

Making the Most of Intercultural Education

From the Series Post-intercultural Communication and Education

Series editor:

Fred Dervin, University of Helsinki, Finland

The quality of the work published in this series
is double-blind reviewed by external referees
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Making the Most of Intercultural Education

Edited by

Heidi Layne, Virginie Trémion
and Fred Dervin

Cambridge
Scholars
Publishing



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This book first published 2015

Cambridge Scholars Publishing

Lady Stephenson Library, Newcastle upon Tyne, NE6 2PA, UK

British Library Cataloguing in Publication Data

A catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library

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ISBN (10): 1-4438-7257-1

ISBN (13): 978-1-4438-7257-7

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INTRODUCTION

FRED DERVIN, HEIDI LAYNE
AND VIRGINIE TRÉMION

Good morning class
Good morning Mrs. Wilkins
Class, before we begin, I would like to announce we have a newcomer all
the way from China
(I was born in Hackney)
(Wong, 2014, p. 28)

It would not be original to start this collected volume by reminding our readers that our contemporary “fractured” (Moghaddam, 2012) and “accelerated” (Pieterse, 2010) world is leading to more direct and indirect encounters between people who would probably not have had the opportunity to meet in a different era. Most books and articles on interculturality and/or multiculturalism start with this somewhat fallacious assertion. It is probably true for some people, the ‘powerful’, the elite – people like us who get to travel the world to go to conferences, attend international project meetings and give lectures in every corner of the world. But for the vast majority this is still not *their* reality.

One of us was recently surprised to notice that even airports can contribute to hierarchize the ‘haves’ and ‘have nots’ when he flew into London via London’s “business airport” (London City Airport), the closest airport to London city centre. In less than 10 minutes after landing he found himself on the Docklands Light Railway train and after another 20 minutes at Bank station in the heart of the City. A trip from other airports around London, be it Heathrow or Gatwick, would have taken at least double the amount of time... Airports and planes can easily reflect privileges and a ‘privileged’ sense of *interculturality* (understood simply for now as the meeting between people of different ‘cultures’). The performance artist, Marina Abramovic (Stiles, Biesenback & Iles, 2008, p. 30), clearly expresses this in her answer to the question “Do you think that you are ever at home, culturally? Do you ever say to yourself, ‘This is where I belong?’”:

No, I don't. I have asked myself this question so many times. I think that home is me. Any hotel room is home. Any place can be home, but actually home is inside me. I don't really have any space where I could call home. And it's happening even with languages now. I don't have dreams in Serbo-Croatian anymore. I mix English, Italian, French. It's a mess. I think it comes from this extensive travelling. There were times when literally every four or five days I would take a plane somewhere else. So everything became relative, in a way. I always have this idea that I see everything from an aeroplane. I see the totality and not the particular parts of the planet.

The world – our worlds in the plural! – is far from such a *post*-national cosmopolitan world, a 'total' rather than 'particular' world – to borrow Abramovic's phrase. Not everyone, not every object, idea, opinion get to travel the world at will, choose e.g. their destination and identify the way they want to be identified. The open quote in this introduction shows how e.g. a Chinese-looking student, who is British and comes from Hackney (a London borough), is imposed an identity of 'coming from China' by her teacher.

It is also important to note that many individuals still remain imprisoned in the straightjackets of the national. Many people must also stay behind fortified borders... or if they cross them they get treated as inferiors, as nobodies. Race, ethnicity, gender, social status, culture, language, amongst others (or rather representations about these elements) contribute to turn the gap between people into a chasm.

In education, different terms are used to talk about ways of tackling these issues: *cross-cultural*, *meta-cultural*, *polycultural*, *multicultural* and *intercultural* – but also *global* and *international* (Dervin, Gajardo & Lavanchy, 2011; Grant & Portera, 2011). According to Henry (2012), social justice education seems to be "increasingly preferred" to e.g., multicultural education in the USA. Some labels are trendier than others; some more political. During a recent meeting with a representative of the Finnish National Board of Education we were told that it is not *wise* to use the word 'intercultural' any more. According to our interlocutor, her colleagues in Canada had told her that the word had been 'banished' there and that they preferred using the 'transcultural'... When we asked her how she defined 'transcultural', she was unable to do so.

In general all these "labels" often appear interchangeably – without always being defined or distinguished. And a bit like Alice in Lewis Carroll's *Through the Looking Glass*, we are left wondering about the value of these words:

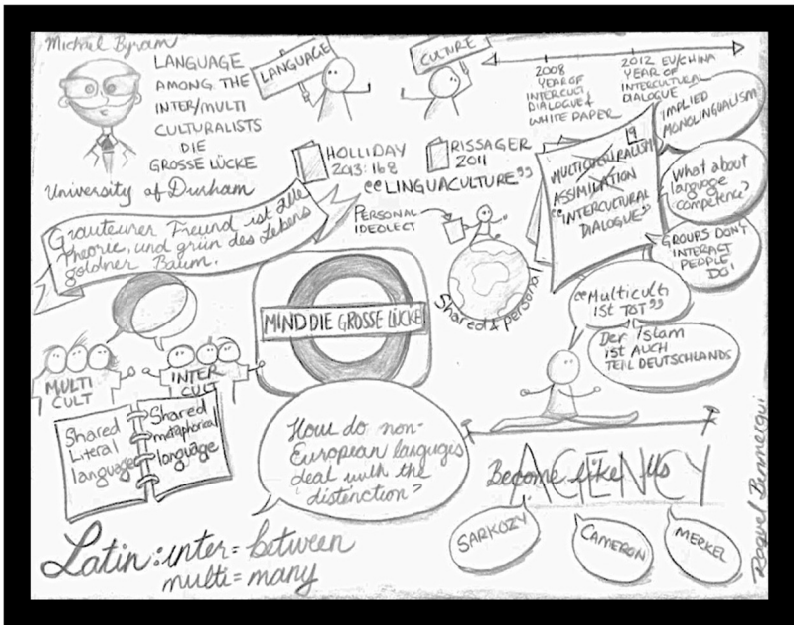
‘When I use a word,’ Humpty Dumpty said, in rather a scornful tone, ‘it means just what I choose it to mean – neither more nor less.’

