassar International School	Ujung Pandang, Indonesia	Principal	March 25 1996
4.	Surabaya International School	Surabaya, Indonesia	Principal	March 28 1996
5.	Sekolah Ciputra	Surabaya, Indonesia	Ass. Executive Director	March 28 1996
6.	Al Ishar Pondok Labu School	Jakarta, Indonesia	Principal, Curriculum Co-ordinator and Senior Teacher	April 10 1996
7.	Australian International School	Jakarta, Indonesia	Principal	April 10 1996
8.	Sekolah Santa Laurensia	Jakarta, Indonesia	Executive Officer and Operational Co-ordinator	April 11 1996
9.	North Jakarta International School	Jakarta, Indonesia	Headmaster and Principal	April 11 1996
10.	Djakarta Christian Schools Association	Jakarta, Indonesia	Director	April 11 1996
11.	Sekolah Pelita Harapan	Jakarta, Indonesia	Chair of School Board	April 11 1996
12.	Jakarta International School	Jakarta, Indonesia	Curriculum Co-ordinator, Director of Community Services and Intercultural Activities	April 12 1996
13.	United World College	Singapore	Head of College	April 15 1996
14.	Singapore American School	Singapore	Curriculum Co-ordinator	April 15 1996
15.	International School of Singapore	Singapore	School Head American System Co-ordinator, Tri-Language Counsellor Middle School Counsellor	April 16 1996
16.	Canadian International School	Singapore	Vice Principal	April 16 1996
17.	Chatsworth International School	Singapore	Vice Principal	April 17 1996
18.	Australian International School	Singapore	Principal	April 17 1996

19.	Phuket International School	Phuket, Thailand	Principal	April 18 1996
20.	Bangkok Patana School	Bangkok, Thailand	Head of Development Co-ordination	April 27 1996
21.	Ruamrudee International School	Bangkok, Thailand	Curriculum Co-ordinator	April 27 1996
22.	Dulwich College	Phuket, Thailand	Headmaster (met in Bangkok)	April 28 1996
23.	International School of Bangkok	Bangkok, Thailand	Curriculum Co-ordinator	April 28 1996

Appendix 5

Study Tour Discussion Guide

1996 STUDY TOUR**DISCUSSION GUIDE**

SCHOOL:

DATE:

WHO INTERVIEWED:

SCHOOL BACKGROUND DETAILS

Size: Student Population:
 Staff Population:
Make-up: Nationality mix:
 Background: (long term ex-pat / short term, local, transit?)
System Support / Administrative Structure:
Nature of Community:
Documents?

RESPONSES TO THE MODEL:

Does it 'make sense'? Reflect personal and professional experience?
If yes, how? In what ways?
If no, how? In what ways?
How could the model be improved?
Is it likely to be useful to you as a practitioner? To your school? How?

CURRENT POLICY AND PROGRAMS RE INTERCULTURAL LITERACY

Programs currently operating:

Type of program?
Documentation?
Level of student participation?
Curriculum?
Extra-Curricular?
Staff participation / roles and responsibilities?

ISSUES ARISING:

Successes?
Frustrations/ Challenges / Failures?
Negative Impact?
Programs?

LEVEL and TYPE OF INTERCULTURAL LITERACY:

Staff?
Students?
Community?
Sub-groupings? (expats of different backgrounds, local etc.)

Types: Understandings, competencies, attitudes, language abilities.

COMMUNITY ATTITUDES TO SCHOOL'S ROLE:

Staff?

Students?
Community?

Legitimacy and appropriateness?

ROLE OF THE SCHOOL IN THE BROADER COMMUNITY RE INTERCULTURAL LITERACY:

In Indonesian community?
In expat community?

ROLE OF THE WIDER COMMUNITY RE INTERCULTURAL LITERACY

Other agencies?
Programs?
Relationship with school?

SUCCESSFUL LEARNERS OF INTERCULTURAL LITERACY

Common characteristics?
Pre-conditions for success?
Family attitudes?
Motivations?

ASPECTS MITIGATING AGAINST INTERCULTURAL LEARNING

Social Structures?
Events / Activities?
School Programs / Structures?
Other?

PLANS FOR THE FUTURE?

OTHER NOTES:

Appendix 6

Multidimensional Model for the Development of Intercultural Literacy – Indicators (Children and Adult Learners)

Intercultural Literacy: Learning Indicators for Children

(with illustrations from a cross-cultural community of predominately Australian expatriates and Indonesian hosts)

Intercultural Understandings: Learning Indicators for Children

MONOCULTURAL LEVEL 1: LIMITED AWARENESS

- Demonstrates no awareness of cultural differences. (This level may be typical for very young children.)

MONOCULTURAL LEVEL 2: NAÏVE AWARENESS

- Demonstrates awareness of superficial or highly visible traits, norms or customs.
 - e.g. Physical contact, holding hands, spitting, distinctive racial characteristics: brown skin, dark hair, short.
 - e.g. Noisy, different classroom behaviour such as laying on the floor, distinctive racial characteristics: blue eyes, blonde hair, tall.
- Makes stereotypic comments that may be positive, negative or neutral.
 - e.g. 'They are all poor / rude / small / dirty / friendly / nice / horrible'
 - e.g. 'They are all so big / rich / rude / emotional / friendly / nice / horrible'
- Demonstrates a touristic view of the exotic or bizarre in a culture.
 - e.g. Friendliness, poverty, hygiene, cleanliness, rice growing, conical hats, small wooden houses, dances, arts and crafts.
 - e.g. Wealth, kangaroos, nice toys, playgrounds, big houses, television and 'Hollywood' film images.

MONOCULTURAL LEVEL 3: CULTURE SHOCK OR DISTANCING

- Demonstrates a growing awareness of significant and subtle cultural traits, norms and customs that contrast markedly with own.
 - e.g. Diet, accommodation, bathing practices, hygiene levels, pinching to show affection. e.g. Diet, accommodation, bathing practices, kissing in public.
- May demonstrate a basic knowledge of socio-political structures and traditions.
 - e.g. Religion, prayer, sport, art and crafts.
 - e.g. Television images, sport.
- Makes stereotypic comments that tend to be negative.
 - e.g. 'They are rude, dirty / sneaky, horrible'
 - e.g. 'They are rude / noisy / pushy, horrible.'

CROSSCULTURAL LEVEL: EMERGING INTERCULTURAL LITERACY

- Demonstrates a deepening awareness of significant and subtle cultural traits that contrast markedly with own, and is able to provide rational explanations for behaviours and cultural traits etc. within the cultural context.
 - e.g. Delays, work habits, time management - 'jam karet' are explained as due to cultural traditions, attitudes to time, and limitations imposed by technology and infrastructure

development. Pollution and poor sanitation are explained as due to poverty and lack of development.

e.g. 'Rude' behaviour such as laying down in the classroom is understood as due to differing behavioural expectations. Children tend to praise and 'put down' one another readily. This is explained as due to differing cultural norms.

- Demonstrates an increasingly sophisticated knowledge of socio-political structures and traditions.
 - e.g. Explains significant religious and political events such as Ramadan, Idul Fitri and Independence Day. Names several Indonesian regions and cities.
 - e.g. Explains differences in religious traditions and can name several Australian cities.
- Differentiates socio-economic roles and relative status cross-culturally.
 - e.g. Treats people appropriately according to role and status but all with respect: waiter, maid, librarian, teacher, neighbour, driver.
- Differentiates between regional and national groups cross-culturally.
 - e.g. Can identify individuals as Javanese, Bugis, Torajan, Dayak etc.
 - e.g. Can identify individuals as Australian, New Zealand, American, English etc.
- Demonstrates understanding of individual differences cross-culturally.
 - i.e. Treats people cross-culturally on an individual basis. Can describe individual traits of cross-cultural friends or acquaintances.
- Demonstrates understanding of primary culture.
 - e.g. Can explain why 'expats' tend to be wealthier than most Indonesians.
 - e.g. Can explain why Indonesians tend to be more religious than most 'expats'.
- Demonstrates an understanding of the role of culture in shaping social behaviour.
 - e.g. Uses the term 'culture' to explain cross-cultural differences in behaviours.

INTERCULTURAL LEVEL: BICULTURAL LITERACY

- Demonstrates an awareness of how the culture feels from the standpoint of the insider.
 - e.g. Is able to comment on socio-political issues and events in a way that appears authentic to an insider.
- Demonstrates a relatively complete knowledge of socio-political structures and traditions.
 - e.g. Can explain cultural rationales for fasting, religious behaviour, children's games and playground culture. Can describe significant historical events in context.
- Differentiates socio-economic roles and relative status cross-culturally.
 - e.g. Treats people appropriately according to role and status but all with respect: waiter, maid, librarian, teacher, neighbour, driver.
- Differentiates between regional and national groups cross-culturally and can describe significant aspects of the cultures of each.
 - e.g. Can identify individuals as Javanese, Bugis, Torajan, Dayak etc. and can explain their behaviours in cultural terms.
 - e.g. Can identify individuals as Australian, New Zealand, American, English etc. and can explain their behaviours in cultural terms.

Demonstrates understanding of individual differences cross-culturally.

i.e. Treats people cross-culturally on an individual basis. Can describe individual traits of cross-cultural friends or acquaintances.

- Demonstrates advanced understanding of primary culture.
 - e.g. Can explain how Australian political system differs to Indonesian and can offer an explanation in historical terms.
 - e.g. Can explain why Indonesian political system differs to Australian and can offer an explanation in historical terms.
- Demonstrates an advanced understanding of the role of culture in shaping social behaviour.
 - e.g. Can use concepts such as individualism and collectivism to explain cross-cultural differences in behaviours.

INTERCULTURAL LEVEL: transcultural literacy

- Demonstrates an awareness of the relativity of all cultures.
e.g. Is able to comment with apparent objectivity on socio-political structures and traditions of 'home', 'host' or other cultures.
- Demonstrates an awareness of significant and subtle cultural traits of a variety of familiar cultures, and is able to provide rational explanations for behaviours and cultural traits etc. within the different cultural contexts.
e.g. Can provide comprehensive, empathic and reasonable answers to questions like 'How do these two cultures differ in significant ways? Are they all like that? What is the hardest thing about communicating with people from X, Y or Z? What are the main problems they (people from X, Y or Z) experience here? What do you think we/the world could learn from X, Y or Z?'
- Demonstrates awareness of global interdependence and global nature of problems and solutions.
e.g. Can explain an issue like economic imbalances between wealthy and poor nations and how it impacts on environmental degradation and is impacted on by consumption and life style patterns in the wealthy nations - and further, how personal life style choices contribute to the issue and might impact on the life styles of people in other nations.
- Differentiates socio-economic roles and relative status cross-culturally.
e.g. Treats people appropriately according to role and status but all with respect: waiter, maid, librarian, teacher, neighbour, driver.
- Differentiates between cultural, religious and national groups cross-culturally and can describe significant aspects of the cultures of each.
e.g. Can identify individuals as Australian, Thai, New Zealand, Indian, American, English etc. and can explain some of their behaviours in cultural terms.
- Demonstrates understanding of individual differences cross-culturally.
i.e. Treats people cross-culturally on an individual basis. Can describe individual traits of cross-cultural friends or acquaintances.
- Demonstrates advanced understanding of primary culture.
e.g. Can explain how 'home-country' political system differs to a range of others and can offer an explanation in historical terms.
- Demonstrates an advanced understanding of the role of culture in shaping social behaviour.
e.g. Can use concepts such as individualism and collectivism to explain cross-cultural differences in behaviours.

Intercultural Competencies: Learning Indicators for Children

MONOCULTURAL LEVEL 1: LIMITED AWARENESS

- Demonstrates no significant intercultural competencies.
(This level may be typical for very young children.)

MONOCULTURAL LEVEL2: NAÏVE AWARENESS

- Demonstrates no significant intercultural competencies.

MONOCULTURAL LEVEL 3: CULTURE SHOCK OR DISTANCING

- Demonstrates no significant intercultural competencies.

CROSSCULTURAL LEVEL: EMERGING INTERCULTURAL LITERACY

- Demonstrates an emerging capacity for mindfulness.
e.g. Adapts behaviour to meet cross-cultural norms and expectations and is able to explain this as an intentional action.
Can present rational explanations for cross-cultural behaviour that is perceived negatively.
- Demonstrates an emerging capacity for flexibility and adaptability.
e.g. Can explain own culturally based biases and prejudices and can 'bend the rules' to allow for divergent cross-cultural behaviours.
Can explain why others behave as they do.
Critiques own behaviour and can explain cultural basis for own behaviours.
Can alter own behaviours to suit different expectations and situations (e.g. showing appropriate deference to people with high status within culture, food, bathing rituals, shopping rituals.)
- Demonstrates emerging tolerance for ambiguity and uncertainty, anxiety and frustration management.
e.g. Begins to cope successfully with potentially frustrating situations arising from differing cultural expectations or when expectations are unclear.
Displays a relaxed, optimistic attitude to life in general, tends to comment on people and events in positive terms.
Rarely displays aggression or behaves abusively (verbal or physical).
- Demonstrates emerging open-mindedness and an ability to be non-judgemental.
e.g. Begins to comment on observed cultural differences such as personal, social, and work habits, social infrastructure, and levels of technological 'advancement' without making judgements.
Tends to be curious about other culture(s), asks questions about why things are as they are or appear.
- Begins to personalise knowledge and perspectives.
e.g. Prefaces comments with 'I think' or 'From my point of view ...'
- Demonstrates an emerging capacity for empathy at a cognitive level.
e.g. Comments on how it might feel to be 'in another's shoes'
- Begins to communicate respect in cross-cultural situations.
e.g. Considers other's cultural sensibilities whilst retaining own cultural values, treats others courteously within their cultural framework.
- Demonstrates a range of communication skills including emerging abilities for: active listening and perception checking; providing feedback; assertiveness; confirming; inclusiveness; tuning-in;

sensitivity to cultural difference in communication; topic management and turn-taking; code switching and speech converging.

e.g. Confirms that cross-cultural messages have been understood, checks for accuracy of interpretations, and provides feedback on how the message affects the individual. 'So, Joko, you are saying that the Australian children are very noisy. Is that right? ... I understand what you're saying but I want to explain something. I hope you don't think I'm being rude. I don't think all kids are noisy. Maybe we are noisier than Indonesian kids in the classroom, but I think that's probably because we have different rules. What do you think?'

