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**The Emergence and Institutionalisation of the Intercultural:
Navigating Uneven Discourses in a British University**

by

Haynes Collins

**Thesis submitted to Canterbury Christ Church University for
the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy**

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Abstract

This thesis provides an ethnographic account of the institutionalisation of intercultural communication, intercultural studies and the umbrella label of 'intercultural' within a large British university. The study finds that the spread of the term 'intercultural' has been prolific, but the concept of 'intercultural' is polysemic and kept strategically vague within the university.

The theoretical positions taken by social actors (university staff and students) who encounter and use 'the intercultural' is varied and uneven. The hegemonic position frames the 'intercultural' as compatible with the values and dominant discourses of the neoliberal university which 'the intercultural' must be seen to serve to become part of the institution. This position is evident, for example, in cases where 'the intercultural' is mobilised as a marketing tool to suggest it is a key to providing increased student employability and capacity for competing in a globalised world. In this version, 'the intercultural' is largely understood as essentialist and it is complicit with a wider methodological nationalism used to naturalise categories such as 'international' and 'home' students. While this may allow 'the intercultural' to gain institutional space, it paradoxically threatens to render the concept devoid of theoretical value. A counter position taken by some social actors stresses the need for greater criticality which avoids the essentialist traps posed by a structural-functionalist approach to the intercultural.

This study is relevant to current arguments which emphasise the need for a paradigm shift in the application of 'the intercultural' and it suggests that the daily exigencies of the University and its discourses serve as an impediment to a conclusive shift. This raises the question of whether a nuanced approach to the intercultural is possible within a neoliberal university and suggests there is not only a need for a paradigm shift for 'the intercultural', but for universities as well.

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Chapter 1: An Introduction to the Thesis

1.1 Introduction

At the time of writing this dissertation it is difficult to refrain from juxtaposing the proliferation of modules and programmes within Higher Education (HE) which offer one variant or another of ‘the intercultural’ with the current state of the world which is war-torn with refugees fleeing their homes and moving across borders in search of safety. Is it possible that this proliferation of ‘the intercultural’ within HE offers some degree of hope for more stable, peaceful global relations or is the concept of the intercultural an entirely separate subject which seemingly exists in a parallel universe away from the current trouble and strife?

This qualitative study explores the emergence and institutionalisation of intercultural communication, intercultural studies and the various appropriations of the umbrella term ‘intercultural’ within a large British university. It seeks to understand how, why and where this emergence is occurring within one specific environment by examining the institutional discourses and ideology and how the social actors within the research setting position themselves against this discourse and ideology. It may also offer a degree of insight into the wider question raised above. This first chapter will introduce the aims of the research, the research questions and a brief introduction to my position within the research. This is followed by a reflection upon the importance of the study. I then move to consider how fields of knowledge emerge within HE and make reference to research which provides a system of classification for the emergence of fields of knowledge or disciplines. Two brief examples of related cases of emergence are offered

for comparison and as points of reference. The chapter concludes with a map of the thesis.

1.2 Aims of the Study and the Research Questions

The principle aim of this research is to explore the emergence of intercultural communication, intercultural studies and the umbrella label of the ‘intercultural’ as academic subjects or as ‘academic themes’ within a School located within a large UK university, both of which will be treated as anonymous and herein referred to simply as the ‘School’ and the ‘University’.¹ This exploration includes an analysis of the institutionalisation of these ‘subjects’ within my specific research location.² In the initial chapter of this thesis I make frequent reference to the rather cumbersome construction of intercultural communication, intercultural studies and the variant related word forms of intercultural (i.e. interculturality, interculturalism, intercultural understanding, cross-cultural). The rationale behind including each of these forms of emergence in the study is that each term or variant is being used in different places at different times and in different ways within the research setting. While it is important to retain the distinction between each one of these uses, it makes for awkward prose. Thus, I am grouping these variant forms together and treating their emergence as a single phenomenon which I frequently refer to in future chapters in the singular form a

¹ Reference to the specific research setting will be noted with capitalisation (e.g. University or School) as opposed to references to HE institutions in general (e.g. universities).

² I will minimise the use of scare quotes for culture and the variants of interculturalism as they are clearly recognised as contested terms and constant use of scare quotes makes for what Phillips (2007: 10) argues to be ‘untidy reading’ and a patronising tone. The same approach will be extended where possible to other contentious terms.

the 'subject matter'.³

Although the umbrella label of intercultural is applied to a variety of initiatives within various contexts in HE in the UK and Ireland, the label is most frequently applied to the area of intercultural communication and, to a lesser degree, intercultural studies and intercultural education. In acknowledging this breadth and an unevenness, Piller notes that it is not unusual to find intercultural communication modules located within, for example, 'anthropology, business studies, communication, cultural studies, education, linguistics, management studies, languages, psychology or sociology' (Piller 2011: 15). In addition to an increased presence of what Adams and Janover (2009: 228) describe as 'the burgeoning use of the term intercultural' within HE, intercultural communications and intercultural studies have now *in themselves* become fields of knowledge or subject areas which students can elect to study, as opposed to these simply being an aspect or a theme referred to in passing on a related module or programme. In other words, modules and programmes are being created which are 'fronted' with the use of the keyword of intercultural in their title. Moreover, the expansion from single modules which focus on intercultural communication or intercultural studies to larger degree programmes which are based on these subjects is also not uncommon. However, the current landscape suggests a greater frequency of programmes which utilise the term intercultural communication than intercultural studies.

At the time of writing, there was an expanding array of 'intercultural' or 'cross-cultural' possibilities on offer across British universities. Examples, which are not exhaustive, include the following:

³ I do not use the term 'subject area' in order to avoid potential confusion with the School's use of this term through labelling what were formerly considered to be 'departments' as 'subject areas.'

- Master's in Intercultural Communication at the University of Sheffield, Anglia Ruskin University, the University of Bedfordshire and the University of Manchester,
- Master's in Intercultural Communication for Business and Professions at the University of Warwick and the University of London (Birkbeck),
- Master's in Applied Linguistics and Intercultural Communication at the University of Essex,
- Master's in Intercultural Education and Internationalisation at Durham University,
- Master's in International Studies in Education (Intercultural Communication) at the University of Birmingham,
- Master's in Intercultural Business Communication at the University of Central Lancashire,
- Master's in Translation Studies with Intercultural Communication at the University of Surrey,
- Master's in Cross-Cultural Communication at Newcastle University which can be attached to further possibilities ranging from Education to Media Studies i.e. MA in Cross-Cultural Communication and Education.

While there are fewer programmes within the UK and Ireland which make use of the term of intercultural studies, there also appears to be growth in this area along with unevenness in the application of the terminology. There are a number of examples of universities which make use of the term intercultural studies for specific degree programmes. These include Dublin City University's School of Applied Language and Intercultural Studies (SALIS) which offers programmes at both undergraduate level (BA

in Applied Language and Intercultural Studies) and postgraduate level (MA in Intercultural Studies) and the University of Leeds which offers a Master's in Professional Language and Intercultural Studies. Other universities make use of intercultural studies as an umbrella label under which other MA programmes are placed. This can be seen in the University College of London's Centre for Intercultural Studies (CIS) which offers a range of programmes that are based in more traditional disciplines, but are linked to this label of intercultural studies. Likewise, Manchester's School of Arts, Languages and Cultures also makes use of Intercultural Studies as a wider umbrella label under which their MA in Intercultural Communication is placed.

In addition to the growth of credit bearing modules and taught Master's programmes in intercultural communication and intercultural studies, there has been an increase in support programmes and projects associated with 'mobility students' such as Erasmus students or students involved with a Year Abroad programme which make use in some fashion of the intercultural label.⁴ This rapid expansion of intercultural programmes has led me to question why they are appearing at this particular time across the landscape of British universities and what are the political dimensions and institutional demands which are driving this emergence. My research questions are as follows:

- How, where and why are intercultural communication, intercultural studies and use of the variant word forms of 'intercultural' emerging within my research setting? What are the driving factors behind this emergence?
- How are the terms culture and intercultural being discursively appropriated within my research setting in ways other than as academic subjects?

⁴ The Intercultural Education Resources for Erasmus Students Project (IEREST) is a good example.

- How do academics and students within the School position themselves with respect to the emergence of intercultural communication, intercultural studies, and the variants of the term intercultural?
- In what ways do the processes and demands of institutionalisation affect the emergence or the use of the 'intercultural' label?
- Do discourses and structures within Higher Education sanction particular versions of intercultural communication, intercultural studies and/or of the uses of the intercultural label? If this is the case, what are the consequences for this?
- How does this complex emergence inform current understanding of both the University, the social actors within the University and the subject area itself?

1.3 A Brief Introduction to My Position within the Research

A brief introduction to my position with respect to the subject matter is helpful to emphasise that I am not only enmeshed within the research environment, but also complicit in many of the practices which may be suggested as questionable or problematic by this thesis.⁵ I am someone who works within the University and who has made extensive use of the intercultural label and I have also arguably benefited from my association with this subject. However, while I make use of this term, I also see the need to problematise it and I remain anxious about how the concept of the intercultural and its variants can underpin divisions and essentialist practices. This shares Piller's anxiety that 'the popularity of intercultural communication should be more of a cause for concern to scholars in the field than a cause for self-congratulations' (2011:173). The reticence expressed here captures my own position and the spirit of the study. Despite these conceptual concerns, I have also come to recognise the momentum that

⁵ Section 4.5 is devoted to my position with respect to the subject matter of the thesis.

being associated with intercultural communication or simply culture can generate and this has led me to become increasingly tied to the subject matter. This on-going tension is a recurring theme to the study and part of my own motivation for undertaking the research.

The starting point for the study was a motivation to explore and understand the institutionalisation of the subject matter in the University and I wanted to approach this phenomenon of institutionalisation from different perspectives to allow for thick description. This entailed establishing an understanding of some of the recent history of the School and University and identifying the specific areas in the institution where the subject matter was emerging. These two areas represented the starting point of the research. I also wanted to understand the reception of the subject matter from social actors who were encountering the emergence and I believed that in order to do this, I also needed to know more about their institutional identity. This informed my selection of interview and focus group participants and the questions which I asked during the interviews and focus group.

My own position and perspective meant that I was also keen to identify the forms or paradigm of subject matter emergence. My close association with the subject matter influenced the methodological decision to write my own experiences into the data through the use of what I termed critical incidents. I also purposely chose research participants who were encountering the emergence of the subject matter, and my own underlying position spurred a curiosity about whether the research participants experienced any particular struggle with the subject matter and its institutionalisation. When this struggle was apparent, it helped to establish a shared sense of experience and knowledge which was affirmed through dialogue. In these instances, the struggles of

the research participants reflected my own conflicts and encountering these provided me with a sense of shared purpose and what I saw as greater clarity. I eventually understood this aspect of establishing connections through dialogue as an important part of what it means to be a researcher and as a way of countering a degree of institutional alienation.

1.4 Classification of Emerging Disciplines or Fields

While there is extensive literature (often written by academics considering the future of their own subject) which considers the value or cost of institutionalisation within the academy for emerging fields of knowledge or 'sub-disciplines', there is less literature which offers a categorisation of the stages in which 'disciplines' become established within a university. One notable attempt which warrants consideration is from the perspective of the university library. Written in 1982 for the primary purpose of managing library systems, Beaubien, Hogan and George have proposed four stages in which disciplines emerge within a university: Disciplines emerge firstly through a '*pioneering stage*' marked by a 'single great thinker or small group with similar "maverick" interests'; this is then followed by an '*elaboration stage*' where more followers and contributors are drawn into the subject area and articles and university courses begin to appear; the third stage is one of '*proliferation*' whereupon worldwide interest grows, conferences are held, degree programmes are offered and monographs begin to be published; the final stage is one of '*establishment*' which is signified by the appearance of such phenomena as academic departments, doctorates, grants and specialised publishers (Beaubien, Hogan and George 1982: 103-108).

Although the above classification is relevant to this study, it fails to give any account of the day-to-day struggle within the process of emergence or the factors which allow or

impede this process. Fields of knowledge or disciplines do not simply emerge freely into an empty space within a university; they collide with other existing disciplines, they are championed by individuals who have a stake in their success and they deter some people while drawing others into their domain. This is not a purely functional or instrumental process, but often a political and theoretical one. The classification system also conceals the fact that there may be disagreement or debate as to the worth or value in becoming a part of the academy and it fails to account for the emerging fields of knowledge that are never established within the academy or are considered to be anti-disciplinary. Finally, it also fails to consider the fields of knowledge which are imparted to students, but are not situated within a discipline and are not delivered through the platform of an official credit-bearing class or module. Beaubien, Hogan and George's system is, however, germane in the recognition that new fields of knowledge must go through a process of institutionalisation before becoming established as an accepted and legitimate discipline or field, but it is left to further research to give the daily accounts associated with this emergence. This thesis attempts to address this gap.

1.5 The Importance of the Study

In addition to offering the specificity missing in Beaubien, Hogan and George's more mechanical framework, the importance of this study resides in providing new knowledge concerning how the discursive term intercultural and its variants are instrumentalised within the University and the agendas which are served by this. While copious volumes of research have been produced under the rubric of intercultural communication and intercultural studies and the number of ethnographic

accounts of HE is also substantial,⁶ there is little research dedicated to the processes which specifically inform how and *why* intercultural communication, intercultural studies and the term 'intercultural' are emerging within the context of the UK HE sector. Moreover, the implications of this emergence are also crucial to the study as the institutionalisation can inform understanding of the University, the subject matter and the social actors within the research environment. Thus, I am seeking to contextualise the subject matter within the daily exigencies of the University. This includes an exploration of how the subject matter is institutionalised and shaped within the demands and language of the University which is itself a changing field.

I have deliberated throughout the research process whether this research is primarily about the subject matter itself (intercultural communication, intercultural studies and the other variants of the intercultural used by the University), the University and its discourses or even the social actors within the University environment. I will be bold in declaring that the research can, to some limited degree, inform knowledge about all three, but in doing so I draw on Ellingson's (2009:190) analogy of a crystal which, like prisms, 'reflect externalities and refract within themselves, creating different colors, patterns, arrays, casting off in different directions'. Thus, while this is not an ethnographic study of the entire University, its discourses and social actors, it is an exploration of the dynamic *interplay* between the subject matter, the University, its discourses and the social actors within the research environment. In this sense, the subject matter serves as a lens for understanding the University. How the social actors

⁶ While there is extensive literature to survey, three seminal examples include Thompson (1970), Bourdieu (1988) and Swales (1998).

within the research setting position themselves with respect to the subject matter also enlightens how and why the subject matter is emerging in this particular way.

Analysis of the interplay between the University and subject matter offers illumination surrounding the process of institutionalisation and the particular epistemological framings of intercultural communication and intercultural studies which are emerging. It also illustrates prominent discourses which shape the values and practices of the University. Regarding the research setting of the University and School, I am attempting to follow Abu-Lughod's 'ethnography of the particular' by providing a detailed document of a particular time, place and subject matter (Abu-Lughod 1991: 149). This can allow for a deeper understanding of the University and can offer a wider perspective of the daily turbulence of life within this context.

1.6 Parallel Cases: Cultural Studies

The emergence of two separate fields of knowledge warrants a brief consideration as they demonstrate that the question of institutionalisation is complex. The first case of an emerging field of knowledge which can be considered as a relevant to this study is that of cultural studies as it offers several salient points for consideration and is considered to be 'one of the strongest critical influences on the field of language and intercultural communication' (Martin, Nakayama and Carbaugh 2012:28). There were a number of debates particularly in the late 1990s regarding the question of the institutionalisation and disciplining of cultural studies which offer lessons for intercultural communication and intercultural studies.

There has been clear evidence of anti-disciplinary tendencies which have been noted from cultural studies practitioners (Grossberg, Nelson and Treichler 1992: 4; Hall 1992:285; Nelson 1996) and its process of institutionalisation has been uneven,

particularly marked by a reluctance and resistance to disciplinarity. Striphas argues that this has mutated into a 'rather hackneyed resistance' which has 'developed (into) something of a "line"' and that despite this resistance, cultural studies finds itself 'increasingly institutionalised' (Striphas 1998:459). With respect to institutionalisation and disciplinarity, clear parallels between cultural studies, which often sees itself as a 'radical project', and intercultural communication and intercultural studies may be hard to draw. However, while intercultural communication and intercultural studies may not have historically had the radical credentials of cultural studies, its practitioners and academics may have experienced similar friction and reluctance within the process of institutionalisation.

Like intercultural communication, intercultural studies and the umbrella label of 'interculturality', cultural studies is a relatively elastic term which is not consistently interpreted across the academy and has at times been an intersection between disciplines or what Bennett labels as 'an interdisciplinary clearing house' (Bennett 1998: 529). This has in part contributed to a field of knowledge which has emerged at times in a seemingly incoherent or contradictory fashion and has made following the trajectory of cultural studies less than straightforward.

Although somewhat peripheral to this study, this theme of incongruence is apparent within my research setting where cultural studies has not emerged consistently and has undergone a process in which the negotiation of institutional space has been necessary. This was particularly evident at a workshop held in 2011 entitled 'Defining Cultural Studies in a Modern Languages Context' where the main theme of the day was the connection of academic work within the School to cultural studies. In some instances, academics expressed connections which were tenuous at best, while others declared

strong links. Given Blackman's (2000:43) recognition that cultural studies may have historically been seen to 'lack legitimacy as formal areas of study', it was remarkable that several participants mentioned that cultural studies gives their work an added theoretical relevance or justification.⁷

As fields of knowledge emerge and face disciplinary pressures or pressures relating to institutionalisation, these often occur through friction with other existing or established disciplines. Blackman argues that the disciplining of cultural studies and its position within the university is best understood 'through an assessment of the initial differences, tensions and hostilities with sociology' (Blackman 2000:43). That these tensions may exist is unsurprising if one accepts Wark's rather strident position that disciplines are, in effect, a 'proprietary system...[which] ration access to the licensing of ownership to those portions of the fields it chooses to cover' (Wark 2006: 71).

The relevance to this study is that not only are these considerations important to bear in mind when contemplating the emergence and institutionalisation of intercultural communication and intercultural studies within my research location, but that many of the academics who work in my research setting have expressed a close alliance with cultural studies. Thus, intercultural studies and intercultural communication are emerging into an environment where cultural studies is widely valued, but is potentially less visible as a term. While it is important to be mindful of the potential for interdisciplinarity, it is also necessary to consider the potential for friction or hostility. Cultural studies has a rich tradition within the surrounding region of the University and

⁷ For example, one academic whose research interest was in Italian popular music mentioned that there was a legitimating effect to being labelled as a cultural studies researcher as opposed to one who researched popular music.

the prevalence of 'intercultural' may signal a degree of displacement from a highly critical cultural studies approach to a more malleable and loose concept that is conflated with internationalisation and can suggest a degree of superficiality and lack of criticality. The work of Richard Hoggart, and more recently Lynsey Hanley, is important in demonstrating that the rubric of 'national culture' should not be treated as a single and homogenous unit and that one does not necessarily have to move great distances to encounter psychological and social disruption. Hanley has labelled the disruptive nature of social mobility in the UK as a type of culture shock which has both psychological and affective consequences as can be seen in her reflection of Hoggart's own social mobility:

I felt a kinship with Hoggart's essential loneliness as every exam he passed took him further away – in travel and experience – from his working-class neighbourhood and closer to a place that was more comfortable in every way except for the emotions which accompanied him. (Hanley 2016: 11)

In sum, cultural studies offers valuable insight into the tensions existing within societies that may be unsusceptible in applications of interculturality which are underpinned by a 'culture = nation' paradigm.

1.6.1 Parallel Cases: Internet Studies

The second case to briefly consider is internet studies, which like intercultural studies and intercultural communication, is the subject of a great deal of uncertainty regarding not only its position within the academy, but also simply what to call it. Silver notes the uncertainty surrounding the wide array of names given to this field of knowledge: 'internet studies, new media studies, digital media studies, digital arts and culture studies, cyberculture studies, critical cyberculture studies, networked culture studies,

infomatics, information science, information society studies, and contemporary media studies' (Silver 2006:1). The second degree of uncertainty surrounding internet studies regards its ontological status as a field or discipline. Jones seeks to clarify this uncertainty by arguing that internet studies should not be considered as a discipline:

A good place to begin a discussion of the field of internet studies is with the notion of whether there is a 'field' that one can 'view' from any perspective. I do think one can best describe internet studies as a field. A discipline, though, it is not. Disciplines are traditionally marked by departments in colleges and universities. They are usually denoted by a canon (whether for better or worse) and by a curriculum. While we have internet institutes, centers, units, what-have-you, there is not a canon, nor curricula, nor departments. (Jones 2006:ix)

Whether or not one agrees with Jones's criteria for disciplinary status (other criteria to consider might be methodology and types of primary materials), it is interesting that Jones's judgement regarding the disciplinary status of internet studies makes use of the same criteria used by Beaubien, Hogan and George (see section 1.4); however, in arguing that internet studies cannot be conferred with disciplinary status, reference is subsequently made to a larger disciplinary home (communication studies). While Jones may be metaphorically doffing his hat to the larger or more 'legitimate' field which to some degree sanctions his own work in internet studies, he recognises that communication studies itself has also witnessed debates 'about whether communication is a discipline or a field or something else altogether' (Jones 2006: ix). Furthermore, Jones identifies questions that are being asked about internet studies such as, 'Where should I go to get a degree in internet studies?' or 'What are the classics in

the field?’ that are also not unheard of regarding intercultural communication and intercultural studies (Jones 2006: x). More importantly, however, is the realisation that what might be more productive is not questions over categorisation or ‘discussions of whether there is a discipline or a field but...*whether there is anything at all*’ (emphasis mine, Jones 2006: X). In other words, there are many notable voices within the university as will be seen in chapter three who would argue that this proliferation of various emerging areas of ‘new’ studies is simply a distraction from the more established university disciplines and is furthermore, a clear symptom of a failing university system.⁸

The final point regarding internet studies is to acknowledge the formidable anti-disciplinary tendencies which can be held by those who champion a particular research agenda. This demonstrates that it would be misguided to assume that the primary agenda for an emerging field of knowledge is always inclusion within the academy and a desire for the institutional trappings of disciplinary status. Wark’s attempts to move beyond a purely anti-disciplinary stance by maintaining that cyberculture studies ‘has the potential to be not just another discipline, but the end of disciplines as a way of maintaining the scarcity of knowledge’ (Wark 2006: 72). This resonates with Delanty’s argument that universities are ‘no longer the privileged site of knowledge’ (2001:4).

In sum, while these two examples are somewhat peripheral to the study, they serve to highlight issues, frictions and schisms related to the process of institutionalisation that are relevant to this specific research.

⁸ Comparison with university structures and curricula in, for example, France demonstrates a different approach whereby fields such as ‘gender studies’ or ‘intercultural studies’ are generally not offered in that context as areas of study in their own right.

1.7 Map of the Thesis

This thesis contains a total of ten chapters. Chapter 1 has provided an introduction to the study and has explained my own motivation for undertaking the research and my positioning with respect to the subject matter. This chapter has also provided a consideration of the importance of the study, the research questions, examples of institutionalisation from two other analogous subject areas and references to a system of classification of institutionalisation. However, part of the rationale for providing the system of classification for institutionalisation is to draw distinctions between the more mechanical process of institutionalisation and the greater political and theoretical tension which this study attempts to address.

Chapter 2 establishes relevant terms and concepts while recognising that there is an overlap between terms and concepts and literature devoted to the subject matter. Given that there is a potentially confusing array of variant uses of the intercultural, this chapter establishes the distinctions which these different terms (intercultural communication, intercultural studies, cross-cultural, multicultural, transcultural) offer and the problematic connection that they have to the concept of culture. This chapter also explores how the concept of culture has evolved historically since early uses by both Arnold and Tylor in the late 1800s. Chapter 3 reviews relevant subject matter literature while also recognising that it is difficult to locate the literature in one specific field, particularly considering the multiple forms that the subject matter has taken during its emergence in diverse areas within the University. This led me to the decision to concentrate on literature related to the historical development of intercultural communication and its theoretical framework. This is important to the thesis for providing evidence of how, and to some degree why, the structural-

functionalist paradigm developed and became entrenched. This framework is evident in Dahlén's (1997) study, *Among the Interculturalists: An Emergent Profession and its Packaging of Knowledge*. I consider this text as particularly important to the study as it offers points of comparisons between an emerging profession outside of HE during the mid-1990s and how the institutionalisation of the subject matter may be taking place currently within the University and School. This chapter also considers more recent alternative frameworks for the subject matter.

Chapter 4 focuses specifically on the research environment by firstly considering a more general focus on HE before introducing the specific research environment in the form of the University and School. The rationale for providing this stems from my belief that the environment has an effect on the process of institutionalisation and greater understanding of this facilitates an understanding of the emergence of the subject matter and the reception that the subject matter receives from social actors within the institution. I was motivated to gain a better understanding of the institutional identity of those participants both working and studying within the University and I did this by starting with an exploration of the environment and its recent history. This chapter also locates myself and the six forms of subject matter emergence within the University and School. Chapter 5 describes the research process, the methodology for the study and considers the limitations of the study.

The following four chapters (6-9) analyse the themes which have emerged from the data. Chapter 6 primarily sets the scene of the University's environment and concentrates the analysis on four prominent discourses (internationalisation, globalisation, marketisation and employability/broadening) which are important to the study. This chapter also considers what I term the paradox of institutionalisation and

introduces the term neoliberal to describe the University. Chapters 7 and 8 focus on particular encounters which social actors have with the emerging subject matter and the heterogeneous positioning taken within the University. Attempts are made in these chapters to categorise the various positions taken by social actors as they encounter the subject matter. Chapter 9 explores the theme of resistance to essentialist applications of the subject where there is evidence of contestation over how the subject matter is employed and to University discourses. Chapter 10 provides further analysis of the key findings, considers the implications and offers final reflections.

Chapter 2: Mapping the Field and Establishing Concepts

Naming, not to mention mapping, an academic field is a tricky proposition.
(Silver 2006:1)

2.1 Introduction

This chapter establishes the key terms and concepts which are relevant to this study. I begin with consideration of the various terminologies related to the umbrella label of the intercultural. This takes account of the implications and connotations suggested by the different variants of the subject matter. I then move to consider three other broader concepts (discourse, essentialism and paradigm shifts) which are important to this study. I view a term such as culture as both an important concept which requires an explanation as to how I use it within the study and also as a major part of the subject matter itself. Thus, while I make a distinction between terms and concepts in this chapter and a review of literature in the next chapter, there is a close connection and overlap between the two areas.

2.2 Terms and Concepts

This section focuses on the key terms which recur throughout the research. In attempting to establish a working definition of relevant terms I note that there is scant agreement regarding definitions for a term such as culture and the contested nature of this term is in fact one of the catalysts for undertaking the research. Acknowledging that the following coverage of the various interpretations of culture is only partial, I will critically examine six selected definitions or comments regarding the culture concept which have particular relevance and links to intercultural communication and intercultural studies. As culture is the crucial base word upon which various derivations

are built, it can be argued that how one interprets or defines culture inevitably affects how one understands a term such as intercultural communication. In its most succinct form intercultural communication is often defined in a somewhat tautologous fashion as communication between different cultural groups. For example, the Language Network for Quality Assurance defines intercultural communication as 'situated communication between individuals or groups of different linguistic and cultural origins' (2015: <http://www.lanqua.eu/theme/intercultural-communication>). While this definition can serve as a concise reference point, it clearly raises a number of questions including first and foremost how the concept of culture itself is conceived. Thus, while the brevity and neatness of the above definition for intercultural communication is welcomed, this definition ignores the more problematic and contentious questions regarding issues of power and it avoids a clear position with regard to the concept of culture.

In exploring the terms below, I seek to avoid a definition which reduces a complexity to a simplification by seeking closure and unicity. In this sense, while this section will provide an introductory review of how culture and interculturality have been understood by some researchers, this problematisation of the concept of culture will be a recurring consideration throughout this study.

2.2.1 'Culture'

1) ...culture is, or ought to be, the study and pursuit of perfection; and that of perfection as pursued by culture, beauty and intelligence, or, in other words, sweetness and light are the main characters (Arnold 1869:50).