‘The question is,’ said Alice, ‘whether you can make words mean so many different things.’

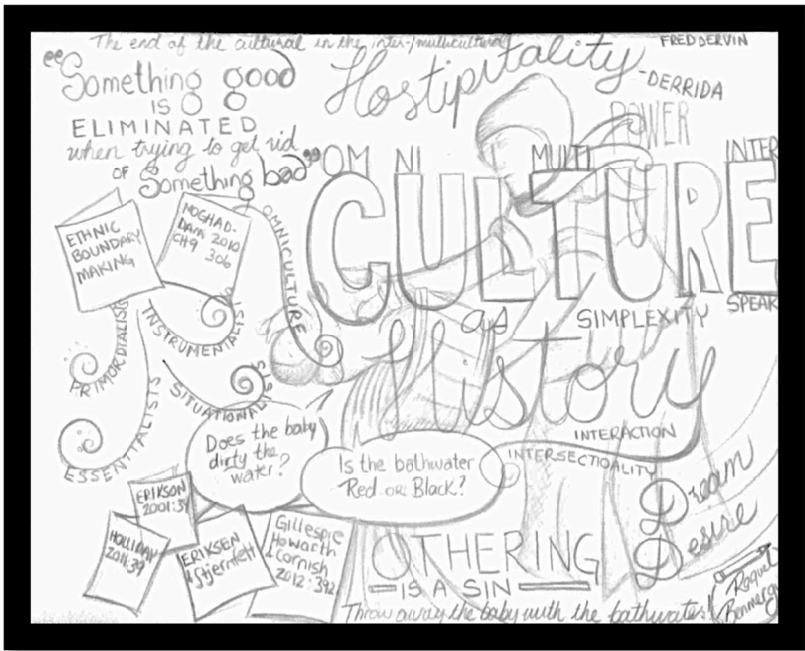
‘The question is,’ said Humpty Dumpty, ‘which is to be master – that’s all.’

This polysemy has been problematic in both research and practice. As such ‘my intercultural/multicultural/transcultural’ may not mean the same as ‘your intercultural/...’. ‘My intercultural’ might have different values and ideologies than ‘your intercultural’. Any attempt to work with these terms is political *volens volens* and it is important for both researchers and practitioners to accept, recognize and be honest about it. Furthermore Patricia Hill Collins (2009) maintains that it is easy to manifest that we all want social justice but do we really recognize the hierarchical structures, so-called “colorblind practices” and the distribution of power in our societies?

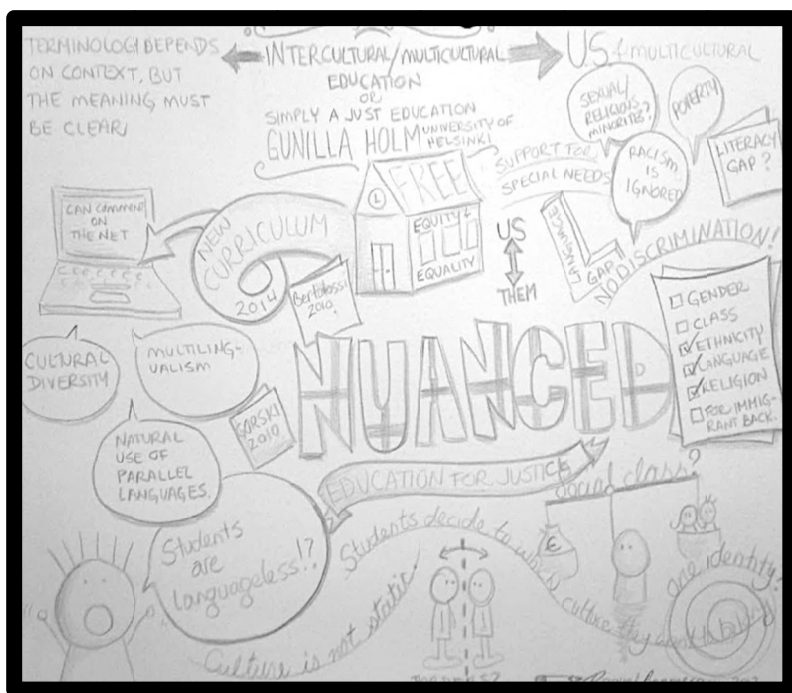
The multicultural and *the intercultural* seem to be the most widely used notions worldwide. They have been discussed extensively in education scholarship and practice: Many researchers and practitioners have attempted to define their specific characteristics by establishing borders and boundaries between them, through which they have often tended to be opposed, namely in geographical terms (the US vs. Europe, Northern Europe vs. Southern Europe, etc.). The following drawings were made by Raquel Benmergui, a researcher and art-based facilitator from Finland, at a conference on *Intercultural Vs. Multicultural Education* that took place at the University of Helsinki (Finland) in 2013. They illustrate the gist of what the three plenary speakers (Mike Byram, Fred Dervin and Gunilla Holm) discussed in their papers but also their references, keywords, key ideas, foci, etc. One can easily see how different but also similar these elements are for three scholars working on a similar topic. One can also note the influences of their context or the contexts they have crossed and the fields that have inspired their approaches.