- Demonstrates an ability to differentiate between sub-groups and to individuate cross-culturally.
 - e.g. Can identify individuals as members of a subgroup (regional, socio-economic, national).
 - e.g. Can describe individuals in terms of individual attributes as opposed to cultural attributes.
- Increasingly attributes behaviour to situational or individual factors as opposed to cultural stereotypes.
 - e.g. Can explain why an individual behaved in a certain way as a result of the situation and individual difference. 'He likes to be on his own, which is a bit unusual for an Indonesian. I don't think it's because he's annoyed with us.' or 'She's probably gone off on her own because she doesn't like the game we're playing not because she's a 'snob'.
- Demonstrates emerging conflict resolution skills.
 - e.g. In a conflict focuses on the issue and not the individuals, attempts to define a mutual problem and proposes possible solutions to the group or other party, whilst listening to alternatives proposed. In the playground this might be a dispute over the use of a playground area or over the rules of a game.
- Demonstrates a range of interpersonal and intrapersonal skills.
 - e.g. Tends to make friends easily.
 - e.g. Displays self confidence in new situations, tends to speak up, and introduce him- or herself to a new group, makes positive self-evaluations.
 - e.g. Is able to describe own emotions and their source.
- Demonstrates an emerging sense of humour, particularly the ability to laugh at oneself and to use humour inclusively.
 - e.g. Makes a joke of own cross-cultural mistakes and 'embarrassments'.
- Demonstrates emerging decision making skills.
 - e.g. Can explain the antecedents and likely consequences of planned actions. 'The reason I have decided to do my research project on waste reduction in our community is because no one can explain to me what happens to our rubbish. I think it is just dumped in a pile and I want to find out if there is a problem with toxic waste and whether anything is going to be done about it. If we could reduce the amount of rubbish we produce by recycling, it could help solve the problem.'
 - e.g. Is beginning to think in global terms about problems and solutions. 'Waste reduction is not just a problem for our community. If we can solve it here we are helping the environment for the future and for other communities.'
- Demonstrates emerging community building skills.
 - e.g. Consults, negotiates and contributes to the development of shared goals for groups such as class, or student council.
 - e.g. Displays on-going commitment to community projects such as student council or class plans and projects.

INTERCULTURAL LEVEL: BICULTURAL AND TRANSCULTURAL LITERACY

- Demonstrates an advanced capacity for mindfulness.
 - e.g. Adapts behaviour to meet cross-cultural norms and expectations and is able to explain this as an intentional action.
 - Can present rational explanations for cross-cultural behaviour that is perceived negatively.
- Demonstrates an advanced capacity for flexibility and adaptability.
 - e.g. Can explain own culturally based biases and prejudices and can 'bend the rules' to allow for divergent cross-cultural behaviours.

- Can explain why others behave as they do.
- Criticises own behaviour and can explain cultural basis for own behaviours.
- Can alter own behaviours to suit different expectations and situations (e.g. showing appropriate deference to people with high status within culture, food, bathing rituals, shopping rituals.)
- Demonstrates advanced tolerance for ambiguity and uncertainty, anxiety and frustration management. e.g. Consistently copes successfully with potentially frustrating situations arising from differing cultural expectations or when expectations are unclear.
- Displays a relaxed, optimistic attitude to life in general, tends to comment on people and events in positive terms.
- Does not behave aggressively or abusively (verbal or physical).
- Demonstrates open-mindedness and advanced ability to be non-judgemental. e.g. Comments on observed cultural differences such as personal, social, and work habits, social infrastructure, and levels of technological 'advancement' without making judgements.
- Tends to be curious about other culture(s), asks questions about why things are as they are or appear.
- Consistently communicates respect in cross-cultural situations. e.g. Considers other's cultural sensibilities whilst retaining own cultural values, treats others courteously within their cultural framework.
- Demonstrates a range of communication skills including advanced abilities for: active listening and perception checking; providing feedback; assertiveness; confirming; inclusiveness; tuning-in; sensitivity to cultural difference in communication; topic management and turn-taking; code switching and speech converging. e.g. Confirms that cross-cultural messages have been understood, checks for accuracy of interpretations, and provides feedback on how the message affects the individual. 'So, Mr. Anderson, you are saying that the Indonesian children are very shy. Is that right? ... I understand what you're saying but I want to explain something. I hope you don't think I'm being rude. I don't think all kids are shy. Maybe we appear to be shy compared to Australian kids in the classroom, but I think that's probably because we have different rules. We are taught to be quiet and not to question adults. Our culture is different. What do you think?'
- Demonstrates an ability to differentiate between sub-groups and to individuate cross-culturally. e.g. Can identify individuals as members of a subgroup (regional, socio-economic, national). e.g. Can describe individuals in terms of individual attributes as opposed to cultural attributes.
- Consistently attributes behaviour to situational or individual factors as opposed to cultural stereotypes. e.g. Can explain why an individual behaved in a certain way as a result of the situation and individual difference. 'He likes to be on his own, which is a bit unusual for an Indonesian. I don't think it's because he's annoyed with us.' or 'She's probably gone off on her own because she doesn't like the game we're playing not because she's a snob'.
- Demonstrates advanced conflict resolution skills. e.g. In a conflict focuses on the issue and not the individuals, attempts to define a mutual problem and proposes possible solutions to the group or other party, whilst listening to alternatives proposed. In the playground this might be a dispute over the use of a playground area or over the rules of a game.
- Demonstrates a range of interpersonal and intrapersonal skills. e.g. Tends to make friends easily. e.g. Displays self confidence in new situations, tends to speak up, and introduce him- or herself to a new group, makes positive self-evaluations. e.g. Is able to describe own emotions and their source.
- Demonstrates a sense of humour, particularly the ability to laugh at oneself and to use humour inclusively. e.g. Makes a joke of own cross-cultural mistakes and 'embarrassments'.
- Demonstrates advanced decision making skills. e.g. Can explain the antecedents and likely consequences of planned actions. 'The reason I have decided to do my research project on Islam in our community is because I don't think that 'expats' really understand what it's all about. I think Islam has a big effect on how Indonesian people behave, and on what they think about us, and I want to find out about that. I don't know

whether they will want to help me with my research but I guess they will be pleased that I am interested in their religion. I think if more people learned about each other's beliefs it would be a better world.'

e.g. Consistently thinks in global terms about problems and solutions. 'Religion is not just an issue in our community. People are fighting wars about religion in Ireland and in the Middle East. If we could learn to understand each other's religions maybe it would be a more peaceful and safer world.'

- Demonstrates advanced community building skills.
 - e.g. Consults, negotiates and contributes to the development of shared goals for groups such as class, or student council.
 - e.g. Displays ongoing commitment to community projects such as student council or class plans and projects.
- Consistently personalises knowledge and perspectives.
 - e.g. Prefaces comments with 'I think' or 'From my point of view ...'
- Demonstrates an advanced capacity for empathy which may be characterised as transpection.
 - e.g. Comments on how it feels to be 'in another's shoes'. 'Australians don't feel the same way as we do about their country. We are proud of Indonesia because it is only fifty years since we began. Australians are proud of their country too, I know that, but they don't go in for marching and flag ceremonies like we do. They think we are a bit too nationalistic and I can understand why, but the marching and stuff is really important for us.'
- Demonstrates a capacity for dual or multiple perspective taking.
 - e.g. Comments on how an issue is viewed from a cross-cultural or a range of cross-cultural perspectives. Describes how primary culture may be perceived from 'the outside'.

Intercultural Attitudes: Learning Indicators for Children

MONOCULTURAL LEVEL 1: LIMITED AWARENESS

- Demonstrates no awareness of cultural differences.
e.g. Assumes in discussion of different groups that all groups share the same values and traits and that these are similar to those held by the child.
(This level may be typical for very young children.)

MONOCULTURAL LEVEL 2: NAÏVE AWARENESS

- Demonstrates stereotypical views which may be positive, negative or neutral. May demonstrate paternalistic attitudes.
e.g. They are a happy / friendly / funny / quiet / polite / rude / dirty people.
e.g. They are efficient / powerful / noisy / rich / rough/ friendly / rude people.
- May demonstrate naive curiosity and a fascination with the exotic and different
e.g. 'Why do they hold hands?', 'Why do they live in big houses?', 'How come they're so big?'

MONOCULTURAL LEVEL 3: CULTURE SHOCK OR DISTANCING

- Demonstrates frustration with cultural difference.
e.g. Comments on the irrational, unbelievable nature of the culture - 'Why are they all like that?!'; 'I hate the way they all stare at me'; 'They pinch you and it hurts!'; 'They just ignore God and they think they can do whatever they want. I can't understand them.'
- Demonstrates a critical or negative stereotypic view of the culture.
e.g. 'They are all lazy / rude / stupid / dirty / loud / selfish ...'
- Tends to avoid cross-cultural contact.
e.g. Demonstrates fear or confusion in cross-cultural settings.

CROSSCULTURAL LEVEL: EMERGING INTERCULTURAL LITERACY

- Demonstrates Increasing respect for the culture.
e.g. Is sensitive to cultural sensibilities, treats others with courtesy and respect in a culturally appropriate manner.
- Is able to see the culture as 'believable' at a cognitive level.
e.g. Comments on why people behave as they do from a cultural perspective, 'They do that because ...'
- Demonstrates an increasing desire to participate in cross-cultural school and social events.
- Increasingly demonstrates a sense of ease in cross-cultural situations.
- Demonstrates an increasing ability for 'isomorphic' or accurate cross-cultural attributions.
e.g. 'The reason he spits on the ground is because it is not rude in his culture to do that.'; 'They only stare at us because we look different, it's not because they're rude or anything'.
'Sometimes they act rude and like they're really angry but it's because that's how they talk in their country. They're not really being rude or angry.'; or 'I think he sleeps during the day because he's tired and it's so hot. He probably doesn't get as much to eat as we do either. I used to think it was because he was so lazy.'
- Attitudes will vary at this level with the situation. Negative attitudes may also be evident.
- Increasingly differentiates and individuates, with attitudes reflecting perceptions of specific individuals or situations.
e.g. 'She is a really nice kid and I think we will be good friends, but when she's with her own group she sometimes ignores me. Maybe it's because she wants to go along with the group, but I hate that. Some of the others are a bit snobby.' or 'I used to think that they were all rude and

bossy, but now I know that some of them are really friendly and nice. I think it depends a bit on their parents and maybe the type of life they've had before they came here.'

INTERCULTURAL LEVEL: BICULTURAL AND TRANSCULTURAL LITERACY

- Demonstrates a deep respect for second culture.
e.g. Modifies behaviour, dress etc. to suit cultural context.
- Demonstrates a perception of second culture as 'believable' because of familiarity.
e.g. 'With my Indonesia friends we just do everything together but with my 'expat' friends I have to speak up and tell them what I want to play. I used to keep quiet but then they'd just ignore me and I thought they were rude, but now I know that they have a different way of playing.'
- Demonstrates a desire to participate in play and humour in cross-cultural and/or transcultural situations.
e.g. Expresses enjoyment in living and working in a cross-cultural environment
e.g. Expresses enjoyment in living and working in a transcultural environment - where many cultures intersect - and tends to establish friendships within many cultures.
- Demonstrates an advanced ability for 'isomorphic' or accurate cross-cultural attributions.
- Consistently differentiates and individuates, with attitudes reflecting perceptions of specific individuals or situations.
- Increasingly adopts a critical and reflexive attitude towards own and other cultures.
e.g. 'In Indonesia I think we look after our families better than in Australia. In Australia people are more selfish. But that's not everyone. Also in Australia we help out in other ways, like the 'Walk Against Want' and 'Clean Up Australia Day'.

Intercultural Participation: Learning Indicators for Children

MONOCULTURAL LEVEL 1: LIMITED AWARENESS

- Demonstrates no significant cross-cultural participation.
- Where cross-cultural participation does occur, the individual is unaware of cultural distinctions and thus contact may be described as interpersonal rather than intergroup or intercultural.
(This level may be typical for very young children.)

MONOCULTURAL LEVEL2: NAÏVE AWARENESS

- May obtain information and perceptions from textbooks, novels, magazines, films etc. (i.e. No direct cross-cultural contact.)
- May engage in direct cross-cultural contact.
e.g. Travel within foreign country, early contact in a sojourn.
- May engage in tourism or touristic activity.
e.g. Sight-seeing, shopping for artefacts or souvenirs, seeking out activities which highlight or display cultural traditions.

MONOCULTURAL LEVEL3: CULTURE SHOCK OR DISTANCING

- Living and/or working alongside second culture.
e.g. Demonstrates a tendency to withdraw from cross-cultural contact into expatriate enclave or primary cultural groupings.
- Experiences frequent culture conflict situations.
e.g. Regular misunderstandings.
- Demonstrates rudeness, aggression, discriminatory or hostile behaviour towards members of other culture(s).

CROSSCULTURAL LEVEL: EMERGING INTERCULTURAL LITERACY

- Living and/or working effectively in cross-cultural or second culture situations.
e.g. Appears comfortable in cross-cultural settings, regularly participates in cross-cultural activities in school environment.
- May choose to participate in cross-cultural social or interpersonal activities.
e.g. Appears comfortable in cross-cultural social activities such as informal play and participates sometimes or regularly.
- Increasingly forms cross-cultural friendships or working relationships.

INTERCULTURAL LEVEL: BICULTURAL LITERACY

- Lives immersed in second culture or appears completely at ease and regularly participates in cross-cultural social or interpersonal situations.
- Demonstrates a desire to participate in social and school events, play and humour in cross-cultural situations.
- Has well established friendships and/or working relationships within second culture.

INTERCULTURAL LEVEL: TRANSCULTURAL LITERACY

- Lives and participates in a global or transcultural community.
e.g. Lives in a community and/or attends a school in which many cultures are represented and moves within ease between groups.
- Has well established friendships and/or working relationships within a variety of cultures and transculturally.
e.g. Has many cultures represented within peer friendship groups.

Intercultural Language Abilities: Learning Indicators for Children

MONOCULTURAL LEVEL 1: LIMITED AWARENESS

- Demonstrates no significant language abilities.
- May be unaware of language differences.
(This level may be typical for very young children.)

MONOCULTURAL LEVEL 2: NAÏVE AWARENESS

- Demonstrates an awareness of second language in general terms.
e.g. Understands basic type of language, script etc. and can recognise when the language is being used.
- May be able to communicate at a superficial level.
e.g. Knows and can use a few common and simple words and phrases, greetings etc. - “Hello” / “Selamat Pagi” etc.