2) Culture or civilisation, taken in its wide ethnographic sense, is that complex whole which includes knowledge, belief, art, morals, law, custom, and any other capabilities and habits acquired by man as a member of society (Tylor 1871:1).

3) Culture consists in patterned ways of thinking, feeling and reacting, acquired and transmitted mainly by symbols, constituting the distinctive achievements of human groups, including their embodiments in artefacts; the essential core of culture consists of traditional (i.e. historically derived and selected) ideas and especially their attached values (Kluckhohn 1951:86).

4) Culture is a deeply compromised idea I cannot yet do without (Clifford 1988:10).

5) For culture [...] is not a “substance” or a phenomenon in its own right, it is an objective mirage that arises out of the relationship between at least two groups. This is to say that no group “has” a culture all by itself: culture is the nimbus perceived by one group when it comes into contact with and observes another one. It is the objectification of everything alien and strange about the contact group... (Jameson 1993:33)

6) Since the concept of culture has become so multifarious as to obscure, rather than clarify, understandings of the social world, it may now perhaps be allowed to return to the culture pages of broadsheets and the world of *Bildung*. Instead of invoking culture, if one talks about local arts, one could simply say “local arts”; if one means language, ideology, patriarchy, children’s rights, food habits, ritual practices or local political structures, one could use those or equivalent terms instead of covering them up in the deceptively cozy blanket of culture.

(Eriksen 2001:141)

While it is almost a cliché to begin a theoretical consideration of culture by stating its paradoxical nature, this remains difficult to avoid. Clearly a contested concept, it has been used by a number of disciplines and appropriated throughout a relatively long

history for a variety of purposes including arguably as a justification for subjugation and exploitation.

The two early definitions by Arnold and Tylor differ in some respects in that Arnold's notion of culture 'referred to special intellectual or artistic endeavours or products, what today we might call "high culture"' (Avruch 1998: 6-7).⁹ Tylor's definition, on the other hand, referred to 'a quality possessed by all people in all social groups, who nevertheless could be arrayed on a development (evolutionary) continuum' (Avruch 1998: 6-7). Both of these definitions, arguably, underpin what Piller claims was a concept common in early anthropology which placed cultures on a cline so that 'each culture was located somewhere on a specific point on a general path of human development from savagery to civilisation' and that this was, 'not only part of the justification of colonialism, it made colonialism as a civilising effort a moral obligation, the White man's burden' (Piller 2011: 21-22). This framing of culture emphasised an evolutionary aspect where the aim for a particular group was, 'to attain the cultural achievement (*Kultur*) characteristic of an advanced civilization (like our own) or people of refinement (i.e. the European bourgeoisie)' (Walcott 1999: 25).

This reading of culture with its colonialist links still continues to exert some influence on how culture is defined across a number of disciplines. Kramsch and Uryu offer an example for applied linguistics:

The colonialist origins of the term still adhere to the way culture has

⁹ Arnold's concept of culture was transformative and fashioned as a potential active force for enlightenment.

largely been conceived in applied linguistics. IC¹⁰ has been associated with asymmetrical relations of linguistic proficiency and technological power. The positivist, structurally oriented descriptions offered by anthropologists trying to make sense of the logic of IC between natives and non-natives has been echoed in the studies of native and non-native speakers in second language acquisition (SLA) research and research on study abroad. In the same manner as anthropologists studied how the Spaniards went about making the Indians into Christian subjects of the Spanish crown (Hanks 2010; Pratt 1992), applied linguists have been interested in exploring how immigrant non-native speakers can be helped to better understand and adopt the native speakers' way of talking. (Kramsch and Uryu 2012: 211)

Lingering questions over the culture concept demonstrate how the emergence of knowledge within a university is often accompanied by an epistemological struggle over the semantic and theoretical value of key concepts. One place where this struggle is particularly relevant is within anthropology given the connection between anthropology and intercultural communication. Throughout the 20th century differing interpretations of the role of culture and the usefulness of the concept contributed to a split within anthropology resulting in what was often labelled as British social

¹⁰ The use of IC here by Kramsch and Uryu indicates 'intercultural contact' as opposed to intercultural communication. However, the argument remains valid for the field of intercultural communication.

anthropology and US cultural anthropology (Walcott 1999)¹¹. This split was part of historical phases within anthropology which have seen a constant repositioning with regard to how the culture concept was understood ranging from those who wished to see the concept abolished to those such as the US anthropologist Clyde Kluckhohn who, following in the Boasian tradition, wished to make Americans more 'culture-conscious' and saw this as a key to a more peaceful postwar world (Gilkeson 2009: 251).

Kluckhohn's 1949 publication of *Mirror for Man: The Relation of Anthropology to Modern Life* was in some sense a manifesto for the postwar emergence of a renewed anthropology within the US which was labelled as 'New Anthropology' and was popularised by anthropologists such as Ruth Benedict and Margaret Mead (Gilkeson 2009: 251). The culture concept and Kluckhohn's definition above (3) was an integral facet of Benedict's aims to shatter Americans' 'ethnocentric ethical conceptions' and of Kluckhohn's agenda which sought to identify 'ultimate values' which could help to promote a peaceful postwar world (Gilkeson 2009: 252 citing Endleman 1949: 285-286). The aim of shattering ethnocentric conceptions is also apparent in what Mead argues is the need to counter a potential for a 'frightened retreat to some single standard which will waste nine-tenths of the potentialities of the human race' (Mead 1939: xxx-xxxi). This aim was exemplified in studies emphasising the variety and distinctiveness of cultures. While Kluckhohn produced a large volume of academic

¹¹ Debates regarding the culture concept and the British and US divide can be seen in a range of proponents. Examples include A.R. Radcliffe-Brown and subsequently Tim Ingold and Adam Kuper who aligned themselves with social anthropology which was highly critical of the culture concept. U.S cultural anthropologists spanned from the early 20th century and included those such as Franz Boas, Ruth Benedict, Margaret Mead, Alfred Kroeber and Clyde Kluckhohn to late 20th century cultural anthropologists such as Marshall Sahlins. The greater willingness to make use of the culture concept as an explanatory device is also apparent in the Sapir-Whorf hypothesis of linguistic relativity.

research, the preface of *Mirror for Man* stressed that the book was written for the layperson and was dedicated in part to explaining 'what good is the concept of culture so far as the contemporary world is concerned' (Kluckhohn 1949: 37). This is a key development when what might be called the 'anthropological understanding' of culture was widely disseminated outside of academia and a sense of moral purpose was being fashioned around a concept that was being comprehensively 'defined'.

Although the motives of the purveyors of New Anthropology may be beyond question and despite the fact that Kluckhohn was opposed to 'cultural determinism' (see Kluckhohn 1949: 21 and Gilkeson 2009: 261), in emphasising the heterogeneity of 'distinct' cultures, as can be seen particularly through Kluckhohn's work in the American Southwest with the Navajo and in Benedict's portrayal of Japan in *The Chrysanthemum and the Sword*, the movement arguably may have helped to contribute to the binary divisions that continue to underpin an understanding of culture (and intercultural communication) exemplified in approaches which place cultural dimensions on a continuum in a country by country comparison. Moreover, this positivist, structural-functionalist framework, which held sway in the mid-1950s, may have helped to contribute to an essentialist reading of culture and continues to exert an influence on intercultural communication.¹² This argument will be extended in section

¹² Talcott Parsons was another contributor to structural-functionalism which viewed culture as 'a stable value system, governing human action and manifested in social institutions such as family, corporations, and government' (Dahlén 1997:159). A good example of this approach is Parsons and Shils (1951) and their 'Theory of Action.' Functionalism can also be traced to the research of Auguste Comte and Emile Durkheim. Martin, Nakayama and Carbaugh argue that functionalist research operates from an assumption that 'the social world is composed of knowable facts that exist separately from the researcher' (Martin, Nakayama and Carbaugh 2012: 21).

3.3 and it should be stressed that this paradigm has relevance in regard to the institutionalisation of the subject matter within the University.

Dervin argues that these debates within anthropology have now largely been put aside and anthropology's central concern has moved well beyond debates over the culture concept (Dervin 2012:182; 2011:39), yet there is a sense that anthropology will forever be wed to the concept of culture. This can be seen in, for example, lingering references in literature to culture in its 'anthropological sense' with a variety of implied meanings (e.g. Wilkinson 2012: 301-302). However, the essentialist, reified framing of culture has continued to produce wide ranging discontent and scepticism which Phillips notes 'is rife in the sociological and anthropological literatures, to the point where it has become commonplace to counterpose old and new ideas of culture, and criticise the former for treating cultures as if they were things' (Phillips 2007: 42).

This criticism spans disciplines and can be seen in, for example, anthologies by Fox and King (1991; 2002), the first of which contains Abu-Lughod's 'Writing Against Culture' where she argues that 'despite its anti-essentialist intent, (...) the culture concept retains some of the tendencies to freeze difference possessed by concepts like race' (Abu-Lughod 1991:144). Additional sceptical arguments to note are Phillips's entreaty for multiculturalism without culture (2007), Bayart's call for culture to be banned (2005) and more recently Dervin's appeal for 'interculturality without culture' (2010; 2012: 187). All of these works, along with the final three comments above by Geertz (4), Jameson (5) and Erikson (6) offer less certainty about what culture 'is' and demonstrate a frustration with culture being defined as fixed, static, reified and bounded and offering no possibility of agency. Smith and Bond's following list of six inadequate conceptions of culture is useful in helping to define what culture is *not*:

Culture is *not* homogenous; culture is *not* a thing; culture is *not* uniformly distributed among members of a group; an individual *does not* possess a single culture; culture is *not* custom; culture is *not* timeless. (Smith and Bond 1998: 60-62 emphasis added)

Alternative conceptions of culture have attempted to recognise agency, complexity and to allow for a social constructionist approach. Examples include, Street's repositioning of culture from a noun to a verb recognising the active processes involved in collective meaning-making as opposed to a static and bounded structure (Street 1993). Drawing upon Weber's social action theory (1968, first published posthumously in the early 1920s), Holliday's concept of 'small cultures' (1999) has helped to highlight the overly common conflation of culture and nationality recognising that small cultures can be created and recreated throughout all social contexts and that expressions of culture are 'bound up with the politics of an unequal world' (Holliday 2010a: 271). The increasing mobility and technological developments 'have blurred many cultural boundaries and have forced researchers to reconsider concepts that were once understood as binary and divergent' (Jenks, Bhatia and Lou 2013: 122). This is acknowledged in Hannerz's demonstration of the complexity of the network of perspectives in the process of constructions of culture (1992) and in his objection to what he has labelled the discourses of 'Culturespeak' which propagate an essentialist view of culture (Hannerz 1999).

Similarly as culture was no longer recognised as the sole preserve of anthropology, fields such as postcolonial studies, cultural studies and border studies, drawing on the work of a range of theorists such as Foucault, Said, and Spivak, have introduced a more critical approach recognising that issues of power and ideology are present in any

framing or discourse of culture. Thus, for example, culturalist stereotypes which position students from a particular nation as 'shy' and 'passive' in English language classrooms are in no way neutral or objective observations. Rather, these discourses may become self-replicating, constitutive and hegemonic, and are 'practices that systematically form the objects (and subjects) of which they speak' (Foucault 1972: 49).¹³ This increasing emphasis on power dimensions can also be seen in Holliday's critical cosmopolitan reading of culture which recognises the political and ideological dimensions involved in socially constructed understandings of culture (2011) and in the recognition of cultures as 'tense loci of difference and opposition' (Holliday, Hyde and Kullman 2010:70 citing Fay 1996).

These alternative conceptions of culture share a common theme of a shift away from a concern of what culture is (See Jameson (6) above), to a more critical constructionalist or post-structuralist paradigm that, in Piller's words, recognises the need to analyse 'who makes culture relevant for whom, in which context, for which purposes' (Piller 2011: 13). The acknowledgement of the importance of power and ideology also helps to demonstrate that the framing of culture is not simply a matter of scholarly debate, but that these questions have specificity in sites of political and social struggle such as South Africa where 'the official doctrines on race and culture invoked a scientific authority' which led to a situation where 'apartheid was based on an anthropological theory' (Kuper 1999: xiii).

¹³ McDermott and Tylbor offer a salient analysis of inarticulateness without retreating to national-culture as an explanatory model, writing that, 'Fluency and inarticulateness are not good analytic terms for distinguishing kinds of persons. They are better for distinguishing kinds of situations' (McDermott & Tylbor 1986:129).

For the purpose of this thesis I am aligning myself with a social constructionist approach whereby culture is considered to be a 'floating signifier'. Although this term originates with Lévi-Strauss, Stuart Hall's use of the concept to theorise race is also productive for reading the notion of culture as he argues that floating signifiers are fluid, relational and 'not essential':

And those things gain their meaning not because of what they contain in their essence but in the shifting relations of difference which they establish with other concepts and ideas in a signifying field. Their meaning because it is relational and not essential can never be finally fixed, but is subject to the constant process of redefinition and appropriation.

(Hall 1997)

This notion of culture has also been employed in order to foreground questions of power and control within diverse contexts such as the corporation. Angouri and Glynos, argue that 'once "culture" has been de-linked from an *a priori* content and is approached as a floating signifier, the question of how and why different cultural features serve to mobilize management and resistance in given contexts becomes central' (Angouri & Glynos 2009: 12). This use entails an interrogation and exploration of the different discourses of culture and recognises the elasticity of the term. In addition to this reading of culture, I will also make reference in chapter 3 to Holliday's (2013a: 2, 2011: 131) 'grammar of culture' in order to demonstrate that the processes of culture formation which are mapped out in this framework are very much apparent within my research environment. This grammar of culture is described as 'a loose device for explaining how different elements of culture relate to each other within an open dialogue between the individuals and the social structures' (Holliday 2013a: xvi-xvii).

Finally, while my epistemological framework attempts to separate myself from a positivist and essentialist understanding of culture, I am simultaneously enmeshed in the emergence of intercultural communication and intercultural studies within my own research environment (the University). As this emergence transpires, the demands of institutionalisation may obfuscate my own alignment to a point where I must consider whether my theoretical alignment is replicated in my daily practices. This tension and need to negotiate between competing articulations of culture and the intercultural are important to the research.

2.2.2 Intercultural Communication and Intercultural Studies

This section now shifts to a focus on intercultural communication and intercultural studies and notes distinctions between the two subject areas. Bennett (1998: 531) notes that '(a)ttempts to describe cultural studies in terms of particular theories, methods of enquiry or analytical procedures remain relatively rare' and this statement also holds true for intercultural communication and intercultural studies. Nevertheless, notable attempts at mapping the field can be seen in the editorial policies of two Routledge journals which are dedicated to each subject area and these journals also facilitate the establishment of distinctions between intercultural communication and intercultural studies where they can be considered as coterminous, but not synonymous. Routledge's *Journal of Intercultural Studies* seeks to establish intercultural studies as an interdisciplinary field which it claims includes links to diverse areas or disciplines such as cultural studies, sociology, gender studies, political science, cultural geography, urban studies, race and ethnic studies and it regards theories or issues listed below to be an integral part of the field:

- Reconceptualising notions of nationhood, citizenship, and racialisation;

- Questioning theories of diaspora, transnationalism, hybridity, and border crossing and their contextualised applications;
- Exploring the contemporary sociocultural formations of ethnicity, postcolonialism and indigeneity;
- Examining how past and contemporary key scholars can inform current thinking on cross-cultural knowledge and multiculturalism, race and cultural identity.

(Journal of Intercultural Studies 2010:2)

The above delineation of intercultural studies offers points for comparison with a similar mapping of the field taken by Routledge's *Journal of Language and Intercultural Communication* as seen below:

Language and Intercultural Communication promotes an interdisciplinary understanding of the interplay between language and intercultural communication. It therefore welcomes research into intercultural communication, particularly where it explores the importance of linguistic aspects; and research into language, especially the learning of foreign languages, where it explores the importance of intercultural perspectives. The journal is alert to the implications for education, especially higher education and for language learning and teaching. It is also receptive to research on the frontiers between languages and cultures, and on the implications of linguistic and intercultural issues for the world of work. The journal seeks to advance a perception of the intercultural dimension of language within a complex and pluralist view of the world. To this end, it seeks always to resist reductive and

hegemonic interpretations and is stimulated by contemporary, critical perspectives in understanding cultural practices and intercultural relationships.

(Journal of Language and Intercultural Communication: 2010)

It is clear that while the main themes which are highlighted in the respective journals are similar, the two editorial policies show that intercultural communication is unsurprisingly most frequently linked to language learning, linguistics, education and business. Intercultural studies, however, is more likely to be informed by or connected to particular theories or concepts such as hybridity and diaspora and the field weaves in and out of the wider set of subject areas or disciplines listed above. However, as stated above, there is a significant amount of overlap between the two.

For the purpose of this study, intercultural communication and intercultural studies are understood to be fields of knowledge or subject areas (i.e. a student can join a class, module or programme in these fields) which are in a process of emergence and institutionalisation within HE, but are also not limited to this context. It is also recognised that both of these fields are contested, problematic and, particularly in the cases of intercultural communication, part of a 'profession' existing outside of the academy. Dahlén's study, which will be introduced in chapter 3, demonstrates intercultural communication is also widely seen in connection to, for example, training models for international business and diplomatic service. Intercultural studies, likewise, is not limited to Higher Education and has begun to emerge as part of curricula in wider education systems.¹⁴

¹⁴ An example of this is Crotty's (2013) *Introduction to Intercultural Studies* which is designed specifically for the context of Ireland and is published for students studying at the Further

By using the phrases, 'fields of knowledge' or 'subject areas' I consider both intercultural communication and intercultural studies not to be disciplines in their own right despite the occasional reference to them as disciplines¹⁵, and that part of the unevenness of their emergence is that both retain a potential for being instrumentalised within a number of different locations or disciplines within HE. This has resonance with Adams and Janover's description of intercultural studies as an interdisciplinary endeavour which is 'characterised by dissonance rather than by consensus' (2009: 228). Piller, however, sees 'intercultural communication studies' as less of an 'interdisciplinary' undertaking and more of a 'multidisciplinary' endeavour arguing that, 'there is not necessarily much actual interaction – or should I call it intercultural communication? – going on between the various stakeholders' (Piller 2011: 15). Thus, while there remains an element of disagreement between the degree of interdisciplinarity surrounding these terms, intercultural communication and intercultural studies are clearly spread across university departments, disciplines, schools or faculties and the rationale for where they are placed institutionally is not always clear.

One consideration for this study is whether intercultural studies or intercultural communication is theoretically viable as a subject within a Modern Languages organisational structure. Given that the University Council of Modern Languages in the UK has a vice-chair post in 'Language and Intercultural Education', it is relatively safe to

Education and Training Awards Council (FETAC) Level 5. This is a Further Education award in the Republic of Ireland aimed particularly at students seeking training that is recognised by prospective employers.

¹⁵ An example of this elevation to a disciplinary status can be found in publicity material from the University of Sheffield which states that, 'Intercultural Communication is a very important growing discipline...'. (University of Sheffield 2010).

assume that the emergence of these subjects within the research environment for this study (the School) is not incongruous.¹⁶ However, these subjects have also emerged within other ‘disciplines’ such as Education, Applied Linguistics and International Business Studies (see section 1.1).

In exploring some of the ways in which intercultural communication and intercultural studies have been framed and understood, it is necessary to sift through the terminology which surrounds these fields of knowledge. Some of the ambiguity surrounding different terminology is less conceptual but reflects a general sense of disarray, while other nomenclature is used purposively to suggest a distinctive epistemic break with previous understandings. I acknowledge that while it would also be worth considering non-English terminology such as ‘*interculturalidad*’ in this discussion, I will focus on terms which have been used in English, but will return briefly to the concept of ‘*interculturalidad*’ in section 3.2.

As noted, part of the ambiguity and anxiety related to the terms intercultural communication and intercultural studies stems from the link to the key word of ‘culture’, and there have been alternative views expressed regarding the development of intercultural communication and its relationship with the culture concept. For example, Jones argues that, ‘(m)uch of the work in intercultural communication studies in the past decade, especially in the field of applied linguistics, has been devoted to “disinventing” the notion of culture’ (Jones 2013: 238). However, Dervin argues that while anthropology has moved beyond the culture debate, ‘work with interculturality seems to have remained “stuck” in the first movements of anthropology’ which was founded on essentialist approaches (Dervin 2012: 182 citing Dahlén 1997). While these

¹⁶ Elections for the University Council of Modern Languages Vice-Chair for Language and Intercultural Education took place in January 2014 for which my School had a vote.

are slightly different views regarding the pace and the degree of the shift from a functionalist approach to the subject matter, both acknowledge that the paradox of the culture concept looms large over the field as a whole and that ontological anxieties remain regarding how the concept of culture fits in with intercultural communication.

Despite these efforts at repositioning or negating culture, there is a sense that intercultural communication continues to be 'guilty by association' through its early connections to cultural anthropology and to an historical epistemology which understands culture as reified. This history has contributed to lingering doubts specifically over the proliferation of intercultural communication as a field of knowledge and arguably it remains divided between essentialist (or positivist) and non-essentialist (or post-structuralist) paradigms.

2.2.3 Intercultural and Cross-cultural

In addition to the attachment of the terms intercultural studies and intercultural communication to specific taught modules or degree programmes, terms such as 'interculturality', 'intercultural', 'cross-cultural' or 'transcultural' may also be used to frame university initiatives which are not specifically linked to credit bearing taught modules. Each term offers a degree of elasticity suggesting an array of possible meanings and the ambiguity of the terminology has also resulted in a sense of disarray where the terms are sometimes used interchangeably, the most predominant being the usage of the prefixes *inter* and *cross*. One possible source of this confusing terminology is that *cross-cultural* is frequently used in the US to signify what would normally be referred to as *intercultural* in, for example, the UK, although there are exceptions to this observation. Despite this confusion, there is some degree of agreement on the distinction between the two terms where *cross-cultural* 'generally refers to the

comparison of communication behaviours across cultures (Martin, Nakayama and Carbaugh 2012:30-31) and *inter-cultural* 'generally refers to face-to-face interaction among people of diverse cultures' (Jandt 2007: 36).¹⁷

2.2.4 Interculturalism and Multiculturalism

Although discussion of multiculturalism does not figure prominently in this study, the semantic overlap with interculturalism necessitates a brief attempt at a distinction. Despite the apparent common ground between the two terms, academic literature dedicated to these concepts is often written from different disciplines with multiculturalism frequently being analysed from the perspective of politics and international relations. There has been substantial debate over how to untangle these terms (see, for example, Bouchard 2011, Naseem 2011, Kymlicka 2012, Meer and Modood 2012). Levey refers to this overlap arguing that '(t)he terms "interculturalism" and "multiculturalism" have occupied the same discursive space for a few decades now, especially in Continental Europe and Quebec' (Levey 2012: 217). Levey's use of specific geographical areas serves notice that any overarching definition, particularly of multiculturalism, must be qualified by an acknowledgment of geographical and historical variation in how the terms have been used or interpreted. For example, Levey notes that in Australia, "(m)ulticulturalism" was and continues to be [...] the only rubric invoked for denoting the accommodation of cultural difference (whereas) "interculturalism" has little profile here outside some education circles' (2012:218). Commonly given definitions refer to multiculturalism as a process or a policy which may involve maintenance, support, importance or accommodation of cultural

¹⁷ This distinction retains a sense of boundedness which remains unhelpful.

difference.¹⁸ Interculturalism, on the other hand, according to James (2007:2), is more frequently associated with ‘openness, dialogue and interaction.’ The association of multiculturalism with governmental processes or policies is a political one located in what is commonly referred to as state multiculturalism. While Phillips (2007:4) notes that in the UK ‘the evolution of multicultural policy was never codified in official statements’, countries such as Canada (Canadian Multicultural Act 1988) and Australia (National Agenda for a Multicultural Australia 1989) did enact specific policies for their respective societies. However, even in this example there appears to be significant overlap in the terminology and James points out that ‘the use of Interculturalism was also the Quebecoise alternative to English-Canadian multi-culturalism’ (James 2007: 2). This association of multiculturalism with government and legislative policy later became the focal point for other wide-ranging criticism particularly from the turn of the century. Like interculturalism, multiculturalism has been accused of acting as a tool for essentialist approaches to culture in what has been described as ‘boutique multiculturalism’ where ‘cultural differences are paraded as a-political ethnic accessories celebrated in multicultural festivals of costumes, cooking and concerts’ (Gunew 1997: 23) Similar arguments are apparent from the vantage point of different disciplines such as critical cosmopolitanism (Delanty et a. 2008), cultural studies (Hall 1991 and Bhabha 1994:34), intercultural communication (Holliday 2013:55) and language education (Kubota 2004; and Kumaravadivelu 2007).¹⁹ Phillips details the transition of the reception of multiculturalism from a relatively favourable consensus to

¹⁸ The Oxford Advanced Learners Dictionary (2005:1003) states that multiculturalism is ‘the practice of giving importance to all cultures in a society’.

¹⁹ I note the problematic nature of boxing academic researchers into specific disciplines and acknowledge that criticism of multiculturalism also relates to specific discussions of concepts such as hybridity and race which span disciplines.

an eventual point whereby '[m]ulticulturalism became the scapegoat for an extraordinary array of political and social evils, a supposedly misguided approach to cultural diversity that encouraged men to beat their wives, parents to abuse their children, and communities to erupt in racial violence' (Phillips 2007: 3). David Cameron's February 5th 2011 speech in Munich on the failure of state multiculturalism is one example where the idea of accommodation and respect of cultural differences has been dragged into the political arena.²⁰

Thus, although there are arguably a number of semantic distinctions to differentiate multiculturalism and interculturalism, the most important distinction may well be, as Levey argues, that multiculturalism's 'semantic capital, as it were, has been spent' (Levey 2012: 224). With this in mind, interculturalism is being seen by some as the natural successor to multiculturalism (Gutenberg 2013) and there are a number of notable examples of the growing use of variant terms of intercultural by government bodies such as The Council of Europe's White Paper on Intercultural Dialogue which established 2008 as the 'European Year of Intercultural Dialogue' and defines intercultural dialogue as 'an open and respectful exchange of views between individuals and groups belonging to different cultures that leads to a deeper understanding of the other's global perception.' (Council of Europe). The Council of Europe has also instigated a number of projects such as the 'Intercultural Cities' project which have been promoted under the banner of interculturalism (Council of Europe). Not all theorists, however, have been convinced. Wieviorka, for example, argues that the vagueness of

²⁰ One of the most visible high profile critics of Dutch and European liberal multiculturalist policies is the Dutch Somali Ayaan Hirsi Ali whose books *Infidel* and *Nomad* documented what she termed her 'personal journey through the clash of civilizations' (2010). Elected to the Dutch Parliament in 2003, she has since emigrated to the US.

the concept of interculturalism renders it as an unworthy substitute for multiculturalism (Wieviorka 2012). His position retains a sense that interculturalism and multiculturalism should be seen in opposition.²¹ Finally, there is a noticeable distinction between the interculturalists described by Dahlén in chapter 3 who are firmly located within the market and interculturalism as seen in European state projects.

2.2.5 Naming and Renaming: Transculturation

There have been concerted efforts to reappropriate the concept of the intercultural through the use of different terminology. One example of this is the use of *trans* which signals an attempt at a different approach or even ‘a different set of theoretical and methodological tools’ as this term has been employed in an attempt at a conceptual break or ‘in an attempt to do away with the legacies of modernist thought’ (Blommaert 2010: 18). Welsh proposes the notion of transculturality as an alternative to both interculturality and multiculturalism (1999: 194-195). Pennycook (2007) employs *trans* to emphasise *transgressive theories* and this term is also taken up with respect to applied linguistics and transcultural flows and *transculturation*:

Taken in conjunction, the notions of transidiomatic and transcultural practices refer not merely to the spread of particular forms of culture across boundaries, nor only to the existence of supercultural commonalities (cultural forms that transcend locality). They draw our attention instead to the constant processes of borrowing, bending, and blending of cultures, to the communicative practices of

²¹ This adversarial positioning, however, is also one that is also being questioned in, for example, a multi-sited international conference hosted by Researching International and Contemporary Education (RICE) in 2014 which is entitled ‘Intercultural vs. Multicultural Education: The End of Rivalries?’

people interacting across different linguistic and communicative codes,
borrowing and bending and blending languages into new modes of expression.