Mike Byram (R. Benmergui ©)



Fred Derwin (R. Benmergui ©)



Gunilla Holm (R. Benmergui ©)

Some researchers have even demonized the ‘multicultural’, asserting that multicultural education celebrates only cultural differences and ignores similarities, individuality, and the importance of relations and interaction – as the ‘intercultural’ is said to operate. Others are critical of the fact that intercultural education tends to ignore power discrepancies. Henry (2012) claims that multicultural education is a bit *démodé*; Moghaddam (2012) a “politically correct policy”; and McLaren & Ryoo (2012) that it is “under egregious assault”.

But even if multicultural education and intercultural education have different origins (Abdallah-Preteuille, 1986) – the former is related to Civil Rights Movements while the latter to mass immigration in Europe, amongst others – Holm and Zilliacus (2009) argue that today multicultural and intercultural education can both mean different things: “it is impossible to treat and draw conclusions about intercultural and multicultural education as if there was only one kind of each since there are several different kinds of both multicultural and intercultural

education” (ibid, p. 23). As any social categories, the *multicultural* and the *intercultural* represent many and varied perspectives that need to be discussed as perspectival and historical approaches, which are disrupted by the movement of people and re-constitutive of the phenomena they seek to describe (Gillespie, Howarth & Cornish, 2012, p. 392; see Harbon & Moloney in this volume).

Making the Most of the ‘Intercultural’?

In this volume we have retained the notion of the ‘intercultural’, which we use as a synonym for ‘interculturality’. Although we are not so convinced of the value of the second part of the term (*culture*) we believe that the prefix *inter-* translates best what we feel the ‘intercultural’ could be about: *Interaction, contextualization, the recognition of power relations, simplicity* (the inevitable combination of *the simple* and *the complex*) and *intersectionality*. The *inter-* also suggests politicality, reflexivity and critical thinking, which *cannot but* be triggered by the presence of others and the hyphen between self and other. In what follows we reflect on how the somewhat ambitious objective of this volume could be achieved (*making the most of intercultural education*).

Simplifying Interculturality

Just as any kind of encounter, interculturality is too complex to be grasped entirely. This is something that still needs to be more widely discussed and accepted by both researchers and practitioners in a world obsessed with success. The words *complex* and *complexity* have become omnipresent in research, and are often void of any meaning. *If everything is complex then we’d better not attempt to reach complexity*. In contrast we propose to consider ‘simplifying’ interculturality by accepting that one cannot access its complexity but navigate, like Sisyphus rolling up his boulder up a hill, between the ‘simple’ and the ‘complex’. This means that one can never entirely be satisfied with an ‘analysis’ of intercultural situations... and that is fine!

Intersectionality represents somewhat a *simplifying* revolution in the way interculturality has been dealt with. We have come to realize that focusing on one aspect of identity (for example race or culture) is not enough and that a focus on the combination of multiple identities or identification is vital. Also, we have noticed that often in research and practice in education, children and students are boxed, according to given categories, such as race, religion, culture, etc. Intersectionality provides a

simplexified way of approaching interculturality. It allows shifting power, giving the opportunity to define categories, from the researchers and educators to the ones who are researched and educated. According to Jones & Wijeyesinghe (2011, p. 12) “Intersectionality provides educators with an analytic framework for critically evaluating intersecting dimensions such as race, gender, social class, and sexuality in contemporary educational contexts”. For example in order to analyse the experience of a marginalized student one needs to focus on how her sexual orientation intersects with her position as an immigrant, economic class and religion in specific micro (a French lesson) and macro (Finland, Europe) contexts. This is *simplex* of course since many significant elements will not be graspable or understandable. It would be unrealistic and fabricated to make someone believe the contrary. Yet through this simplexifying process one could make e.g. power differentials emerge that may not be obvious on the surface – the surface of the old and tired concept of culture of the ‘intercultural’!

Beyond Silencing

Education has always silenced certain voices while privileging others. By misusing the ‘intercultural’ many educators and researchers can contribute to this phenomenon. (Neo-)essentialising, misrepresenting and abusing certain theories and methods can easily and implicitly lead to silencing those who would need to be heard. Making the most of intercultural education should thus consist in giving the floor equally to various voices (Collins, 2009; Mignolo, 2009). One of our student teachers for example noted the following event while she observed a confirmed teacher during her practicum:

One of the classes I observed concerned the freedom of speech. The question raised by the teacher was whether the famous Danish cartoon which was considered offensive by many Muslims some years ago should have been censored. All the vocal students were for free speech in principle except for one. The single person with reservations was a young boy, probably from a Muslim background. He did not get to express it I think even to consider and to form his view during class. He was simply over-ruled by the majority and time soon ran out. The teacher didn’t seem to notice that this one boy did not get a square chance in the discussion.

The ‘overruling’ and ‘speaking over’ the Muslim student taking place in this classroom, represent blatantly explicit silencing but also exclusion

and discrimination against the student. In some cases, this occurs in less obvious ways. In P.P. Wang's (2014) novel, *The Life of a Banana*, the main character who is British but whose parents come from Singapore, reflects on her history lessons at school (ibid, p. 63):

How boring is this history lesson? Mr. Wool is going on and on about world war two and how our grandparents had to wear gas masks and eat tinned spam and powdered eggs and fight the Germans. He likes to say: "our ancestors did this and our ancestors did that. I feel a bit weird when he says "our ancestors" coz' the truth is during the war my Singaporean ancestors didn't eat spam or powdered eggs or fight the Germans. They ate moldy rice and maggots and the Japanese skinned my great grand-uncle to death.