MONOCULTURAL LEVEL 3: CULTURE SHOCK OR DISTANCING

- May demonstrate a knowledge of simple vocabulary and language structures.
e.g. Greetings, requests.
- May be able to communicate in second language at a simple, functional level.
e.g. Can talk to maid, teacher, friend or other in broken language.
- Language ability at this level may be as for Naive Awareness (above).

CROSSCULTURAL LEVEL: EMERGING INTERCULTURAL LITERACY

- Demonstrates an increasing knowledge of vocabulary and language structures.
e.g. Can increasingly communicate beyond simple greetings and requests, engage in ‘small talk’, shopping etc.
- Demonstrates an increasing functional fluency in second language in specific contexts.
e.g. Can communicate effectively in the school environment or familiar social contexts.
- This level typically requires extensive language learning over a prolonged period since the learner must move from a very simple language ability at Monocultural Level 3 to an advanced ability at the intercultural level.

INTERCULTURAL LEVEL: BICULTURAL LITERACY

- Demonstrates a relatively complete knowledge of vocabulary and language structures.
e.g. Can use appropriate oral and written language forms and styles in a variety of contexts.
- Demonstrates an emerging or complete capacity for bilingual communication.
i.e. Can communicate with relative ease within two languages.
- Demonstrates a functional fluency in second language in a full range of contexts.
e.g. Can read a book, watch TV, communicate cross-culturally at an age-appropriate level.

INTERCULTURAL LEVEL: TRANSCULTURAL LITERACY

- Demonstrates a significant knowledge and awareness of a variety of languages.

- May demonstrate an emerging or complete capacity for multi-lingual communication.
i.e., Can communicate with relative ease within a number of languages.
- May demonstrate a tendency to use mixed and hybrid languages in play and informal social contexts, particularly amongst peers.
- May be bilingual.

Intercultural Identity: Learning Indicators for Children

MONOCULTURAL LEVEL 1: LIMITED AWARENESS

- Demonstrates no cultural identity. Social identity is not salient since the individual is unaware of the existence of outgroups against which the ingroup may be defined.
(This level may be typical for very young children.)

MONOCULTURAL LEVEL 2: NAÏVE AWARENESS

- Demonstrates an emerging basic cultural identity, characterised by well defined stereotypic comparisons with other cultural groups.
e.g. Can identify own cultural group. 'I am an Australian'; 'I am Indonesian'.
'Australians have better houses than Indonesians.' or 'Indonesians are more polite than Australians'.
- Dominant or high status group members may demonstrate an unquestioned positively valued ingroup identity.
e.g. 'Australians are smarter than Indonesians, that's why we have better jobs'.
- Minority or low status group members may begin to question the reasons for societal position of his or her group.
e.g. 'I don't think it's fair that Indonesians don't get such good jobs as 'expats'. Indonesians are just as smart as 'expats.'

MONOCULTURAL LEVEL 3: CULTURE SHOCK OR DISTANCING

- Demonstrates a heightened awareness of own cultural identity, characterised by well defined stereotypic comparisons with other cultural groups.
e.g. Can identify own cultural group. 'I am an Australian'; 'I am Indonesian'.
'Australians are stronger than Indonesians.' or 'Indonesians are friendlier than Australians'.
- Dominant or high status group members may begin to be aware of societal position relative to other groups and may begin to question reasons, resulting in curiosity, denial, guilt, fear, powerlessness or anger.
e.g. 'I think it's unfair that Indonesians are so poor, but I don't think there's anything we can do about it.'
- Minority or low-status group members may begin to question their own cultural identity and/or reasons for societal position, resulting in 'passing' (rejection of native culture); or a redefinition of cultural identity that involves a rejection and denigration of the second culture and an exaggerated emphasis of the value of the native culture.
e.g. 'I'm not really Indonesian, I'm an expatriate'; or 'Indonesians are smarter than expats, but our country is not so rich as theirs. They're just too greedy and selfish.'

CROSSCULTURAL LEVEL: EMERGING INTERCULTURAL LITERACY

- Demonstrates an increasingly highly developed cultural identity.
- Demonstrates a developing awareness of the role of culture in shaping personal and social realities.
e.g. 'I am an Australian and Australia is a western country. Westerners are a bit different from Indonesians. Our culture is more individualistic.'
e.g. 'I am an Indonesian. I am also Javanese. Indonesia is an Asian country. Asians are a bit different from westerners. We do things more as a group. The Javanese culture is very old.'
- Demonstrates an increasing sense of confidence and security in own cultural identity, which is reinforced through successful and rewarding cross-cultural interaction.

e.g. 'We Australians have learned to be very efficient in our work. That is why we are so good at running a mine. We are lucky to have such a good education so we can learn to be good at these things. Indonesian people don't have such a good education and they are learning to be more efficient, but I think they will be able to run the mine well in a few years. They are very good workers and they can learn fast.'

INTERCULTURAL LEVEL: BICULTURAL LITERACY

- Demonstrates a bicultural identity.
e.g. 'I am an Australian and Indonesian. I think I am lucky to be both because I can live in both places and I can learn from both cultures and speak two languages.'
- Demonstrates an ability to mediate and transit between the cultures with ease.
e.g. Comments on feeling accepted and comfortable within both cultural contexts.
- May demonstrate a 'species' or 'global' identity enabling the individual to identify with humanity and a global community.
e.g. 'I am an Indonesian-Australian but I also a human being. I think we all have different countries and different cultures, but underneath we are all the same.'
- Primary cultural identity remains secure.
e.g. 'In some ways I am more western than Indonesian now, but I am still proud to be Indonesian'.
- Demonstrates a transcultural identity.
e.g. 'I am an expatriate. I have lived in lots of different places, so my community is made up of other people like me who move around the world to live in different places.'
- Demonstrates an ability to mediate and transit between multiple cultures with ease.
e.g. Comments on feeling accepted and comfortable within many cultural contexts.

Intercultural Literacy: Learning Indicators for Adults

(with illustrations from a cross-cultural community of predominately Australian expatriates and Indonesian hosts)

Intercultural Understandings: Learning Indicators for Adults

MONOCULTURAL LEVEL 2: NAÏVE AWARENESS

- Displays awareness of superficial or highly visible traits
e.g. Physical contact, holding hands, spitting, distinctive racial characteristics blue eyes, blonde hair, brown skin)
- Makes stereotypic comments
e.g. 'They are all so friendly / noisy / rude / polite / childlike / rough
- Displays a touristic view of the exotic or bizarre in a culture.
e.g. Friendliness, poverty, wealth, hygiene, cleanliness, rice growing, conical hats, kangaroos, nice toys, playgrounds, rice

MONOCULTURAL LEVEL 3: DISTANCING OR CULTURE SHOCK

- Displays a growing awareness of significant and subtle cultural traits that contrast markedly with own.
e.g. Conflict resolution styles, driving habits, alcohol consumption, promiscuity
- Displays a basic knowledge of cultural structures and traditions.
e.g. Political system, general history, religious structures ...

CROSSCULTURAL LEVEL: EMERGING INTERCULTURAL LITERACY

- Displays a deepening awareness of significant and subtle cultural traits that contrast markedly with own
- Displays an increasingly sophisticated knowledge of sociocultural structures and traditions.
e.g. Regional differences, class structures, political and religious structures
- Shows understanding of individual differences.
i.e. Treats people cross culturally on an individual basis ...

INTERCULTURAL LEVEL: BICULTURAL AND TRANSCULTURAL LITERACY

- Displays an awareness of how the culture feels from the standpoint of the insider.
e.g. Is able to comment on sociocultural issues and events in a way that appears authentic to an insider)
- Displays a relatively complete knowledge of sociocultural structures and traditions.
e.g. Regional differences, class structures, political and religious structures
- Displays an awareness of the relativity of all cultures.
e.g. Is able to comment with apparent objectivity on sociocultural structure and traditions of 'home', 'host' or other cultures.
- Displays awareness of global interdependence and global nature of problems and solutions

Intercultural Competencies: Learning Indicators for Adults

MONOCULTURAL LEVEL 2: NAÏVE AWARENESS

- Displays limited or no cross cultural competencies

MONOCULTURAL LEVEL 3: DISTANCING OR CULTURE SHOCK

- Displays an ability to discern significant cultural differences in real life situation.
e.g. Conflict resolution styles, driving habits, leisure activities)

CROSSCULTURAL LEVEL: EMERGING INTERCULTURAL LITERACY

- Intellectual Analysis: Displays an ability to understand significant cultural differences in real life situations at a cognitive level
- Displays an emerging capacity to be flexible and tolerate ambiguity.
e.g. Begins to cope successfully with potentially frustrating situations arising from differing cultural expectations or when expectations are unclear.
- Displays an emerging capacity to be non judgmental.
e.g. Begins to comment on observed cultural differences such as personal habits, social habits, work habits, social infrastructure, and levels of technological 'advancement' without making judgments.
- Begins to communicate respect in cross cultural situations.
e.g. Considers other's cultural sensibilities whilst retaining own cultural values, treats others courteously within their cultural framework.
- Begins to personalise knowledge and perspectives.
e.g. Prefaces comments with 'I think' or 'From my point of view' ...
- Displays an emerging capacity for empathy at a cognitive level.
e.g. Comments on how it might feel to be 'in another's shoes'.
- Begins to apply understandings of cultural differences in a work or social setting.
e.g. Adjusts own expectations and behaviours to account for cultural difference.

INTERCULTURAL LEVEL: BICULTURAL AND transcultural LITERACY

- Transpection: Displays an ability to understand significant and subtle cultural differences in real life situations empathically
- Displays an advanced capacity to be flexible and tolerate ambiguity.
e.g. Copes consistently with potentially frustrating situations arising from differing cultural expectations or when expectations are unclear.
- Displays an advanced capacity to be non judgmental.
e.g. Consistently comments on observed cultural differences such as personal habits, social habits, work habits, social infrastructure, and levels of technological 'advancement' without making judgments.
- Consistently communicates respect in cross cultural situations.
e.g. Considers other's cultural sensibilities whilst retaining own cultural values, treats others courteously within their cultural framework.
- Consistently personalises knowledge and perspectives.
e.g. Prefaces comments with 'I think' or 'From my point of view' ...
- Consistently displays a capacity for empathy.
e.g. Comments on how it might feel to be 'in another's shoes'.
- Consistently applies understandings of cultural differences in a cross cultural work or social setting.
e.g. Adjusts own expectations and behaviours to account for cultural difference.

Intercultural Attitudes: Learning Indicators for Adults

MONOCULTURAL LEVEL 2: NAÏVE AWARENESS

- Demonstrates naive curiosity and a fascination with the exotic and different.
e.g. Seeks out tourist destinations and displays of traditional culture.
- Demonstrates paternalistic or stereotypical views.
e.g. They are a happy / friendly / funny / quiet / efficient / rough people.
- Tolerates cultural differences.
i.e. Tends to accept potentially frustrating behaviours and situations on the basis of cultural difference.

MONOCULTURAL LEVEL 3: DISTANCING OR CULTURE SHOCK

- Demonstrates frustration with cultural difference.
e.g. Comments on the irrational, unbelievable nature of the culture: "I can't believe these people!".
- Demonstrates a critical or negative stereotypic view of the culture.
e.g. They are all lazy / arrogant / untrustworthy / promiscuous ...
- Tends to avoid cross cultural contact.

CROSSCULTURAL LEVEL: EMERGING INTERCULTURAL LITERACY

- Demonstrates respect for the culture.
e.g. Is sensitive to cultural sensibilities such as dress codes, treats others with courtesy and respect in a culturally appropriate manner.
- Is able to see the culture as 'believable' at a cognitive level.
e.g. Comments on why people behave as they do from a cultural perspective, "I can see that that makes sense within the culture".
- Demonstrates a desire to participate in cross cultural work and social events
- Displays a sense of ease in cross cultural situations

INTERCULTURAL LEVEL: BICULTURAL AND TRANSCULTURAL LITERACY

- Sees second culture as 'believable' because of familiarity
- May demonstrate an emerging sense of bi cultural identity.
e.g. Has friends within both parallel cultures.
- Demonstrates a desire to participate in play and humour in cross cultural situations.
e.g. Enjoys living and working in a cross cultural environment ...
- Demonstrates a deep respect for all cultures.
- Sees many cultures as 'believable' because of familiarity and all cultures as believable at a cognitive level.
- Demonstrates a sense of identity with a global, transnational culture and community.
e.g. Has friends and colleagues from many cultures, tends not to identify with one dominant culture ...
- Displays a sense of ease and a desire to participate in play and humour in transcultural situations.
e.g. Enjoys living and working in a trans cultural environment where many cultures intersect and tends to establish friendships within many cultures.

Intercultural Language Abilities: Learning Indicators for Adults

MONOCULTURAL LEVEL 2: NAÏVE AWARENESS

- Displays an awareness of second language in general terms.
e.g. Understands basic type of language, script etc.
- Is able to communicate at a superficial level.
i.e. Knows and can use a few common and simple words and phrases "Hello " / "Selamat Pagi" etc.

MONOCULTURAL LEVEL 3: DISTANCING OR CULTURE SHOCK

- Displays a knowledge of simple vocabulary and language structures.
e.g. Greetings, requests.
- Is able to communicate in second language at a simple level.
e.g. Can talk to maid or other in broken language.

CROSSCULTURAL LEVEL: EMERGING INTERCULTURAL LITERACY

- Displays an extensive knowledge of vocabulary and language structures.
e.g. Can communicate beyond simple greetings and requests, engage in 'small talk', shopping etc.
- Demonstrates a functional fluency in second language in specific contexts.
e.g. Can communicate effectively in the work environment or familiar social contexts.

INTERCULTURAL LEVEL: BICULTURAL AND TRANSCULTURAL LITERACY

- Displays a relatively complete knowledge of vocabulary and language structures
- Displays an emerging or complete capacity for bilingual communication.
i.e. Can communicate with relative ease within two languages.
- Demonstrates a functional fluency in second language in a full range of contexts.
e.g. Can read a novel, watch a movie, discuss complex political, personal, social or work related issues.
- Displays a significant knowledge of a variety of language
- Displays an emerging or complete capacity for multi lingual communication.
i.e. Can communicate with relative ease within a number of languages.
- Displays a tendency to use mixed and hybrid languages in play and informal social contexts

Intercultural Participation: Learning Indicators for Adults

MONOCULTURAL LEVEL 2: NAÏVE AWARENESS

- Obtains information from textbooks, novels, magazines, films etc.
i.e. No direct cross cultural contact.
- Engages in tourism or touristic activity.
e.g. Sight seeing, shopping for artefacts or souvenirs, seeking out activities which highlight or display cultural traditions.