(Pennycook 2007: 42)

Moreover, this notion of *trans* is one which does not avoid the political influence of cultural positioning and movement:

Transcultural and transidiomatic practices point to ways in which those apparently on the receiving end of cultural and linguistic domination select, appropriate, refashion and return new cultural and linguistic forms through complex interactive cultural groups (defined not in ethnic terms but along subcultural affiliations of gender, class, sexual orientation, profession, interest, desires and so on). Transcultural and transidiomatic practices therefore refer not to homogenization or heterogenization but to alternative spaces of cultural production. This allows us to get beyond the question of uniformization or particularization, and opens up an understanding of cultural movement while never losing sight of the uneven terrain (global economies, the music industry) over which such movements occur. (Pennycook 2007: 47)

Pennycook's above notion of transculturation recognises that *trans* has its own historical appropriations and connotations with reference to culture through his acknowledgement of its use by Pratt (1992) and by the Cuban sociologist Fernando Ortiz who originally coined the term in the early 1940s. However, while Pennycook recognises the distinctions in Ortiz's conception of transculturation and captures 'how subordinated or marginal groups select and invent from materials transmitted to them by a dominant or metropolitan culture' (Ashcroft, Griffiths and Tiffin 2000: 213), his use of 'trans' may neglect to emphasise the sense of loss which Ortiz explains as follows:

I am of the opinion that the word *transculturation* better expresses the different phases of the process of transition from one culture to another because this does not consist merely in acquiring another culture, which is what the English word *acculturation* really implies, but the process also necessarily involves the loss or uprooting of a previous culture, what could be defined as a *deculturation*. In addition it carries the idea of the consequent creation of new cultural phenomena, which could be called *neo culturation*. (Ortiz 1995: 102 - 103)

The deliberation over terminology such as *transculturation* has not been limited to simply theoretical considerations as there have also been attempts to translate this terminology into degree programmes which employ the alternative term of ‘*transcultural communication*’ which can be seen, for example, in *transcultural communication* programmes at the University of Melbourne.²² Thus, while the adaptation of new terminology to signify a conceptual break with the past can be a problematic exercise, it symbolises a sense of frustration with the associations signified by ‘*inter*’ and ‘*cross*’ which suggests comparison or dialogue between two solid, separate and bounded entities and a continuous anxiety with the concept of culture. Having considered terms and concepts closely connected to the subject matter, the following sections turn to broader concepts which are also important to the study.

²² Dr. Celia Thompson has led a move to the use of the prefix *trans* in university programmes by drawing on the work of Bahktin, Kristeva, Kramsch, Canagarajah, Pennycook and Makoni. In a conference presentation at the British Association of Applied Linguistics Special Interest Group conference in March, 2012, she argued that *trans* gave a more conceptually representative feel of movement (multidirectional) and of flow and mixing that *inter* could not offer while also informing the dialogic nature of identity with the subject being one in process, rather than a fixed state.

2.3 Discourse

The concept of discourse is particularly relevant to the thesis. In clarifying how the term will be understood within this study, I lean heavily on distinctions with respect to applied linguistics made by Pennycook in *Incommensurable Discourses* (Pennycook 1994b). It is worth noting, however, that Pennycook himself acknowledges that his tripartite model is an oversimplification and so what follows is arguably a further degree of oversimplification of the multiple readings of the concept of discourse. Nonetheless, I see the following distinctions as important for this study.

Pennycook critiques the concept of discourse by separating the various understandings and applications into three separate categories (recognising some degree of overlap) starting with what is called 'language in use' or the 'suprasentential' (Pennycook 1994b: 117). Here discourse, as used in applied linguistics (and other domains) through discourse analysis, is 'concerned with the study of the relationship between language and the contexts in which it is used' (Pennycook 1994b: 117 citing Cook 1989: 6) and 'the study of how sentences in spoken and written language form larger meaningful units such as paragraphs, conversations, interviews, etc.' (Pennycook 1994b: 117 citing Richards, Platt and Weber 1985:83). Anderson situates this use of discourse within a modern epistemological framework which 'is part of the liberal grand narrative of progress and scientific rationalism which is not tainted by the subjectivity of politics and ideology' and is rooted in the belief that '(s)cientific truth objectively produced will create a better society; truths in human sciences that are universal to all people' (Anderson 2002:41). This positioning resonates with a modernist understanding of education which is viewed as 'a slow unfolding of knowledge and truth, a humanising process, one which results in individual and social "progress" and "emancipation" –

encapsulated in such notions as “the truth will make you free” (Edwards and Usher 2000: 55).

This first use of discourse with its pragmatic emphasis and modernist epistemology is contrasted with a much more politicised understanding of discourse as seen in Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) largely credited to Fairclough, Wodak and Van Dijk. This second concept breaks with the otherwise ‘political quietism’ which Pennycook accuses applied linguistics of harbouring particularly as applied in *language in use* (1994b: 120). What distinguishes CDA from the first concept of discourse is the willingness to ‘share a commitment to going beyond linguistic description to attempt explanation, to showing how social inequalities are reflected and created in language and to finding ways through their work to change the conditions of inequality that their work uncovers’ (Pennycook 1994b: 121). Thus, whereas the first concept of discourse tends to extend to only limited and narrow contexts and largely considers language to be a neutral and transparent medium, CDA seeks to interrogate the wider social and ideological implications within discourse and recognises that no discourse is disinterested or neutral.

In the third notion of discourse (the ‘Foucauldian’), discourse is an active process which normalises social practice and social institutions. In this sense, discourses should not be considered as reflective of a social reality, but as productive. Edwards and Usher’s notion of discourses being ‘(dis)located and (dis)locating’ resonates with this productive element whereby discourses ‘are powerful in excluding, in attempting to make only certain meanings possible’ (Edwards and Usher 2000: 141). Pennycook argues that Foucauldian analysis does the following:

It is not concerned with how discourses (texts) reflect social reality, but how discourses produce social realities; it does not look for relationships between discourse and society/politics, but rather theorizes discourses as always/already political; it does not seek out an ultimate cause or basis for power and inequality; but rather focuses on the multiplicity of sites through which power operates; and it does not posit a reality outside of discourse, but rather looks to the discursive production of truth. (Pennycook 1994b: 131)

At first glance there may appear to be significant overlap between CDA and that of the third understanding of discourse – the Foucauldian. The potential for overlap is particularly apparent in the ability of discourse to ‘define, describe and delimit’ what can and cannot be said (Pennycook 1994b: 123 citing Kress 1985: 7) and through locating ‘the context of language use, the speakers and their intentions in a wider social, cultural and political context than the view common to discourse analysis in applied linguistics’ (Pennycook 1994b:133). However, these overlaps are not as significant as they first appear as Pennycook argues that one primary advantage of the Foucauldian position is that it ‘allows for a critical analysis while avoiding the reductions and totalisations of more Marxist-based analysis’ (Pennycook 1994b:126;). This is where some observers such as Haig (2004) have parted company with Pennycook’s distinctions arguing that they may present an overly deterministic interpretation of the relationship between CDA and Marxism. Where Pennycook argues that the Foucauldian position, ‘does not allow for some Archimedean point outside ideology or discourse from which truth or falsity can be judged’ (Pennycook 1994b: 128), Haig argues that ‘if there is no Archimedean point outside discourse, then how can we see

things “as they really are” or as they might be in any conceivable future which we might consider it worthwhile getting up in the morning to struggle towards’ (Haig 2004: 147)? Haig also questions the political relativism in the Foucauldian concept by arguing that ‘there seems to be no consistent direction to its politics since no one site of power is to be privileged over another amidst the constant ebb and flow of difference’ (Haig 2004:147).

As seen above there has been criticism directed towards CDA (particularly with respect to its philosophical base) and also towards the Foucauldian position of discourse, yet it would be unwise to abandon CDA altogether. For the purposes of this thesis I want to retain the notion of CDA as a tool for interpreting and reading institutional discourses as part of an ideological and normalising process. However, I also recognise this is a problematic position given Pennycook’s notion of incommensurability. Thus, while I am largely aligning myself with this third concept of discourse, the Foucauldian (at times referred to as the postmodern), I realise that in also using CDA as an analytical tool there is an unresolved tension between these two positions.

Finally, I take the University and School to be sites where power operates and discourse to be a form of this power. Therefore, a study which is situated within the University and School should identify, analyse and consider the effects of the discourse produced within this context. My identification of four specific University discourses later in the study is contentious and I have a degree of dissatisfaction with applying this term to what has emerged from the data within the research environment. This is primarily because what I label as a discourse (e.g. internationalisation) may not traditionally be viewed as falling into this category.

2.4 Essentialism

The concept of essentialism is also important for this study. I use this term throughout the writing as shorthand for reductionist and structuralist applications of the subject matter, but the interpretation of the concept should not be reduced to a simple dichotomy between what might be considered an unproductive essentialist approach to the subject matter versus an ‘enlightened’ poststructuralist account which stresses fluidity, hybridity and performativity. In attempting to convey my own position and understanding of the term, I draw on two main sources (Phillips 2010; Holliday, Hyde and Kullman 2010) which are instrumental in helping to clarify this concept.

Essentialism can manifest itself through different forms and in a wide range of contexts. Phillips, who locates much of the analysis of essentialism with respect to gender politics, distinguishes four variants of essentialism which include: firstly, ‘the attribution of certain characteristics to everyone subsumed within a particular category’; secondly, ‘the attribution of those characteristics *to* the category, in ways that naturalise or reify what may be socially created or constructed’; thirdly, ‘the invocation of a collectivity as either the subject or object of political action (‘the working class’, ‘women’, ‘Third World women’), in a move that seems to presume a homogenised and unified group’; and lastly, ‘the policing of this collective category, the treatment of its supposedly shared characteristics as the defining ones that cannot be questioned or modified without undermining an individual’s claim to belong to that group’ (Phillips 2010: 47 original emphasis). As seen in these four forms, essentialism relates to the construction of in-group and out-group formation, but distinctions between the four forms are important. In making these distinctions, Phillips notes that ‘one of the ironies of essentialism is that social critics challenging the structures of thought that sustain racism and sexism

commonly attack the first two, but are often criticised in their turn for falling into the third or fourth' (Phillips 2010:52).

Although essentialism is often associated with a reductionist characterisation of a particular group made by someone who is outside of that collectivity, it can also be used as a device which can keep people outside of an in-group. In this instance membership of a particular group can be denied due to the perception that the individual lacks certain characteristics or attributes of that particular group (i.e. you are not a true American/Mexican/man/etc unless...). Phillips argues that it is now 'in our political engagements that we are most likely to fall foul of one or other version of essentialism' and that this is most likely manifested within government policy which 'divides populations into distinct religio-ethnic communities or assesses forms of engagement with this or the other "community"' (Phillips 2010: 52). This resonates with the previous coverage of multiculturalism in section 2.2.4.

One instance of this which I note can be seen in the US where the recognition of Native-American tribal status serves as an example of essentialism in both political policy and in the contestation of notions of identity, membership and citizenship. Native-Americans have historically fought for formal federal recognition of tribal status and proof of tribal status has in cases rested on a policy that some claim was forced upon Native-Americans by the federal government where tribal members have needed to prove their membership of a tribe based on bloodlines or 'blood quantum' (Siek 2012). However, as Bazar (2006) notes, some officially recognised tribes have recently been accused of racism after denying membership or 'disenrolling' those who were once members of a Native-American tribe, but were alleged to not have the sufficient blood

quantum. Disenrolled tribal citizens allege that this policy is motivated by the desire for greater financial gain from casino revenues which some gaming tribes distribute to their members (Bazar 2006). This example falls into Phillips' fourth category of essentialism:

The more damaging cases are those where the normative weight is imposed from within the collectivity, such that people find themselves repudiated by what they had continued to consider their own community. (Phillips 2010: 65)

While the above example demonstrates the difficulties of formulating governmental policy on the basis of perceived race markers in order to categorise groups of people, clearly not all forms of essentialism are predicated on the essence of a so-called 'natural' phenotypic or genotypic marker. Moreover, what may appear to some as a stable and 'natural' category such as race changes constantly as seen in Jandt's recognition of the historical variations in the US census since 1790 (Jandt 2007: 5-7) and in his reference to a quote by Michael Omi. Omi captures this instability succinctly by pointing out that, '[y]ou can be born one race and die another' (Jandt 2007: 6 citing Hotz 1995: A14)). Phillips likewise argues that 'we cannot hope to draw the line between an acceptable and indefensible essentialism in a distinction between the natural and the social' (2010:66).

Where the concept is most relevant to this study is 'cultural essentialism' which, although not restricted to a single category, largely falls within Phillips' second variant. Here culture is reified or in Phillips words becomes a 'protagonist' and is explained as 'a simplified and homogenized *thing*' which is evident, for example, '[w]hen people talk of

‘cultural practices’, or ‘seek to explain the strange behaviour of their neighbours by reference to something termed their culture’ (Phillips 2010: 59-60). Within the context of the University, this type of essentialism is evident, for example, with respect to the categorisation of ‘international’ students who are at times constructed as products of their culture with presumed deficiencies which need to be catered for. Phillips is careful, however, to retain a degree of nuance to her argument writing that, ‘[i]t is one thing to talk of there being culturally specific ways of expressing joy or mourning the dead or ordering relations between women and men. It is quite another – and far more troubling - to say that ‘culture x’ organises gender relations in one way and ‘culture y’ in another’ (2010:60).

Phillips, to some extent, suggests that what should or should not be criticised as essentialism is a matter of degree and argues that ‘[i]t is hard to see how any structured analysis of social and political issues is possible without abstraction and the deployment of (then always potentially stereotypical) generalisation’ (Phillips 2010: 57). In this respect she concurs with Narayan (1998: 89) who argues that ‘antiessentialism about gender and about culture does not entail a simple-minded opposition to all generalizations, but entails instead a commitment to examine both their empirical accuracy and their political utility or risk’. While Phillips argues against a ‘categorical embargo’ of generalisations and recognises that they may be a ‘psychologically inevitable feature of the way human beings think’, this should not be done at the expense of a reflexive critique of essentialism.

This reflexive critique entails ‘critical cultural awareness and the ability to deconstruct (neo)essentialist and unjust discourses and representations of “self” and “others”’ (Zotzmann (2015: 175). An example of this can be seen in Holliday, Hyde and Kullman’s

notion of cultural resources (e.g. Confucianism) which individuals draw upon at different times in different contexts and which serves to demonstrate that, [w]hat people say about their cultural identity should be read as the image they wish to project at a particular time rather than as evidence of an essentialist national culture' (Holliday, Hyde and Kullman 2010: 13). A further distinction should be drawn here in noting the crucial difference between a person making statements about his or her cultural identity as opposed to others deciding or imposing that identity upon them. Notable objections to this variant of imposed cultural essentialism can be seen particularly in Said's (1978) theory of *Orientalism* and Holliday's (2011) critique of the role of ideology in culturalist constructions.

However, sceptics of constructivist approaches to cultural essentialism primarily offer two objections. The first is in line with the above arguments made by Phillips and Nayaran that stress that generalisations are inevitable because as Jones notes 'we cannot help falling into the trap of essentializing the categories we use to make sense of the world, precisely because without us doing so, the world would become much more difficult to make sense of' (2013:238). The second objection relates to the more oppressive features of culture. Jones captures the objection below:

To say that culture is 'socially constructed' does not make it any less real for those who find themselves living within the confines of its material manifestation of laws, borders, passports, language tests, prisons, clinics and classrooms. [...] As much as culture is a verb, it is also, in a very real sense a noun, and for many people the solidity of its substance is hard to escape (Jones 2013: 238).

While it is important to recognise the importance of Jones's observation, the constructivist position does not necessitate ignoring the inequalities and injustices which people face in their everyday lives. My own position is largely in line with a constructivist approach which holds that when culture is made reference to or instrumentalised there needs to be a critical exploration of how and why it is being used, by whom, for what purposes and in which particular context (Piller 2011:13). However, there continues to be resistance to this approach and this can be seen in the statement below by Sayer who argues:

...essentialists need not assert that all members of a class are identical, in every respect, only that they have some features in common. [They are] therefore not necessarily guilty of homogenising and "flattening difference"; it all depends which features are held to be essential, and it is a substantive, empirical question – and not a matter of ontological fiat – whether such common essential properties exist. (Sayer 2011: 456)

To counter this statement, it must be recognised that not all empirical observations are equal and that distinguishing 'common features of all members of a class' may well be a political act which is highly contested and may depend on who is seeking to make the distinction.

Given Zotzmann's (2015: 185) objection that 'essentialist categories might appear to be socially constructed to distant and detached researchers', I will end this section with two examples of essentialism taken from observations from 'real life' (albeit one

example from television which arguably both reflects and creates a 'reality'). In 1997 at the US Masters golf tournament, golfer Fuzzy Zoeller made a remark in reference to fellow golfer Tiger Woods by asking journalists to tell Tiger Woods to not order fried chicken for dinner at the next year's tournament. This reference was made in consideration of the fact that winners of the tournament decide the menu for the following year's tournament. However, it was construed by many as a reference to the essentialist stereotype that all African-Americans like fried chicken.²³ The reactions to the statement were largely negative as the remarks were considered by many to be racist and Zoeller consequently apologised for the remark.

This remark can be compared with a television episode from the prison drama 'Orange is the New Black'. In one episode an African-American prisoner ('Tastee') was a candidate for office on a prisoners' committee. In her election speech to the largely African-American inmates she promises more fried chicken for the prison dinners. She does so by stating, 'I'm black. I like fried chicken.' This statement draws cheers of approval from the other prisoners. While the statements from Zoeller and Tastee can both be considered as essentialist, a consideration of the context and asymmetrical power provides the key to why the first statement by Zoeller was generally seen as offensive, whereas the second by 'Tastee' was largely seen as acceptable.

To summarise this section, the context, intent, speaker, audience, historical and socio-economic background are all important factors in reading statements of culture and in clarifying how cultural identities are constructed and imposed. Generalisations may be

²³ The statement from Zoeller is even more confusing given that Tiger Woods's mother is originally from Thailand.

instrumental in how the world is viewed, but it is important to guard against the essentialist categories that are constructed and naturalised through discourse. Tools such as reflexivity and critical discourse analysis can aid the interrogation of the categories and generalisations which are used to map the world. This interrogation requires questioning and disruption of the daily discourses and practices which naturalise the physical and psychological borders which encourage essentialism.

2.5 Paradigm Shifts

The final concept that I explore in this chapter is Kuhn's (1962) notion of a paradigm shift which is also, to some degree, productive for this study. I use this term cautiously in recognition that it has been misrepresented and misused to the point where it has almost become a cliché and that I am stretching the concept well beyond its original context of the philosophy of science. Kuhn's paradigm theory argues that '[w]hen the normal science is no longer able to address the questions being posed, a period of crisis emerges, culminating in a revolution where one of a number of paradigm contenders, achieves general acceptance in the scientific community, and science settles down again into a further period of normal science' (von Dietze 2001:5). The theory of a revolutionary shift of paradigms challenges the viewpoint that knowledge is a steady linear progression. This is apparent in Horgan's humorous interpretation of a paradigm shift which sees scientists 'standing on the shoulders of giants' not for the purpose of building on their previous advances, but only for the purpose of 'bashing them over the head' (Horgan 2012: 3). Kuhn's theory also challenges the notion of objectivity in science by arguing that knowledge is socially conditioned and that, 'theories are often intentionally selective, that they define, for instance, what evidence is relevant and what is to be left out' (von Dietze 2001: 2). Education, to some degree, plays a reactive role in the transformation of paradigms where '[t]extbooks are rewritten and curricula are

revised and scientists are appropriately trained in the light of the newly adopted paradigm' (von Dietze 2001: 5).

Kuhn has tried to distance himself from the term 'paradigm shift' and as far back as 1991 he stated in an interview with *Scientific American* that the term was "hopelessly overused" and "out of control" (Horgan 2012: 4-5). Naughton concurs, noting that the term appears 'inside no fewer than 18,300 of the books marketed by Amazon' (Naughton 2012: 1). Despite this, one argument for referring to the term in this study is that it has already been put into circulation by numerous authors who argue for a shift in the way in which the subject matter needs to be reimagined. For example, as far back as 1993, Balay and Casmir suggested the need for a paradigm shift in international communication and Bennett noted in 2005 what he considered to be paradigmatic confusion within intercultural communication. More recently, Aneas and Sandin (2010) noted arguments for the appropriacy of chaos theory as a more viable paradigm for intercultural and cross-cultural communication research and Martin and Nakayama (2014) argued for the incorporation of a dialectical perspective as a productive epistemological move away from 'the more rigid kinds of knowledge that we have about others' (2014: 203).

However, what is apparent in these brief examples is the discrepancy between the protracted discussion of the need for a paradigm shift within the study of intercultural communication and Kuhn's more dramatic sense of immediacy within his theory as he describes below:

[N]ormal science ultimately leads only to the recognition of anomalies and to crisis. And these are terminated, not by deliberation and interpretation, but by a relatively sudden and unstructured event like the gestalt switch. Scientists often

speak of “scales falling from the eyes” or of the ‘lightning flash’ that “inundates” a previously obscure puzzle, enabling its components to be seen in a new way that for the first time permits its solutions. (Kuhn 1962:122)

There is a stark contrast between Kuhn’s above description of the ‘lightning flash’ and the gradual shift of paradigms within intercultural communication. This is just one among several discrepancies between Kuhn’s concept and its possible relevance to understanding epistemological approaches to the subject matter. For this reason, my employment of the term ‘paradigm shift’ should be understood as less reliant on Kuhn’s original concept and more to simply signify a shift away from an understanding of both culture and the intercultural as involving solid and stable (national) entities which shape and inform cultural subjects to a more fluid, active and small culture approach which is incommensurate with the former paradigm.

The idea of incommensurability, which is an integral part of Kuhn’s concept, is worth retaining for the purpose of this thesis. Kuhn’s (pre-feminist) emphasis can be seen below:

‘[t]herefore, at times of revolution, when the normal-scientific tradition changes, the scientist’s perception of his environment must be re-educated - in some familiar situations he must learn a new gestalt. After he has done so the world of his research will seem, here and there, incommensurable with the one he had inhabited before. That is the reason why schools guided by different paradigms are always slightly at cross-purposes. (Kuhn 1962:112)

Thus, I employ the term paradigm shift with less of a ‘Kuhnian’ emphasis and more from the belief that the subject matter needs to be conceptualised through a substantially

different paradigm. I also recognise that this is a position which is shared by a number of other researchers working within the field. However, of greatest importance is the understanding that when investigating the institutionalisation of the subject matter within the University, it is crucial to establish which, if any, particular paradigm is being propagated and what role the University has in supporting a particular paradigm. This is where I see the greatest relevance of the concept to the thesis and where I also believe that the subject matter is delicately poised. Kuhn's identification of different schools being at cross-purposes may be particularly salient if starkly different approaches are taken to the subject matter within the University, for example by different fields of study (e.g. business studies vs. applied linguistics)

2.6 Conclusion

In establishing the terms and concepts important to the study, I have attempted to expose some of the theoretical tension and points of contestation which fall within the umbrella label of the intercultural. This is evident, for example, in the naming and renaming of concepts in an attempt to circumvent the more problematic theoretical implications aligned to specific terms and to establish conceptual breaks or paradigm shifts. These points of tension are important for recognising that the subject matter itself is highly contested and is unlikely to be institutionalised as a single and neutral field of knowledge, but as a concept which has different names, forms and interpretations.

In addition to considering the terms and concepts directly related to the subject matter, this chapter has also established my understanding of the concepts of discourse, essentialism and paradigm shifts. The relationship between these three concepts may not be immediately apparent at this point so I will attempt here to make an initial

connection which helps to illuminate the direction of the subsequent chapters. The University is the site of the production of discourses and this application of discourses includes institutional *practices* and the constraining factors of hegemonic discourses. One important question to ask is what impact these discourses have on the emergence of the subject matter? Additionally, as there are competing paradigms for framing the subject matter, is it also reasonable to consider whether the institutional discourses support a particular paradigm, including a structural-functionalist one which may be underpinned by an essentialist framing of culture? This structural-functionalist paradigm for the subject matter will be presented in the following chapter before I move to explore data which helps to answer the above questions.

Chapter 3: A Brief History of Intercultural Communication and Alternative Approaches to the Intercultural

3.1 Introduction

Whereas chapter 2 sought to establish the key concepts relevant to this study and began to map the field, this chapter offers a literature review of how the subject matter (specifically intercultural communication) has been theoretically and historically approached. However, as noted in chapter 2, there is clear overlap between terms and concepts and subject matter literature. Moreover, locating the literature which relates specifically to this study is not a straightforward task as the subject matter has emerged in various forms and is being institutionalised into a wide range of contexts within the University. Although I draw on diverse literature not limited to intercultural communication researchers throughout this study, this chapter focuses primarily on the historical development of the field of intercultural communication in the US and to a lesser degree in Europe before moving to what can be considered a paradigm shift in how intercultural communication is conceptualised. The rationale for this historical coverage lies, in part, to highlight the establishment, recycling and entrenchment of a structural-functionalist paradigm which is underpinned by methodological nationalism and to underline the viable options to the structural- functionalist paradigm. I view this aspect of competing paradigms to be important to understanding the study as a whole.

3.2 Intercultural Communication: A Brief History

While section (e.g. 2.2.1) has argued that the understanding of the culture concept has become increasingly nuanced and contested within a number of disciplines such as anthropology and applied linguistics, this is not the case in intercultural communication

as a study in the late 1990s by Dahlén demonstrates. Dahlén's study focused on the burgeoning industry of intercultural communication trainers outside of HE and one of his principle arguments, which will be explored in section 3.3 below, is that those he labelled his 'interculturalists' were wedded to a particular framing of culture which traced a lineage to key 'founding fathers' such as Edward T. Hall and Clyde Kluckhohn. Dahlén argues that this framing of culture was not due to a particular 'lag' whereby interculturalists were theoretically behind anthropologists, but that there was a vested interest in not being disabused of an essentialist epistemology of culture (1997:176). This observation warrants an exploration of a brief history and literature review of intercultural communication with a particular emphasis on the lineage which informed Dahlén's interculturalists. I have chosen to concentrate on this aspect, despite its anglocentric focus, because of the disproportionate impact it has exerted on the field as a whole. This impact may also continue to affect how the subject matter is currently emerging within my research setting and within HE.

However, it is also important to stress that this particular lineage is not offered as the conclusive history and literature of intercultural communication and that any unilinear account is only partial, particularly one that is restricted to the development of a field in one or two limited contexts and in one primary language. Different geographical points of reference offer their own narratives and concepts which may share similarities or offer distinctions. One such example is the concept of *interculturalidad* within the context of Latin America which I will consider briefly.

Solano-Campos argues that there is 'a long and rich tradition ...on ways to approach diversity' in Latin America and that this tradition, which is apparent in concepts such as *interculturalidad*, has been part and parcel of the general underrepresentation of

scholars from Latin America (2013: 620-621). This reference to ‘a long and rich tradition’ includes the concepts of *mestizaje* and Ortiz’s concept of ‘*transculturación*’ which are also important foundations in the development of *interculturalidad*. Sinnigen defines *interculturalidad* as ‘a historic condition that points to the need for the radical restructuring of the historically pronounced uneven relations of wealth and power that have existed between Europeans and their descendants, on the one hand, and indigenous and other subordinated groups, on the other hand during the last half millennium’ (Sinnigen 2013: 605). Further engagement with ideas of *interculturalidad* can also be seen in the Peruvian Constitution of 1993.

The most salient distinction to highlight, however, has been made by Tubino and is summarised here by Sinnigen. *Interculturalidad* should be distinguished from ‘a “functional” neoliberal interculturality, rather similar to mainstream intercultural communication and intercultural competence in the US, approaches which do not challenge social hierarchies and a critical, transformative interculturality that does’ (Sinnigen 2013: 606). Thus, the particular Latin American context is crucial to the underpinning of *interculturalidad* which includes what Solano-Campos argues is ‘an act of agency and resistance in indigenous communities particularly in the Andean region’ (Solano-Campos 2013: 623).