Silencing and excluding the 'other' can thus happen implicitly or explicitly in education. The chapters by Ragnarsdóttir and Blöndal but also Debono, Pierozak and Raynal-Astier in this volume examine and propose alternatives to such practices in Iceland and in the context of distance education between Europe and Africa.

Research on intercultural education shows how diversity is often celebrated in a manner that actually places certain people as the objects of such education. These diverse people are compared to the norm (the "majority") who celebrates, tolerates and learns to understand the others (Mignolo, 2009). Similar phenomena take place in educational materials and textbooks. Despite the fact that the diversification of student bodies is recognised in e.g. Europe, learning materials and media images are still today mainly white, middle-class, Eurocentric, and based on the idea of the nuclear family, constructing the "normality" within education systems (Okarinen-Jabai, 2011; Souto, 2011; Bradford, 2009; Botelho & Rudman, 2009). This sets also certain challenges for language teaching as discussed by Souryana Yassine in this volume. The importance of language has often been ignored in research on multicultural and intercultural education: the language(s) used by research participants but also the researcher's language (and power) – for example in the way s/he labels a child as an L2 speaker of a language and when s/he translates data. Is there now a serious place for taking into account language ideologies in researching intercultural/multicultural education (Risager, 2007; Blackledge, 2005)?

The Intercultural as Controversy

Making the most of intercultural education should also relate to the notion of (social) justice, which we understand here as risk-taking and

creating controversy in education. While the terms of tolerance and respect are still omnipresent in discourses of intercultural education, many scholars and practitioners have called for an end to using these contested and contestable components of intercultural learning. Tolerance and respect are far too loose, ‘easy’ and nice as well as somewhat patronizing (*I tolerate you but that’s all*) to become transformative. It would probably be silly to say that our world has never been as intolerant and racist as today – compared to what? Yet we hear about these ‘plagues’ in most countries every day. Could it be that we are being too lenient or that our education is not helping? We believe that controversy should be central to intercultural education: Denouncing societal issues that are somewhat taboos, making people aware of the myths that they have created about self and other, destabilizing certainties about the ‘other’ (the immigrant, the refugee, etc.). It is good to keep in mind that for one narrative there is always a counter narrative. Interculturality without controversy is increasingly meaningless if one wants to make a difference. ‘Nice’ and ‘naïve’ approaches to the notion are not enough. Bell Hooks shares a similar view when she writes (1994, p. 39):

The unwillingness to approach teaching from a standpoint that includes awareness of race, sex, and class is often rooted in the fear that classrooms will be uncontrollable, that emotions and passions will not be contained. To some extent, we all know that whenever we address in the classroom subjects that students are passionate about there is always a possibility of confrontation, forceful expression of ideas, or even conflict.

All these elements, confrontation, forceful expression of ideas and conflict, should be central in any form of intercultural education. We believe that the more these find their place in the classroom, the more we can discuss real ‘wicked’ issues. In the Finnish context one topic that often irritates students is gender inequality and social class in the Nordic country. Many Finns share the idea that there are no such phenomena in Finnish society and that for example “women are equal to men”. It wouldn’t take long for a critical observer to note that this is, of course, not the case. One often hears some students complain about the fact that women are mistreated in some ‘Muslim societies’... As E. Said (1993, p. 92) reminds us: “one of the shabbiest of all intellectual gambits is to pontificate about abuses in someone else’s society and to excuse exactly the same practices in one’s own”. Reconsidering one’s views on the ‘abuses’ that some individuals witness in our own societies is one of the foundations of intercultural education and should be systematically included in it. We believe that being aware of and speaking out about such

issues in our own societies can avoid unjustified ethnocentric and moralistic judgments about the ‘other’. In their recent article, Layne and Alem (Forth.) propose that we should thus pay attention to 1) how we construct binary opposites and images as well as how we teach about the ‘other’; 2) how different roles and positions such as mother, father, educated man/woman, teacher and diverse intersections of gender, race, class, hobbies are used as tools to construct normality within a specific education system and society, and 3) how the ideas of race and racism can be – and should be – systematically discussed. In this volume, two chapters deal with controversy in contexts that have seldom been discussed in relation to intercultural education: Argentina (Porto) and Algeria (Yassine).

Book Outline

The authors of the following chapters come from various disciplinary backgrounds and different parts of the world. They discuss and work with the terms *intercultural* and *multicultural* learning, social justice, as well as with the new types of opportunities and considerations online education provides for researching and teaching interculturality.

The book contains six chapters.

In the first chapters the (imagined but political) rivalries between the terms ‘intercultural’ and ‘multicultural’ are discussed.

In their chapter, **Lesley Harbon** and **Robyn Moloney** concentrate on exploring borders and boundaries between the terms multicultural and intercultural in the Australian education context and beyond. In the chapter they examine the incidence and apparent intended meaning of the two terms in two examples of curriculum syllabuses: the social studies syllabus (Human Society and Its Environment, HSIE) and the languages syllabus. They challenge the relationship between the terms, reflect on how it is understood by curriculum writers, and suggest some new needs in Australian education.

Hanna Ragnarsdóttir and **Hildur Blöndal** analyse how two Icelandic schools have applied multicultural education and inclusive education in order to address student and teacher diversity, to strive for equality and democratic participation of all and similarly the challenges for multicultural education. They explore this theme in relation to prevalent deficiency models, power structures and the schools’ abilities to live out their ideas of democracy and social justice while focusing on practices and school policies. This chapter discusses various and creative ways of implementing social justice in every day school work.

Soryana Yassine concentrates on an important theme in the field of intercultural and language education: The role of culture and the presence of ‘self’ and ‘other’ in language textbooks. The Algerian context serves as an illustration.