MONOCULTURAL LEVEL 3: DISTANCING OR CULTURE SHOCK

- Living and/or working alongside second culture.
e.g. Tendency to withdraw from cross cultural contact into expatriate enclave or own cultural groupings.
- Experiences frequent culture conflict situations.
e.g. Regular misunderstandings, frustration with delays, or frequently offended by behaviours of other cultural group.

CROSSCULTURAL LEVEL: EMERGING INTERCULTURAL LITERACY

- Living and/or working effectively in cross cultural or second culture situations.
e.g. Appears comfortable in cross cultural settings, regularly participates in cross cultural activities in work environment.
- May choose to participate in cross cultural social activities.
i.e. Appears comfortable in cross-cultural social activities and sometimes or regularly participates.

INTERCULTURAL LEVEL: BICULTURAL AND TRANSCULTURAL LITERACY

- Lives immersed in second culture or appears completely at ease and regularly participates in cross cultural situations
- Has well established friendships and/or working relationships within second culture
- Lives and participates in a global or transcultural community.
e.g. Lives and works in an environment in which many cultures are represented and moves within ease amongst all .
- Has well established friendships within a variety of cultures and transculturally.
e.g. Has many cultures represented within friendship and work groups, has many friends in different countries around the world.

Intercultural Identity: Learning Indicators for Adults

MONOCULTURAL LEVEL 2: NAÏVE AWARENESS

- Demonstrates an emerging basic cultural identity, characterised by well defined stereotypic comparisons with other cultural groups.
e.g. 'Australians are typically more assertive and task-oriented than Indonesians.' or 'Indonesians are more reserved than Australians'.
- Dominant or high status group members may demonstrate an unquestioned positively valued ingroup identity.
e.g. 'Indonesians are slower and not able to problem-solve or think critically like Australians'.
- Minority or low status group members may begin to question the reasons for societal position of his or her group.
e.g. 'I don't think it's fair that Indonesians are given such low salaries and poor conditions compared to 'expats'. We do the same job!'

MONOCULTURAL LEVEL 3: CULTURE SHOCK OR DISTANCING

- Demonstrates a heightened awareness of own cultural identity, characterised by well defined stereotypic comparisons with other cultural groups.
e.g. 'Australians are smarter than Indonesians.' or 'Indonesians are friendlier than Australians'.
- Dominant or high status group members may begin to be aware of societal position relative to other groups and may begin to question reasons, resulting in curiosity, denial, guilt, fear, powerlessness or anger.
e.g. 'I do think it's unfair that Indonesians are so poorly paid, but I don't think there's anything I can do about it.'
- Minority or low-status group members may begin to question their own cultural identity and/or reasons for societal position, resulting in 'passing' (rejection of native culture); or a redefinition of cultural identity that involves a rejection and denigration of the second culture and an exaggerated emphasis of the value of the native culture.
e.g. 'I'm not really Indonesian, I'm an international person; or 'Australians are morally deficient. They may be wealthy and powerful but their society is decadent and inferior.'

CROSSCULTURAL LEVEL: EMERGING INTERCULTURAL LITERACY

- Demonstrates an increasingly highly developed cultural identity.
- Demonstrates a developing awareness of the role of culture in shaping personal and social realities.
e.g. 'Indonesian society differs from Australian. We are an individualist society. We value getting the job done and are more open in our communication and confronting in our conflict resolution approach.' 'I am an Indonesian. I am also Javanese. Indonesia is a collectivist culture. We value our religion as a basis for society and individual behaviour in a way that western societies do not.'
- Demonstrates an increasing sense of confidence and security in own cultural identity, which is reinforced through successful and rewarding cross-cultural interaction.
e.g. 'We Australians have learned to be very efficient in our work. We are fortunate to have such a good education system and an affluent and democratic society which enables Australians to achieve what we do. Indonesia is disadvantaged by its poverty and an undemocratic system. Its education system has a long way to go.'

INTERCULTURAL LEVEL: BICULTURAL AND TRANSCULTURAL LITERACY

- Demonstrates a bicultural identity.
e.g. 'Culturally, I am both Australian and Indonesian.'
- Demonstrates an ability to mediate and transit between the cultures with ease.
e.g. Comments on feeling accepted and comfortable within both cultural contexts.
- May demonstrate a 'species' or 'global' identity enabling the individual to identify with humanity and a global community.
e.g. 'I am an Indonesian-Australian but I also a human being. We all have different cultures, but we all share in our humanity.'
- Primary cultural identity remains secure.
e.g. 'In some ways I am more western than Indonesian now, but I am still proud to be Indonesian'.
- Demonstrates a transcultural identity.
e.g. 'I am an expatriate. I have lived in lots of different places, so my community is made up of other people like me who move around the world to live indifferent places.'
- Demonstrates an ability to mediate and transit between multiple cultures with ease.
e.g. Comments on feeling accepted and comfortable within many cultural contexts.

Appendix 7

Interview Itineraries (Summary of Interviews Conducted in Phase One and Phase Two)

Phase One Interviews Conducted On Site – 1996

Sub-Groups	No.	Sex	Age at time of interview	National background	Inter-viewer	Other Comments
<i>Tanjung Bara International School Students</i>						
Junior One Class	1	M	4	Australian	MH	Long-term expatriate (never lived in Australia)
	2	F	5	UK/Indo	MH	Mixed family, Always lived in Indonesia
	3	F	5	Australian	MH	New to Indonesia. Parents are teachers.
	4	F	5	Aust/Indo	MH	Mixed family (daughter of #28 and #35)
Junior Two Class	5	M	8	Australian	MH	Three years in Indonesia
	6	M	7	NZ/Indo	MH	Mixed family
	7	F	8	NZ	MH	Three years in Indonesia
Senior One Class	8	M	9	Australian/ Filipino	MH	Mixed family.
	9	M	8	Australian	MH	New to Indonesia
	10	M	8	UK/Indo	MH	Mixed family, Always lived in Indonesia
	11	F	9	Australian	MH	New to Indonesia. Contractor family
	12	F	7	Aust/Singapore	MH	Mixed family
Senior Two Class	13	M	10	Australian	MH	New to Indonesia. Son of Managing Director
	14	M	11	Australian	MH	New to Indonesia. Contractor family
	15	F	11	Australian	MH	Five years in Indonesia
	16	F	10	Australian	MH	Two years in Indonesia
	17	F	10	Australian	MH	Long-term expatriate senior KPC management family (Mother also grew up expatriate)
	18	F	12	Australian	MH	New to Indonesia. Contractor family
<i>Tanjung Bara International School Staff</i>						
Expatriate	19	M	34	Australian	MH	Four years in Indonesia
	20	M	44	Australian	MH	Two years in Indonesia (Principal)

	21	M	36	Australian	MH	New to Indonesia
	22	F	28	Australian	MH	Three years in Indonesia
	23	F	Estimate mid-30s	Australian	MH	New to Indonesia
	24	F	46	Australian	MH	Four years in Indonesia
Indonesian	25	F	28	Indonesian	MH	Indonesian Teacher
	26	F	Estimate mid-30s	Indonesian	MH	Indonesian teacher assistant
<i>Tanjung Bara International School Parents</i>						
Expatriate	27	M	41	Australian	MH	Some years of experience as expatriate. Medical Doctor. Husband of #32
	28	M	42	Australian	MH	Long-term expatriate, married to Indonesian. Husband of #35
	29	M	45	Australian	MH	Five years in Indonesia
	30	M	39	Australian	MH	Two years in Indonesia
	31	F	35	Australian	MH	Five years in Indonesia
	32	F	40	Australian	MH	Wife of #27. Strong views about school's lack of sensitivity to Indonesian culture.
	33	F	39	Australian	LC	Four years in Indonesia. Preparing to repatriate to Australia. Strong negative views about Indonesian culture.
	34	F	38	Australian	MH	Long-term expatriate (grew up overseas) Wife of senior KPC manager
Indonesian	35	F	39	Indonesian	MH	Wife of #28. Former company secretary
<i>Tanjung Bara Wider Community</i>						
Expatriate	36	M	47	Australian	ET	Long term expatriate. Senior KPC Marketing manager. Indonesian girl-friend.
Indonesian	27	M	33	Indonesian	S	Single KPC mid level employee
	28	M	Approx.	Indonesian	S	Senior KPC manager. Concern for cross-cultural issues
	29	M	Estimate mid-40s	Indonesian	S	Single KPC administrator
	40	M	Estimate mid-50s	Indonesian	S	KPC manager. Husband of #41
	41	F	Estimate mid-40s	Indonesian	S	Wife of #40
	42	F	Estimate mid-40s	Indonesian	S	Wife of Senior KPC manager. Head of Indonesian School Board.

	43	F	Estimate 50	Indonesian	S	Wife of Senior KPC manager
	44	F	Estimate 50	Indonesian	ET	Wife of KPC manager
	45	F	10	Indonesian	S	Daughter of #40 and #41. A rare case of Indonesian child who plays regularly with expatriate children.

Phase Two (Role of School in Community) Interviews Conducted On Site – 1996-1997

Sub-Groups	No.	Sex	Age at time of interview	National background	Interviewer	Other Comments
<i>Tanjung Bara International School Students</i>						
Senior classes	1	F	11	Australian	MH	1997 - Long-term expatriate senior KPC management family (mother also grew up expatriate)
	2	F	13	Australian	MH	1997 - Group interview conducted
	3	F	10	Australian	MH	
	4	M	9	Australian	MH	
<i>Tanjung Bara International School Staff</i>						
Expatriate	5	M	38	Australian	MH	1997 - Principal
	6	F	Estimate mid-30s	Australian	LC	1997 - #5's wife (and teacher)
	7	F	31	Australian	MH	1997 – New to Indonesia
	8	F	Estimate mid-30s	Australian	MH	1997 – New to Indonesia
	9	F	39	Australian	MH	1997 - New to Indonesia. Part-time teacher, parent and wife of mine manager
	10	F	39	Australian	MH	1997 - New to Indonesia Part-time teacher and wife of mine manager
Indonesian	11	F	28	Indonesian	MH	1997 – Indonesian teacher
	12	F	24	Indonesian	E	1997 – Teacher Assistant (former maid)
	13	F	Estimate mid-30s	Indonesian	S	1996 – Teacher Assistant (wife of mid-level Indonesian KPC employee)
<i>Tanjung Bara International School Parents</i>						
Expatriate	14	M	45	USA	MH	1996 – KPC General Manager and Chairman of TB School Board
	15	M	41	Australian	MH	1997 – Three years in Indonesia. Manager Training
	16	M	36	Australian	MH	1997 – Three years in Indonesia. Pit manager
	17	F	36	Australian	MH	1997 – Wife of contractor
	18	F	Estimate mid-30s	Australian	MH	1997 – Wife of contractor. Lives in Teluk Lingga (Indonesian village off mine lease)

	19	F	37	UK	MH	1997 – English wife of KPC Manager
	20	F	Estimate mid-30s	Australian	L C	1997 – Poppets child-carer and member of TB School Board
Indonesian	21	F	Estimate mid-30s	Indonesian	MH	1997 – ‘Middle class’ single mother working in executive position with Medical contractor.
	22	F	Estimate mid-30s	Indonesian	E	1997 – ‘Lower class’ wives of expatriate mine employees and mothers of Poppets children
	23	F	Estimate mid-30s	Indonesian	E	
<i>Tanjung Bara Wider Community</i>						
Indonesian	24	M	12	Indonesian	E	1997 - Child
	25	M	Estimate mid-30s	Indonesian	E	1997- Single, KPC Language trainer
	26	M	Estimate mid-40s	Indonesian	E	1997-
	27	F	Estimate mid-40s	Indonesian	S	1996 - Wife of senior KPC manager. Chair of KPC’s Indonesian School (YPPSB) Board.
	28	F	Estimate mid-30s	Indonesian	S	1997
	29	M	Estimate 40	Indonesian	S	1997 – Family

Appendix 8

Research Questions / Data Sources / Data Collection – A Matrix

Research Questions / Data Sources / Data Collection – A Matrix

Research Questions	Sources of Data Collection	Instruments and Techniques for Data Collection
<p>1. What was the level and type of intercultural literacy evident amongst the students and other groups identified?</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Groups: students, teachers, parents, members of the expatriate community, members of the Indonesian community. Levels: Monocultural I, Monocultural II, Monocultural III, Cross-Cultural, Intercultural. Dimensions: Understandings, Competencies, Attitudes, Participation, Language, Identity 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Individuals from within each group Focus groups: Tanjung Bara class groups, Tanjung Bara Reference Group, <i>YPPSB</i> staff and students School and community activities 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Direct Interview (Phase I) Indirect interview (i.e. members of one group commenting on others such as teachers on students, parents on children) (Phase II) Focus group discussions Observation (of students in class, Poppets, general community activity)
<p>2. To what extent was the school's intercultural literacy curriculum congruent (i.e. did the observed program match the intended program)?</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Did the intended and 'observed' programs match at each stage in Stake's schema: antecedents, transactions, outcomes? 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Individuals from within each group Focus groups: Tanjung Bara class groups, Tanjung Bara Reference Group School Policy documents, curriculum statements School activities (Indonesian Studies lessons, Poppets session etc.) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Direct interview (Phase II) Focus group discussions Document review Observation (of students in class, Poppets, general community activity)
<p>3. To what extent were the school's intercultural literacy curriculum soundly based (in Stake's terms, logically congruent) using the proposed Multidimensional Model for the Development of Intercultural Literacy and supporting theory as a standard?</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Did the intended program fit with the theory discussed in earlier chapters in intercultural literacy development at 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Individuals from within each group Focus groups: Tanjung Bara class groups, Tanjung Bara Reference Group, <i>YPPSB</i> staff and students School Policy documents, curriculum statements, teachers' planning and evaluation documents 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Direct Interview (Phase II) Indirect interview (i.e. members of one group commenting on others such as teachers on students, parents on children) Focus group discussions

each of Stake's stages: antecedents, transactions, outcomes?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> School activities (Indonesian Studies lessons, Poppets session etc.) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Document review Observation (of students in class, Poppets, general community activity)
<p>4. To what extent did the school's curriculum and non-core programs and activities impact on the development of intercultural literacy in the students and the wider Tanjung Bara community?</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Peripheral school activities: special events, 'summer schools', extra-curricular activities, joint school programs with <i>YPPSB</i> – the company's Indonesian school, community service, incidental in-school teaching and learning, 'family assemblies'. Groups: students, teachers, members of the expatriate community, members of the Indonesian community. What level and type of contact did the different groups have with the school and its activities (core and non-core)? What was the perceived impact of the school's program and activities (if any) on the development of intercultural literacy? 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Individuals from within each group Focus groups: Tanjung Bara class groups, Tanjung Bara Reference Group School and community activities <i>YPPSB</i> students and staff 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Direct Interview (Phase II) Indirect interview (i.e. members of one group commenting on others such as teachers on students, parents on children) Focus group discussions Observation (of students in class, Poppets, general community activity) Document review <i>YPPSB</i> discussion and student survey
<p>5. To what extent did the activities in the wider Tanjung Bara community impact on the development of intercultural literacy amongst the students and other groups identified?</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Wider Tanjung Bara community activities: sporting activities, church groups, social activities, non-school-based student activities, language training, incidental out-of school teaching and learning, family activities, other community activities. Impact on the students? What and how? 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Individuals from within each group Focus groups: Tanjung Bara class groups, Tanjung Bara Reference Group School and community activities <i>YPPSB</i> students and staff 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Direct interview (Phase II) Focus group discussions Observation of school and community activities <i>YPPSB</i> discussion and student survey

<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Impact on other groups? teachers, parents, members of the expatriate community, members of the Indonesian community. What and how?		
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Appendix 9

Interview Schedules (Phase One and Phase Two for Children and Adults)

DIRECT INTERVIEW GUIDE FOR ADULTS

Phase One

Introduction

Explain the purpose of the research and the interview. e.g. We are trying to find out what people in Tanjung Bara have learned about living with expats / Indonesians. In this interview we want to find out what you think about your own learning and later we might want to ask you what you think about other people's learning.