Although there is a palpable need to move beyond an anglocentric account of interculturality and to allow for greater representation of concepts like *interculturalidad* which help to demonstrate how different societies have developed their own approaches to an intercultural existence, when tracing the origins of intercultural communication as a field of knowledge, it is difficult to ignore the US

genealogy, particularly as these origins may continue to have an impact on the degree to which intercultural communication is more generally received.

3.2.1 Historical Foundations of Intercultural Communication in the US

Previous research focusing on the historical aspects of intercultural communication (e.g. Piller 2011; Rodgers *et al.* 2002) often starts in the late 1940s and includes coverage of the Foreign Service Institute (FSI) of the US Department of State (DOS) and the seminal work of the anthropologist Edward T. Hall who was influential in extending intercultural communication outside of the US, particularly in Japan.²⁴ Leeds-Hurwitz (1990) dedicates extensive coverage to this period arguing that the development of intercultural communication within the dictates of the FSI was a response to the demands of students (often diplomats) for practical advice and ‘concrete information about how to interact with persons in the specific culture to which they were being sent’ (Leeds-Hurwitz 1990: 268). Although there will be differing opinions regarding the motives behind the remit of these diplomats in the 1940s, given the fact that Hall and his colleagues were employed by the US government, it is hardly surprising that the knowledge produced needed to serve the interests of the nation-state.

Hall took considerable inspiration from many of the early US anthropologists discussed in section 2.2.1 such as Franz Boas, Ruth Benedict, Margaret Mead and early US linguists such as Edward Sapir and Benjamin Whorf (Rodgers *et al.* 2002:5). Moreover, his further placement of emphasis on the practical aspects of intercultural communication,

²⁴ This is not to argue that intercultural communication began in the 1940s. In addition to drawing on previous anthropological research, Martin, Nakayama and Carbaugh also point out that there were a number of other key influences on the developing field such as Freud, Marx, Simmel and sociologist William Graham Sumner’s concept of ethnocentrism (2012: 18).

which led to the 'study of small elements of culture, rather than the traditional topics anthropologists taught their students', resonated with the aims and objectives of Clyde Kluckhohn and 'New Anthropology' (Leeds-Hurwitz 1990: 275). This emphasis on the practical application of real life communicative acts has constituted an understanding (for better or for worse) of intercultural communication which at times has been almost anti-theoretical and as Leeds-Hurwitz noted in 1990, 'only recently (beginning with Gudykunst 1983) has intercultural communication begun to discuss theoretical approaches' (Leeds-Hurwitz 1990: 262). Although intercultural communication is sometimes described as being closely connected to anthropology (although arguably only a narrow window of anthropology), Leeds-Hurwitz argues that the shift to prominence of the practical and everyday meant that 'this cross-fertilisation moved primarily in one direction: now only a few anthropologists study proxemics, time, kinesics or paralanguage...' (Leeds-Hurwitz 1990: 263).

Although intercultural communication has been described as 'aparadigmatic' during the time of Hall's first publications (Martin, Nakayama and Carbaugh 2012:21), there were a number of themes beginning to emerge which were arguably influential to its general development. In addition to the aforementioned emphasis on practicality and instrumental approaches, other themes included a focus on the subconscious level of communication (such as Hall's work on 'proxemics') along with a shift away from macro topics (such as kinship theory) considered to be within the domain of cultural anthropology. These themes, to differing degrees, continue to be associated with variants of intercultural communication.

Despite Hall's influence in establishing intercultural communication as a field of knowledge, he was apparently not interested in its promotion as an academic subject or

discipline in its own right or even in establishing it as an integral part of cultural anthropology (Leeds-Hurwitz 1990:262; Martin, Nakayama and Carbaugh 2012:19). It is for this reason, along with the fact that Hall did not have a following of PhD students, that intercultural communication may have eventually found a home in US HE within the discipline of communication studies (Rodgers *et al.* 2002:13). Although there are some exceptions to this positioning within communication studies in the US, there generally appears to be less existential soul-searching among interculturalists within the US as to their remit and positioning within HE compared to their British counterparts.²⁵

Intercultural communication began to experience a period of rapid growth in the 1970s marked by the publication of a number of key texts including Samovar & Porter's (1972) *Intercultural Communication: A Reader* and Condon & Yousef (1975) *An Introduction to Intercultural Communication*. Piller's analysis of the Library of Congress holdings on the topic of intercultural communication shows a sharp rise from the 1970s from approximately 100 holdings to over 1,600 by the mid-2000s (Piller 2011: 30). As well as a significant increase in the number of intercultural communication related publications, the decade of the 1970s also witnessed the rise of university courses being offered in the US including the first formal course on intercultural communication at the University of Pittsburgh. This number rose to approximately 200 by the late 1970s (Kitao 1985:15) and subsequent professional organisations (e.g. The International Society for Intercultural Education, Training and Research) began to emerge along with calls for intercultural PhD programmes to be established (Kitao 1985:18).

²⁵ This was noted during discussions among academics at the 'Intercultural Course Design and Teaching Day' held at the School of Education, Durham University on Wednesday 27 June, 2012.

Building on previously mentioned works such as Benedict (1946), intercultural communication spread, particularly to Japan, through a concerted effort to export a predominantly US version of intercultural communication through collaboration between academics and through translation of Hall's work.²⁶ In these collaborations scholars began to stress particular binary dimensions of culture such as 'the differences in individualism/collectivism, low-context/high-context...and other values' (Rodgers *et al.* 2002:16). There was also a cross-fertilisation with Japanese anthropological studies that are often categorised as '*Nihonjinron*'. These works largely stressed the historical isolation of Japan as a contributing factor to a bounded, homogenous and unique society and can be found in the writing of, for example, Nakane (1970) and Doi (1974, 1986) with Edward T. Hall contributing an introduction to the English version of Doi's *Tateshakai no ningen kankei: Tan'itsu shakai no riron (Personal relations in a vertical society: A theory of a homogenous society)*.

The growth in this field was accompanied by the transition to a dominant structural - functionalist research paradigm which Leeds-Hurwitz argues was a result of 'US researchers in the fledgling (sub)discipline of intercultural communication (feeling) pressured to conduct research in the increasingly dominant paradigm of the communication discipline' (Martin, Nakayama and Carbaugh 2012: 21 citing Leeds-Hurwitz 1990). It is here where an example of the use of structures within HE emerges, in this case the power of a discipline, to influence and shape the knowledge which was produced. Martin, Nakayama and Carbaugh (2012:21) argue that '(a)lthough no longer dominant, the functionalist research paradigm (more commonly referred to as postpositivist) remains quite viable and is followed by a number of contemporary US communication and culture researchers' (e.g. Barnett and Lee 2002, Gudykunst 2005).

²⁶ *The Silent Language (Chinmoku No Kotoba)* was translated in 1966 and widely read in Japan.

As noted previously, part of the most notable criticism of intercultural communication, particularly that which operates from a positivist framework, is that cultures are viewed as distinct and bounded. However, it is important to note that, like Kluckhohn's previous studies, many of Hall's early theories which built further on 'cultural dimensions' such as time (monochronic and polychronic), high and low context communication and proxemics were developed through the anthropological fieldwork with native American Indian tribes (Hall studied both Hopi and Navajo tribes) who were kept segregated from the rest of the US population resulting in a sense of boundedness that is now less common. In addition to this, Hall's studies were completed at a time when the world was certainly less interconnected than today. Yet, these early models of culture which make use of cultural dimensions continue to have a significant impact on the field today even in the face of greater global interconnectivity, particularly within the field of business where they have been recycled by researchers such as Geert Hofstede and Fons Trompenaars.

The cultural models developed by Hall, Hofstede and Trompenaars form three of what Nardon and Steers refer to as the 'six models of national cultures that continue to be widely cited and utilized in organizational research literature' (Nardon and Steers 2011: 3). The other three models are Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck's 1961 model, Schwartz's 1992 model and the more recent 2004 Global Leadership and Organizational Behaviour Effectiveness (GLOBE) model by House *et al.* The lack of convergence between these six models is described by Nardon and Steers' as *cultural jungle theory* which is 'a situation in which researchers must choose between competing, if sometimes overlapping, models to further their research goals and then defend such choices against a growing body of critics' (Nardon and Steers 2011:3).

Although Hofstede's research has had a significant impact within, but not limited to, international business management, his model of culture is significantly influenced by the 1961 model of Florence Kluckhohn and Fred Strodtbeck. This influence can also be seen in the recycling of previous anthropological work by other researchers. For example, Bik (2010: 76) points out that out the seven cultural dimensions 'discovered' by Trompenaars' in his *Riding the Waves of Culture*, two are simply a reformulation of 'value orientations' from Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck (1961) and five further dimensions were previously discussed by Parsons and Shils (1951). While this particular lineage of intercultural communication is simply one among many, it is underpinned by a narrow window of US cultural anthropology and it has exerted and continues to exert a disproportionate influence on the development of intercultural communication particularly through an essentialist framing of culture which emphasises binary differences and arguably serves the vested interests of the profession.

An example of this approach can be seen in Hofstede's notion of 'power distance' which is one well-known application of an structural-functionalist approach to cultural dimensions (Hofstede 1991). In this concept the complexity of power within a given nation-state is reduced to a single number which is then applied uniformly to all contexts within each country. The singularity and neatness behind Hofstede's model is seductive. Users of the model may momentarily forget that a country such as China with a population of approximately 1.3 billion has been reduced to a single score on a power distance scale and that the data was derived solely from surveys with IBM employees collected in that country over 30 years ago. Yet, the promise of measuring and predicting human behaviour based on this type of positivist research remains an inviting prospect for some.

Intercultural communication continues to be predominantly housed within the discipline of communication studies in the US, but it can also be found in business studies programmes and within faith-based universities. With respect to faith-based universities in the US, there are clear parallels between the early days of the FSI which saw intercultural communication as central to its mission to prepare diplomats to go abroad and communicate with 'foreigners' and present day evangelists who will leave the US to proselytise to non-US citizens. Finally, a move to a more interpretive, critical or discursive-based approach in the US has generally emanated from other fields such as applied linguistics through influential key works such as Kramsch (1993, 1998) and Scollon and Scollon (1995).

3.2.2 Intercultural Communication in Europe

Many texts which trace the history of intercultural communication largely focus on the US origin (*cf* Kitao 1985; Leeds-Hurwitz 1990; Rodgers *et al.* 2002). Martin, Nakayama and Carbaugh's 'The history and development of the study of intercultural communication and applied linguistics' (2012) is a noteworthy exception in that while it devotes extensive coverage to the development of intercultural communication in the US, it also covers developments in Europe and the UK (and provides partial coverage of Japan and China) including the move to a more critical paradigm. Similar to the cross-Atlantic divide noted in cultural and social anthropology, Martin, Nakayama and Carbaugh make a similar, although loose and temporary, distinction between a European approach to intercultural communication and a US-based approach structured around four key distinctions: '(1) motivation to establish the study of intercultural communication; (2) focus; (3) disciplinary foundations; and (4) preferred research paradigm' (2012: 22). All of these distinctions are significant for this study.

The first distinction, which is said to have grown ‘out of the social and political challenges resulting from the huge influx of immigration into industrialized countries,’ stresses the need for knowledge to be produced within Higher Education which facilitates the creation of a harmonious (and possibly interconnected) society (Martin, Nakayama and Carbaugh 2012: 22). The notion of the ‘harmonious society’ is relevant because it can be extended to the idea of the harmonious university environment and it is partially through this framing that the subject matter has emerged within the research environment as a vehicle for serving this objective. The second distinction which argues that ‘the study of intercultural communication in Europe was firmly oriented toward language issues’ (Martin, Nakayama and Carbaugh 2012: 23) also has a bearing on my own research as the primary focus of my research takes place within a School for languages and cultures.

In addition to the recognition of different disciplinary locations for intercultural communication in the US and Europe, it should also be noted that the asymmetrical approaches to intercultural communication may also be partially attributed to Martin, Nakayama and Carbaugh’s third distinction regarding the divisions imposed by the disciplinary structures within Higher Education. As understandings and applications of the term ‘intercultural’ began to develop their own specific distinctions in the various disciplines within HE, there is a possibility that the structures within HE may well have impeded or slowed any substantial dialogue in terms of developing alternative readings of the term intercultural and this will be considered later in this study.

Martin, Nakayama and Carbaugh’s fourth distinction is also relevant to the study, particularly the largely European attempt to use a constructivist approach rather than a functionalist one which may have contributed to making the fields of intercultural

communication and intercultural studies more palatable within Higher Education. However, it must be noted that obstacles to this shift remain, particularly in the aforementioned legacy of Hofstede, and this serves as a reminder of the uneven terrain of intercultural communication in Europe even if there are important European – US distinctions to be drawn prior to the 1990s.

3.3. Dahlén's Point of Reference

As mentioned in section 3.2, one particular text serves as a point of reference, and to some degree, a template for this study. Dahlén's (1997) *Among the Interculturalists: An Emergent Profession and its Packaging of Knowledge* explores how a professional industry (primarily within the US) has emerged in connection with intercultural communication and intercultural training which was populated by intercultural communication 'trainers' who are labelled 'interculturalists'. One of Dahlén's central arguments is that the legitimisation of this industry is underpinned by an essentialist framing of culture and an emphasis on binary cultural difference which serves the 'vested interest of cultural brokers' (Dahlén 1997: 175). However, at the time of Dahlén's study, these cultural brokers or interculturalists existed outside the academy and were firmly located within the marketplace. Not only does Dahlén comment in his study that at the time 'there are few educational programs in intercultural training and consulting in the intercultural field' (1997: 15), but much of his study offers a stark contrast between those operating in the marketplace as interculturalists and academics operating within the university, particularly as anthropologists. Dahlén argues that while anthropologists have moved well beyond a structural-functionalist approach to culture, the interculturalists are not particularly motivated to move away from an approach to culture which in effect creates a need for their services. Dahlén's final

sentence in his study states that if interculturalists are to change then ‘serious conversations’ between anthropologists and interculturalists are needed (1997:179).

Although Dahlén suggests that anthropologists, who now have a more nuanced and advanced understanding of culture, can possibly reshape the interculturalists’ theoretical framework, this study will explore the possibility that the reverse trend may also be possible. Could it not be the case that there are parts of HE which are quite open to the interculturalists’ epistemological framing of culture and a particular version of interculturality which results in what Dahlén has called ‘the commodification of cultural understanding’ (1997:176)? If it is the case that the interculturalists have, metaphorically speaking, come home to roost in the university, does this provide further ballast to the claim that the university is as much of a marketplace as the one which Dahlén claims was inhabited by the interculturalists during his study? Additionally, is the conceptual shift within anthropology, as noted by Dahlén, evident within the wider University? Addressing these questions can contribute to a greater understanding of both the subject matter and the nature of this contemporary UK University.

3.4 Objections and Alternative Frameworks

While Martin, Nakayama and Carbaugh (2012) devote substantial coverage to interpretive discourse-based approaches as exemplified by Scollon and Scollon (1995) who drew particular inspiration from the work of Dell Hymes and subsequently John Gumpertz, it is what has often been labelled *critical* intercultural communication which has demonstrated that previous approaches to intercultural communication had the potential to do more harm than good through the use of essentialist understandings of culture, culturalist language and misplaced good intentions. Holliday, Hyde and

Kullman (2010) offer illustrations of how supposed 'cultural knowledge' can actually be an impediment to interpersonal relations. Piller, likewise, concurs with this position writing that '(t)his predominant essentialism makes Intercultural Communication studies an exception in the social sciences, where social constructionist approaches have become the preferred framework in studies of identity' (Piller 2007:209).

While intercultural communication continues to be shaped in part by approaches which posit 'neutrality' or 'objectivism', a more critical paradigm recognises that issues of power and ideology are present in any cultural framing or discourse. It is here where there is an overlap and synergy with postmodernism, cultural studies and postcolonial theories. Similar to the strategic moves which have taken place in applied linguistics, as represented by, for example, critical applied linguistics (CAL), critical intercultural communication acknowledges the historical essentialist underpinnings within the subject area. These alternative frameworks share a critical approach which questions how the intercultural is being instrumentalised in different contexts and this problematisation can be seen in the work of both Dahlén and Phillips below. This leads to alternative frameworks for conceptualising interculturality and I explore a number of these frameworks below. Contrasting these approaches with the historical structural-functional approach helps to demonstrate that intercultural communication (and related variants of the intercultural) appear to be delicately poised between two incompatible paradigms.

3.4.1 Intercultural Dialogue: 'A Servant of the Status Quo'²⁷

Perhaps the most damning appraisal of a variant use of the subject matter is from Phipps who analyses the concept of 'intercultural dialogue' within the context of

²⁷ This phrase is borrowed from the 2014 article by Phipps referenced above.

Palestinian and Israeli relations. The term 'intercultural dialogue' is a variant form of the subject matter which seems to be the current preferred term for transnational agencies such as UNESCO and the British Council (Phipps 2014: 109). This term follows on from the previous uses of multiculturalism and interculturalism as reviewed in section 2.2.4. Confronted with the political situation in Palestine and the clear lack of intercultural dialogue between Israel and Palestine, Phipps concludes that the concept of intercultural dialogue is 'at best problematic and largely inoperable under present conditions of globalisation' (2014: 113).

Phipps's concerns regarding the subject matter's application are not only significant for the political situation between Palestine and Israel, but have parallels with potential concerns of how the subject matter might be invoked in HE. An example of this would be the emergence of a form of the subject matter which is depoliticised and which emphasises intercultural competence through learning and understanding 'cultural differences'. Thus, although what Phipps calls 'the structural violence which holds inequality in place' is more readily apparent in the context of Palestine, it is not unfair to consider the possibility that the subject matter as applied in HE also 'serves the maintenance of a violent system of global inequality and onto perceptions of cultural difference and in such a way as to avoid political and ideological issues' (2014:112).

Phipps establishes five conditions which as a minimum must serve as the starting point for 'the regaining of a political and transformation potential in intercultural dialogue' (2014: 122). It is the fourth point which is particularly relevant to this study:

A shift from a focus on content and competence in dialogue to relationships and capability for dialogue, grounded in ethics. (Phipps 2014:122)

By highlighting the different forms which the intercultural can take, Phillips raises a very salient point for considering why the subject matter is emerging within HE in a relatively rapid manner and by questioning the form that the subject matter is taking. Thus, another important question for this study to gauge is whether the subject matter is emerging in a direction which is congruent with an emphasis on relationships, transformation, dialogue and ethics. Alternately, is the emergence heavily shaped by structural-functionalist approach which emphasises cultural differences and equips students with a skill for 'managing difference'? This would then lead the subject matter to becoming empty and depoliticised and, to borrow yet again from Phipps, a 'servant for the status quo' (2011:111).

3.4.2 Interculturality *sans* Culture

As discussed in section 2.2.1, one of the problematic theoretical challenges for the subject matter is the link to its base word of culture and its essentialist connotations of separate and bounded discreet groups. Dervin and Risager point out the theoretical weakness of the intercultural at its starting point as 'the word "intercultural" in itself is a tautology as any act of interaction cannot but be intercultural' (Dervin and Risager 2015: 5). Without losing the base word of culture or ignoring the theoretical difficulties, Dervin and Risager employ the use of the term interculturality to signify a different emphasis:

The notion of interculturality is thus a difficult one as it still contains the word "culture". But through the use of the suffix, "ality" we are hoping to give the notion a more flexible, unstable and critical meaning.

(Dervin and Risager 2015: 10)

Within this shift to interculturality, the emphasis is placed on the 'inter' in an attempt to move 'beyond culture' by 'taking into account intersubjectivity in order to put into practice the essential idea that there is no self without an other and vice-versa' (Dervin and Risager 2015: 4). This takes into account the interactive and fluid nature found in diverse contexts. This also resonates with the notion that 'culture is never just "culture", but is always "culture-in-action", where much of that action is performed in and through the various identity categories that people invoke during local, and contextually specific, forms of social interaction' (Stokoe and Attenborough 2015: 89). Contextualised within an HEI, this means that a student, for example, from China should not be reduced to 'a Chinese student' or even 'an international student' who is then supposed to exhibit particular homogenous behaviour traits which are perceived to be common to this particular category.

This sense of discomfort with 'culture' is apparent in Dervin's definition of 'interculturality' whereby culture and all its imagined unicity is sidelined in order to produce a definition of interculturality without culture. While seemingly counter-intuitive, this understanding of culture represents an attempt to break the link with an understanding of culture which is bounded and static: '...interculturality is understood as the positioning and negotiation of individuals who come from different spaces-times (rather than 'cultures')' (Dervin 2011: 38).²⁸

3.4.3 Critical Cosmopolitanism and Micro-Cosmopolitanism

While the above notion of interculturality attempts to deemphasise the problematic concept of culture without discarding it entirely, there is a noticeable absence of 'culture' within the concepts of 'critical cosmopolitanism' and 'micro-cosmopolitanism'.

²⁸ Parallels with Bahktin's (1992) notion of the 'chronotope' are noted.

Although there are multiple forms of cosmopolitanism which may resist clear definition, Delanty notes that the general characteristics of cosmopolitanism include 'centrality of openness and overcoming of divisions; the interaction; the logic of exchange; the encounter and dialogue; deliberative communication; self and societal transformation (transformational); and critical evaluation' (Delanty 2012:40). Critical cosmopolitanism also signals a move away from a 'methodological nationalism' (Beck 2002:19) which Holliday argues has 'dominated social science and created an oversimplistic impression of the way in which the world is organized' (2011: 11). Critical cosmopolitanism navigates between 'strong contextualist' and 'strong universalist' positions (Delanty 2014:374). One strength in the concept is that its 'post-western orientation [is] located neither on the national or global level, but at the interface of the local and global' (Delanty 2012:40). This stance helps to overcome the ideological presuppositions attached to the methodological nationalism which can be inherent within intercultural framings.

Similarities between critical cosmopolitanism and Dervin and Risager's notion of interculturality can be drawn, particularly with respect to the emphasis on fluidity, interaction and exchange. There are also philosophical overtones within critical cosmopolitanism which include notions of global citizenship:

As a normative idea, in the most general sense cosmopolitanism is about the value of taking into account the perspective of the other and placing oneself within a wider whole, which can generally be taken to be the world, as indicated by the Greek term "cosmos", meaning the world community as opposed to a more narrow definition of community.

(Delanty 2014: 2)

The concept of 'micro-cosmopolitanism', which is analogous to Delanty's critical cosmopolitanism, offers a framework which actively seeks complexity in the smaller unit. Thus, micro-cosmopolitanism, 'expresses the notion of a cultural complexity which remains constant from the micro to the macro scale' where 'the same degree of diversity is to be found at the level of entities judged to be small or insignificant as at the level of large entities' (Cronin 2006: 15). Here there are clear parallels with Holliday's (1999) notion of 'small cultures' and 'small culture formation on the run' which take into account how '[o]n a daily basis we invent and perform routines and even invent small rituals as we engage, plan, solve problems, get used to things, move from one group to another' (Holliday 2013: 56).

A note of caution should be sounded regarding critical cosmopolitanism. Just as the intercultural and multiculturalism can be instrumentalised for pernicious purposes, cosmopolitanism runs the risk of simply being synonymous with a global elite who travel from country to country sampling the riches of the world. Dervin and Layne's study of a university's survival guide for international students identifies how the term cosmopolitanism has been instrumentalised through the term 'well-mannered cosmopolitans' in a manner which runs contrary to the notion of critical cosmopolitanism (2013: 15). In this example, the term cosmopolitan is arguably illustrative of the type of 'international' students that HEIs would like to recruit where 'well-mannered' could arguably be interpreted as docile. This usage allows the University to 'take ownership of the Other by turning it into an object which satisfies the imagination rather than representing its full complexity' (Holliday 2013:55). This notion of taking ownership of the Other also resonates with Dervin and Layne's (2013) critique of a university's survival guide for international students which they analyse with reference to Derrida's concept of 'hostipitality' (hostile + hospitality).

3.3.5 A Grammar of Culture

Just as the concept of critical cosmopolitanism allows for navigation between the importance of context and universality, Holliday's grammar of culture also recognises the 'interaction between the particular and the universal' (2013: 1). In eschewing a static structural-functionalist model despite the name possibly suggesting otherwise, the grammar of culture reflects 'a strong sense of negotiation and movement' between 'three aspects of cultural reality' which are 'particular social and political structures', 'underlying universal cultural processes' and 'particular cultural products' (2011: 130-131). Similar to Phipps's argument against the depoliticised notion of 'intercultural dialogue', Holliday's grammar of culture recognises that 'some form of global positioning and politics is an undeniable influence in all intercultural settings and drives the particular imaginations of Self and Other which feed the underlying universal cultural processes of how people see each other' (2011: 134). The grammar of culture also has a clear pedagogical purpose in HE where its application can aid the interpretation of significant interaction in a variety of contexts or cultural environments which are not based on methodological nationalism. Holliday defines these cultural environments as follows:

A cultural environment can be defined as a geographical or psychological entity from which an individual derives a sense of cultural identity at a particular point in time. This could be anything from a community, friendship group or occupation, to a notion of nation or civilisation. (Holliday 2013: 6)

An observation of the grammar of culture is that the aspect of culture which Holliday categorises as 'particular cultural products' (e.g. dress, food) is often thought of by others as what defines culture in its totality. The individual differences within this

category are overstated and lead to the false idea that these differences are somehow much more significant than they are. As these differences are accentuated, fetishized, celebrated or even imagined, they somehow take on a much greater significance than they should and impede people seeing others as people. Thus, the remaining components of the grammar of culture which includes the personal trajectories, the underlying universal cultural processes and the political structures are forgotten or ignored. This is similar to what Dervin and Tournebise recognise as 'turbulence' within intercultural communication education where there are 'differentialist biases' which are often built on binary opposition which are then used to 'explain encounters between people from the 'West' and 'East' or 'North' and 'South' (2013: 534). Likewise, the social and political structures which influence the process of constructing Self and Other are denied. Although the grammar of culture demonstrates how 'everyone has potential to operate and innovate with meaning and practice across unfamiliar cultural boundaries', this is impeded by a portrayal of particular cultural products or artefacts as much more significant than they are and as exclusively representing what culture 'is' (Holliday 2015: 3).

3.4 Conclusion

This chapter has provided a literature review and a historical overview of the development of intercultural communication. The rationale for concentrating primarily on this aspect of the subject matter was to highlight the predominant paradigm which has historically framed intercultural communication and to contrast this with the development of an alternative approaches. The chapter has also introduced Dahlén's 1997 study and noted its relevance to this thesis. There are a number of interconnected and emerging tensions within this chapter which should be highlighted here. The

subject matter, in a structural-functionalist and essentialist form, may be valued for its marketing appeal and its potential to reinforce existing power structures. However, as seen in this chapter, there are competing paradigms surrounding the subject matter, including alternative approaches to the subject matter. As this thesis develops in the subsequent chapters, one key question to consider is whether there is one particular paradigm for the subject matter which is emerging within the University. Also salient, is whether the institutional demands of the University require a particular epistemological framing of the subject matter which is perceived to be commensurate with the current HE environment.

Chapter 4: Locating the Subject Matter and Researcher Within the University and School

When you and Mom are talking about 'the University', who exactly do you mean? (My son aged 10 at the time of the question)

4.1 Introduction

This chapter introduces the specific research environment in the form of the University and School and it locates my own position with respect to this environment. As the University and School exhibit an influence on the institutionalisation of the subject matter, they serve as both the research environment and, to a lesser degree, as part of the subject of the study itself. For this reason it is also necessary to take account of some of the existing literature which focuses on the current climate of HE in the UK and this is considered in the first part of this chapter. This specifically concerns the debates over the purpose of universities and the contestation of the current climate of HE. I provide literature related to this aspect of the study before then introducing the specific research environment of the University and School and my own positioning within the research. I end the chapter by introducing and locating the six specific areas of subject matter emergence within the University and School.