The next two chapters deal with intercultural learning from the perspective of online education. **Melina Porto** explores the notion of intercultural citizenship in an advanced English as a Foreign Language (EFL) classroom and the performative conception of identity and interculturality. Her study takes place in an online course between Argentina and the UK. In **Debono, Pierozak** and **Raynal-Astier**’s chapter, the authors discuss the conceptualization of Open and Distance Learning (ODL) in the context of cooperation between France and South Africa. This chapter explores the challenges of delivering this new type of online course, and how the diverse expectations, ideologies and knowledge foundations of the participants and teachers unsettle the learning processes.

The final chapter written by **Fred Dervin** discusses the idea of ‘racism without races’ and attitudes towards multiculturalism in a series of rants against ‘diverse’ people reported by a British newspaper. Although the idea of ‘racism without races’ is far from novel, its use as a tool for analysing discourses on multiculturalism is very fertile and allows researchers and practitioners to unearth phenomena that would remain ‘silenced’ if race only were the emphasis of the intercultural. The chapter has major consequences for the way these issues are dealt with in education.

We hope that this volume illuminates interesting and new perspectives on the ‘intercultural’ in education. We also hope that it will contribute to make significant advances in making the most of intercultural education in the decades to come.

Acknowledgments

The editors would like to thank their colleagues for reviewing the chapters and for their encouragements: Marco Cappellini (Lille University, France), Prue Holmes (University of Durham, UK), Tony Liddicoat (University of South Australia), Ulla Lundgren (Jönköping University, Sweden), Regis Machart (Universiti Putra Malaysia), Heini Paavola (University of Helsinki, Finland), Nektaria Palaiologou (University of western Macedonia, Greece), Richard Race (University of Roehampton, UK), Seppo Tella (University of Helsinki, Finland), Ann-Christin Torpsten (Linnaeus University, Sweden). Thanks are also due to Hachim Bahous

(Isham; <http://ishamone.tumblr.com>) for the cover design (photo: Fred Dervin) and to Raquel Benmergui.

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CHAPTER ONE

‘INTERCULTURAL’ AND ‘MULTICULTURAL’, AWKWARD COMPANIONS: THE CASE IN SCHOOLS IN NEW SOUTH WALES, AUSTRALIA

LESLEY HARBON AND ROBYN MOLONEY

This chapter explores borders and boundaries between the terms multicultural and intercultural in the Australian education context. The premise of this volume—that there needs to be an end to the ‘rivalry’ between ‘multiculturalism’ and ‘interculturalism’—struck a chord with us, both as teacher educators, and language educators. The notion of ‘multicultural’ in Australia has been largely a descriptive term, political in origin, where it was, and has remained, associated with services provided for immigrant groups. ‘Intercultural’ is a relative educational newcomer, seeking an identity as an active, critical, cultural enquiry for all. Thus we see the quiet struggle between these terminologies played out differently in Australia to other global contexts. Our investigation of the words ‘multicultural’ and ‘intercultural’ in Australian curriculum is informed by a background of theoretical studies both within Australia and beyond. Following an introduction to the Australian social and educational context, we examine the incidence and apparent intended meaning of the two terms in two examples of curriculum syllabuses: the social studies syllabus (Human Society and Its Environment, HSIE) and the languages syllabus. We believe that the relationship between the terms is still poorly understood by curriculum writers, and that this may represent the continuing conservatism, in tension with perceived new needs, in Australian education.

Background to the Australian Multicultural Context

According to the political bent of the commentator, Australia has variously been both praised for its apparently successful multicultural policies – for example, rated number one on the global *Multiculturalism Policy Index* (Banting & Kymlicka, 2012) – as well as criticized for the shortcomings, inequalities and power gaps it has allowed to develop in society (for example, Crozet, 2008; Hage, 1998; Welch, 2007). The search for a defined but increasingly diverse Australian identity is frequently revisited in media and academia through ‘multiculturalism’.

A potted history of culture and language in Australia acknowledges first that, as a British settlement, Australia was already a multilingual nation with over 200 different Aboriginal languages. Introduced illness, forced dislocation, loss of country and culture over the next two hundred years, have seen a vast loss of language groups. In addition to the early British administration, settler groups came from Germany, Italy and other origins and established agricultural communities, schools and even newspapers in their languages. Federation of the states into nationhood saw the rise of a monolingual nationalism, with anti-German sentiment in World War 1 responsible for other languages being suppressed.

Following World War 2, European immigration was driven by the need for an increased Australian labour force. This diversified the population but the languages and cultures of immigrant groups were discouraged and denigrated, under assimilationist policies. The 1970s saw the first real impetus for recognition and inclusion with the Whitlam Government’s 1973 paper, *A multi-cultural society for the future* (Grassby, 1973), and in 1978 the first official policies of the *Galbally Report* (Galbally, 1978). In retrospect it can be seen as a “top-down political strategy implemented by those in power to improve the inclusion of ethnic minorities within Australian culture” (Stratton & Ang, 1994, p.150), but it was the first important positive recognition of a more diverse immigration pattern which included many Asian nations. The ‘Multicultural’ social branding focused on the “many” cultures: the celebration of the visible culture of immigrant groups, characterized sometimes as the ‘four Fs’: food, folk-dancing, festivals and fashion.

Multiculturalism came to be a “household term in public discourse... integral to Australian national culture and identity” (Stratton & Ang, 1994, p. 126). Nevertheless it has been subject to considerable debate at the level of theory, policy and practice (Leeman & Reid, 2006, p. 57), for its omissions, and its perceived design and control by the Anglo-celtic norm voice of Australian power structures (Crozet, 2008; Hage, 1998).

Aboriginal peoples have frequently been left out of representations of 'multicultural' Australia.