Explain the voluntariness of informants and that information will be treated in confidence (i.e. only discussed with interviewer and researcher - but will be included in the analysis and may be quoted anonymously.)

Ask for permission to take notes and use a tape deck (if appropriate).

Explain that there will probably be a follow-up interview to ask some more general questions about the community and the role of the school in the community. This will also provide an opportunity for the informant to add more comments if they want to and to check the record of interview from this interview.

Explain that it is important to be completely honest in responses and that there are no right or wrong answers. Take time to answer if you need to.

Background Information

Interviewer:

Date:

Informant:

Time:

Informant's age:

Venue:

Sex:

Time spent on interview:

Nationality and cultural background:

Religion:

Married status, children (names, ages):

Date arrived on site:

Previous cross-cultural experience:

Relationship to interviewer:

General presentation: (at ease, appears nervous, keen, reluctant ...)

Other information: (Employment, cross-cultural relationships? i.e. partner, mixed parentage ...)

What I'd like to do now is to go through your experience of living in Tanjung Bara, and particularly what experience you have of western / Indonesian people and their culture.

I really want to find out about your experience and what you have learned about western / Indonesian people and their culture, so remember to be honest. You won't be able to offend anyone because no one will be hearing or seeing your responses except me and the researcher.

I have some questions I'll need answers to but feel free to add anything you think is interesting or important.

Intercultural Understandings and Attitudes

1. First I want to ask what you have learned about western / Indonesian people and their culture and also about what you think of western / Indonesian people and their culture. Let's go back to when you first came to Tanjung Bara. Do you remember what you knew about Indonesian / western people before you came to site?

- Characteristics of the environment?
- Racial characteristics?
- Economic / technological levels?
- Social behaviours?
- Different attitudes to sexuality?

What did you think about that? What attitudes or opinions did you have about Indonesian / western people and their culture?

- What sort of people did you expect to meet?
- Happy? friendly? funny? quiet? loud? efficient? rough?
- What positive opinions did you have?
- What negative opinions did you have?

Positive and negative. There are things which are not applicable in Indonesian society.

How did you gain that knowledge and those opinions?

- The media? Films? Books? Magazines?
- School? Textbooks?
- From friends or family?
- Other experiences (travel, overseas study, previous expatriate / mixed community, business connections)?

How about when you were first here? Do you remember what things you learned about Indonesian / western people and their culture in the first few months? What things were you most interested in or most caught your attention?

- Initial impressions?
- Were you interested in finding out more about the people / culture?
- What things interested you most?
- What positive opinions did you form? -
- What negative opinions?
- How did your opinions change?
- How did you feel about Indonesians / westerners then? Positive and negative.

How do you think you developed that understanding and those impressions?

- From friends?
- From the workplace?
- From observation? Where?
- What did you see that changed your understanding or opinions?

2. What happened after that (over the next couple of years)? Did you begin / continue to learn more about the people / culture or not?

- Did your initial interest in the people / culture decline or not?
- Did your attitudes change?
- Positive?
- Negative?
- Why do you think this happened?

What things did you learn during this period? What did you find out was different about the people / culture?

- Ways of doing things?
- Resolving conflict?
- Driving habits?
- Alcohol consumption?
- Spare time activities?
- Work ethic?

What was your attitude towards these things? What did you think?

- Positive?
- Negative?
- More positive.

Do you remember what sorts of things (if anything) you learned about the society in this period?

- Political system?
- General history?
- The place of religion in society?
- Ways of conducting business?
- Government or private administration?

What opinion did you form about these aspects of the society? Did your attitudes change?

- Positive?
- Negative?

How do you think you developed that understanding, opinion and impressions?

- From friends?
- From the workplace?
- From observation? Where? At workplace.
- What did you see that changed your understanding?

3. What about your understanding of the people and their culture now? Do you feel you have learned more? From what you know now about the other culture, what would you say are the most significant cultural traits that contrast markedly with your own culture?

- Ways of expressing things?
- Work place relationships?

What do you think of those cultural traits? Has your attitude towards Indonesian / western people and their culture changed any more?

- Positive?
- Negative?

What do you think about westerners / Indonesians in the workplace or socially?

- Why?
- Can you give some examples...

How do you get on with Indonesian / western people?

- Do you enjoy working / living with westerners?
- Why? Why not? Life here is comfortable.

(Depending on the answer: If the answer indicates that the interviewee sees Indonesian / western people in an undifferentiated way - all the same - proceed to 4.1, if the answer indicates differentiation continue with prompts.)

- Have you noticed any differences between groups within the culture?
- What differences have you noticed (if any)?
- Which groups?
- Do you tend to treat people from different groups differently?
- Why?
- On what basis?

Would you say you are generally comfortable or uncomfortable in cross-cultural situations?

- Do you usually know what is expected of you socially or how you should speak to people or relate to them cross-culturally
- Can you give some examples?
- Does it depend on the type of situation?
- Can you give some examples?

Do you think you understand a western sense of humour?

- Do you ever find yourself making jokes or laughing at a joke within the other language?
- How do you think Indonesian and western humour differ from each other?

4.1 Can you imagine for a moment that you are a westerner / Indonesian. Do you think that an Indonesian person / westerner sees the world or looks at life differently than a westerner / Indonesian?

- If yes, how - what do you mean?
- Why

How do you think westerners see your culture?

- Why?

4.2 Do you think you have an understanding of other cultures other than Indonesian and western?

- Which?
- How did you learn about that / those cultures?
- First hand or second hand?

Do you think some cultures are better than others or not?

- Which one/s?
- Why?
- How about your own culture compared for example with western culture?
- It depends on where (which view point I use) they're doing things in Indonesian culture which are better than those of western culture and vice versa.

Intercultural Competencies

I want to ask you now about the sorts of skills you might have learned that you need to live / work in Indonesia / with westerners. Can you think of some examples of when it has been difficult or frustrating living / working in Indonesia / with westerners?

How did you deal with these situations?

Do you think you handle these situations differently now than when you were first here?

- How? By communicating more.
- What do you do now that is different?
- When did you begin to learn this?
- What sorts of skills do you think you need to live / work here?

What is the best advice you could give to someone new coming to site?

What do you think are the most important skills a person needs to live / work in a cross-cultural environment like this?

Do you behave any differently when you're around westerners?

- How?
- Why?

Do you think they (i.e. people from the other culture) should behave differently around westerners / Indonesians?

- How?
- Why?

Intercultural Language Abilities

I want to ask about your language abilities now.

Do you speak any English?

Other languages I can speak

How would you rate your ability level?

- Can use a few common and simple words and phrases (e.g. “Hello”, “*Selamat Pagi*”)
- Can use a range of simple functional phrases (e.g. Greetings, requests)
- Can speak, read and write a little with a native speaker in familiar contexts (e.g. small talk, work related language, communicate instructions to maid, shopping)
- Fluent in the second language (i.e. can read a book or newspaper, watch TV, and communicate at a sophisticated level in a variety of contexts)

How did you learn the language?

- Course?
- Expatriate friends?
- Travel?
- Self-taught?

Why did you want to learn the language?

- Work?
- Personal interest?
- Advancement / to open up opportunities in the future?
- Travel?

When did you begin to learn the language?

Can you speak more than two languages?

- Which languages can you communicate in?
- What level?

Do you tend to use English, Bahasa Indonesia, regional Indonesian language, other or a mixture:

- At home?
- At work?
- In the community?

Intercultural Participation

Now a few questions about your involvement in the Indonesian / expat community.

1. Have you taken any holidays in Indonesia / western countries?

What impressions of Indonesian / western culture did you gain from these trips?

2. Do you tend to socialise with expatriates, Indonesians or in a mixed group? Mixed group.
 - What percentage of your social time would you spend with:
Expatriates?
Indonesians?
A mixed group?
 - Why do you think this is?
 - Can you give some examples ...
 - In what settings?
 - How often?

Has your social behaviour changed during the time you have been on site? i.e. Did you tend to spend more or less time with expatriates / Indonesians / mixed groups when you were first on site, in the first few months, or since then?

- First arrived / first few months
- First year or so
- Since then

Would you say you have western friends?

- If no, why do you think this is?
- If yes, can you comment on the quality of the friendships ...
- How many friends? For how long? Who?
- How often do you see them?
- Is cultural difference an issue in such a friendship?
- Does it make a difference?

4.2 Do you have friends / work contacts in other countries or other cultures? Yes.

- How many?
- In which countries / cultures?
- Who?

How about in Tanjung Bara? Do you tend to make friends with people from a variety of cultural / national backgrounds or do you tend to stick to your own group?

I don't think so. I tend to stick to my own group.

- Why do you think this is?
- Do you enjoy living / working in a mixed cultural environment?

How about in the work place? Refer previous item.

- What percentage of your work time would you spend with:
Expatriates?
Indonesians?
A mixed group?
- Why do you think this is?

DIRECT INTERVIEW GUIDE FOR YOUNG CHILDREN – (DRAFT 2)

Phase One

Introduction

Explain the purpose of the research and the interview. e.g. We are trying to find out what people in Tanjung Bara think about living with expats / Indonesians. (Adapt the language to the age of the interviewee.)

Ask for permission to proceed, take notes and use a tape deck (if appropriate).

Explain that there may be a follow-up interview to ask some more general questions about the community and the role of the school in the community. This will also provide an opportunity for the informant to check the record of interview from this interview.

Explain that it is important to be completely honest in responses and that there are no right or wrong answers.

Background Information

Interviewer:

Date:

Informant:

Time:

Informant's age:

Venue:

Class:

Time spent on interview:

Sex:

Nationality and cultural background:

Religion:

Date arrived on site:

Previous cross-cultural / expatriate experience:

Relationship to interviewer:

General presentation: (at ease, appears nervous, keen, reluctant ...)

Other information: (e.g. mixed parentage?)

What I'd like to do now is find out what you think about living in Indonesia / Tanjung Bara, and especially what you know about western / Indonesian people.

I really want to find out what you think about western / Indonesian people, so remember to be honest.

Intercultural Understandings and Attitudes

1. (These questions only for children who came to site recently or for older children who might remember their pre-Indonesian experience.)

Let's go back to when you first came to Indonesia / Tanjung Bara. Did you know anything about Indonesia / western people before you came to site?

- What sort of people did you expect to meet?
- Happy? friendly? funny? quiet? loud? efficient? rough?
- Racial characteristics?
- Economic / technological levels (rich / poor)?
- Rice farming?

How did you know that?

- T.V.? Films? Books? Magazines?
- School? Textbooks?
- From friends or family?
- Other experiences (e.g. travel)?

How about when you were first here? Do you remember what things you found out about Indonesian / western people when you first came here? What did you think of Indonesian / western people?

- Initial impressions?
- Were you interested in finding out more about Indonesia / the people?
- What things interested you most?

How do you think you learned those things? Why do you think you thought that?

- From friends?
- From the workplace?
- From seeing things yourself? Where?
- What did you see that changed your understanding?

2. (These questions only for older children.)

What happened after that (over the next couple of years)? Did you begin / keep learning more about the Indonesian / western people or not? Were you still interested in learning about Indonesian / western people or not?

- Why do you think this happened?

Have you changed the way you think about Indonesians as you have got older?

- In what way?
- Why?

What things did you learn during this period? What did you find out was different about the people / culture?

- Ways of doing things?
- Driving habits?

- Spare time activities?
- Religion?

What did you think about that?

3. What's the difference between an Indonesian and an Australian / New Zealander etc.?

- How do you know who is Indonesian and who is western?
- Where do Indonesians westerners live?
- What's an Indonesian / western house like?
- What do you think about that?
- Would you like to live in one?
- Why? Why not?
- Why do they live in houses like that?
- What do Indonesian / western people eat?
- What do you think about that?
- Do you like to eat Indonesian food?
- Why? Why not?
- Why do they eat food like that?
- Do Indonesian / western people usually go to the mosque / church / temple?
- Where?
- How often?
- Why? What for?
- What do you think about that?
- Would you like to do that?
- Why? Why not?
- Why do / don't they go to the mosque / church / temple?
- What sort of clothes do Indonesians / westerners usually wear?
- What do you think about that?
- Do you like to wear Indonesian / western clothes?
- Why? Why not?
- Why do they wear clothes like that?

Do you know any Indonesian / western people?

Do you like Indonesian / western people?

- Are they all the same?

(Depending on the answer: If the answer indicates that the interviewee sees Indonesian / western people in an undifferentiated way - all the same - proceed to 4.1, if the answer indicates differentiation continue with prompts.)

- Have you noticed any differences between groups of Indonesians / westerners?
- What differences have you noticed (if any)?
- Which groups?

- Do you tend to treat people from different groups differently?
- Why?
- On what basis?