4.2 Universities and their Purpose

I begin this section by briefly considering some of the debates which have taken place both within and outside of British universities regarding their general purpose and the types of knowledge which should be encompassed within their domain. This wider context which questions the purpose of the university and challenges the changes to the curriculum is important to this thesis because the various competing political agendas

have an impact on how knowledge is constructed and how it emerges within university systems. Although these debates have arguably gained prominence since the launching in 2009 of the Independent Review of Higher Education Funding and Student Finance and the subsequent Parliamentary vote on maximum tuition fees in 2010, universities have a long history (and 'pre-history' if Plato's academy is considered) dating back to their medieval origins in ecclesiastical establishments in the 15th century in places ranging from Bologna to Timbuktu.

Within this history are some notable milestones of expressions of seminal visions of the place and purpose of universities including Immanuel Kant's vision of the university in the late 18th century as a model for peace and an institution which is crucial to an integral society, Wilhelm von Humboldt's contribution in the late 18th and early 19th century to the importance and development of *Bildung* in a university education and John Henry Newman's arguments in 1852 for the value of '[k]nowledge which is its own end' (Newman 1976:103). While each of these three positions presents nuanced visions for the place of the university within society which are beyond the scope of detailed coverage within this thesis, what should be stressed is that the developments in modern university seems to have engendered a significant degree of existential angst and uncertainty as to its role.

This can be seen in what appears to be an expanding exercise devoted to the consideration of the purpose, idea and identity of a university and its curriculum, much of which tends to suggest that an impending crisis is looming or has arrived (Barnett 1994; Berube and Nelson 1995; Scott 1995; Readings 1996; Delanty 2001; Barnett 2011; Collini 2012; Rolfe 2013). In fact, as Delanty notes, a postmodern interpretation of the university, as found in texts by Lyotard (1984), Crook, Patulski and Waters

(1992) and Readings (1996), claims that 'the university has reached its end and with the closure of modernity has collapsed into a bureaucratic enterprise bereft of moral purpose' (Delanty 2001:5). Many attribute this lack of moral purpose to what Radice recognises as an environment where HE 'has become almost universally subordinated to commercial economic imperatives' (2013: iv). The earlier stages of this transformation of HE is documented in Thompson's prescient and incendiary account of student protests at Warwick University in 1970 when students occupied the university registry building and later discovered files 'that provided clear evidence of the routine surveillance of staff and students' (Radice 2013: i). This protest was part of Thompson's coverage of the development of what he labelled the 'industrial-intellectual oligarchy' in 1970 which presaged what is arguably now a commonplace and recognisable current HE environment. This environment is encapsulated in his following question:

Is it inevitable that the university will be reduced to the function of providing, with increasingly authoritarian efficiency, pre-packed intellectual commodities which meet the requirements of management? (Thompson 1970/2013: 166)

Cribb and Gewirtz have offered a similar critique of HE through what they have labelled the 'hollowed-out university'. This signifies 'a domain in which the organising principle derives from surface considerations rather than considerations of academic substance, with potentially devastating consequences both for the intrinsic value of academic work and for the civic function of universities' (Cribb and Gewirtz 2013: 339). Another common theme often raised when questioning the purpose of universities is the calling into question of corporate management structures and private sector discourses which

appear to have transformed British universities into what Collini ironically labels as 'HiEdBiz plc' (2012:132), and what Readings has termed a dystopic 'ruin' (Reading 1996).²⁹

However, there is a temptation to compare the portrayal of the demise of British universities with Twain's reference to the premature reports of his own death or with Williams's observation of the poetic trope of the disappearing English countryside which 'keeps appearing, reappearing, at bewilderingly various dates' (Williams 1973: 35).³⁰ In other words, although there may be claims that the university has reached its 'spiritual' end or may be in ruins, it shows very little signs of shutting its gates. A brief consideration of the number of students entering Higher Education within the UK shows that there were 2,496,645 students during the 2011/12 academic year as compared to 1, 948,135 in 2000/01 (Higher Education Statistics Agency: Accessed 10 May 2013).³¹ Yet, rather than interpreting this as a sign of vitality, Cribb and Gewirtz argue that increasing student numbers should be seen in conjunction with the 'massification in relation to teaching activities' which adds to 'the conception of the

²⁹ A point may have been reached when talk of 'private sector discourses' elicits a simple, 'so what?' as universities are frequently referred to as just another form of business. Nick Petford, vice-chancellor of the University of Northampton, stated this quite plainly in an interview with the *Times Higher Education* arguing that, 'universities, at the end of the day, are businesses' (Parr 2013: 14). On a recent trip to the US, I was struck by the degree of talk about 'marketable degrees' and 'industry-aligned disciplines' and also noted the degree of advertising of universities such as Northwestern University on regular radio slots.

³⁰ I am grateful to Michael Cronin for this analogy.

³¹ Although enrolment in Undergraduate programmes fell briefly in 2012 after the introduction of higher tuition fees, there was a return to growth the following academic year. The *Times Higher Education* reported in December 2013 that 'undergraduate enrolment bounced back from last year's slump to reach an all-time high' for UK Higher Education Institutions (Grove 2013: 6).

university as a large corporate organisation concerned with performance management and productivity'(Cribb and Gewirtz 2013: 341). Moreover, the increase in student numbers is not necessarily equal across all areas of the university.

It is within the tension between portrayals of British HE as a prosperous sector with ever increasing student numbers versus a fear that academic values are being eroded through changing institutional practices that numerous areas of contestation have emerged. Rolfe, for example, highlights the emergence of the discourse of 'employability' as a significant element altering the landscape of British universities arguing that there is, 'a growing emphasis....on training for employment' which has resulted in some of 'the so-called "pure" disciplines such as literature, chemistry and sociology (to take just three examples) ... being replaced by subjects related to occupations rather than to academic disciplines' (Rolfe 2013: 27). The expansion beyond the 'traditional' disciplines has not been entirely welcomed and to some it has resulted in a landscape where '(d)iplomas in golf-course management sit alongside MScs in software design; professorships of neo-natal care are established alongside postdoctoral fellowships in heritage studies' (Collini 2012: 6). This emergence of new fields of knowledge within the changing university landscape and the changing curricula (at the possible expense of some disciplines) is another key context for this thesis.

Reactions to this emergence have been notably critical with respect to new taught degree programmes (primarily at the postgraduate level) which fall under the rubric of 'studies' (examples of which were given in section 1.2). Rolfe notes that, '...subjects, many of which have previously had little or no presence in the university, are being "academicized" (that is, redefined as disciplines) by the attachment of the word "studies"' (Rolfe 2013: 27). The idea that postgraduate study is 'primarily concerned

with future employability' is labelled by Williams as a 'creeping orthodoxy' (Williams 2013:46). Rolfe, drawing on the above-mentioned theme by Readings (1996), takes a pessimistic stance regarding these transformations, linking them to a diminishing influence of philosophy's position within the university. (Rolfe 2013:27).

However, these transformations have relevance for the University and have affected me personally (arguably in a positive way) by allowing me a greater degree of freedom to develop my own interests through contributing to the emergence of the subject matter, primarily through contributing to and eventually directing a Master's programme in intercultural studies. This programme offers to some degree the type of knowledge which Rolfe objects to and argues is being 'academicized' as it fits into a structure which Rolfe labels a 'pick-and-mix approach to traditional arts and science subjects' (Rolfe 2013: 12). Rolfe's perspective highlights the fact that the emergence of new fields of knowledge in universities is not necessarily accomplished through a smooth and universally accepted process, but that the transition can only be established under the right conditions, one of which may include overcoming a certain prejudice regarding the value and suitability of certain fields of knowledge. However, the criticism expressed by Rolfe and others positions me awkwardly between discourses. On the one hand, I am associated with the emergence of an academic programme which Rolfe would arguably consider to be objectionable. On the other hand, I would like to align myself with a critical approach to the subject matter which may potentially clash with parts of the University that might support the emergence of the subject matter on the basis of its perceived marketability. This leads to contestation and resistance around the emergence and institutionalisation of the subject matter.

Universities are clearly attuned to the wider perception of their role in society and are influenced by the need to justify their existence to a broader and perhaps more sceptical audience. This clearly has an impact on the daily practices within universities and can be seen, for example, in how universities market themselves. For the purpose of this study, it is important to be mindful of both the broader context which includes questioning the value and place of universities as a whole and how discourses outside of the university may influence institutional norms. Thus, although I am concurring with Striphas' belief that, 'the studying of institutionalization...must involve the study of specific institutions' (Striphas 1998: 453), it is also crucial to recognise that the University is not a bounded entity which is immune to discourses beyond its gates.

4.3 The University

This section introduces the research context of the University. The University's importance is primarily felt through the strong influence it exerts on the practices within the more specific research setting of the School. This includes dictating, to a large degree, the organisational structure of the School. There is an obvious power dimension at play in that the School is a small part of a much larger whole as the University could exist without the School, but not vice-versa. Thus, the University retains an important position in the thesis even though the study is not specifically focused directly on the University in its entirety.

There are a number of recurrent themes which arise in the descriptions of my University. It is frequently described as large, with a very high student population and a high percentage of 'international' students. Size is generally presented as one of the University's attributes and an example of this claim can be seen in figure 1 below.



Figure 1: Largeness as an Attribute

In figure 1, the size of the School of Mathematics is communicated as an attribute of the University. The University also labels itself as research-intensive and is a member of a selective group of British universities. Like many universities, it has a 'strategy map' and in this case, a highly aspirational one which includes plans of rising rapidly to become one of the 'top' universities in the world in the near future. This is to be achieved through 'strategic enablers', and it includes various 'stakeholders and partners'. Most University staff are made aware of the 'purpose' and 'vision' that this strategy map lays out.

In attempting to give the reader a sense of the larger research setting of the University, it is important to keep in mind that it is a focal point for a multiplicity of diverse perspectives ranging from the potentially overwhelmed first-year student to the cleaning staff who arrive early in the morning before others. The University also has a wide-ranging impact on people who are not directly connected to it but may be linked in other ways, such as local businesses who depend on the students and staff for their business, but who seldom visit the campus itself. Although it is a rather obvious point that the University is a multi-layered space which means different things to different people, it is an important one considering that an ethnographic account needs to be open to the richness of the research setting. Yet, despite this richness which can be found in many British universities, universities frequently attempt to control the discursive practices and key messages which describe their environment and activities. Fairclough, for example, noted as far back as 1993, a transformation in the discursive practices of contemporary British universities which have 'come increasingly to operate (under government pressure) as if they were ordinary businesses competing to sell their products to consumers' (1993: 143).

However, in addition to the emergence of private-sector discourses identified by Fairclough, the discursive practices by universities can also operate in a hegemonic fashion which can potentially silence the richness of the environment. For instance, some universities now provide a description of their university and then insist (or suggest strongly) that these descriptions be used in all 'external' communication. One example of this is Lancaster University which has issued this guidance to its staff: 'Consistency in our description of the University in external communications presents a professional, cohesive appearance to the world. [...] Please use one of these descriptions if you need to write a profile or overview of the University when communicating with an

external party' (University of Lancaster 2013). This suggestive guidance to staff is fairly indicative of how universities tightly control their own images and messages through discourse and visual elements such as branded logos. Holliday argues that, 'a member of the university is "on message" when they are explicitly aware of the discourse and can reproduce it in public meetings and networking' (Holliday 2013a: 102). While the discursive practices of British universities may not fall into the exact category of what Ritzer (2007) called 'nullities'³², there is a certain policing of discursive practice in university communication which can result in a suggested evenness which belies or otherwise hides alternative narratives. Cribb and Gewirtz (2013: 342) attribute this lack of alternative narratives, particularly as seen in negative publicity, to the prevalence of university 'gloss and spin' which 'has now become a thorough-going orientation towards corporate identity and institutional reputation.'

The University in this study is also careful in this respect. 'Outward facing' communication highlights key messages around a number of strategic themes which show the University in the best possible light. These key themes emphasise the University's place in the world rankings of universities, the University's history, values, strategy and vision and the University's membership in a selective group of British universities. It also understates other aspects of its business, such as the relationships with companies that might be considered controversial such as KPMG which at the time of writing was the focus of a protest campaign by Unite, Unison and the University College Union (Document 46 Appendix 3.2.12).

The attention paid to world rankings is another aspect of the University which is particularly acute and this is not simply limited to British universities. Baty claims that

³² Piller describes 'nullities' as a 'non-language' whereby 'something is replaced with nothing' (Piller 2011: 104).

the inaugural Times Higher Rankings of BRICS and Emerging Economies reflects the fact that '(m)any of the world's emerging economies have put the development of world-class universities at the heart of their national strategies' (Baty 2013: 3). Piller and Cho's (2013) coverage of the radical changes and social costs which befell KAIST University in South Korea is an example of the degree of importance given to world rankings and the extent to which a university is prepared to make sacrifices in order to rise in the rankings. World rankings also have several sub-categories which universities can strategically exploit for maximum value. For example, a university may not necessarily be high in the overall world rankings, but may be high in sub-categories such as 'international student satisfaction'. Furthermore, rankings are not limited to a university's place in world, but there are additional rankings for 'groups' or 'collections' of universities produced by a number of various bodies. Or, when all else fails, universities can just create their own counter-rankings as Wildavsky reports was the case with Mines Paris Tech which led to the headline of 'French do well in French world rankings' (Wildavsky 2013).³³ The main point to be made here is that descriptions of universities are in no way 'disinterested' and that a carefully controlled 'monoglossic' message paints a very limited (and some might argue sterile) picture of the University.³⁴

Finally, although I am present at the University for large parts of my time, I engage with only a small percentage of its totality. On one hand, the University is much like a small city with a series of green spaces and buildings which house classrooms, lecture halls, laboratories and accommodation, many of which I never enter. On the other hand, I

³³ Criticism of this French ranking system might be considered objectionable given that many, if not all, of the wider known HE rankings system could arguably be described as heavily biased.

³⁴ There have also been reports of university marketing materials 'deploying selective data, flattering comparisons and even outright falsehoods in their undergraduate prospectuses' (Matthews 2013: 6).

navigate the University through a series of people who I encounter online or as I move from place to place. These people help in part to make the University a familiar and social environment. Yet there remains an aspect of the University which is present within its discourse of, for example, strategic plans and initiatives that appear to be very detached from the people that I encounter. Thus, while this initial description has started to paint a general picture about the University, the relevance of the University to this thesis is more in line with the epigraph from my 10 year-old son who was trying to understand the detached way in which my wife and I talk about something of which we are also a part of. This includes the daily politics and the more hidden decision-making bodies within the University. I now turn to consider the University's relationship with the School which is particularly germane to this study.

4.4 The School

Although there is an administrative layer of the Faculty between the University and the School, I am largely electing to limit my focus on the School which sits in the larger Faculty of Arts.³⁵ The School is the primary focal point for my case study and serves as the (porous) bounded social setting where I am locating my fieldwork. This sense of boundedness is both artificial, as I am creating this boundary for the purpose of the study, and real, in that it is a clearly demarcated layer within a larger organisational structure of the University. However, I am further limiting the research setting of the School by focusing on the emergence of intercultural communication, intercultural

³⁵ Specific references to the Faculty will be limited because many of the activities of the Faculty are less visible or mainly operate as a tool or conduit for channelling University discourse down to the School. Whereas the University invests significant resources in publishing initiatives and communicating its achievements and targets, the Faculty activities are, on the whole, not publicised in the same manner. This is not to say the Faculty is unimportant to the study, but it will rarely be mentioned.

studies and the use of the term 'intercultural' which allows me to concentrate on the relevant areas of the School which are affected by this emergence. Thus, although the study is concerned with how the University and School is socially constructed by the participants within the research setting, this construction is primarily viewed vis-à-vis the emergence of intercultural communication, intercultural studies and the discourse which drives the institutionalisation of the intercultural.

I am employing two analytical tools and models of culture to help to understand the processes taking place within the research setting. The first is Holliday's model of small culture which is 'the composite of cohesive behaviour within any social grouping' (Holliday 1999:247). The concept of small cultures share similarities with the concepts of discourse communities (Swales 1990; Kramsch 1998), communities of practice (Wenger 2000) and arguably the concept of habitus (Bourdieu 1977). This serves as a heuristic device which allows for the analysis of social action within a particular research setting which will be treated as a small culture. However, this context should not be considered as static, but rather a dynamic and ever-evolving setting in which I am also enmeshed. A further useful concept for the interpretation of social action within the research setting is Holliday's 'grammar of culture' (Holliday 2011; 2013) as it helps to accommodate the fluid and dynamic nature of the small culture and aids the understanding of how participants position themselves within this setting.

4.4.1 The Historical Formation and Organisation of the School

Pre-dating the creation of my School in the 1990s was an organisational structure with semi-autonomous 'departments' (i.e. the French Department) which reported to a larger Faculty (Arts). The transition from the department structure to a more federal system and then subsequently to a unitary system was not straightforward. According to a

'Draft Report of the Group on a School of Modern Languages and Area Studies'³⁶ the initiative to form a School gained momentum in the early 1990s, although the idea was first officially proposed as early as 1986. The report stresses five primary advantages for this creation which could be described as both administrative benefits and those related to teaching and learning. The report also candidly admits that there was no consensus at the time for a change to a unitary structure and suggested that the views of staff still needed to be canvassed.

The departments originally included in what was to eventually become the School could arguably have been classified into a category described as 'languages and area studies' (i.e. Russian Studies), hence the original name proposal included 'area studies' in the title. However, the 'area studies' tag appeared to be a contentious issue. The draft stated that while it recognised that the expertise within the various departments extended beyond the teaching of literature and language, it preferred the shorter title of 'Modern Languages.' At the time of the draft there were also plans to establish a Centre for Linguistics and Phonetics which would be 'associated' with the School, although at that time it was not formally connected to it. This may have also been a factor in the eventual exclusion of the name 'area studies'.

There were a number of themes that emerged from the interviews and documents produced at the time of the creation of the School which I mention below (and in section 8.2) in order to convey a sense of the dynamic history evolving over the course of the establishment of the School. The changing nature of the School had an effect on the social actors working within its confines. There was a general sense of frustration with the relationship between the School and the former departments or units and this was

³⁶ This document is not included in the appendices for purposes of anonymity.

in contrast to wider University support from management for a seemingly inevitable outcome of a new federal organisational structure. The lack of support and concern was evident in the above-mentioned Draft Report and from interview participants, both of which exhibited concerns over the detrimental effect of the creation of the School on the individual departments and the anxiety over the loss of identity and autonomy.

When the formal proposal to create a School on 1 October 1991 was passed, it was done so without the reference to 'culture' in its name. This addition was agreed by an Executive Committee on 22 May 1997. The rationale and applications of the School's use of the term 'culture' will be discussed in chapter 6, but it is worth noting that this term is now incorporated into the marketing of the School through images as will be seen in section 9.3.2 which advertises the appeal of studying 'other cultures.'

Once 'culture' was formally adopted within the School name, this resulted in a federal organisational structure where former departments continued to retain some aspects of their identity and some degree of control over resources. Administrative support staff were also retained and were generally dedicated to each particular department.

However, there was another organisational shift in 2011 when the federal structure was changed to a unitary one. This resulted in 'departments' being rebranded and now called 'subject areas' arguably with a concurrent demotion in status. Dedicated administrative support staff were no longer linked to specific departments (now subject areas), but were centralised into one large School administrative support area. This transformation reflected the current state of the School until 2014 and included reference to a combination of physical geographical areas (i.e. Latin America), languages, disciplines (Linguistics), vocational skills and training (Translation Studies), media (Cinema) and centres ('The Language Centre'). In some respects the School

retains an 'area studies' point of reference and in other respects it is strongly influenced by cultural studies and postcolonial studies. While the study of languages is a focal point for the School and languages retains a prominent position in the title of the School, the School includes members of staff who have 'hyphenated identities' and might consider themselves to be, for example, French area studies specialists and social scientists or historians.

Although this organisational structure is relatively stable, more recently, the School has been in a 'Review' process which has raised questions regarding its current state and has placed substantial constraints on its finances. This is an essential point in understanding the School as its position with respect to the University and the Higher Education sector must be viewed in relation to the declining numbers of students who are enrolling on language degree programmes. In terms of specific changes and policies which have affected HE, those which have had a bearing on schools offering modern foreign languages (MFL) are particularly salient given the research context of this study. In considering government HE policies, Kohl (2014) argues that the 'contrast between the plummeting number of undergraduates in modern foreign language (MFL) courses and the soaring number of students in science, technology, engineering and maths (STEM) subjects gives an insight into the power of policy-makers to influence the fate of academic subjects.' She attributes this fall in student numbers to healthy funding in STEM subjects compared with underfunding in modern languages and 'a lack of joined-up policies' (Kohl 2014). On a similar note Bawden (2013) points to a 40% drop in the number of universities offering specialist language degrees between 1998 and 2013, while Codrea-Rado (2014) states that acceptances to MFL courses in 2013-2014 were at 'their lowest point in the last 10 years'.

Cribb and Gewirtz advance this argument by pointing out that it was not only a shift in government funding which should be taken into account, but that a move away 'from humanities cultures towards STEM cultures' produced a more dramatic shift in the HE landscape (Cribb and Gewirtz 2013: 340). By STEM culture, Cribb and Gewirtz stress an 'increasingly utilitarian conception of the function of universities' and 'the growing requirement for humanities and social science scholars to demonstrate social and economic impact and a growing technicist emphasis in HE curricula, manifested, for example, in the teaching of generic and transferable skills' (Cribb and Gewirtz 2013:341). The growing frequency of the intercultural in HE may partially be explained by the perception that it offers these types of skills or competencies. Additionally, Matthews points out that there are clear 'disciplinary winners and losers in the long post-1997 boom in higher education enrolment' and that within Humanities the study of Foreign Languages is in decline (Matthews 2013: 35-37). Finally, Preston concurs with this view stating:

Currently fixed in the crosshairs are the disciplines of the humanities – arts, languages and social sciences – which have suffered swingeing funding cuts and been ignored by a government bent on promoting the modish, revenue-generating STEM (science, technology, engineering, maths) subjects. The liberal education which seeks to provide students with more professional qualifications appears to be dying a slow and painful death, overseen by a whole cadre of what cultural anthropologist David Graeber calls "bullshit jobs": bureaucrats hired to manage the transformation of universities from centres of learning to profit centres. (Preston 2015: 2)

During a large part of this study, the School was in a critical period and was officially ‘in Review’.³⁷ It was arguably struggling to both redefine itself, its values and to fight for its survival within the University. It was of no great surprise that ‘voluntary severances’ were offered in the School in 2013. Finally, the Language Centre’s position within the larger School has often been the subject of much speculation. It became a formal part of the School in 1997 and continues to remain within the School despite suggestions that it be placed as part of the ‘Services’ (e.g. the Library) within the University.

Figure 3 below gives a visual representation of the transformations of the three different organisational structures of the School as well as the growth of subject areas within the School up to 2013. Although there are clear transformations and additions to the School, the divisions between most of the original ‘departments’ remain which may reaffirm Greenblatt’s observation that ‘[a]cademic departments are routinely organized as if the division between English, and, for example, French were stable and timeless, or as if the Muslim and Christian worlds had existed in hermetic isolation from one another, or as if the history of ideas were somehow entirely independent of the history of exile, migration and economic exchange’ (Greenblatt 2010: 4).

Time	Location	Departments vs. Subject Areas
Pre-1991 before establishment of the School.	Faculty of Arts	Departments: Russian Studies, French, Spanish & Portuguese, Modern Arabic Studies, East Asian Studies, German Language & Literature, Italian Language & Literature
1991 Establishment of the School.	School within larger Arts Faculty	Departments: Russian Studies, French, Spanish and Portuguese, Modern Arabic Studies, East Asian Studies, German Language & Literature, Italian Language & Literature, Linguistics & Phonetics (Associated with the School)

³⁷ The Review process primarily was a formal procedure which entailed close analysis of the School’s financial position and its activities. It had a significant impact for the School’s resources, particularly with respect to staffing.

1997	School within larger Arts Faculty	Addition of 'Cultures' to name and absorption of the Language Centre into the School
2013 Unitary establishment of the School where 'departments' became subject areas	School within larger Arts Faculty	Subject Areas: German, Russian and Slavonic Studies, Spanish, Portuguese and Latin American Studies, French, Italian, Arabic and Middle Eastern Studies, East Asian Studies, Centre for Translation Studies, Linguistics & Phonetics, World Cinemas, The Language Centre

Table 1: Historical Configuration of the School

There have been a number of notable changes to the School from its establishment in the early 1990s to the above representation in 2013. In addition to the formal adoption of 'cultures' within its name, there were other notable changes within the School. These include the name change from 'departments' in 2013 to 'subject areas', and a more formalised inclusion of Linguistics and Phonetics within the School. Two centers (Centre for Translation Studies and Centre for World Cinemas) also emerged within the School during the above time period. Finally, as an addendum to this representation, it should be noted that in 2014 the 'Classics' subject area was formally subsumed into the School which entailed a further name change to the School itself.

4.4.2 A Note on the Physical Environment of the University

Although physical descriptions of the University and School are largely limited to the commercialisation of the environment in chapter 6, one brief analogy to highlight relates to Richardson's critique of physical environments, including urban and university landscapes through the notion of a 'schizocartography' where a walking cartography is used to critique the 'historical use and acquisition of campus space' (Richardson 2014: 131). Drawing on the work of Guttari, Richardson encourages students to create their own representations of how they interpret campus space and

these maps help 'elucidate the space in a way that highlights, subverts, or challenges dominant power structures' (2014:131). Richardson's work also draws attention to how students offer 'affective responses to campus space, which challenge the capitalist subjectivity of student as consumer' (2014: 144). This resonates with careful control that universities exert over 'outward facing' written and visual communication as seen in section 4.3 and suggests that this can also be extended to the very architecture of the University.

4.5 Positioning Myself within the Research Environment

This section now moves to describe my physical and historical position within the research environment. I have been employed by the University since 2000 to work within the Language Centre and my roles in this unit have changed considerably since that time. I was initially hired to work on a summer English teaching course for visiting students from Japanese universities and this led to further employment teaching generally on English for Academic Purposes (EAP) courses. I then eventually undertook the role of course director for various EAP and English language courses. Most recently, my principle role within the unit has been as the academic lead for admissions which is elaborated on below. In addition to these roles, my work outside of the Centre (but within the School) has increasingly involved a connection to intercultural communication.

My initial exposure to intercultural communication started in Mexico City in 1997 when I was there on a US government sponsored teaching programme and was given the assignment of working at a university there. Although most of my prior teaching experience at that time had been in Teaching English as a Foreign Language (TEFL), I was asked to teach an undergraduate module in intercultural communication and a

number of texts were recommended. This module was to be a 'stand-alone' module which was not directly related to a language module, but it treated intercultural communication as a subject matter in itself. While the students were enthusiastic and I enjoyed the prospect of a challenge, I began to gradually realise over time that the module and much of the materials were underpinned by essentialist notions of culture and a modernist epistemological framework.

Although the irony of the situation may have been lost on me at the time, in hindsight the political implications of this work are now apparent. This work could be implicated in the unwitting creation of a form of 'soft border' which 'complimented' a much harder physical border that exists between the US and Mexico. Johnson and Michaelson argue that these soft borders are produced within broadly liberal discourse and include, 'benevolent nationalisms, cultural essentialisms, multiculturalisms, and the like' (Johnson and Michaelson 1997: 1). This initial experience with intercultural communication and its implications was an ambivalent one at best and my interest in the field was further deterred during a subsequent Master's in Social Anthropology that, to my knowledge, rarely made use of the term 'intercultural', much less 'intercultural communication.' However, both the teaching experience in Mexico and the degree programme were the start of a process whereby I began to critically examine the social practices which I was engaged in and then gradually began to reform these practices. This could be considered as an increased reflexivity whereby I began to understand that '(e)verything in the classroom, from how we teach, what we teach, how we respond to students, to the materials we use and the way we assess the students, needs to be seen as social and cultural practices that have broader implications than just pieces of classroom interaction' (Pennycook 2001: 139).