What 'multicultural' and multiculturalism denote in Australia today is variously represented in curriculum and academic writing. While some writers declare that 'multiculturalism has failed us' (Berman & Paradies, 2010) in its failure to engage stronger anti-racist discourse, for Leeman and Reid (2006, p. 63), multiculturalism is thought to be about loyalty to the nation, acceptance of the Australian system, civics, and mutual respect. According to Leeman and Reid (2006, p. 64), "Australian multicultural education has always included an anti-racist element", and has been "concerned with language acquisition for the immigrant, and anti-racist practices in schools and classrooms" (p. 65). It has never, however, occupied the space, or used the discourse of, North American multicultural education, which through the influence of the Civil Rights movement developed a strong social justice direction (see for example, Banks, 2009).

The most evident structural representation of 'multicultural' within our schooling curriculum is within the Multicultural Education Unit of the NSW Department of Education and Communities. While it does include anti-racism education, the principal work of the unit is the management of provision of English as a Second Language (ESL) education, by the so-named Multicultural ESL consultants (J. Gerber, personal communication, August 6, 2013). This represents the close alignment of 'multicultural' as activities for immigrant ethnicities and needs.

It is recognised that the currently increasing cultural and linguistic diversity of the Australian multicultural classroom is one of the most fundamental challenges facing Australian teachers (Welch, 2007). In the southwest region of Australia's largest city, Sydney, there are many schools with up to 90% student population of LBOTE (language background other than English) students (DEC, 2011).

At the time of writing this chapter, the New South Wales Department of Education and Communities' (DEC) Multicultural Education Unit has been disbanded, and along with it have gone the important ESL consultants, who were in constant high demand in advising schools. We imagine this to be a similar story in other jurisdictions in Australia and throughout the world, as different politics and priorities colour education policy and curriculum.

The provision of 'multicultural' activity is a mandated responsibility of every Australian government school, as it is compulsory for school principals to account for a number of 'multicultural' initiatives in their annual school report to the Department of Education and Communities. The annual school 'Multicultural Day' in some schools still resembles the

1970s model of multiculturalism, where celebration of difference is well-intentioned as an anti-racism initiative, but has the result of isolating, exoticising, even ‘othering’ ethnic groups within schools (Welch, 2007). Debatably this has been likened to ‘culturalism’, a cultural form of racism (Leeman & Reid, 2006, p. 62). Anglo-celtic culture may be still seen as the invisible norm behind such events.

Our study is also informed by postcolonial critique of Australian curriculum (see for example, Hickling-Hudson, 1999; Willinsky, 1999), which has emphasised that it is critical that we teach students to think critically, beyond the old categories of culture shaped by colonial systems. This is reflected frequently in academic educational discourse (Cope & Kalantzis, 2000; Mayer, Luke & Luke, 2008) but appears much less commonly demonstrated in curriculum.

Hickling-Hudson (2003) has offered a powerful critique of multicultural education in Australia. She asserts that Australian use of ‘multicultural’ in curriculum continues to place boundaries around human groups by the idea of ‘culture’, carrying within it residues of older beliefs about race and nation. From this perspective, Hickling-Hudson (2003) calls for curriculum, which can shape intellectual and attitudinal tools to help redress cultural inequities that deepen social injustices.

From a language educator’s perspective, Crozet (2008, p. 21) states we must dispense with multicultural policies, which have promoted “cultural difference in abstract and distant terms at macro level” and we must develop learning “to support individuals and institutions to use new patterns for relating across differences on equal terms” (Crozet, 2008, p. 21). In Australia there is an official requirement that all curriculum should be nominally set in multicultural context, to ostensibly prepare students for living in a multicultural society and a globalising world. But whether and how this ‘multicultural’ remains purely descriptive, or might, if activated, give rise to Crozet’s “new patterns for relating across differences”, appears to be poorly understood generally by teachers enacting curriculum.

Liddicoat (2009) has accurately traced decades of development in Australian multicultural and language education policies, and has observed “emerging tensions” in ambivalence to attitudes to diversity. He points to the National Statement and Plan for Languages in Australian Schools (MCEETYA, 2005) for its simultaneous “projection of an intercultural Australia expressed in general terms validating multilingualism” (2009, p. 199), but demonstrated only in weak passivity of its planned activities. Liddicoat (2009) concludes there is a “tension between the projections of Australian society encoded in these policies, with different and contradictory discourses existing simultaneously” (2009, p. 201).

Australian Curriculum and 'Intercultural'

Emerging from this critique, then, the term 'intercultural' has come to imply an actively critical process of cultural reflection. The word 'intercultural' strives to represent a focus on the position of the learner as being "between" cultures, necessitating investigation and recognition of self as well as 'other'. The term has been introduced to Australia via the UK / European / North American constructivist educational discourse. It is recognised by many academics as a core 21st century learning skill for all students and teachers (Mayer, Luke & Luke, 2008). The word 'intercultural' in Australian schooling contexts is attempting to actively identify students' understanding of both difference and similarities, ways of learning to respect self and others' values, practice and attitudes. Advocating a postcolonial 'intercultural' education Hickling-Hudson & Ferriera (2004) suggest a frame of expanding 'circles of concern', a notion which derives from a UNESCO workshop (Ellyard, 1999, p. 131), teaching students to actively critique and think beyond the categories of race and nation that have divided the world since colonial times (Willinsky, 1999, p. 101).