- Do you enjoy being with Indonesians / westerners
- Why? Why not?

What do you think about expat / Indonesian children?

- Why?
- Can you give some examples ...

What do you think about Indonesians / expats generally?

- Why?
- Can you give some examples ...

4.2 Do you know anything about other countries / types of people other than Indonesian and Australian / New Zealand etc.?

- Which?
- How did you learn about that / those countries?
- Travel?
- Books? TV?
- School?

Do you think some countries / types of people are better than others or not or are they all the same?

- Which one/s?
- Why?
- How about Australia / New Zealand (or home country) compared with Indonesia / the west? Do you think one is better than the other or are they just as good as each other?
- Why? Why not?
- What about the people - are Indonesians better than Australians / New Zealanders / westerners, or are Australians / etc. better than Indonesians or are they really the same / as good as each other?

Are there any Indonesian / western children in our / your school?

- Who?
- Why? Why not?

Intercultural Competencies

Do Indonesians / westerners do things that you don't like sometimes?

What do you usually do about that?

Do you think you do anything differently now than when you were first here?

- How?
- What do you do now that is different?
- When did you learn to do this?

Why do you think Indonesians / westerners do those things?

What would you tell to someone new coming to site about living in a place with westerners / Indonesians?

Do you behave / do things any differently when you're around westerners / Indonesians?

- How?
- Why?

Intercultural Language Abilities

I want to ask about *Bahasa Indonesia* / English now.

Can you speak any *Bahasa Indonesia* / English?

How well do you think you can speak it?

- Can use a few common and simple words and phrases (e.g. "Hello", "*Selamat Pagi*")
- Can use a range of simple functional phrases (e.g. Greetings, requests)
- Can speak, read and write a little with a native speaker in familiar contexts (e.g. small talk, work related language, communicate instructions to maid, shopping)
- Fluent in the second language (i.e. can read a book or newspaper, watch TV, and communicate at a sophisticated level in a variety of contexts)

(Ask the interviewee to demonstrate language ability in an informal and non-threatening way)

How did you learn the language?

- Mainly at school?
- At home (e.g. talking to the maid)?
- In the community (e.g. travelling, talking to other Indonesians / expats in Tanjung Bara)?

Do you enjoy learning the language?

- Why? Why not?

Do you think it's important / useful to learn the language?

- Why? Why not?

When did you begin to learn the language?

Can you speak any other languages?

- Which languages can you communicate in?

Do you use any English, *Bahasa Indonesia*:

- At home (e.g. with the maid)?
- At school? (Who do you talk to?)
- In other places (e.g. Sangatta, mini market, the mess, with the Indonesians at the pool)?

Intercultural Participation

Now a few questions about your time in Indonesia / Tanjung Bara.

1. Have you taken any holidays in Indonesia / western countries?

- When?
- Where?

What did you learn / find out about Indonesian / western people from these trips?

Do you go down to Sangatta (or other local villages) often?

- How often?
- When was the last time?
- Do you enjoy it?
- Why? Why not?

Have you been on any school excursions / trips in Indonesia?

- Balikpapan? Bontang?
- Java? Mahakam? Bali?
- Local: Rantau Pulang? Sangatta?
- Did you enjoy the trips?
- Why? Why not?
- Did you learn more about Indonesian people / Indonesia?
- What sort of things?

2. Does your family usually mix with Australians / New Zealanders etc., Indonesians or in a mixed group? (i.e. Do you visit their houses go to grown-up parties together ...)

- When did you last go to a party / visit / play with:
Australians / New Zealanders etc.?
Indonesians?
A mixed group?
- Why do you think this is?
- Do you usually know how to behave when you're with Indonesians / westerners?
- Can you give some examples?
- Does it depend on where you are or who you're with?
- Can you give some examples?

Do you ever play with Indonesian / expatriate children? Would you say you have Indonesian / expat friends?

- Why? Why not?
- If no, why do you think this is?
- If yes, how often do you play together?
- What are their names?
- Do you ever sleep over? Where? When?
- How many friends? For how long?
- Is it different having an Indonesian friend to an Australian / New Zealand etc.?
- Does it make a difference that you're Indonesian / western and he / she is western / Indonesian?

4.2 Do you have any friends in other countries?

- How many?
- In which countries?

How about here in Indonesia / Tanjung Bara? Think about who your friends are. Do you make friends with children from different countries?

- Who?
- Where are they from?
- Why do you think this is?
- Do you enjoy going to school with children who come from different places?

(This question for older children only)

Did you tend to spend more or less time with expatriates / Indonesians / mixed groups when you were first on site, in the first few months, or since then?

- First arrived / first few months
- First year or so
- Since then

INTERVIEW GUIDE FOR STAFF - THE ROLE OF THE SCHOOL AND COMMUNITY

1997 – Phase Two

Introduction

Explain the purpose of the research and the interview. e.g. We are trying to find out what people in Tanjung Bara have learned about living with expats / Indonesians. (Adapt the language to the age of the interviewee.)

Ask for permission to proceed and to take notes and use a tape deck (if appropriate).

Explain that there may be a follow-up interview to provide an opportunity for the informant to add more comments if they want to and to check the record of interview from this interview.

Explain that it is important to be completely honest in responses and that there are no right or wrong answers. Take time to answer if you need to. Explain anonymity and confidentiality.

Background Information

If this information is already recorded for an individual simply record name. If a group is being interviewed record names and key details overleaf.

Interviewer:

Date:

Informant/s:

Time:

Venue:

Time spent on interview:

(If this is an individual interview)

Informant's age:

Class:

Sex:

Nationality and cultural identity (as reported):

Religion:

Date arrived on site:

Previous cross-cultural / expatriate experience:

Relationship to interviewer:

General presentation: (at ease, appears nervous, keen, reluctant ...)

Other information: (e.g. mixed parentage?)

The Role of Targeted Curriculum

I'd like to ask you a few questions about the curriculum and class programs now.

1. Firstly, I guess there is a formal curriculum for teaching children about Indonesia. Can you tell me about that from your point of view? What sort of programs does the school run?

- Indonesian Studies.
- *Bahasa Indonesia*.
- SOSE.
- Other curriculum areas.
- Can you give some examples of what you mean?

2. What programs are you involved in?

- Can you give some examples of what you mean?

3. What is your role?

- Can you give some examples of what you mean?

4. What role do other teachers play?

- Bahasa Indonesian teacher
- Teacher aide?
- Secretary
- Ashari, Barus, Pahan
- Others?
- Can you give some examples of what you mean?

5. How do these programs fit in with the rest of the curriculum?

- Can you give some examples of what you mean?

6. Do you have a sense of how effective these programs are?

- How?
- Why?
- How do you judge the effectiveness of programs?
- How about your effectiveness?
- The effectiveness of other teachers/staff?
- Can you give some examples of what you mean?

7. Which aspects of the curriculum are successful?

Why?

How?

Can you give some examples of what you mean?

8. What are the problems with this curriculum?

- Motivation of children?
 - Motivation of staff?
 - Attitudes? (children, staff, parents?)
 - Understandings and skill levels of staff?
 - Time? Other pressures and priorities?
 - Can you give some examples of what you mean?
9. How do you think the programs/curriculum could be improved?
- Professional development?
 - Better resources?
 - Better curriculum outlines?
 - Can you give some examples of what you mean?

Integrated Curriculum and Other Aspects of the School Program - Intentions

I'd like to ask you a few more general questions about the curriculum and class/school programs now.

Do you understand what I mean by Intercultural Literacy? Explain: I mean the understandings, attitudes, competencies and sense of identity that people need to be able to live and work effectively in a cross-cultural or international setting. (Discuss and Explain further. Display and discuss the model for Intercultural Learning).

1. Do you think the school has a role to play in developing intercultural literacy in students?
- Can you give some examples of what you mean?
2. How do you think this relates to the curriculum for Indonesian Studies and other programs that we discussed in the last section?
- Can you give some examples of what you mean?
3. Do you think the school actually aims to produce intercultural literacies? What do you think are the school's aims and intentions in relation to intercultural literacy?

What does the school aim to achieve in this area?

4. Should the school have intercultural literacy as an aim?
- Why? Why not?
 - Is it realistic?
 - What is a more realistic/appropriate aim?
 - Why is it important / unimportant?
 - Can you give some examples of what you mean?
5. What are your aims and intentions as a teacher in relation to intercultural literacy?

Integrated Curriculum and Other Aspects of the School Program - Program Evaluation and Outcomes

1. What outcomes do you expect for intercultural learning in the students in general?
- How?
 - Why?
 - Examples?

2. How about in your class specifically?

- How?
- Why?
- Examples?

3. What do you think the actual outcomes for children are?

- In the school generally?
- In your class room?

4. Do you have a sense of how effective the programs/aspects of the school we discussed above are?

- How?
- Why?
- How do you judge the effectiveness of programs?
- How about your effectiveness?
- The effectiveness of other teachers/staff?
- Can you give some examples of what you mean?

5. Which aspects of the curriculum/school program are successful in your view in relation to intercultural learning?

- Why?
- How?
- Can you give some examples of what you mean?

6. What are the problems with this curriculum/aspect of the school program?

- Motivation of children?
- Motivation of staff?
- Attitudes? (children, staff, parents?)
- Understandings and skill levels of staff?
- Time? Other pressures and priorities?
- Can you give some examples of what you mean?

7. How could the programs/curriculum be improved?

- Professional development?
- Better resources?
- Better curriculum outlines?
- Can you give some examples of what you mean?

Evaluating Intercultural Learning

Now I'd like to ask you to give an informal assessment of where you think the children are in terms of intercultural learning. (Display the model for intercultural learning and ask for comments on where the teacher's class / the school in general should be placed. Use the indicator sheet also.)

1. What would your general assessment be? (For each dimension)

- Why? On what basis?

2. Do you think there is a range of levels within your group/class/school?

- Explain.
- Can you give some examples?
- Why? On what basis?

3. How about yourself? Where do you think you fit on this model?

- Answer for each dimension.
- Why do you think that?

Can you give some examples of what you mean?

The Role of the School in the Community

I'd like to ask you a few questions about the community now and about its relationship with the school.

1. How much contact do community members have with the school?

- Parents?
- Other expatriate community members?
- Indonesian adults?
- Indonesian children?
- *YPPSB*?
- Can you give some examples? Where? When? Why? Be specific (e.g. How often in a week?)

2. Do you think that community members see the children involved in school activities much?

- When? How often?
- What activities?
- Sport? Swimming? Class programs? Family assemblies?

3. Do you think that the school is very 'visible' in the community? What do you think about the image of the school in the community?

- Parents?
- Other expatriate community members?
- Indonesian adults?
- Indonesian children?
- *YPPSB*?

What do you think of their impression of the standard of education?

The philosophy of education?

Western / Australian / Tasmanian education in general?

- Why do you think that?
- Where do those impressions come from do you think? How are they formed?
- Why?
- Can you give some examples of what you mean?

4. Do you think that the school plays a role in the community other than just educating the children?

- What?
- Why?
- Can you explain what you mean?

- Any impact on you personally?
- Can you give some examples

5. Do you think that the school has any role to play in influencing what parents and other expats think and learn about Indonesia? On intercultural literacy in the community?

- Teaching positive attitudes towards Indonesia and Indonesian people?
- Do you think it should do more?
- What? Why? How?
- Less?
- What? Why? How?
- Not appropriate or relevant?
- Why not?
- Can you give some examples of what you mean?

5. Do you think the school should have this as an aim?

- Why? Why not?
- Is it realistic?
- What is a more realistic/appropriate aim?
- Why is it important / unimportant?
- Can you give some examples of what you mean?

6. Do you think that the school plays any role in helping Indonesians in the community to learn about western / Australian culture? On intercultural literacy in the community?

- Running combined activities for Indonesian and expatriate children?
- Organising cultural events for the adult community?
- By demonstrating a western style of education and 'representing' Australian culture in the community?
- Can you give some examples of what you mean?

7. Do you think the school should have this as an aim?

- Why? Why not?
- Is it realistic?
- What is a more realistic/appropriate aim?
- Why is it important / unimportant?
- Can you give some examples of what you mean?

Specific Activities

I want to ask about some specific activities the school has arranged over the past couple of years.

1. Visits by Dayak dancers and crafts people or by dancers and crafts people from Samarinda and Pupuk Kaltim (Bontang) for school and community workshops and performances. (*Batik*, pottery, flower making, dancing - 1994)

- Do you remember the events?
- Were you here?
- Did you attend?
- Any impressions?
- Positives?
- Negatives?

Do you think this/these event/s would have had any effect on cross-cultural relationships or understanding in the community? Westerner's attitudes towards and understanding of Indonesia or Indonesian attitudes towards and understandings of western culture?

- Why? Why not?
- What impact?

Have these events helped you personally to get to know Indonesian / western people or to learn about their culture, way of doing things, language. Have any influenced your attitudes?

- How?
- In what way?

2. Visits by Australian musicians or theatre group? (Sirroco with aboriginal dancer in early 1994, theatre group in 1993, Trio Madois in 1997)

- Do you remember the events?
- Were you here?
- Did you attend?
- Any impressions?
- Positives?
- Negatives?

Do you think this/these event/s would have had any effect on cross-cultural relationships or understanding in the community? Westerner's attitudes towards and understanding of Indonesia or Indonesian attitudes towards and understandings of western culture?

- Why? Why not?
- What impact?

Have these events helped you personally to get to know Indonesian / western people or to learn about their culture, way of doing things, language. Have any influenced your attitudes?

- How?
- In what way?

3. Expat and Indonesian children dancing together for the Indonesian Night at Tanjung Bara Club, Dayak Dancing at Suarga Bara Town Hall, marching for Independence Day, 1996? (1994 and 95)

- Do you remember the event/s?
- Were you here?
- Did you attend?
- Any impressions?
- Positives?
- Negatives?

Do you think this/these event/s would have had any effect on cross-cultural relationships or understanding in the community? Westerner's attitudes towards and understanding of Indonesia or Indonesian attitudes towards and understandings of western culture?

- Why? Why not?
- What impact?

Have these events helped you personally to get to know Indonesian / western people or to learn about their culture, way of doing things, language. Have any influenced your attitudes?

- How?
- In what way?

4. Children from *YPPSB* and Tanjung Bara participating in community service programs (Visits to Rantau Pulung, Muhammadaya School, Orphanage in Sangatta)?

- Do you know about these programs?
- Any impressions or opinions?
- Positives?
- Negatives?