My employment at this University commenced just after the completion of my Master's degree and at that time intercultural communication seemed to be personally a fading interest. However, during my employment with the University I slowly became increasingly aware that the growing criticism of essentialist notions of culture in disciplines such as anthropology were also being applied to the field of intercultural communication and this served to renew my interest in the subject. It also became apparent that other universities in the UK were introducing modules or programmes in intercultural communication. This led me to a (fragile) belief at the time that there was still some conceptual value that could be retained in the term 'intercultural' and the fields of intercultural communication and intercultural studies provided that these were situated within a critical pedagogy. It was during this time that I made several relatively unsuccessful attempts at encouraging the Language Centre, and later the School, to start a course or module in intercultural communication or at least to consider how to implement aspects of intercultural communication in language teaching.

In 2008 a proposal was made for a new taught postgraduate programme within the School. I was not directly involved with this proposal but was aware of its existence. The proposal eventually became a reality in 2009 and I was asked to contribute to a small part of the programme by teaching intercultural communication as part of a larger intercultural studies module. This was significant for a number of reasons. Firstly, it allowed me to begin to move from a role which had a sole focus in English language teaching in the Language Centre to one which had greater School involvement. To a certain degree this was akin to moving from one small culture to another and it entailed a much more complicated job description where my teaching was shared between the School and the Language Centre. Secondly, this also allowed me to gain a new sense of institutional identity within the School and to reengage with intercultural

communication as research interest which eventually led to me undertaking this study. The Master's programme itself is relevant to the study as it is one of the six areas of emergence which will be introduced below in the following section.

Since 2009, there have been two developments which are significant for this research and have influenced my own perspective. Firstly, over the six years of the Master's programme, my role has grown significantly to the point where I am now the programme director. I have a very strong interest in the success of this programme and this interest is to some degree a vested one. Thus, despite still having some reservations about the theoretical validity of intercultural communication, I have a practical interest in the success of the programme and gain pleasure from the intellectual engagement with students.

Secondly, although a large part of my work is now focused on the Master's programme, I still have roles within the Language Centre. In addition to occasional EAP teaching that I do there, my primary role is as academic lead for admissions. This is a role which often gives me access to wider University environments that offer vantage points into the working mechanisms of the University which were previously hidden to me. These include admissions-related issues such as student recruitment, marketing and 'gatekeeping'. The latter category also necessitates that I engage with English language policies (whether I agree with these or not) enacted by the government regarding the requirements which 'international students'³⁸ must meet for study in the UK. While the role is strategic to the Language Centre (and much of my 'value' as a University employee may come through an attachment to this role), to some degree I view my

³⁸ The category of international student is contested and this will be addressed later in this thesis.

participation in this role as a necessary one which allows me the freedom to do more interesting work in other areas.

With respect to this thesis, these roles affect my own perspectives. The first role to some extent pushes me into the realm of autoethnography where I am critically interrogating my own practices while also recognising my own biases and noting a sense of alienation with respect to my relationship with the University. The second role has helped to illuminate the resources the University expends in attracting students, particularly those defined as international, and in controlling and adjusting the restrictions over which students are admitted. Although this may not be directly related to the fields of knowledge whose emergence I am exploring, this role nevertheless allows me to see first-hand where the University places value.

4.6 The Six Forms of Subject Matter Emergence

In analysing the institutionalisation of the intercultural, this study will focus primarily on six forms of subject matter emergence within the University. It should be noted that there were other forms of subject matter emergence within the University not considered primarily due to the fact these additional forms emerged in the later stages of research. The six areas of emergence and their pseudonyms include the previously described MA programme within the School ('The MA') which began in 2009, a wider University extra-curricular programme which filtered into the School ('The Ambassadors') and began in approximately 2010, a University-wide curricular initiative regarding the thematic grouping of elective modules which also filtered into the School ('The Strands') and was formally adopted in 2014, a School initiative involving undergraduate joint-honours programme ('The Cornerstones') which began in approximately 2013, a piloted intercultural communication module run within the

School in 2014 ('The Pilot') and finally a module created for the Study Abroad office to support students prior to and during their year abroad ('The Horizon') which began in 2015. These forms of emergence are represented below in figure 2 and sections 4.6.2 and 4.6.3 will offer more detail regarding these forms of emergence.

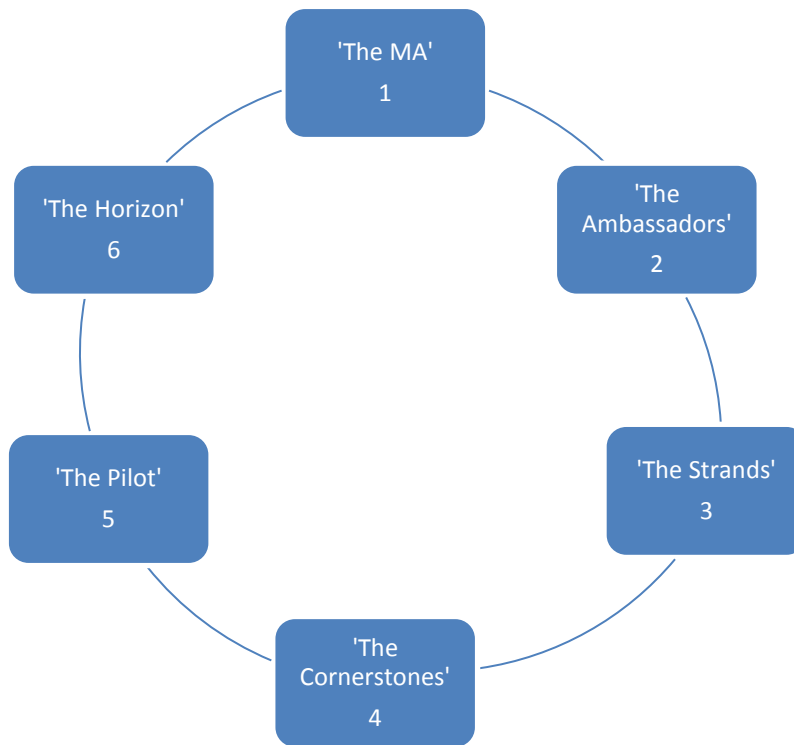


Figure 2: Areas of Emergence

4.6.1 Areas of Subject Matter Emergence

Although discussion of data in the following chapters will not involve a linear focus on each of the six areas of emergence in turn, this section will note some significant distinctions of each emergence including both their placement within the University and the School and the connections to other parts of the University's organisation. The identification of these six areas of emergence has partially answered my first research question regarding 'where' emergence was taking place within the University (See section 1. 1). Figure 3 below shows the six categories of emergence and their placement

within the University with three placed directly within the School and three originating from wider University initiatives. The Taught Student Education Board's (TSEB) influence, primarily as seen in the Curriculum Enhancement Project, features prominently below as it was an important catalyst to the development or approval of each of the six areas of emergence. TSEB's influence is most apparent in the emergence of 'The Strands', but it also issued formal approval for 'The Ambassadors', 'The Horizon' and 'The Pilot'. The 'Business School' has also been included in the graphic to indicate a connection to the 'Cornerstone' module. Finally, it should be noted that this graphic is an extremely condensed version of the University landscape and it removes the vast majority of the various Schools and Faculties from view in order to focus on a limited number of areas.

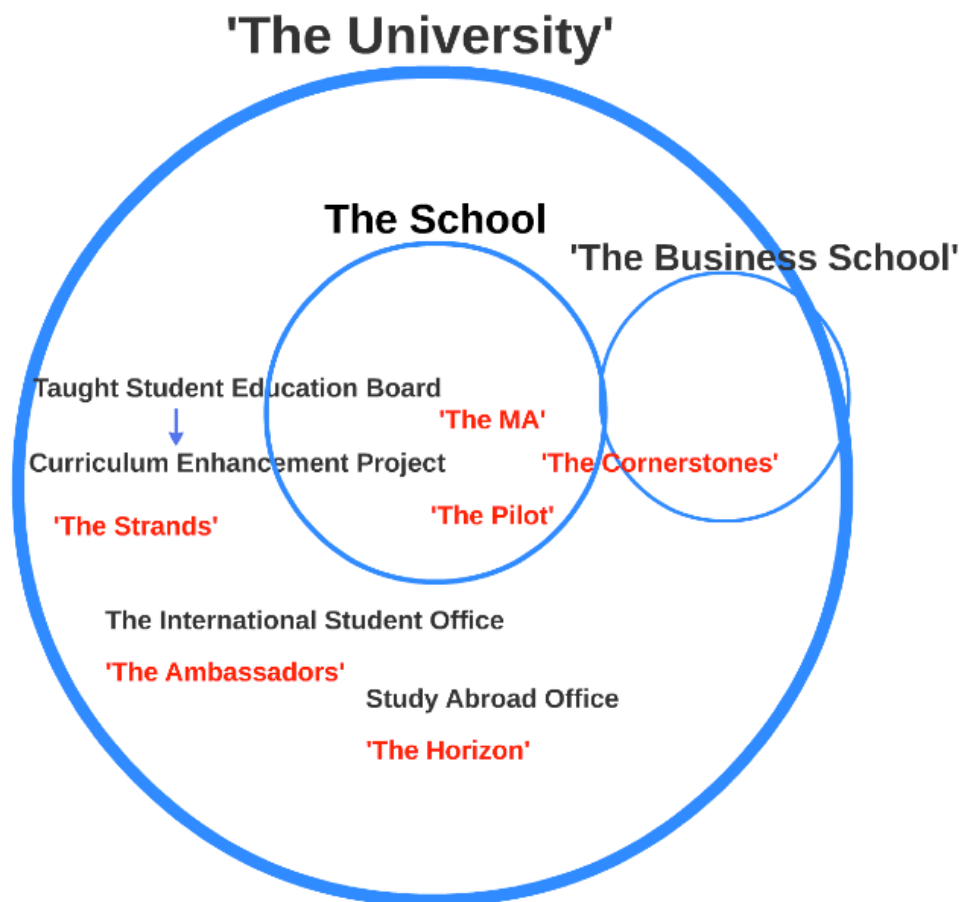


Figure 3: Placement of Areas of Emergence

Locating the various layers of committees, positions and roles within the University and the relationship between these layers is not an easy task. Thus, attributing the major institutional influence for subject matter emergence is also a challenge. However, it should be noted that the emergence of the subject matter has taken various forms and can be linked to not only the School in an academic context, but it has also emerged in connection with what the University sometimes labels 'service units' such as The International Student and Study Abroad Offices as in the case of 'The Ambassadors' and 'The Horizon'. The emergence is also connected to larger University initiatives such as the Curriculum Enhancement Project which is concerned with shaping an overall 'student experience' through the introduction of 'The Strands'. Finally, the forms of emergence within the academic context of the School are also not particularly homogenous. 'The Pilot' was, as the title suggests, a short non-credit bearing module which was primarily designed to test the demand for a module in intercultural communication. The location of 'The Cornerstones' was also unique in that it attempted an interdisciplinary approach for joint-honours undergraduate students which joined the School with 'The Business School'. Finally, while 'The MA' is located within the School, the lack of attachment to a particular subject area within the School also raises questions which will be addressed in chapter 6. It should also be noted that the School is placed in the middle of figure 3 above, however this does not reflect the centrality or relative power which the School exerts.

4.6.2 Programmes, Modules and Pilots within the School (1, 4, 5)

There are three distinct forms of subject matter emergence within the School. 'The MA' was the first emergence to make use of the term intercultural and this was noted prior to the start of the research. It was the only example within the School that involved me

directly. This taught postgraduate programme was positioned within the School but periodically involved academic staff who were positioned outside of the School where, for example, contributions were made by academics working in other disciplines such as Education and Theology and Religious Studies.

'The Cornerstones' (4) was the second area of emergence within the School and was substantially different from the MA programme in a number of respects. This School initiative involved the creation of undergraduate joint honours elective modules that joined the 'corners' of two subject areas (e.g. Economics and French). While there were seven elective modules within this initiative, only one made an explicit reference to the term intercultural in its title. This module attempted an interdisciplinary approach which included international business content along with a focus on language and communication.

The third example within the School was a much more tentative emergence. This was a pilot course in intercultural communication ('The Pilot') which explored the feasibility of offering this subject to students across the University. While the pilot emerged from the Language Centre where I was based, it was offered by the Foreign Language Teaching Unit (FLTU) and did not involve me directly. I was, however, asked to comment and was encouraged to observe the classes and offer feedback.

4.6.3 Initiatives, Modules and Proposals Filtering into the School (2, 3, 6)

While I have identified the School as the small culture where the focus of the study lies, the organisational boundaries of the School are permeable. The areas of emergence discussed in the previous section were initiated within the School, but reached out to the wider University. The following three examples in this section involve areas of emergence which filtered into the School from other parts of the University. This

positioning can be seen in table 2 below. Each of these cases had the support of, or a connection to, the Taught Student Education Board (TSEB) which then worked with the International Student Office and the Study Abroad Office.

Emergence 2 ('The Ambassadors') was a University extra-curricular initiative developed by the International Student Office and was one that I became aware of just prior to the start of the study. I made minor contributions to the initiative in the form of short talks. The programme was created primarily due to the perception that 'international' and 'home' students were not interacting sufficiently within the University environment.³⁹ The programme sought to bring these students together via a scheme which gave students the responsibility for creating projects which were subsequently showcased across the University. This typically included making contributions to the International Culture Festival (later renamed as the World Unite Festival) held by the Student Union (appendix 3.21 and 3.2.2).

'The Strands' (3) was another broader University area of emergence which filtered into the School and was also driven by the Taught Student Education Board (TSEB) and was part of the University 'Curriculum Enhancement Project' (CEP). This involved the identification of ten key themes which were then used to systematically group undergraduate elective modules into strands. In the words of the website promoting the initiative, a 'strand' is 'a co-ordinated and structured series of related elective modules allowing sustained exploration of a specific subject, issue or skill which lies beyond the primary disciplinary content of a student's programme' (University Curriculum website). This idea of moving students beyond their 'primary disciplinary content' was often referred to as 'broadening'. One of the ten broadening strands was

³⁹ This is documented in an article written for the Higher Education Academy which I have chosen not to reference for sake of anonymity.

titled ‘Languages and Intercultural Understanding’ and a number of undergraduate electives were then chosen to carry the strand’s content. Some of these choices within this strand were obvious ones involving the study of a language, whereas other modules taught at undergraduate level were simply reclassified as offering ‘intercultural understanding.’ It should also be noted that ‘Strands’ was one of the original terms given for this initiative, but it subsequently adopted another name at a later date.

The final emergent use of the term intercultural derived from the Study Abroad and International Office of the University and involved a proposal for an undergraduate module for an alternative Year Abroad which I have called ‘The Horizon’. This transpired during the start of the third year of my research when I was approached by the director of the Study Abroad Office to create a module in intercultural communication for undergraduates who were to embark on a Year Abroad. This module started prior to the students leaving the UK, but continued to support the students throughout their time abroad. This module emerged during the later stages of this research and thus has limited coverage in the study. Table 2 below shows the areas of emergence with respect to their positioning either within the School or wider University and indicates the areas which I had a degree of personal involvement in.

Areas Within the School (Extending outwards)	Wider University Areas (Filtering inwards)	Areas of Emergence (Involving my participation)	Areas of Emergence (Not involving my participation)
(1) ‘The MA’ (4) ‘The Cornerstones’ (5) ‘The Pilot’	(2) ‘The Ambassadors’ (3) ‘The Strands’ (6) ‘The Horizon’	(1) ‘The MA’ (2) ‘The Ambassadors’ (6) ‘The Horizon’	(3) ‘The Strands’ (4) ‘The Cornerstones’ (5) ‘The Pilot’

Table 2: Location of Emergence and Personal Involvement with Each Emergence

4.7 Conclusion

This chapter has considered both the wider HE environment and the specific research environment of the University and School. It has also located my own position with respect to this environment and the subject matter emergence. In offering a brief history of the School I have tried to establish that this particular context is not a static one and that there are constant changes and alterations stemming from the relationship between the School and University. One salient factor that this chapter has highlighted is that the School can be described as in a relatively weak position with regard to its financial viability within the institution. This reflects wider trends in HE which have affected both the humanities and social sciences.

The chapter has also introduced the six areas of subject matter emergence and located each form within the University and School. One salient feature which this chapter notes is the increasing proliferation of the subject matter. This proliferation is relatively recent as none of the subject matter emergences were in existence in the University prior to 2008 and this proliferation continued with further forms of emergence becoming evident towards the completion of this study.

Chapter 5: Methodology and the Research Process

5.1 Introduction

This fifth chapter introduces the theoretical underpinning of the research methodology in the first half and then describes the research practices conducted over the course of this qualitative study in the second half of the chapter. The chapter begins by establishing the theoretical alignment of the research and continues with a brief consideration of ontology, epistemology and reflexivity. It then moves to explain the importance of ethnography, participant observation and thick description, all of which should not be considered as separate 'techniques' but 'part of a theoretical complex' (Blommaert & Dong 2010: 85). I continue with a consideration of ethics and how ethical issues have informed the work and then focus on the particular areas of the University where intercultural communication, intercultural studies and use of the term 'intercultural' have emerged. This is followed by coverage of the specific data gathering practices which I have utilised over the course of the study and the rationale for this process and for the coding of emergent themes. I have built upon the coding of emergent themes to develop an overall shape to the data chapters which is provided in this chapter. The final two sections include an introduction to four discourses found within the University and consideration of the limitations of the study.

5.2 Positioning Myself within an Interpretive Framework

Creswell's understanding of the need for the clear positioning of the researcher entails, 'not only understanding the beliefs and theories that inform research but also actively writing about them' (2013: 15). This includes aligning myself with an interpretive framework which acknowledges the assumptions that I make in the course of the research. In order to establish this framework in this section, I start with the broader

considerations of ontology and epistemology before moving to more specific positions in relation to applied linguistics, reflexivity and my place within the research setting.

5.2.1 Ontological and Epistemological Perspectives

The philosophical debates which inform this research are closely related to notions of ontology and epistemology. Snape and Spencer write that key ontological qualitative research questions concern 'whether or not social reality exists independently of human conceptions and interpretations; whether there is a common, shared, social reality or just multiple context-specific realities; and whether or not social behaviour is governed by "laws" that can be seen as immutable or generalisable' (Snape & Spencer 2003:11).

While these ontological positions have historically fallen into the three categories of realism, materialism and idealism, Snape and Spencer argue that each of these positions has undergone modification to enable a more fluid understanding, particularly with respect to the positioning of idealism where there has been a move to a relativist position which holds that 'there is no single reality, only a series of social constructions' (Snape & Spencer 2003: 12-13). This study subscribes to the view that meaning and reality are a co-construction involving both the researcher and the participants and that there are multi-layered perspectives which the research seeks to explore. However, the notion of co-construction should be seen as distinct from co-authoring and this distinction is discussed in section 5.7.1.

Overlapping the concept of ontology, epistemological questions are related to knowledge claims about the world and how these are justified. This includes 'the relationship between the researcher and that being researched' (Creswell 2013: 21). Epistemological questions can be based on a philosophical assumption of an alignment with interpretive frameworks such as positivism/postpositivism or

interpretivism/social constructivism. These two interpretive frameworks or paradigms differ considerably, and Creswell argues that positivism has key elements of being 'reductionist, logical, empirical, cause-and-effect oriented, and deterministic based on *a priori* theories' (2013: 24).

In this research, I reject the positivist paradigm and align myself with a 'constructivist paradigm [which] assumes a relativist ontology (there are multiple realities) [and] a subjectivist epistemology (knower and respondent co-create understandings)' (Denzin & Lincoln 2000: 21). I see this alignment as in keeping with the need to acknowledge both my own subjectivity as a researcher and my active participation within the research environment, particularly as this research involves me entering into both the personal and political arena. This will require a delicate balancing act which includes attending to my own subjectivity by employing an approach which 'rejects as naïve the notion of a researcher who is not involved, subjective and ideologically implicated' (Holliday 2012: 505 citing Blackman 2007; Clifford & Marcus 1986; Denzin & Lincoln 2005:11; Gubrium & Holstein 1997).

Although my physical location within the research environment has been discussed in chapter four, it is important to bear in mind the fact that not only am I bound up in the emergence of intercultural communication and intercultural studies within my research environment, but that I am also in some respects a catalyst who has a vested interest in this emergence. In other words, I am very much an insider who is researching at home and in a home that I have in small ways helped to build. This does not, however, negate the possibility of a critical stance in relation to the subject matter and to my own involvement in its emergence, but rather it carries an important need for reflexive ethnography as I am recording and deliberating my own practices. This involves a

critical stance towards how intercultural communication, intercultural studies and the intercultural are being applied within my research environment, while also acknowledging that I could well be implicated within a number of practices which I wish to interrogate.

Although the fields of intercultural communication and intercultural studies have resisted a specific location within British Higher Education, this study falls within the broad discipline of linguistics. With respect to linguistics, I seek to locate this work more specifically in what Pennycook labels critical applied linguistics which adopts his notion of 'problematizing practices' (2001: 41). This requires scepticism with regard to the consideration of language use as a 'neutral science' and in this study this sceptical and critical stance will be directed towards intercultural communication, intercultural studies and the intercultural.

Thus, where Pennycook views language as 'fundamentally bound up with politics' and 'articulates a profound scepticism about science, truth claims, and about an emancipatory position outside ideology', I similarly want to investigate the possibility that the emergence of fields of knowledge, are likewise fundamentally bound up with politics and University discourses and that a critical stance must be taken with regard to the claims made about their value (Pennycook 2001:42). This critical stance, which makes use of problematising practices, must be grounded in reflexivity which is discussed in the following section.

5.2.2 Reflexivity

I see reflexivity as a thread which runs throughout the research methodology and serves to join the design together as a whole. Edwards and Usher write that 'reflexivity has found its way into a range of debates and discussions in recent years' and that this

intensification of reflexivity is in part due to globalising processes and the 'diasporisation of space-time' (2000:100). Yet, while there may have been an intensification of reflexivity in our present day, it should also be recognised that there is a certain ambiguity around the term and that there are distinctions which need to be made in the particular forms of reflexivity which are encouraged in specific contexts. This is particularly salient for the context of the institution because one way in which the concept of reflexivity is being used (or arguably co-opted) is through what might be called institutional reflexivity whereby 'reflexive modernisation (...) engenders a variety of changes in the workplace' which are manifest in an ethos of commitment to 'continuous improvement' through management practices such as appraisals and staff development (Edwards and Usher 2000: 104). Thus, while I acknowledge that this ethos of 'continuous improvement', to a certain extent, compelled me to undertake this research, my own reflexive practice must be distinct from this form of 'institutional reflexivity' and it must critically examine the institutional discourses which are reproduced within my own research environment.

Therefore, the starting point for my own reflexivity is a recognition that I am immersed within an institution and its discourses and that a primary aim is to not only apply what Kendall & Wickham call a 'critical perspective to one's own knowledge claims', but to also apply a critical perspective to my own position within the University and to my own position within the research (1999: 101). In doing this, I also must acknowledge and account for my own subjectivity within the research (Holliday 2007: 139).

Despite the fact that I am enmeshed within the research environment, this should be considered as a resource as opposed to a barrier, as can be seen in Edwards' and Usher's understanding of reflexivity:

We might want to argue that by foregrounding how we construct what we research, reflexivity is no longer a problem but a resource. It helps us to recognise that we are a part of rather than apart from the world constructed through research. More than this, however, by becoming aware of the operation of reflexivity in the practice of research, the place of power, discourse and text, that which goes *beyond* the purely personal, is revealed.

(Edwards & Usher 1994: 148 original emphasis)

This position also necessitates a disavowal of a subject-object epistemology whereby the researcher 'objectively' studies the research environment and the objects within it as a 'disembodied omniscient, distanced qualitative writer' (Richardson & St. Pierre 2005: 961 cited in Creswell 2013: 214), but instead reflexivity allows for an acceptance of what Clifford, in reference to Bakhtin's notion of 'heteroglossia', calls 'a world of generalized ethnography' whereby 'people interpret others, and themselves, in a bewildering diversity of idioms' (Clifford 1988: 22). This results in a further recognition that the knowledge claims that I make are not a result of "'objective scientific" analysis external to myself, but my own experiences and opinions have helped to shape this perspective' (Anderson 2002: 15-16). This is particularly relevant for data which was collected from the use of a focus group with students from the University where the social interaction between the students allowed for a building of what might be called 'socially shared knowledge.' This allowed for the recognition that 'individuals live in societies, talk to one another, share experiences and are being influenced by socially shared knowledge – if indeed, one can call these forms "knowledges" (Marková et al. 2007: 14).

5.3 Qualitative Research & Ethnography

My alignment above with respect to ontology, epistemology and reflexivity is commensurate with qualitative research methodology, although reference to this term should recognise that 'the open-ended nature of the qualitative research project leads to a perpetual resistance against attempts to impose a single, umbrella-like paradigm over the entire project' (Denzin & Lincoln 2000: xv). Thus, as Ritchie and Lewis point out, '[t]here are many forms of qualitative research, each shaped by different epistemological origins, philosophies about the nature of scientific inquiry and its outcomes and varying prescriptions for methodological rigour' (Ritchie and Lewis 2003: xiii). My rationale for adopting a qualitative approach stems from the belief that it is most appropriate for exploring complex and specific issues within the research setting and it allows me to 'place value on the human, interpretative aspects of knowing about the social world' (Ritchie and Lewis 2003: 7). Rather than seeking to tightly control the research variables, qualitative research is intrinsically open-ended and is designed 'to lead the researcher into unforeseen areas of discovery within the lives of the people she is investigating' (Holliday 2007:5).

While qualitative research is not always necessarily ethnographic, there is a strong link between the two traditions. Hammersley and Atkinson associate the growing popularity of ethnography in social research in part with 'the disillusionment with the quantitative methods that for long held the dominant position in most of the social sciences, and in most areas of applied social research' (Hammersley & Atkinson 1995: 1). Blommaert and Dong point out that ethnography has its origins in anthropology and thus 'the basic architecture of ethnography is one that already contains ontologies, methodologies and epistemologies that need to be situated within the larger tradition of

anthropology and do not necessarily fit the frameworks of other traditions (Blommaert and Dong 2010: 6). For this reason it may be more accurate to describe this study as one which makes use of an ethnographic approach rather than ethnography in the tradition of anthropology *per se*.

Ethnography was established by early anthropologists such as Cushing, Stevenson, Fletcher, Boas and Malinowski whose studies focused on specific groups of people usually living very separate lives from the researcher undertaking the study. This suggests a direct link to the Greek origin of the prefix 'ethnos' meaning 'folk people', 'tribes' or 'natives'.⁴⁰ Anthropology has moved beyond those early colonial portraits of 'the ambitious social scientist making off with tribal lore and giving nothing in return, imposing crude portraits on subtle peoples' to a point where ethnography is now, at the very least, recognised as 'enmeshed in a world of enduring and changing power inequalities' where 'its function within these relations is complex, often ambivalent, potentially counter-hegemonic' (Clifford & Marcus 1986: 9). Similar to the poststructuralist/Foucauldian readings of discourse presented in chapter 2.3, anthropology has similarly had to engage with a postmodern world and postmodern ethnography. Tyler makes this point clear: 'A post-modern ethnography is fragmentary because it cannot be otherwise. Life in the field is itself fragmentary, not at all organized around familiar ethnological categories such as kinship, economy and religion...' (1986: 131). Yet, this notion of fragmentary lives also impacted my position as a researcher as my data seemed to open up endless interpretations.

⁴⁰ This assumption regarding the linguistic derivation of ethnography with the prefix of *ethno* implying 'ethnic' is not necessarily universally held. For example, Tyler (1986: 122) argues that it should be understood as 'ethical.'