We see growing support amongst academics for the role of language learning in this intellectual process either through acquiring English as an additional language, learning family heritage languages, or acquiring additional non-English languages (Hickling-Hudson, 2003; Welch, 2007). While "multicultural" has often been aligned with development of citizenship education, a new approach to 'global citizenship' through the 'critical cultural awareness' of language learning is now associated with 'intercultural' (Byram, 1997). We note also as an aside, that a range of research studies involving pre-service teacher training acknowledges that teachers need to be trained to have their own critical intercultural skills, before they can support students in critical thinking (Mushi, 2004; Sercu, 2006; Harbon & Moloney, 2013; Moloney, Harbon & Fielding, 2012).

The conceptual difference between 'multicultural' and 'critical enquiry' may be usefully framed within the three level model of relationships by Gadamer (1986). At Gadamer's first level, other cultures are simply seen as 'objects', to be 'known'. The second level acknowledges the 'other' as an entity or person, but the 'I' still feels superior. These first and second levels typify much of the Australian 'multicultural'. It is the third level of relationship, which includes reciprocal, open-ended dialogue, with neither party dominating the other, which typifies the 'intercultural'. It is fundamental that an understanding of another culture begins from the intracultural, being a recognition and understanding of our own (often

‘invisible’) culture. This element — understanding self through other — has never been part of the discourse of Australian multiculturalism, but is emerging in the model of ‘intercultural’ language notions.

The limitations of Australian ‘multicultural’ may also be reflected in consideration of a conceptual model such as the *Developmental Model of Intercultural Sensitivity* (Bennett & Hammer, 1998) which uses six stages to trace movement from the ethnocentric perspective (Gadamer’s Stages 1 and 2), where the first culture remains the point of reference in engaging with difference, in a ‘tolerance’ model, to an ethno-relative perspective which includes recognition and critique of one’s own cultural practice, and where one’s own first culture is perceived as only one of many.

The composite concept of a “multicultural education *for* intercultural understanding” (Noble & Poynting, 1999), or a “critical multicultural pedagogy” (Leeman & Reid, 2006) both suggest the goal of a passive multicultural approach being turned into an active and critical relational learning. Hickling-Hudson (2003) suggests that to achieve multicultural education for intercultural understanding, there must be an individual’s movement from passive exposure to active critique, and this can only be achieved through new practice. In our work as educators of language pre-service teachers, and in the study below, we believe it is this active critique that is the key defining element of ‘intercultural’ that is struggling to find first a pedagogical identity as a ‘competence’ and second as developed teaching and learning practice.

In Australia, on the whole, the emergent term ‘intercultural’ is less frequently used and less well understood than ‘multicultural’, particularly if compared with the greater push for intercultural education in Britain (Modood & May, 2001). The term ‘interculturalism’ is not much used in Australia, but refers to integration and social inclusion, where integration is defined as a two-way process in which minorities and majorities make accommodations to each other. It places a central emphasis on intercultural dialogue, the open exchange of views and perspectives on the basis of equality (Barrett, 2013).

Within Australia’s languages education, ‘intercultural’ is becoming better known and represents a specific focus on this equal reciprocity, in explicitly demanding that students investigate the links between languages and cultures. ‘Intercultural’ has become the conceptual heart of our State and Territory Language syllabuses, and soon, our *Australian Curriculum: Languages* (ACARA, 2012). An ‘intercultural’ approach to language learning is understood as an active and assessable cognitive learning process (Liddicoat, Papademetre, Scarino & Kohler, 2003).

We note also an important factor in understanding the difference between passive multicultural and active intercultural, is a new understanding of 'culture' itself. In language classrooms between the 1960s and 1990s, the culture of the target country was taught as discrete items of exotic interest and from an ethnocentric standpoint, separated from language acquisition (Ozolins, 1993). An intercultural approach to language learning (Byram, 1988, 1997; Kramsch, 1993) shaped by sociocultural language theory, sees culture to be 'ordinary' (Williams, 1989), concerning the invisible values and beliefs embedded in everyday practice and language. It is for this reason that it is able to be investigated, questioned, explored. Australian scholars Scarino & Liddicoat (2009) have articulated new models of active classroom intercultural critique and dialogue (Harbon & Moloney, 2013; Liddicoat & Scarino, 2013; Morgan, 2008; Scarino & Liddicoat, 2009).

There are critics who dispute the emergence of the term intercultural. Meer and Modood (2012, p. 192) would have us believe that

until interculturalism as a political discourse is able to offer an original perspective, one that can speak to a variety of concerns emanating from complex identities and matters of equality and diversity in a more persuasive manner than at present, it cannot, intellectually at least, eclipse multiculturalism

Indeed even in the title of his article Wieviorka (2012) strongly argues his concern about the meanings and intentions of the two terms: Multiculturalism: A concept to be redefined and certainly not replaced by the extremely vague term of interculturalism. We are also aware that Dervin (2013) had considered that meddling with these terms could be "throwing the baby out with the bathwater".

Over time the Australian curriculum context has grappled with both terms, multicultural and intercultural. We are informed by the critical observations outlined above, and we have noted the emerging move to a more "critical cultural awareness" (Byram, 1997). With these in mind, we now turn to an examination of the two terms 'multicultural' and 'intercultural' as used in two Australian curriculum documents. Our goal, as educators, is to highlight what the incidence and the manner of their use may imply about Australian curriculum writers' understanding of their relationship, and, more broadly by implication, the currency and value they hold today in Australian pedagogical development. Garcia & Byram (2013) have similarly used a critical analysis of the incidence of 'language' and 'culture' terminology in the Council of Europe's White Paper to reveal much about the shift in focus and attitude to language

learning in that context. While we know that individual teacher practice can interpret and express creativity beyond the syllabus, syllabus documents retain a power in positioning their readers (teachers) into particular understandings.

An Investigation of New South Wales Syllabuses

As a first step in being able to identify the relationship between multicultural education and intercultural education in the New South Wales syllabuses, we first outline the structure of the syllabus itself.