Do you think these programs would have had any effect on cross-cultural relationships or understanding in the community? Westerners' attitudes towards and understanding of Indonesia or Indonesian attitudes towards and understandings of western culture?

- Why? Why not?
- What impact?

Have these events helped you personally to get to know Indonesian / western people or to learn about their culture, way of doing things, language. Have any influenced your attitudes?

- How?
- In what way?

6. Inter-school visits by children from *YPPSB* and Tanjung Bara (Combined sport - *kasti*, soccer, swimming, class visits, Science Fair . . .)

- Do you know about these programs?
- Any impressions or opinions?
- Positives?
- Negatives?

Do you think these programs would have had any effect on cross-cultural relationships or understanding in the community? Westerner's attitudes towards and understanding of Indonesia or Indonesian attitudes towards and understandings of western culture?

- Why? Why not?
- What impact?

Have these events helped you personally to get to know Indonesian / western people or to learn about their culture, way of doing things, language. Have any influenced your attitudes?

- How?
- In what way?

7. Family Assemblies highlighting Indonesian culture (Presented on TV and including *angklung* performances, Ramayana performance, *batik* display, Bahasa Indonesian demonstration etc.)

- Do you know about these programs?
- Any impressions or opinions?
- Positives?

- Negatives?

Do you think these programs would have had any effect on cross-cultural relationships or understanding in the community? Westerners' attitudes towards and understanding of Indonesia or Indonesian attitudes towards and understandings of western culture?

- Why? Why not?
- What impact?

Have these events helped you personally to get to know Indonesian / western people or to learn about their culture, way of doing things, language. Have any influenced your attitudes?

- How?
- In what way?

Other Community Activities

Now I would like to ask you about other community activities and what impact they have on cross-cultural understandings and attitudes. (Not only for children but for adults also.)

- Swimming Club
- Fun Run
- Family Hash
- Brownies
- Tanjung Bara Club
- Sport (e.g. golf, tennis ...)
- Aquatic Club
- KPC Training programs (Language, etc.)
- Tanjung Bara Library
- Playgroup
- Poppets
- Women's groups (e.g. book discussion, video discussion, *arisan* . . .)
- Church groups

Do any of these activities help Indonesians and westerners to learn about each other's cultures?

- To get to know each other?
- To understand each other better?
- Which ones?
- How?
- Why? Why not?

Have any helped you personally to get to know Indonesian / western people or to learn about their culture, way of doing things, language. Have any influenced your attitudes?

- How?
- In what way?

- Do any of these activities prevent or make it difficult for Indonesians and westerners to learn about each other's cultures?
- Do they create bad feelings or misunderstandings?
- Make it difficult to get to know each other?
- Make it difficult to understand each other better?

- Which ones?
- How?
- Why? Why not?

Are there any other activities or aspects of life in Tanjung Bara or of the school program which get in the way of people developing cross-cultural understandings and/or positive attitudes?

- Which ones?
- How?
- Why? Why not?

Are there any other community activities or aspects of the community that are important that we haven't discussed?

Anything else that you think is important about the community here?

- About how people from the different cultural backgrounds get along with each other?
- About the way the community is structured?
- About the way KPC is structured or the mine operates?
- About the way people behave or live their lives?

INTERVIEW GUIDE FOR COMMUNITY (2) THE ROLE OF THE SCHOOL AND COMMUNITY

1997 – Phase Two

Introduction

Explain the purpose of the research and the interview. e.g. We are trying to find out what people in Tanjung Bara have learned about living with expats / Indonesians. (Adapt the language to the age of the interviewee.)

Ask for permission to proceed and to take notes and use a tape deck (if appropriate).

Explain that there may be a follow-up interview to provide an opportunity for the informant to add more comments if they want to and to check the record of interview from this interview.

Explain that it is important to be completely honest in responses and that there are no right or wrong answers. Take time to answer if you need to. Explain anonymity and confidentiality.

Background Information

If this information is already recorded for an individual simply record name. If a group is being interviewed record names and key details overleaf.

Interviewer:

Date:

Informant/s:

Time:

Venue:

Time spent on interview:

(If this is an individual interview)

Informant's age:

Class:

Sex:

Nationality and cultural identity (as reported):

Religion:

Date arrived on site:

Previous cross-cultural / expatriate experience:

Relationship to interviewer:

General presentation: (at ease, appears nervous, keen, reluctant ...)

Other information: (e.g. mixed parentage?)

The Role of the School in the Community

I'd like to ask you a few questions about the community now and about its relationship with the school.

1. How much contact do you have with the school?

- Do you ever go into the school?
- When? How often? What for?

- Do you ever meet or talk to the expat teachers?
- When? How often? What for?

- How about the Indonesian staff at the school?
- When? How often? What for?

- Do you use the library?
- When? How often? What for?

- Any thing else? Can you give some examples? Where? When? Why? Be specific (e.g. How often in a week?)

2. Do you see the children involved in school activities ever?

- When? How often?
- What activities?
- Sport? Swimming? Class programs? Family assemblies?

3. Do you have a general opinion about the school and its program?

- What would your impression be of the standard of education?
- The philosophy of education?
- Western / Australian / Tasmanian education in general?
- Why do you think that?

4. Do you think that the school has any effect on what the children think and learn about Indonesia?

- Language teaching?
- Teaching about the culture?
- History? Politics?
- Teaching children the skills to live in a cross-cultural community?
- Teaching positive attitudes towards Indonesia and Indonesian people?
- Do you think it should do more?
- What? Why? How?
- Less?
- What? Why? How?

5. Do you think the school should have this as an aim?

- Why? Why not?
- Is it realistic?
- What is a more realistic/appropriate aim?
- Why is it important / unimportant?
- Can you give some examples of what you mean?

6. Do you think that the school is very 'visible' in the community? What do you think about the image of the school in the community?

- Parents?
- Other expatriate community members?
- Indonesian adults?
- Indonesian children?
- *YPPSB*?

What do you think of the community's impression of the standard of education?

The philosophy of education?

Western / Australian / Tasmanian education in general?

- Why do you think that?
- Where do those impressions come from do you think? How are they formed?
- Why?
- Can you give some examples of what you mean?

7. Do you think that the school plays a role in the community other than just educating the children?

- What?
- Why?
- Can you explain what you mean?
- Any impact on you personally?
- Can you give some examples

8. Do you think that the school has any role to play in influencing what parents and other expats think and learn about Indonesia? On intercultural literacy in the community?

- Teaching positive attitudes towards Indonesia and Indonesian people?
- Do you think it should do more?
- What? Why? How?
- Less?
- What? Why? How?
- Not appropriate or relevant?
- Why not?
- Can you give some examples of what you mean?

9. Do you think the school should have this as an aim?

- Why? Why not?
- Is it realistic?
- What is a more realistic/appropriate aim?
- Why is it important / unimportant?
- Can you give some examples of what you mean?

10. Do you think that the school plays any role in helping Indonesians in the community to learn about western / Australian culture? On intercultural literacy in the community?

- Running combined activities for Indonesian and expatriate children?
- Organising cultural events for the adult community?
- By demonstrating a western style of education and 'representing' Australian culture in the community?
- Can you give some examples of what you mean?

11. Do you think the school should have this as an aim?

- Why? Why not?
- Is it realistic?
- What is a more realistic/appropriate aim?
- Why is it important / unimportant?
- Can you give some examples of what you mean?

Evaluating Intercultural Learning

Now I'd like to ask you to give an informal assessment of where you think your child/children are in terms of intercultural learning. Do you understand what I mean by Intercultural Literacy? Explain: I mean the understandings, attitudes, competencies and sense of identity that people need to be able to live and work effectively in a cross-cultural or international setting. (Display the model for intercultural learning and ask for comments on where the parents child/children in general should be placed. Use the indicator sheet also.)

1. What would your general assessment be? (For each dimension and each child)

- Why? On what basis?

2. Do you think there is a range of levels within the community? Where do different groups fit?

- Children
- Indonesian community
- Expatriate community
- Explain.
- Can you give some examples?
- Why? On what basis?

3. How about yourself? Where do you think you fit on this model?

- Answer for each dimension.
- Why do you think that?
- Can you give some examples of what you mean?

Curriculum and Other Aspects of the School Program

I'd like to ask you a few more general questions about the curriculum and class/school programs now.

Just answer from your perspective. (For interviewees who have indicated a limited knowledge of and/or experience with the school, this section may be inappropriate. If so skip it.)

1. Do you think the school has a role to play in developing intercultural literacy in students?

- Can you give some examples of what you mean?

2. How do you think this relates to the curriculum for Indonesian Studies and *Bahasa Indonesian*?

- Can you give some examples of what you mean?

3. Do you think the school should have this as an aim?

- Why? Why not?
- Is it realistic?
- What is a more realistic/appropriate aim?
- Why is it important / unimportant?
- Can you give some examples of what you mean?

4. Do you think the school curriculum/program does teach children intercultural literacy in this sense? Can you tell me about that from your point of view. What sort of programs does the school run? Is intercultural learning happening in other programs or aspects of the school life?

- Supportive school environment?
- Excursions?
- Health education, SOSE?
- Other curriculum areas?
- Other aspects of the school program?
- Can you give some examples of what you mean?

5. Are you personally involved in any relevant school programs?

- Can you give some examples of what you mean?

6. What is your role?

- Can you give some examples of what you mean?

7. What role do you think others play?

- *Bahasa Indonesian* teacher
- Teacher aide?
- Others teachers?
- Community?
- Parents?
- Students?
- Can you give some examples of what you mean?

8. How do you think these programs fit in with the rest of the curriculum or school program?

- Can you give some examples of what you mean?

9. Do you have a sense of how effective these programs/aspects of the school are?

- How?
- Why?
- How do you judge the effectiveness of programs?

- How about your effectiveness?
- The effectiveness of other teachers/staff?
- Can you give some examples of what you mean?

10. Which aspects of the curriculum/school program do you think are successful in relation to intercultural literacy?

- Why?
- How?
- Can you give some examples of what you mean?

11. What do you think are the problems with this curriculum/aspect of the school program?

- Motivation of children?
- Motivation of staff?
- Attitudes? (children, staff, parents?)
- Understandings and skill levels of staff?
- Time? Other pressures and priorities?
- Can you give some examples of what you mean?

12. How do you think the programs/curriculum could be improved?

- Professional development?
- Better resources?
- Better curriculum outlines?
- Can you give some examples of what you mean?

Specific Activities

I want to ask about some specific activities the school has arranged over the past couple of years.

1. Visits by Dayak dancers and crafts people or by dancers and crafts people from Samarinda and Puduk Kaltim (Bontang) for school and community workshops and performances. (*Batik*, pottery, flower making, dancing - 1994)

- Do you remember the events?
- Were you here?
- Did you attend?
- Any impressions?
- Positives?
- Negatives?

Do you think this/these event/s would have had any effect on cross-cultural relationships or understanding in the community? Westerner's attitudes towards and understanding of Indonesia or Indonesian attitudes towards and understandings of western culture?

- Why? Why not?
- What impact?

Have these events helped you personally to get to know Indonesian / western people or to learn about their culture, way of doing things, language. Have any influenced your attitudes?

- How?
- In what way?

2. Visits by Australian musicians or theatre group? (Sirroco with aboriginal dancer in early 1994 or theatre group in 1993)

- Do you remember the events?
- Were you here?
- Did you attend?
- Any impressions?
- Positives?
- Negatives?

Do you think this/these event/s would have had any effect on cross-cultural relationships or understanding in the community? Westerner's attitudes towards and understanding of Indonesia or Indonesian attitudes towards and understandings of western culture?

- Why? Why not?
- What impact?

Have these events helped you personally to get to know Indonesian / western people or to learn about their culture, way of doing things, language. Have any influenced your attitudes?

- How?
- In what way?

3. Expat and Indonesian children dancing together for the Indonesian Night at Tanjung Bara Club? (1994 and 1995)

- Do you remember the event/s?
- Were you here?
- Did you attend?
- Any impressions?
- Positives?
- Negatives?

Do you think this/these event/s would have had any effect on cross-cultural relationships or understanding in the community? Westerner's attitudes towards and understanding of Indonesia or Indonesian attitudes towards and understandings of western culture?

- Why? Why not?
- What impact?

Have these events helped you personally to get to know Indonesian / western people or to learn about their culture, way of doing things, language. Have any influenced your attitudes?

- How?
- In what way?

4. Children from YPPSB and Tanjung Bara participating in community service programs (Visits to Rantau Pulung, Mahammadaya School, Orphanage in Sangatta)?

- Do you know about these programs?

- Any impressions or opinions?
- Positives?
- Negatives?

Do you think these programs would have had any effect on cross-cultural relationships or understanding in the community? Westerners' attitudes towards and understanding of Indonesia or Indonesian attitudes towards and understandings of western culture?

- Why? Why not?
- What impact?

Have these events helped you personally to get to know Indonesian / western people or to learn about their culture, way of doing things, language. Have any influenced your attitudes?

- How?
- In what way?

6. Inter-school visits by children from *YPPSB* and Tanjung Bara (Combined sport - *kasti*, soccer, class visits . . .)

Do you know about these programs?

Any impressions or opinions?

Positives?

Negatives?

Do you think these programs would have had any effect on cross-cultural relationships or understanding in the community? Westerner's attitudes towards and understanding of Indonesia or Indonesian attitudes towards and understandings of western culture?

- Why? Why not?
- What impact?

Have these events helped you personally to get to know Indonesian / western people or to learn about their culture, way of doing things, language. Have any influenced your attitudes?

- How?
- In what way?

7. Family Assemblies highlighting Indonesian culture (Presented on TV and including *angklung* performances, Ramayana performance, *batik* display, *Bahasa Indonesian* demonstration etc.)

- Do you know about these programs?
- Any impressions or opinions?
- Positives?
- Negatives?

Do you think these programs would have had any effect on cross-cultural relationships or understanding in the community? Westerners' attitudes towards and understanding of Indonesia or Indonesian attitudes towards and understandings of western culture?

- Why? Why not?
- What impact?

Have these events helped you personally to get to know Indonesian / western people or to learn about their culture, way of doing things, language. Have any influenced your attitudes?

- How?
- In what way?

Other Community Activities

Now I would like to ask you about other community activities and what impact they have on cross-cultural understandings and attitudes. (Not only for children but for adults also.)