Thus, an intrinsic element of ethnography has now become a reflexive problematising of the approach itself. However (and as stated above), rather than seeing this as an obstacle, this is precisely one of the reasons why this approach is commensurate with the research methodology for this study as it stands in direct contrast to a positivist approach which is centred on the idea that objectivity is paramount (and possible). This letting go of the pretence of complete objectivity does not, however, mean that accountability and scientific rigour need to be sacrificed. Rather, scientific rigour should be achieved through the adherence to the practice of 'showing the workings' of how reality has been constructed by the researcher (Holliday 2007:42). An ethnographic approach also remains particularly relevant to this study due to the focus on both social life and its inductive and interpretive starting points which are frequently associated with ethnography. Blommaert and Dong clarify this point, writing that, '[e]thnography is an inductive science, that is: it works from empirical evidence towards theory, not the other way around. You follow the data, and the data suggest particular theoretical issues.' (Blommaert and Dong 2010: 12).

5.4 Participant Observation, Bracketing and Thick Description.

A further salient connection to an ethnographic approach is manifested through participant observation, which is important to the study despite the fact that it is often used ambiguously and remains a 'catch-all label' (Walcott 1999: 44; Hammersley and Atkinson 1995: 31). To a certain extent, the argument that we 'cannot study the social world without being a part of it' is a valid one which renders 'all social research as a form of participant observation' (Tedlock 2000: 465 citing Hammersley & Atkinson 1983). However, while the requirement of the researcher to spend significant time within the research environment is central to ethnography, a participant observer is not

seen as a neutral by-stander. Instead an ethnographic text is 'fashioned out of the researcher's engagement with the world studied' (Denzin & Lincoln 2000: 373) so that 'ethnographers' lives are embedded within their field experiences in such a way that all of their interactions involve moral choices' (Tedlock 2000: 455). My engagement with the research environment is further heightened by both my employment with the University and my direct connection to three of the areas of emergence which were introduced in chapter 4 and subsequently analysed in later chapters.

Although my relationship with the research environment is a complex one due to the fact that my duties as an employee have (partially) moved from the Language Centre to a relatively new area of the School (see 4.5), arguably this new setting is in some respects well known to me. For this reason it is crucial that I employ a number of key strategies including Schutz's phenomenological concept of bracketing (Schutz 1970: 316), where judgments are suspended and there is an attempt to approach the research environment as a stranger or by 'making the familiar strange' (Mills 1959). This includes questioning my own initial assumptions or preconceived notions which resonates with one of the primary aims of ethnographic fieldwork which is 'finding out things that are often not seen as important, but belong to the implicit structures of people's life' (Blommaert & Dong 2010: 3).

However, it is important to note that this might possibly suggest that I am interested in establishing an objective sense of neutrality or disengaged observation that could be described as a positivist or post-positivist epistemology. This is not my intention as throughout the work there is an on-going struggle with bias and my own position within the research and I remain an active participant throughout. I employ the notion of 'making the familiar strange' to recognise aspects of the institution and its social

fabric that I may have become desensitised to. In this respect, the mental shift from employee to researcher is crucial to understanding 'the daily activities which people habitually perform without consciously engaging their minds' (Marková et al. 2007: 17).

The concept of 'thick description' (Geertz 1973, Geertz 1983) also remains important for informing the research. Denzin and Lincoln acknowledge Geertz's major contribution to this method and his suggestion that 'all anthropological writings are interpretations of interpretations' where the observer has no privileged voice but the 'central task of theory is to make sense out of a local situation' (Denzin & Lincoln 2000; 15). One way that I will employ thick description is by including a broad spectrum of data including ethnographic observations of the institution and examining industry discourses in the form of policy documents to explore multiple perspectives and interrelated discourses (Walcott 1999: 48) and to continuously attempt to contextualise these within the specific research environment. I will also attempt to gain an understanding of how people approach the subject matter (intercultural communication, intercultural studies and the intercultural) from different perspectives and different locations within the University. In doing so, I am attempting to understand how they construct the University and their own place within it, what motivates people within the research environment and how they position themselves with respect to the emergence of the subject matter.

5.5 Ethical Considerations and Negotiating Access

While it may be tempting to think that researching at 'home' may help to avoid some of the ethical issues which have been associated with anthropology and its links to colonialist monographs of 'exotic tribes', ethical issues do not simply disappear when the ethnographic gaze is turned inwards. At a basic level, this research is embedded in a

setting which serves as my work 'home' thus leading to a potential and immediate danger of damaging relationships with colleagues. I will attend to this concern by approaching the study with intentions which are not based on any personal conflict or attempt to do damage to the institution or anyone within the institution where I am working.⁴¹ From a purely practical perspective, this is one reason why it is crucial that I conduct an intrinsically ethical study. However, this is neither to suggest that there cannot be elements of struggle and contestation over how intercultural communication and intercultural studies are being interpreted and applied within the research context nor to suggest that ethical issues fall into neat categories of right and wrong. However, adhering to ethical guidelines allows for a safer grounding of contestation and a reflexive stance to the overall process.

There are a host of professional organisations which offer guidelines and standards for conducting ethical research such as the British Association for Applied Linguistics, the British Educational Research Association, the Australian Association for Research in Education and the American Sociological Association. However, as Hanks argues, these codes can also potentially 'mask the contradictions and struggles of humans interacting in the social world' (Hanks 2013: 64). Thus, standards can at best serve as a guide (as opposed to a recipe that must be adhered to strictly). For this study, flexibility has been crucial throughout as I have needed to adapt the methodology in order to take account

⁴¹ It transpired that my study did not involve my most immediate colleagues who were located within the English language unit of the Language Centre. This was due to the fact that there was no significant emergence of intercultural communication, intercultural studies or use of 'intercultural' within this environment at the time of the study. The primary locations where emergence took place were within the wider School and University. However, there was an example of emergence which stemmed from the Foreign Language Teaching Unit of the Language Centre and this was considered in the study.

of new discoveries within a research environment which has continually evolved and this has forced me to take ethical considerations into account particularly with respect to possible power imbalances between the participants.

While ethical principles can be found throughout a wide range of literature, Creswell's table of ethical issues in qualitative research provides a useful synthesis which is aligned with the various stages of the research process and when these issues may arise (Creswell 2013: 58-59). These principles provide some guidance, but each one cannot simply be accepted without due consideration. For example, although I generally agree with the principle of not disturbing or damaging the research site, this brings up questions of semantics and, to a certain extent, suggests neutrality, which I do not see as entirely commensurate with my own stance. This is also complicated by my belief that the nature of research should be 'disruptive' in the sense that it allows the researcher to problematise processes and practices which have become naturalised, an approach which is captured well in what Rivers (2015) calls the 'resistance to the known'.

This example demonstrates that each ethical principle should be carefully considered as to its place within a specific study. Nevertheless, a number of the issues raised by Creswell are relevant to the study. Rather than simply reproduce this table verbatim with each of the various issues, I will list eight of the issues below which have been most pertinent to this study and have been taken from Creswell's table (2013: 58-59):

- Seek university approval on campus
- Disclose purpose of the study
- Do not pressure participants into signing consent forms
- Avoid deceiving participants
- Respect potential power imbalances and exploitation of participants

- Respect the privacy of participants
- Avoid disclosing information which would harm participants
- [Avoid] falsifying authorship, evidence, data, findings, conclusions

I have attended to these ethical concerns largely by following Creswell's suggestions regarding how to address each issue. Negotiating access to the research site was done via the University's Senior Research Ethics Administrator on 16 January 2012 and through Canterbury Christ Church's ethical clearance procedures (appendix 5.1). Prior to interviews with participants, I discussed the research project and provided an ethical consent form and allowed an opportunity for participants to raise concerns and questions or to withdraw from the interview process. All participation was done voluntarily. I also obtained permission from lecturers for each of the class observations and I chose to attend lectures where I believed that my presence would not be conceived of as in any way threatening or intrusive. Ethnographic observations, however, were on less stable ethical grounds. In order to attend to my doubts regarding whether the inclusion of ethnographic data was ethical, all social actors who were included in ethnographic observations within the workplace were anonymised so that the identity of those referred to could not be discovered. Ideally and in hindsight, I should have perhaps declared my identity as a researcher to all social actors I encountered. However, in a very large School this is very difficult and as this identity was not always revealed, I purposely minimised the use of ethnographic observations. In writing up my data, I also respected the privacy of participants through the use of fictitious names.

Finally, regarding the anonymity of the University and the participants, there has been an on-going concern that there is a degree of traceability within the research. However,

through utilising layers of anonymity, I would hope that even the most ardent detective would never be entirely sure of the identity of individual participants. Moreover, should this identity be discovered, the data attributed to that particular source should in no way cause the individual harm.

5.6 Entering the field and the Research Process

This section provides detail regarding the research process including the decisions taken over the course of the research and the rationale behind these choices. One of the initial motivations for starting this research study was to explore what I had previously understood to be a contrast between the relative absence of intercultural communication or intercultural studies within the University with the more widespread use of the subject matter in other universities. An early draft proposal for this research initially planned to complement the study at the University with participant observation at two other universities which had developed courses or modules in intercultural communication and intercultural studies and were making substantial references to the variants of the term. However, what changed during the early stages of the research was a shift from a relative absence to a considerable proliferation within the University, the speed of which I found surprising, and in some cases, almost alarming.⁴² Therefore, one of the first key decisions was to focus solely on the University as the location for the research.

While my research and involvement with some of the emergent areas may have served in some small ways as a catalyst for this proliferation, there were other areas within

⁴² There were two areas of subject matter emergence at the start of the research within the University. My initial plan was to focus primarily on the MA programme which was one of these areas of emergence.

both the School and the wider University that appeared during the course of the research to have discovered the term intercultural (or the perceived value of the term) and then began (rather rapidly) to invoke the term discursively and apply it to a variety of initiatives. In other words, the more I explored, the more I suddenly began to see and hear. There were initiatives that emerged apart from myself, and others which emerged with my involvement (but not entirely of my own volition). I found increasingly during the course of the study that despite a degree of reticence, I was beginning to be associated with, put crudely, 'things that are intercultural'. This proliferation allowed me to focus solely on my own research site of the School and the University, as the subject matter was undergoing a transition from a relative absence to an environment where there were complex examples of the emergence and institutionalisation that I wished to explore.

Although I negotiated access to the field early in my first year of the project, year one was predominantly spent tentatively entering and observing the research site and noting the changes (described above) which were occurring. In this first year, I undertook very little active data gathering which involved research participants, but I explored the history of the School by collecting University documents which made specific reference to the subject matter or pertained to the School's history. I also took photographic images of the University which were later considered as relevant data for the study. The investigation of the relevant history and transformation of the School in the first year of the study informed sections 4.4, 4.4.1 and 4.4.2 of the thesis and this investigation involved archival work which explored various documents such as management meeting notes, University *Reporter* articles and official documents such as the 'Draft Report of the Group on a School of Modern Languages and Area Studies'. I

saw this historical exploration as laying the groundwork for the collection of data which was to follow. I was motivated to explore aspects of the School's history as I believed that the work environment contributed to the social actors' (University staff and students) sense of institutional identity, but I also expected that social actors would draw on this identity in different ways. I was particularly interested in two aspects of the School's history. These were, firstly, the inclusion of the explicit mention of culture or cultures in the School's name and, secondly, the structural changes from departments to subject areas with a move to a more federal School structure. The motivation to explore the School's history also influenced my decision to include interview participants from category 2 (see 5.7.1 below).

The earliest data gathering involving research participants was a focus group on 31 May 2012 with a group of students who were on a Master's programme at the University ('The MA') or who had attended one of the programme's elective modules (appendix 1.4.3). Focus group participants were students who had specifically chosen to study on a module or programme which was directly related to the subject matter. Moreover, these students were classified as 'international students' by the University. This is important particularly because international students were the subject of numerous institutional discourses which were of relevance to this study. At the time of the focus group, the students had spent nearly a year of their lives in a new environment and were still in many respects processing their personal experiences of the University. I believe that this contributed to the participants' willingness and motivation to discuss the issues and questions raised in the group and to do so in such an animated fashion. Students were invited to take part in the focus group by an email invitation and students were not obliged to reply to the email invite.

The seven students who replied to the invitation and took part had been involved in an often intense year of personal transformation and they drew on the subject matter in different ways to help them make sense of their year within the University. This very real sense of the subject matter being encountered both as part of the participants' daily lives and as an academic subject within the University was important. I purposely chose questions which I hoped would illuminate the participants' motivation for studying the subject matter and would provide some insight into their daily lives studying within the University. One of the values of the focus group was that it allowed for a greater sense of dialogism which involved group dynamics, interaction and connections and it also allowed the students to challenge and contest discourses and beliefs about both the subject matter and 'international' students.

My first experience holding a focus group with students was a learning experience and I noted difficulty in striking a balance between the need for formality (ethical consent forms, recording devices, official invitations) and retaining a sense of spontaneity and informality that would be more conducive to creating an open environment for the focus group. While I struggled to separate my identity as the teacher of students participating in the focus groups, I also benefitted from the trust that I had built up over the academic year so that participants gave the impression of being very much at ease with the process of the focus group and felt able to express themselves openly. I largely tried to minimise my own presence during the focus group, but I did start by asking each of the questions to the group. Once the question had been posed, the participants then began to discuss these generally in a linear pattern of responses. However, there were times when the discussion became animated and in these instances responses

overlapped in a more conversational structure and a degree of excitement and laughter was evident.

My second group of interview participants were academics from other UK universities who I met on an 'Intercultural Course Design and Teaching Day' held at the School of Education, Durham University on Wednesday 27 June, 2012. I contacted five academics from this group and conducted individual interviews with them by Skype or telephone. These contacts were helpful in enabling me to explore areas of emergence in other British universities and to begin to compare notes with the types of institutionalisation that I was beginning to observe at the University. Following this, the majority of data was collected over the course of year two and year three of the study, roughly spanning between January 2013 and April 2014.

Although there was some overlap with data collection that was more tangential to the study, the majority of the data collected between year two and three of the study focused directly on the University and School and had an explicit connection to the emergence and institutionalisation of the subject matter. This included data from interview participants who were academic staff and were tasked with teaching, promoting or being involved in some capacity with the subject matter. This also entailed the continuation of data collection in written documents and the use of class observations. I will describe below the data collection practices largely undertaken during this time.

5.7 Data Collection

The data collection for this study relied on six principle categories: interviews, class observations, documents, marketing material, ethnographic observations (or critical incidents) and recorded field notes. I explain the relevance of each to the study below.

5.7.1 Focus Group and Interview Participants

Although I follow Walcott in drawing a distinction between participant observation (or ‘experiencing’) and interviewing (Walcott 1999: 44), there was a very close connection between my selection of interview participants and what I was observing within the research environment. Interview participants were largely chosen on the basis that they were in some way connected to or encountered an area of intercultural emergence within the research environment. While interviews were initially planned as a primary tool for data collection, it was necessary to remain mindful of the fact that there are many cautionary tales which demonstrate that overreliance on interviews or the wrong approach to interviews can be counterproductive to the research project. This can be seen in Blommaert and Dong’s statement which is influenced by an earlier statement from Hymes (1981:84):

Ethnographic fieldwork is aimed at finding out things that are often not seen as important but belong to the implicit structures of people’s life. Asking is indeed very often the worst possible way of trying to find out. (Blommaert and Dong 2010: 3).

In this study I took the approach that the interviews should not be considered as ‘neutral tools of data gathering but active interactions between two (or more) people leading to negotiated, contextually based results’ (Fontana & Frey 2000: 646).⁴³ This point is also salient with respect to the relationship between the interviewer and the respondent as Fontana & Frey suggest that ‘there exists, a hierarchical relation, with the respondent being in the subordinate position’ (Fontana & Frey 2000: 658). This potential dynamic was largely limited to interviews with students either conducted

⁴³ The degree to which data was ‘negotiated’ was limited and this point is taken up later in this section.

individually or in focus groups. To help attend to this possibility, I deliberately scheduled my focus group and subsequent interviews with students at the latest possible point in their stay at the University when I was technically no longer their teacher or responsible for assessing their work. However, the hierarchical relation between interviewee and interviewer in this study may have more frequently been an inverse one with respect to my interviews with academics in the research setting. This is because many had an established position within the School or University and would have possibly seen me in a less important position as an 'academic-related' member of staff. The dynamic with interviewees was also affected by my relationship with the participants, as there were varying degrees of closeness that I had established with each participant prior to my decision to start a research degree.⁴⁴

I was aware of the need to balance an organic open-ended approach to my interviews while also assuring that the relevant topics were covered. With this in mind, the interviews were all semi-structured or open-ended allowing for space, narrative accounts and anecdotes recognising that 'anecdotes are the raw diamonds in fieldwork interviews' (Blommaert and Dong 2010: 52). Holliday's notion of the need to 'interrogate established scripts about culture, to uncover alternative, tacit understandings, to address creatively the subjectivities of the interviews, and to "dig deep"' was a desired aim for each interview (Holliday 2012: 504).

While the majority of interviewees were largely selected for their connection to one of the six areas of emergence, interview participants in category 2 were selected for their historical knowledge of the School. Table 3 below shows the various interview categories below from 'staff encountering areas of emergence', to 'staff with historical

⁴⁴ This includes marriage to one academic.

knowledge of the School and University’, ‘academics from other universities connected to the subject matter’ and ‘students.’ Interviews in categories 2 and 3 were viewed as somewhat peripheral to the study, but they were still considered to be important as they helped me to understand the research environment more fully (category 2) and helped me to understand the landscape at other universities in UK Higher Education more generally(category 3). Data from category 4 helped to reconcile some of the tensions emerging from the data and provided additional perspectives and thick description (category 4). The majority of the interviews were with academic staff in the School who were encountering the subject matter (category 1 above).

Interview Categories	1	2	3	4
	Staff encountering the subject matter	Staff with specific historical knowledge of the School and University	Academics from other UK/Irish Universities connected to the subject matter	Students (Including a focus group)
Number of interviews	(15)	(4)	(7)	(4)

Table 3: Interview Categories

As mentioned above, my rationale for selecting each participant took into account their own unique perspective and position and interviewees were not asked identical questions. There were, however, large areas of similarity when I was conducting interviews within the same category. For example, academics in category 1 (The MA) were largely asked identical questions, but each interview was then allowed to follow

its own individual trajectory. In this respect, I interviewed informants in relation to their position within the institution and in relation to each of the above areas of emergence or interview categories shown in table 3. Thus, while interviews had similarities, they did not follow a set pattern and can be best described as semi-structured. This approach also affected how data was analysed in that while there were repeat questions across a number of the interviews, the methodology did not allow for a like-for-like analysis of answers for each question as might be seen in a survey or questionnaire. This meant that data is not reported in the preceding chapters via statistical analysis of answers across all participants. Rather, interpreting the data required a greater degree of engagement with each of the participants' responses and this was a considerable struggle.

With regard to the term 'participants' and those who agreed to be interviewed, it is worth mentioning that no one ever refused an interview request. I was truly impressed by how willing people were to give their time for interviews. However, in identifying these people through use of the term 'participants', I am aware that this term can be misleading by overstating the degree of collaboration or suggesting co-authorship (Holliday 2007: 151 citing Jenkins 1986: 223-226). While the interviews often took the shape of a conversation, the data used from those interviews was my own interpretation and not the result of joint authorship. Thus, the term participant should not be taken to mean more than someone who kindly gave up some of their valuable time, agreed to be interviewed and gave their own personal perspective.⁴⁵ It is this personal perspective which I believe justifies the terms 'co-constructed' and 'participants', but these should be seen as distinct from 'co-author.'

⁴⁵ I use this term interspersed with 'informant' in preference to a term such as 'subject'.

5.7.2 Class Observations

Class observations were affected by both opportunities for access and the need to establish what I was planning to observe within the class. With respect to accessibility, classes connected to 'The MA' afforded the greatest opportunity for observations. While I have used the generic term 'class' above, these lessons were more typically lectures and seminars. Moreover, these were not observations across an entire spectrum of possible modules available on the MA programme, but focused on one 'core' module on the MA programme titled 'Skills and Issues in Intercultural Studies.' The module was divided into the two main strands as noted in the title ('skills' and 'issues'). The 'issues' strand was designed to cover concepts such as Orientalism, identity and hybridity relating to the intercultural 'studies' aspect of the module. The second strand, which I taught, was designed with 'skills' in mind or with content that may have been considered to be subsumed within the category of intercultural communication. However, this separation was largely an artificial one and as this became apparent over the history of the module there was much less emphasis on the separation and more effort at establishing connections between the two.

This module was seen as relevant to the study for a number of reasons. Firstly, it was a module in which the concept of intercultural studies was meant to serve as an overarching theoretical concept for the wider programme. Secondly, it drew on a diverse range of lecturers largely from within the School for contributions in the form of lectures to the 'issues' strand. Thus, this larger strand of the module was organised in what is sometimes referred to as a 'carousel' format where a different lecturer appeared each week to cover a different theme. These lecturers, in almost all cases, had no direct connection to, or possibly even interest in, intercultural studies. However, they were

selected for their research or knowledge of a particular area, theme or concept which seemed (from the standpoint of the module coordinator) to have relevance to the module. The lecturers were invited (or sometimes coaxed) to make contributions to the module and this was potentially challenging as it had the potential to conflict with their work which was based on a workload model directly connected to their particular subject area which did not include 'The MA'. The most important point is that it produced an encounter with the subject matter (intercultural studies) and this was a relatively new experience for some of the contributors.

Once I identified this module as one which I wanted to observe, I needed to consider carefully what it was that I was observing within the lecture or seminar. Given the fact that this was not a language class, I did not want to focus on features such as the physical layout of the room, the teaching methods, or the interaction patterns of students. I was more interested in how the lecturers were framing key terms such as culture and how lecturers were making (or were not making) connections to the overall theme of the module (intercultural studies). This was particularly relevant given that the lecturers largely had no explicit association with intercultural studies or intercultural communication, but were chosen on the basis of a combination of practical considerations (availability and willingness to contribute) and belief that their research interests had potential connections which could be made to intercultural studies. In other words, I was exploring which particular concepts were of relevance to how they constructed their particular research area and whether these concepts might have a link to intercultural studies or intercultural communication. I was also interested in how explicitly these lecturers made connections to intercultural studies or intercultural communication in their lectures.

While the majority of my class observations focused on the MA lecturers or seminars, I also observed two pilot intercultural communication lessons (emergence 5). This pilot module was held to test both the potential demand for an undergraduate module in intercultural communication and to trial a draft syllabus. Unlike the MA module observations, this was an area of emergence which I was not directly involved in. This observation differed in the respect that I allowed for a broader perspective because I had less knowledge about the pilot and less of a clear idea about what I wanted to observe and thus I approached the observation with a greater exploratory sense. However, like the above observations on the MA module, I was more interested in the content of the module and the framing of key concepts as opposed to teaching methods or approaches. In addition to the class observations, I was also interested in how the module was communicated to the potential students and one way in which this was done was through the production of university documents in the form of advertisements for the pilot. This is one example of the type of document which fell into my next category of data collection.

5.7.3 Written Documents and Records

There are a number of terms which are used to draw distinctions within the larger category of material culture or what Hodder terms as 'mute evidence' (Hodder 2000: 703). For example, Lincoln and Guba make distinctions between 'documents' and 'records', by separating the two categories in terms of both formality and purpose, with documents said to be more personal in nature and records being regarded as more official (Hodder 2000: 703, citing Lincoln & Guba 1985:277). If one adheres to this distinction, then the data for this study largely falls within the 'records' category primarily and technically because the majority is official in nature and produced by the

University or School in its official capacity. Put in Hodder's slightly more sinister terminology, the records are the result of 'full state technology of power' (Hodder 2000: 703). However, this data corpus also contains written texts that can be considered as somewhat personal in nature such as email communication which is treated as anonymised data. Thus, I have not adhered strictly to Hodder's above distinction and I consider this data category as 'written documents and records'.

I largely underestimated the value of this category of data at the start of the research and the range of different types of documents which I collected grew significantly throughout the study. Written records and documentations became increasingly important to the study for a number of reasons including their enduring nature and potential for providing historical insight (Hodder 2000: 704). The range of accessible University and School documentation was wide and included examples such as official policy documents, emails, extracts from blogs, official reports, School and University communications, and national subject benchmark statements. In each case, it was important to try to first establish the possible relevance of the documentation to the study and then to analyse who produced the document, for which particular audience and for what purpose. Some of the documents produced, particularly by the University and School, were the result of considerable deliberation over the official message which was being publically conveyed and the documents served as an expression of discourse which shifted in relation to the specific audience and purpose.

It should also be noted that within the collection of 63 University documents, many were of substantial length covering multiple pages. This was particularly the case with large strategy documents or official minutes from committee minutes. Thus, most of these documents were too lengthy to be placed into an appendix in their entirety.

Moreover, reproducing many of the documents, despite being public-facing, would compromise the anonymity of the University and raise ethical issues. Some shorter documents, which could be reproduced without a risk to loss of anonymity, have been included as a sample. Lengthier documents have not been reproduced in the appendices, but have been included in my overview of written documents (Appendix 3.1) which offers a brief comment and explanation of each documents' relevance to the study.

5.7.4 Marketing Materials

The category of marketing materials overlaps to some degree with written documents and records. However, these materials were specifically produced to primarily attract students to the University and/or School and in most cases I focused my attention on materials which involved a social construction of culture. Marketing materials were manifested in a number of forms ranging from videos and visual images produced about the University and School, brochures and signage throughout the research space and I was also surprised by the extent to which I found this category of data to be significant.

5.7.5 Observations, Critical Incidents and Field Notes

I see deliberations regarding whether 'observations', 'critical incidents' and 'field notes' fall into one category or spill over into several categories as less important than an acknowledgment of the close connection between the three above sources of data. Each is closely linked with participant observation and thick description (as discussed in section 5.4) and each stemmed from my involvement in the research environment. Participant observation allowed me to make both general observations of occurrences within the environment which were significant and to note other occurrences which could loosely be defined as a critical incident. Critical incidents went beyond an

observation of a daily occurrence and were events which suggested greater potential for significance and resonance. This is not to render daily practices as insignificant, but that a critical incident had the potential to highlight discrepancies and how assumptions which were taken for granted were suddenly problematic. These incidents resonated or 'struck a nerve' with a significant group of social actors including myself.

Field notes, on the other hand, became a slightly 'messy' and 'stacatto' method for recording my observations. At times, my field notes seemed to generate a momentum of their own with multiple entries within a single day while, at other times, they lay dormant. I attribute this primarily to both the significant length of time spent within the research setting and the difficulty in separating my University identity as an employee with my identity as a researcher while trying to operate within the phenomenological concept of bracketing.

While the concepts of bracketing and 'making the familiar strange' (see section 5.4 above) are important to qualitative ethnographic study, these concepts were not ones that I could glibly claim to have easily attended to. The constant demands of the University on me as an employee were in some respects diametrically opposed to the phenomenological framework which I needed as a researcher. This resulted in a dialectical struggle that in some respects took on a life of its own. At times, it seemed as if the University employee identity denied the necessary research perspective while at other times I was able to make the necessary mental shift. However, it was clear that overall the research allowed me to adopt a different perspective towards the University and to step back from the daily practices within the School and University. This did not mean that I ceased all activity as an employee, but that the critical distance which I needed as a participant observer was one that was ultimately very useful to sustaining

my work within the research environment. This sense of stepping back also allowed me to see the University and subject matter in a different light.

5.8 Data Analysis: Coding and Themes

My process of data analysis was undertaken in two relatively distinct timeframes with the first period being the notation of themes which were emerging during the data collection process. I found that as the data collection process itself unfolded, it informed subsequent decisions regarding data collection. This initial phase of noting possible themes differed from the more systematic analysis of the data which began in March 2014. Although I had not formally completed the data collection process, I believed by then that the quantity and quality of data which I had collected was sufficient for identifying emergent themes.

The first data corpus to be considered was my set of field notes which at the time consisted of approximately 15,000 words of raw data and included empirical data from the research setting. While a number of entries in the field notes were deemed to be largely insignificant after coding the data, thirty-six entries were considered to be suggestive of nine broad themes that could tentatively be considered. Some of these themes (i.e. 'naming') were ones that I had become aware of during the initial data collection phase and it was also clear that there were themes which overlapped substantially and needed greater clarification. These nine large themes were then tentatively arranged into the three following working groups:⁴⁶

- Group 1: Small Cultures; Disciplines and Structures; Teacher/Researcher Beliefs; Teacher/Research Identity; Naming;

⁴⁶ There were also a number of sub-themes within each of these three groups.