The NSW primary school years are the seven years between Kindergarten and Year 6. However, in curriculum they are divided into Early Stage 1 (Kindergarten), Stage 1 (Years 1 and 2), Stage 2 (Year 3 and 4) and Stage 3 (Years 5 and 6). Six subjects (key learning areas) form the basis of the NSW primary school curriculum: English (which should be delivered in an indicative time allocation of 25% of the school program), Mathematics, Science and Technology, Human Society and Its Environment (HSIE), Creative Arts, and Personal Development, Health and Physical Education (PDHPE). This structure is noticeably different to the government-endorsed 8 key learning areas of the school curriculum: English, Mathematics, Sciences, Humanities and Social Sciences, The Arts, Languages, Health and Physical Education, and Information and Communication Technology/Design and Technology (MCEETYA, 2008). In NSW the Humanities and Social Sciences syllabus, the HSIE syllabus, is intended to enhance each student's sense of personal, community, national and global identity and enables them to participate effectively in maintaining and improving the quality of their society and environment. The four broad strands of HSIE are: change and continuity; cultures; environments; and social systems and structures. Within HSIE, primary schools may elect to include a Language program. Language syllabuses are stipulated in the K – 10 syllabus continuum, as provision for any NSW primary schools with a full languages program.

The aim of the Languages K-10 Syllabus is to enable students to develop communication skills, focus on languages as systems, and gain insights into the relationship between language and culture, leading to lifelong personal, educational and vocational benefits. The interlinking objectives of the syllabus have an intercultural frame: using language; moving between cultures, and; making linguistic connections.

The aims, purposes and scope statements of the HSIE and Languages Syllabuses differ. There is one HSIE syllabus, however there are 17 different language syllabuses, due to the need to differentiate between very

different languages and their contexts. As each of the Languages Syllabuses are alike in generic features, we have selected for analysis below the German K-10 syllabus.

Methodology

To justify our choice to examine the HSIE and Languages syllabuses as documents where we might find the term 'multicultural' and 'intercultural', we admit to having 'insider-information' as we are both language teacher educators. Our work with pre-service language teachers involves us working in a professional context where we acquire knowledge of all key learning area syllabuses.

In order to undertake a critical examination of the use of the terms 'multicultural' and 'intercultural' in both the NSW HSIE and Languages syllabuses, a content analysis was undertaken. Hsieh and Shannon (2005, p. 1278) define content analysis as a research method for the "subjective interpretation of the content of a text data through a systematic classification process of coding and identifying themes or patterns". In content analysis research, the researcher reads the entire text to gain a sense of the whole, then highlights specific words from the text that appear to capture key thoughts or concepts. The researcher notes his/her impressions, thoughts and analysis. Researchers may describe perceived relationships between elements, based on their concurrence, incidence or consequences (Morse & Field, 1995). We acknowledge our role as researchers, and our assumptions as language educators. These are possibly factors impacting our 'seeing' (Russell & Kelly, 2002), interpreting data, and in 'co-responsible inquiry' (Glesne & Peshkin, 1992; Wardekker, 2000).

The two syllabuses were read and re-read to establish location of the mention of the two terms in each syllabus. Also noted were the adjoining terms linked with 'multicultural' and 'intercultural'.

Findings: The HSIE Syllabus

We tallied the number of times the terms multicultural and intercultural are mentioned in the HSIE syllabus, and note the use of either 'multicultural' or 'intercultural' with related terms such as 'perspectives', 'celebrations', 'country' and 'understanding'. Both 'multicultural' and 'intercultural' are used infrequently.

'Multicultural perspectives' is mentioned once in the Introduction, and once in the Overview framework. The term 'multicultural celebrations' is

mentioned once only, in the Stage 2 Outcomes and Indicators. The term ‘multicultural country’ is mentioned once in the Stage 2 Content Overview. Most used is the term ‘intercultural understanding’, mentioned four times through the whole HSIE document: once in the Introduction, once in the syllabus Overview, once in the Objectives section, and once in the Values and Attitudes sections.

Findings: The Languages (German) Syllabus

Similarly we tallied the number of times the terms ‘multicultural’ and ‘intercultural’ are mentioned in the Languages syllabus (in this case, the German syllabus), and note the use of either ‘multicultural’ or ‘intercultural’ with related terms. The term ‘multiculturalism’ is mentioned once only, in the section labelled ‘Multiculturalism’, the section where cross-curriculum content is discussed. The term ‘multicultural Australia’ is mentioned once in the Rationale, and once in the Civics and Citizenship sub-section. The term ‘intercultural behaviour’ is mentioned once in the Civics and Citizenship sub-section, and once in Stage 5 Content: Moving Between Cultures. Similar to our findings for the use of the two terms in the HSIE syllabus, we found the two terms to be infrequently used in the Languages syllabus too.

Findings: ‘Intercultural’ Embedded in the Languages Syllabus

We note, due to our close work with the implementation of the Languages syllabuses since 2003, our understanding that the term intercultural is implicitly embedded in the Languages syllabus through the use of the image of the 3 interlocking objectives of Using Language (UL), Moving Between Cultures (MBC) and Making Linguistic Connections (MLC) – that is, the Objectives of the languages syllabus.

The implicit mention of intercultural is represented in the syllabus model, by three intersecting circles of learning activity, which together constitute language learning: Using Language (UL), Making Linguistic Connections (MLC) and Moving Between Cultures (MBC). The focus of MLC and MBC is to explicitly facilitate critical enquiry across languages and cultures. This is articulated in outcomes such as students comparing aspects of their own lifestyle, (e.g. food, family), with those of the communities where the target language is spoken, and contributing to class discussions about diverse practices across cultures.