- Swimming Club
- Fun Run
- Family Hash
- Brownies
- Tanjung Bara Club
- Sport (e.g. golf, tennis ...)
- Aquatic Club
- KPC Training programs (Language, etc.)
- Tanjung Bara Library
- Playgroup
- Poppets
- Women's groups (e.g. book discussion, video discussion, *arisan* . . .)
- Church groups

Do any of these activities help Indonesians and westerners to learn about each other's cultures?

- To get to know each other?
- To understand each other better?
- Which ones?
- How?
- Why? Why not?

Have any helped you personally to get to know Indonesian / western people or to learn about their culture, way of doing things, language. Have any influenced your attitudes?

- How?
- In what way?
- Do any of these activities prevent or make it difficult for Indonesians and westerners to learn about each other's cultures?

- Do they create bad feelings or misunderstandings?
- Make it difficult to get to know each other?
- Make it difficult to understand each other better?

- Which ones?
- How?
- Why? Why not?

Are there any other activities or aspects of life in Tanjung Bara or of the school program which get in the way of people developing cross-cultural understandings and/or positive attitudes?

- Which ones?
- How?
- Why? Why not?

Are there any other community activities or aspects of the community that are important that we haven't discussed?

Anything else that you think is important about the community here?

- About how people from the different cultural backgrounds get along with each other?
- About the way the community is structured?
- About the way KPC is structured or the mine operates?
- About the way people behave or live their lives?

Appendix 10

Group Discussion Guides (*YPPSB* and Tanjung Bara International School Class Groups)

Discussion Guide for *YPPSB*

YPPSB SCHOOL VISIT 12.3.96

Aims:

1. Investigate the Indonesian education system as represented at *YPPSB*.

- Philosophy
- Methodology
- Teaching Practice
- Curriculum
- Management structures etc. etc. etc.

2. Investigate the impact of joint programs (Tanjung Bara and *YPPSB*) on the intercultural literacy of students (and teachers) involved.

- Understandings of western culture
- Attitudes towards western culture
- Intercultural competencies
- English language abilities
- Participation in other cross cultural activities

3. Investigate the perceptions of *YPPSB* staff re the effectiveness of joint programs with Tanjung Bara.

- What is the perception as to the aims intended outcomes of joint programs (for students of both schools?)
- How effective have they been in facilitating intercultural learning?
- What problems have occurred?
- How might they be overcome, or future programs improved?

4. Discuss some proposals for increasing the effectiveness of future programs (from the Tanjung Bara staff).

- Better planning (greater prior warning, joint planning, a joint standing committee ...)
- Even numbers of children from each school
- Consistent group of children to encourage familiarity, relationships (including Tanjung Bara, Batu Putih children)
- Commitment from both schools to a regular program, jointly planned with dates set for each year.
- Agreement between the two schools as to the best form of activity to meet the aims (formal/informal, sport/creative, social academic etc.)
- Possibility of teacher exchange (i.e. school visits to develop familiarity with each other's philosophy, curriculum, methodology etc. (This was tried with *TK* but not continued)

YPPSB DISCUSSION GUIDE 12.3.96

1. Who participated in that activity?
2. What did you think of it?
4. Did you meet any expatriate children there?
5. Did you talk to them?
 - *Bahasa apa?*
 - *Tentang apa?*
 - *Bagaimana?*
6. What do you think about expatriate children?
7. What do you think about Tanjung Bara School?
8. About expatriates or westerners in general?
9. Did you learn anything about westerners?
 - The way they do things?
 - The way they treat each other?
 - Their manners?
 - Their activities?
 - Their culture?
10. What do you think about that? (Attitudes)
11. Do you ever play with expatriate children? Any expatriate friends?
 - Who?
 - Where?
 - When?
 - How often?
12. Is it any different playing / being friends with an expatriate (to an Indonesian)?
13. Do you behave any differently around expatriate?
14. Do you think you would be more confident to make friends with an expatriate child after participating in that activity?
15. How could the activity have been better for you?
16. Is it better having the joint activity at YPPSB or Tanjung Bara?

Activities:**School based**

- *Kasti*
- Soccer
- Class visits
- Shared assemblies
- Coming together for performances (e.g. Irish band, Sirocco with aboriginal dancer)
- Combined trip to *Sekolah Muhammadiyah*

Community Activities

- Scouts (Sangatta Baru)
- Indonesian dancing (Tanjung Bara)
- Brownies (Tanjung Bara)
- Swimming Club
- Aquatic Club
- Church group
- Other?

A few general questions

1. What do you think about western culture?
2. Where did you get those ideas from?
3. What do you learn about western culture in school?
4. How about English language? Do you learn it at school? Do you enjoy learning it or not? Think it's useful / important or not? Why do you want to learn it? Do you try to use it out of school? Where, with whom?
5. Do you want to get to know the expatriate children better? Why? Why not?
6. What do you think would make the community better, so that expatriates and Indonesians could get to know each other better?

Discussion Guide for Tanjung Bara International School Focus Groups

14/3/96

GROUP DISCUSSIONS: SENIOR 1 and 2:

Groups of 3-4 children to be asked to discuss a series of question and record key points.

Teachers may move between groups and prompt discussions.

QUESTIONS:**SENIOR 1:**

1. What things do you know and think about Indonesia and Indonesians (good and bad)?
2. What about the country: history, religion, arts, etc.?
3. Does the school (Indonesian Studies and other lessons / activities) make a difference to how you feel about Indonesians?
4. What about Indonesian Studies classes? How could they be improved?
5. What about *Kasti* (with *YPPSB*)?

SENIOR TWO QUESTIONS:

1. What have you learnt about Indonesia and Indonesians?
2. Has the school program made a difference? What do you think of Indonesian Studies? Could it be improved? How?
3. What do you think of Indonesians (+ve and -ve)
4. What difference does the school make?

The discussion can be fairly open and free-ranging. Preceded by a talk on my research with general class discussion (Taped in S.2) which focuses on why Indonesians do 'annoying things' and what we might do that is 'annoying' to them (both classes).

15/3/96

SENIOR 1 and 2**Follow-Up Discussion:**

1. Review previous day's discussion
2. Brainstorm all the activities that allow cross-cultural activity
3. Follow *YPPSB* discussion guide (as appropriate):
 - *Kasti* – What did you think of it? (good and bad)
 - Did you meet any Indonesian children there (i.e. talk to them etc.) ?
 - Did you talk to them?
 - *Bahasa apa?*
 - *Tentang apa?*
 - *Bagaimana?*
 - What do you think about Indonesian children?
 - Do you think you would be more confident to make friends with an Indonesian child after participating in this activity?
 - How could the activity have been better? Can you suggest better activities to get to?
 - Venues for activities. Where is best?
 - Do you ever play with Indonesian children? Where?

Appendix 11

Back-Translated Interview Schedule (Phase Two Community Adult Interview)

AD242

Interview Guidelines for Adult Group

Design I 23 February 1996

INTRODUCTION

- Explaining the objectives of the research and interview
Examples:
 - The objective of this research is to explain things that people learn on living with Western people.
 - In this interview, we would like to know what your opinion is regarding either what you have learned/gained or what other people have learned/gained.
- Explaining that respondent's opinion is confidential. Anything what you learn/share during an interview is only for the research purposes and it will only be analysed by the researchers. There may be some quotes of the respondent's opinions in the research report; nevertheless, their names will not be attached.
- Telling respondent that interviewer will record and take notes during interview.
- Explaining that there might be a follow up by giving feedback to respondents as they wish they have an opportunity to make any changes as well as asking their general view regarding the role of school in a society.
- Explaining that there is no right or wrong answer as we merely want to get the right information. As a result, obtaining candid information is the first priority during an interview.
- The following questions require your answers. Do not hesitate to give additional information if necessary.

UNDERSTANDING

We would like to know what you have learned/gained from living/working side by side with western people. Let us begin with the time before you came to Tanjung Bara. At that time, you already knew that you would be working in Tanjung Bara. At that time, did you remember images on western people/culture based on your last experiences?

Living Environment/residence

- Ethical characteristics
- Economic/technological levels
- Social attitude
- Different attitude to sexuality

Where did you get the images?

- Media, movie, book, magazine
- School, textbook
- Friend, family
- Other experience
- Listening to friends/other people in conversation.

- Thus, you already have had some ideas before you live/work here.

And then you start living/working here. You meet new people and make friends with them. In the first/second/third month, do you still remember on something that you notice/observe from them which are able to change your point of view on images you ever had before?

(Is there any interesting things?) In your opinion, what does really attract you?

- the same
- different

First impression:

- Are you interested in knowing them and their culture further?
- What is the most interesting thing for you?

Where did you get that images?

- Friend during conversation
- Workplace.
- Observation (where)
- Is there anything that you see can change your previous images?

After you are here for one or two years, are you still interested in knowing more about them?

- Do you lose your interest on them and their culture?
- If you lose the interest, do you have any reasons behind it?

Right now, for the time you are here, do you notice/observe any differences on them/their culture?

- Work attitude
- Problem solving
- Discipline in driving
- How they usually use their spare time

Based on what you have observed on the people and their culture, do you remember other things that you learn relating to them/their lives?

- Government system
- History
- Religious live
- Business procedure
- Others

Where did you get the abovementioned information?

- Friend
- Workplace
- Observation (where)

Based on everything that you already mentioned, can you understand that and know more about?

What is the outstanding differences compare to Indonesian people/culture?

- The way how Indonesians express things Employer employee working relation
- How do you get along with them?

If a respondent shows attracted signs, ask some more questions, such as: Do you observe any particular groups that exist within western people community?

- They are all the same
- There are some differences

If there is any difference, could you be able to treat them equally among groups?

- Why?

If we take time to think back about western lifestyle/culture, do you have any idea/question on why they have such a culture? Example: Why do they never bother taking their girlfriend/prostitute to stay overnight in camp?

What do western people think about Indonesian culture?

- What is the reason for saying that?

Other than western culture, do you know about other cultures?

- What is that?
- How did you know that?
- Direct/indirect experience?

Do you think that some cultures are better than others?

- Which one is better?
- Why?

How do you compare Indonesian culture to western?

COMPETENCY

We would like to know about competency that you might already have conscious /unconsciously living/working with western people. Let us begin with remembering any matters/problems that you have encountered before.

In a socialization:

In working relation:

- How did you handle that problem?
- Do you still encounter the same problem until now?
- If the answer is no, then why not?
- Since when do you consider that the matter does not bother anymore?
- Based on the abovementioned problems do you think any competencies that one should have, so that a person can survive on living/working here?

Roughly, do you understand why western people have such a culture?

What kind of suggestions would you like to give to people who are going to live/work here?

In your opinion, what is the most important skill that one should have to be able to live/work in such a community?

Would you take the same attitude or not if you have to be around with them? (We are rarely on time)

- How?
- Why?
- (Would you do that if we work in the same department with western people?)

Do you think that western people should have the same attitude as Indonesians?

ATTITUDE

Provide an introduction based on western images given by respondent, such as:

At the beginning of this interview you already mentioned some western images perceived by Indonesians. Based on that you have some ideas on the characteristics of western people. Some of them are rude, some are nice, etc.

If you take sometimes to think over on their images, would that affect you on how you treat them?

- What kind of attitude that you like?
- What kind of attitude that you dislike?
- Why?
- How can you be very sure about the attitude?
 - Friend
 - Workplace
 - Observation

After a year/years you have been working here, do you change your attitude/feeling towards that.

- How could that happen?
- Why?

What kind of attitude that you have changed? For example, last time you like a certain group/person but now you dislike them?

- What is your feeling towards them?
- Where did you get such a feeling? (Why did you think of them such as that?)

How is your attitude right now?

Do you change any of your attitude or value towards them/their culture?

- Why?
- What are those attitudes?
- Can you understand (accept) why western people have such culture after knowing the reasons?
- Can you really feel the difference by giving some examples?
- Do you like to make friends or work with other people?
- Yes. Why?
- No. Why?

Do you ever have a close relationship with western people?

- Yes
- No
- If yes, provide an example
- Where
- How frequent?

What is your opinion regarding western people?

- In workplace
- Outside workplace/relationship
- What is the background of your opinion? (reason)
- Would you provide some examples?
- Would I be able to say that you have friendship with western people?
- Yes How many? How long?
- No
- If yes, how close is your friendship?

Are there any cultural differences that lead to any obstacles?

- Yes
- No

When majority of people is western people, do you feel comfortable/okay/uneasy?

- problems
- Comfortable/okay

Do you usually know what you have to do/say in the situation? Can you provide some examples?

- It depends on the situation.
- Surrounding people that you already know
- Surrounding strangers

Do you understand their jokes?

- Yes
- No

Do you ever laugh when they tell a joke? Do you ever joke to make them laugh?

Do you have a colleague in foreign country/a foreigner colleague?

- How many?
- Where are they?

How is your socialization in Tanjung Bara. Do you tend to make friends with people that have the same background/race to you?

- Western friend?
- Colleague?
- Friend of the same age?
- Friend that you first met here?
- Why?

Do you like/enjoy living/working in a mixed community?

LANGUAGE ABILITY

Let us talk about language ability.

Do you speak English?

- Yes
- No

What level are you in?

- Beginner (able too greet, say thank you, goodbye, etc.)
- Elementary I (able to invite someone, ask for something, and reject to something that he/she dislikes)
- Elementary II (able to speak, write, and read in the level where they are able to interact with western people at work)
- Advance (able to read books, newspaper, understand TV programs, advanced communication in different situations)

(Stimulate respondent to speak English)

Where do you learn your English?

- Private course
- Directly from English speaking people
- Travelling
- Self education

Why do you want to learn English language?

- Working requirement
- Self interest
- Improving career opportunity
- Travelling

When do you start learning English?

Do you speak more than two languages?

- Yes
- No

(remind them about their dialects).

What level are you in?

What language do you tend to speak?

- At home
- At workplace
- In community

PARTICIPATION

Now we take a look at your participation with western people.

1. Do you ever go for holiday/business to a foreign country?

- Yes. When was it? Where was it? What was the purpose?
- No.

Based on your trip, what is your opinion about western culture?

- In community

2. Do you tend to mix around with them? What is the percentage?

- Western people (What is the percentage?)
- Indonesian people? (What is the percentage?)
- Any of them? (What is the percentage?)

Why is that happen?

- Demanded
- Your own interest

What is your opinion about that?

So far, is there any change in your socialisation live with western people? What is the percentage?

- For the first couple of months
- For the first/second years
- After that

How about in your workplace? What is the percentage of your time working with western people?

- With expats
- With Indonesian people
- In between them

How could that happen?