- Group 2: Globalisation; Internationalisation; Discursive constructions of students and staff
- Group 3: Institutionalisation; Marketisation; Employability

These groups were not considered as final, but were placed to one side so that other data could be analysed and to allow for thick description and the emergence of additional themes. What can be noticed from this first analysis is the initial emergence of what I later label as the University's discourses which are introduced briefly in section 5.9. The next data corpus to be analysed and coded was interview transcriptions and a more systematic analysis of this data also began in March 2014. This helped to prompt a decision to end the interview process during the same month primarily because the sheer quantity of data that I had amassed was already unwieldy. This can be seen in the overall word count of over 92,000 words of raw interview data. One interview was subsequently conducted after this date. Given the extent of the interview data, I provide a sample of transcribed interviews in appendix 1.3 as opposed to including each individual interview transcription in the appendix.

The initial analysis in March allowed me to tentatively identify which data I judged to be of greatest relevance. I analysed the interview data to further establish emerging themes. I elected not to use special software programmes such as N-vivo for this analysis, but instead read through the data and used a colour coding system which eventually resulted in physical cuttings of extracts of data placed into categories and arranged in a spare room within my home. I expected there to be substantial overlap between the themes emerging from the field notes and those emerging from the interviews, particularly given that some of the field note entries were comments on

particular aspects of the interviews, but I was cautious against forcing data into previously existing categories because I believed that other previously unidentified themes would emerge from what I considered to be a much richer data corpus. A total of 30 themes emerged from the analysis of this interview data and these were then further analysed and grouped into four large categories which contained a number of overlapping and sub-themes. In addition to the four large categories, there were eight additional miscellaneous themes which were relevant to the study, but could not be closely linked to a larger category. This initial grouping can be seen in appendix 2.2. In establishing the main themes I also noted the frequency of occurrence during the interviews (appendix 2.2). The rationale behind this was not to work towards some ultimate proof based on a high frequency of a particular theme, but to allow for some degree of comparison of data. I was also cautious with regard to attributing too much significance to a theme's frequency because I was aware that some of the themes could have emerged from questions that may have been considered as 'leading' ones. Thus, ultimately I was much more interested in what the participants were saying than how many references the various interviewees made to specific themes. The emergent themes from the interview data were then cross-referenced with those which had emerged from the field notes. This allowed for the initial shape of the data chapters to begin to evolve. Finally, I also wanted to be attentive to the fact that not all significant interview data could or should be 'shoe-horned' into a specific theme and that I needed to be attuned to anomalous data. In attempting to achieve this, I retained some interview data which resisted classification.

Having conducted an initial analysis of data from field notes and documents, I then shifted my attention to written documents and records in late March and early April 2014. I analysed and categorised 63 documents which were specifically related to or

produced within the research setting (appendix 3.1). The document typology was wide ranging and included (as mentioned in section 5.7.3) marketing material, strategy communiqués involving the University curriculum, emails, descriptions of modules, programmes or initiatives. A large majority of these documents were originally from electronic sources but were printed for ease of access. However, an additional nine electronic documents were left in the original electronic format as they involved a network of data which was not easily reduced to printed material. The analysis of this data highlighted a distinction between this particular corpus and the interview and field notes corpora. Whereas the interviews and field notes largely captured events and opinions regarding University staff and the concomitant subjectivity and positioning of these 'social actors', the data from the written records which emanated from official University channels was useful in establishing key discourses particularly around University values and captured a sense of institutional power similar to Hodder's distinctions referred to in section 5.7.3.

The transition from the point of having collected and analysed data to a clear thematic presentation of data in the proceeding data chapters was not an easy process. Further consideration of the data helped me formulate an overall shape to the data chapters which I fully expected to evolve throughout the writing process. The shape of data chapters can be seen below and the format for the presentation has been guided by a similar format as seen in Anderson (2002: 159):

Chapter	Large Themes	Detailed Themes	Analysis
Chapter 6: The Paradox of Institutionalisation	<p>The Neoliberal Environment as seen in the Discourses</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ Marketisation ➤ Employability and Broadening ➤ Internationalisation ➤ Globalisation <p>The relationship between the subject matter and the discourses is key.</p> <p>The institution creates space but frames the subject matter through an essentialist paradigm.</p>	<p>Commercialisation of the Environment</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ Excellence and overstatement ➤ Strategic vagueness ➤ Jargon ➤ Marketing Language vs 'Elite Language' <p>Selling the Intercultural</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ Marketisation and Student Recruitment ➤ Student Choice and Marketisation ➤ The Market Potential ➤ The Employability Potential <p>Globalisation and Internationalisation as Leverage</p> <p>The University Paradigm of Globalisation</p> <p>Facilitating the Institutionalisation</p> <p>Constructing Internationalisation</p>	<p>'Interculturality from Above'</p> <p>The subject matter is a mechanism for serving the University's discourses</p> <p>Perpetuating Essentialism</p> <p>Hegemonic Interculturalism</p>
Chapter 7: Instrumentality, Daily Exigencies and Paradigmatic Tension	<p>Social Actors Encountering the Emergence and Institutionalisation of the Subject Matter</p> <p>Ethnographic Observations</p>	<p>Instrumentality and 'Ticking Boxes'</p> <p>Paradigmatic Tensions</p> <p>The Daily Exigencies of the University</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ The Library ➤ The Brochure ➤ The Newsletter 	<p>Instrumentality is prevalent but should also be nuanced.</p> <p>The institutionalisation of the subject matter can provoke tensions which at times can include paradigmatic differences.</p> <p>Tensions can exist over the language of the University</p>
Chapter 8: Encountering the Subject Matter: Disjunctures and Uneven Receptions	<p>Forms of Positioning in relation to the Subject Matter</p> <p>The Heterogeneity of the School and Small Cultures</p>	<p>Social Actors within the School</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ Bureaucratic Toil ➤ Attachment to Subject Area ➤ 'Othering' <p>Encountering the Emergence</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ 'Do we have anyone who does it?' ➤ Breadth vs. Depth ➤ Attachments ➤ Quiet Resistance and 	<p>Very uneven reception</p> <p>Market value vs. Theoretical value</p> <p>Interculturality from Above (Imposed)</p> <p>Disciplinary contradictions</p>

		<p>Lip Service</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ Criticality and Seeking Clarity ➤ Perceptions of an Appropriate Use ➤ Strategic Essentialism and Tainted Terms ➤ 'Pushing Buttons' ➤ An irrelevant academic concept? 	
Chapter 9: Interculturality from Below: Contesting Discourses through Criticality, Creativity and Autonomy	Criticality, Creativity and Autonomy	<p>Perceived theoretical weakness of the subject matter</p> <p>Credibility of the subject matter</p> <p>Disciplinary contradictions</p> <p>The Sleight of Hand</p> <p>Critical and Productive Uses of the Subject Matter</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ Discursive constructions of students ➤ Student and Staff criticism of the discursive construction of students ➤ Student and Staff Criticality, Creativity, Autonomy and Humour ➤ Student criticality of essentialist uses of the subject matter 	<p>'Interculturality from below.'</p> <p>Counter discourses</p> <p>Acknowledging complexity</p>

Table 4: Emergent Categories, Themes and Initial Analysis

While class observations were not given as much weight and consideration to establishing emerging themes, they were helpful nonetheless for aiding my understanding of the research environment. Some particular incidents from class observations were commented on within the field notes and these incidents informed themes or sub-themes such as marketisation. Additionally, as many of the lecturers whose lectures I observed were also interviewed, data from the interviews was largely deemed to be more significant than observations in the lectures.

5.9 Introduction to the Four Discourses

Having introduced the shape of the following data chapters, this section briefly introduces four prominent University discourses (Employability/Broadening, Internationalisation, Globalisation, Marketisation) which have emerged from the data and have direct relevance for the subject matter.⁴⁷ I have chosen to introduce these discourses at this point because they are crucial to the following data chapters, but I note that these emerged from the data and were not apparent to me until the fieldwork allowed me to gain a broader perspective through the sense of ‘making the familiar strange’. This allowed the discourses to emerge more clearly through the data corpus. As I began to see the importance of the discourses to the institutionalisation of the subject matter, I needed to attempt to understand the relationship and interplay between the two. I believe that this is also crucial to understanding how individual social actors navigate these discourses in different ways. It is also important to note the challenge and difficulty I faced with attempting to distinguish between emergent themes and the University discourses.

While I have previously discussed my use of the concept of discourse in chapter 2.3, I use discourse here to stress the notion of discourse as a *practice*, emphasising those practices which run through the University and School. This takes account of Ball’s assertion that ‘the sinews of power are embedded in mundane practices and in social relationships’ (Ball 2013a: 6). I also recognise that the four discourses are in themselves complex and may be seen by some as not fitting properly within the concept of discourse but more simply as ‘processes’, ‘trends’ or ‘buzz words’. For example, globalisation is an intricate and highly politicised notion provoking a variety of

⁴⁷ University discourses are not limited to these four and ‘impact’ is another example of a prominent discourse.

ontological stances regarding its nature. It is considered by some as a benign economic phenomenon or as a social process which is an inevitable characteristic of contemporary societies, or more critically, as ‘an ideological construct devised to satisfy capitalism’s need for new markets and labour sources and propelled by the uncritical “sycophancy” of the international academic business community’ (Steingard & Fitzgibbons 1995).

However, for the purposes of this study globalisation, internationalisation, employability/broadening and marketisation emerged in a form which I consider to be discourses, and as discourses which are not disinterested, but which are manifested within the University through practices, policies and through the way in which knowledge is constructed. Although the data analysis will heuristically explore themes which emerged from individual discourses or pairs of discourses, this link of theme to discourse should be not be seen as necessarily fixed particularly as each of the individual discourses should not be considered as separate, but as mutually constitutive. Thus, due to the interrelated nature of the discourses, particular themes in chapter 6 are loosely linked to a particular discourse or a particular pair of discourses but are not necessarily connected in an exclusive manner and may also have relevance to one or more of the other four discourses.

5.10 Limitations

I am eschewing the tradition of including the limitations of the research in the final chapter in an attempt to avoid negating the impact of the research findings.

Nonetheless, limitations to the study should be noted. This study focuses primarily on one part (The School) of one large institution (The University), but it represents only a tiny sliver of what transpires within the University on any given day. The investigation

is also limited to a subject matter which is one small (problematic) part of a vast University curriculum. Thus, while I would expect this study to resonate with people making use of the subject matter and working within other universities, I cannot make any large claims of generalisability including generalisability across the University as a whole. This is an aspect which I would like to stress particularly with respect to colleagues within the School who undoubtedly take a critical approach to their research and teaching which falls under a range of subject areas (postcolonial studies and cultural studies) and geographical locations. This study does not claim to represent the social actors (or their work) within the School who did not encounter the subject matter in one of its forms of emergence. While some findings touch on the general University environment, its primary claims relate specifically to how and why the subject matter is emerging within the University and School.

The issue of bias is also important. I have tried to limit my own biased position within the research through the concept of bracketing, but the separation between my role as a member of staff within the University and that of researcher has been difficult. I recognise that my staff role offers a particular window into the operations of the University, particularly through my involvement with admission processes which may affect the aspects of the University operations I see most frequently.

In terms of the data collected, Levi-Strauss's (1962) concept of 'bricolage' is particularly relevant as I draw on multiple sources of data from a very messy environment which I then subsequently attempt to form into a neat account which is comprehensible to the reader. Data gathered from research participants may have been approached in an overly complex way where I avoided using identical questions for each participant in favour of semi-structured interviews which were unique, sprawling and difficult to

analyse. Identical interview questions would have resulted in a 'cleaner' data set, but I believe this may have impeded the interview participant through a lack of recognition of their specific context. I also consider the interview data to fall into the category of 'soft data' which is full of opinions, interpretations, contradictions and uncertainties. I recognise that for every example I choose, there may well be counter-examples which could be found and whatever neatness I achieve in the writing may well belie the complexity and the inexactitude of the environment.

I concur with Piller's concern that intercultural communication is not something which 'can be grasped, pinned down and examined at leisure from all angles in some sort of detached and omniscient fashion' (2011:174). At times this research risks falling into this trap, but I believe this is mitigated by retaining a focus on how intercultural communication and its variants are instrumentalised within the University. In this sense, the use of the subject matter becomes a part of social action itself. Finally, this exploration of how the intercultural is mobilised within a UK University also goes some way towards explaining a predominantly anglocentric research focus.

5.11 Conclusion

This chapter has established the rationale for the methodology of the study and the theoretical alignment which has informed my working practices. It has explained the data collection process, given information regarding the research participants and explained how the data was coded to establish a thematic structure which shapes the subsequent data chapters. It has also identified four University discourses (globalisation, internationalisation, marketing and employability/broadening) which have emerged from the data and are important to the study and to the analysis of data in the following chapters. Although the discourses have been given distinct labels, they

should be seen as mutually constitutive. I have also chosen to include the limitations of the research within this chapter. This thesis now turns to a consideration of the data in the following three chapters.

Chapter 6: The Paradox of Institutionalisation

Educational sites are subject to discourse but are also centrally involved in the propagation and selective dissemination of discourses, the “social appropriation” of discourses. (Ball 1990:3)

6.1 Introduction to the Research Findings

This study now moves to consider the research data and begins by presenting data which sets the scene of the University environment and its commercial imperatives. It then explores themes which have emerged from data which demonstrates the prominence of four University discourses (marketisation, employability/broadening, globalisation, internationalisation) briefly introduced in chapter 5. These discourses are best seen as interrelated and mutually constitutive and are crucial to the study as data suggests that they have a palpable impact on the subject matter where the variant forms of the intercultural are assimilated into these discourses or are used to serve them. While these discourses are readily apparent throughout the University environment, the purpose here is not to specifically debate their perceived virtues or drawbacks, but to examine how this environment affects the emergence and institutionalisation of the subject matter. The important factor to retain is the relational aspect between the values of the University and how this affects the institutionalisation of the subject matter.

6.2 Setting the Scene: Commercialisation of the Environment

Ethnographic observations of the University illustrate an increasingly corporate environment which places a pervasive emphasis on commercialisation practices which serve to recruit new students and remind existing students of the value of the

University. The language and the trajectory of the University becomes apparent in its physical spaces where the construction of a new parking lot is communicated as ‘investing in the student experience’ and increasing commercial presence can be seen in, for example, a corporate coffee franchise occupying a prominent place in a newly built library. Commercialisation is apparent in persistent advertising and promotion of the institution strategically placed throughout the campus. This section introduces visual data which, although not directly connected to the subject matter, helps to ‘set the scene’ of a commercialised environment. Figures 4 and 5 below illustrate examples of this commercialisation in the form of large banners which have been placed strategically throughout the University.



Figures 4 and 5: ‘Making a World of Difference’

What is particularly salient in these examples and in other banners placed across the

University is the emphasis on the individual achievements of the University's graduates. These examples can range from starring in Hollywood films to climbing Mt. Everest. The links between the University's contribution to the achievements in some cases can be described as tenuous as in the case of a well-known comedian who studied for a year and then left the University but features on one of the University banners. While it is not my purpose to detract from the considerable achievements of the University's alumni, these banners set a tone for the environment which signifies a value on individual achievement and they serve as a constant reminder of the 'value' of the University. The consistent language use of gerund phrases (e.g. 'Scaling the heights') further emphasises a tone of achievement and productive activity. The banners also highlight the notoriety or fame of University alumni in a way not entirely dissimilar to celebrity endorsement of products in advertising campaigns. The commercialisation of the environment is also not limited to the immediate surrounding campus. Figure 3 below illustrates an advertisement for another university which uses a similar banner within a city centre.



Figure 6: 'Personal Tutor Ranked 1st in the UK

In the photograph in figure 6, this university markets itself through reference to a ranking system for personal tutors. That such a ranking system exists may be surprising, but it is indicative of a burgeoning practice of ranking various aspects of university life from 'the student experience' to 'personal tutors'. This particular ranking of personal tutors is attributed to the International Student Barometer which is discussed further in section 6.6.2. Whether the photograph is also designed to be representative of an 'international student' is debatable. Although I hesitate to include visual data from another university, I have included this to illustrate that the commercialisation of the environment is not limited to the University at the focus of this study and that this trend is to some extent generalisable. Commercialisation is not only perceptible within the physical environment of the University, but is also apparent within the University's virtual environment and language.

6.2.1 Setting the Scene: Commercialisation of Language, Marketing Loops and Jargon

Commercialisation of language can be seen in attempts to sell the University to potential 'customers' or to market the value of the University. While the University's self-promotion and marketing campaigns are obvious locations for commercialisation, these can also underpin changes to the University curriculum. One example is the 'Curriculum Enhancement Project' (CEP) which has introduced 'broadening' into the curriculum and has been heavily promoted and marketed through the University's website. The webpage features the following short text which, although quite brief, will be analysed from different vantage points:

The University's curriculum is already good. Building on strengths, the new (University name) Curriculum aims to make us even better. Working in partnership with staff, students and employers to ensure the academic excellence and contemporary relevance of our undergraduate programmes; leading to graduates who are capable of articulating the benefits of a (University name) research-based education and understand how this prepares them to compete successfully in the employment market.

(Document 16a: Appendix * University Student Education Webpage)

The prominence of the discourse of employability is evident within this statement which is permeated with overstatement, an emphasis on the need to compete and the ubiquitous use of the word 'excellence'. The reminder to students that they will soon be competing in the employment market is congruent with the visual images in figures 1-3. Regarding the term excellence, it is frequently used by the University to describe various activities from excellence in 'Green Impact' to excellence in research and teaching as seen below in figure 7 (page 164).

Excellence in research and teaching



We are one of the UK's leading centres for international-quality languages and cultures research and teaching. The School belongs to the Faculty of Arts, which was recently ranked in the top 50 in the world by the QS world university rankings.

Figure 7: Excellence in research and teaching


The CEP text above (page 163) prompts University graduates to continue articulating the value of the University to future employers thus creating what could be described as a marketing loop. In other words, the new curriculum is part of the University's own campaign to market itself, but as graduates become alumni, they also need to be prepared to continue to extol the virtues of the University. In this example, students are semantically positioned as future marketing agents for the University and, as seen above, are reminded of the achievements of former students through commercial promotions and images. In this respect marketisation is not limited to the promotion and selling of the University, but it is a multifaceted regime in which students must begin to market themselves in relation to employability from the earliest possible moment. This can also be seen in figure 8 (document 28) below which advertises one of the training sessions available to students.

“HOW TO MARKET YOURSELF TO EMPLOYERS”

Workshop session with international recruitment agency PageGroup that will also provide advice on developing a great LinkedIn page.

All year groups welcome.

Free tea and cake!



Tuesday 25th March 1-2:30pm (those with 2pm sessions can leave early)


PageGroup 

Figure 8: How to Market Yourself to Employers (Document 28: Appendix 3.2.9)

A further example of the pervasiveness of market-influenced language can be seen in the prevalence of jargon. This is illustrated below in a short excerpt of a document from the Taught Student Education Board (Document 31):

TSEB Strategic Priorities 2013/14

1. To develop a distinctive programme portfolio which:
 - a. is responsive to market needs;
 - b. embeds the aims and outcomes of the Curriculum Enhancement Project in all undergraduate taught programmes; and
 - c. embeds the Blended Learning Strategy across all taught programmes
2. To encourage full engagement with the Teaching Enhancement Scheme.

3. To enhance all aspects of the student experience through engagement with alumni and external partners wherever appropriate, and particularly in:
- d. embedding the employability strategy for all students;
 - e. internationalising the taught student experience

(Document 31: Taught Student Education Board Priorities)

Within this document of just over 100 words, there is an array of language such as ‘enhanced’, ‘distinctive’, ‘responsive to market needs’, ‘blended’, ‘full engagement’, ‘quality’, ‘inspire’ and ‘student experience’ which arguably could be described as hollow or empty and consistent with the language of marketisation. What is potentially alarming in the prevalence of marketing jargon is that it has the potential to increasingly become the norm for the University and that language which is not consistent with it can be seen as inappropriate. This will be explored in section 6.4.

6.2.2 Setting the Scene: The Constraining Power of Discourse

The power of the University’s discourse is that it appears to be irrational to argue against it or to question its prevalence or intensity. For example, it would appear counter-intuitive to oppose the statement below from the University’s promotional video⁴⁸ where one of the University’s pro-vice chancellors emphasises the importance of the new curriculum and employability in a short interview:

There’s an increased emphasis on employability and I’m keen to be confident that all of our students, regardless of what degree programme they are doing, are

⁴⁸ This promotional video discusses the Curriculum Enhancement Project as a whole and is distinct from a further video introduced in section 8.4.3 that is devoted to introducing one of the ‘sub-themes’ or ‘strands’ as part of the new curriculum.

going to go out with the same level of readiness to participate in the world of work and the same level of skills development that's been made available to them during their course with us.

(Document 16b: University Student Education Webpage⁴⁹)

This excerpt demonstrates an appeal to the 'common sense' perception that everyone would want students to leave the University prepared for a well-paid and interesting career. Thus, any potential objection around the implementation or prominence of employability is likely to create an internal conflict where the person making the objection may hesitate for fear of being considered as outside the official discourse. The following ethnographic observation and entry from my field notes illustrates this power of constraint:

During a large formal meeting as part of a 'Student Academic Experience Review', various issues were raised by the review panel which led to extensive discussion and comments. Indeed, the spirit of the meeting was to raise questions and discuss difficult issues. However, one academic introduced a minor criticism of the employability agenda saying that undergraduates were a bit shocked when they were first told to start preparing themselves for their future career from their initial year of study. The academic stated that he thought this introduction may be slightly premature. The reaction was telling. There was a noticeable silence throughout the room and no one, from a previously talkative group, offered further comment. Finally, the convener said thank you and moved to the next point. (Field notes: 27 March 2014)

⁴⁹ While this video footage is included as a part of document 16, a screenshot of the webpage and video is not included in the appendix so as not to compromise anonymity.

This incident resonates with the concept of discourse as seen in section 2.2 and with Ball's argument that, '[d]iscourse is that which constrains or enables, writing, speaking and thinking' (2013b: 19). The discursive construction of employability/broadening trades heavily on the power of constraint and allows employability to appear to be even more important as the introduction of higher fees has, in Furedi's argument, 'recast the relationship between academics and students along the model of a service provider and customer' (Furedi 2011: 2).

6.3 Instrumentalising the Intercultural through Strategic Vagueness

Having set the scene of a commercialised environment, this section marks a shift to data which makes a direct connection to the subject matter through the use of the terms 'cultural insight' and 'intercultural understanding'. In the emergent themes which follow, the subject matter is subsumed into the University's discourse, language and environment. The first theme in this section (strategic vagueness) is very much apparent in further excerpts from the University's Curriculum Enhancement video. In this excerpt a Pro-Dean introduces the concept of 'key programme threads'. Having discussed the first thread of 'employability', the Pro-Dean then explains 'global and cultural insight' and 'ethics and responsibility':

The other two [key programme threads], global and cultural insight and ethics and responsibility are the kinds of areas of awareness and analysis that everybody needs to be conversant with and able to articulate in the kind of challenging jobs that we want our graduates to go into.

(Document 16: University Student Education Webpage)

In this video excerpt, the idea of 'global and cultural insight' is neither defined nor explained, but simply taken either as self-evident or strategically left as ambiguous and vague. Establishing greater clarity around how the University understands and uses such terms as 'cultural insight' should be feasible.⁵⁰ However, rather than attempting greater clarity, the terms are strategically left ambiguous and vague. This is a reoccurring theme emerging from the data.

The CEP video gives the appearance that the 'key threads' are important primarily for their perceived ability to be useful in 'challenging jobs'. Here again, employability is given prime position in the rationale for the University curriculum and 'cultural insight' is valued because of its perceived usefulness in the employment market.

The marketing of this curriculum to potential applicants is also crucial as evident from the substantial investment of resources in the production of the webpage.⁵¹ However, as the University has not defined its own terms, there is an underlying sense that 'global insight' could also be linked to globalisation discourse, particularly through the familiar trope of 'the global race'. This demonstrates how the four discourses of globalisation, internationalisation, broadening/employability and marketing can be seen as coalescing and often constitutive of one another where they are also presented as logically connected. The above excerpts, for example, could be seen to suggest that students need to 'broaden' in order to be more 'employable' and that due to 'globalisation' they

⁵⁰ An example from a project entitled 'Translation and Translanguaging: Investigating Linguistic and Cultural Transformations in Superdiverse Wards in Four UK Cities' demonstrates a succinct, yet effective definition which lends clarity to the project. In the website's introduction to the project, Angela Creese writes, 'We view "cultures" not as fixed sets of practices essential to ethnic groups, but rather as processes which change and may be negotiable' (Creese 2014).

⁵¹ This can also serve as an example of how virtual space is as important as physical space to the University.

need to market themselves effectively to survive and compete in the 'global race'. This constructs the value of 'global and cultural insight' primarily through its potential to offer a route to employment. Another example of this emphasis on competition can also be seen in the University's publicity of a joint university agreement where the value of the agreement is communicated as 'giving the brightest students [...] the distinctive edge to compete on the global stage' (["The University"] sets up joint school with Chinese engineering powerhouse': Document 58).

Returning to the theme of strategic vagueness, there are numerous examples of ethnographic data which illustrate this ambiguity or vagueness. Document 62 from the University Reporter contains a good example of this lack of definition. Writing about the University's 'Strategic Plan', the column by one of the University's leaders states:

The plan positively supports the idea that the breadth of our knowledge base and our distinctive strengths can provide a springboard to address major global challenges including high impact work in health, water, food, energy, culture and cities.

(Document 62: The University Reporter)

In this example, culture can have any number of unspecific meanings and has been left strategically vague. Parallels can be drawn between the strategic vagueness in this University promotional website and the use of the term cultures within the School's name which, in most cases, is either taken to be self-evident or to mean 'national cultures'. While it would be impractical to expect agreement on a term as contentious as 'culture' which may well be best viewed as a floating signifier, there remains a lack of engagement from the School to articulate why the concept is important or more

importantly how it is being used. Gladys, an academic member of staff from the School, gives a fairly typical response to the interview question as to whether the School states anywhere how it views the concept of culture:

That's a good question.I don't know actually. I haven't thought about it, but now that I think about it, perhaps not. I think there is in a way a bit of an assumption that we know what languages and cultures are so it's kind of, 'we do German language and culture, you do Spanish or Latin American languages and cultures and that you know what that is.' And I'm not sure that anywhere we very clearly articulate what our understanding of that is.

(Interview: 'Gladys' 7 February 2013)⁵²

Likewise Helga's comments suggest that her subject area does not necessarily fit neatly into the how the School categorises itself.

H: Thinking of the name of the School, do you think that it articulates what it takes, this word 'cultures' to mean very well?

He: I don't think they articulate it at all. It's there because it wouldn't describe the activities of the School otherwise. [...] So, no, it's there purely to keep the people who are in the, what you might term, more 'area studies' of the school happy, I think. In linguistics we have raised our hand and said, shouldn't it be Languages, Linguistics & Cultures, for the same reason.

(Interview: 'Helga' 25 May 2013)

⁵² Interview participants names have been anonymised, but quotation marks will only be placed around the names immediately after the interview data.

A similar strategic vagueness can be observed in other forms of the subject matter's emergence across the University. Emergence 3 (The Strands), relates to the previously described University CEP and the idea of key threads or 'strands' which are embedded in elective modules. Within this scheme the University has expanded the three above-mentioned 'key threads' to ten sub-themes or 'strands'. This includes an expansion from the use of culture as in 'global and cultural insight' in the 'key threads' to 'languages and intercultural understanding' in the 'strands'.

The choice of the term 'understanding' can be considered as a linguistic strategy of nominalisation which replaces a process and verb with a noun construction. The strategy behind nominalisation is often to conceal and obscure agency. This leads to an ironic position whereby the language of the key thread of 'intercultural understanding' is one which does not necessarily help anyone in any way to 'understand'.⁵³ Machin and Mayr provide a good example of this in a critique of a speech by former British Prime Minister Tony Blair who also promotes 'understanding' through the following sentence: 'Religious understanding is the key to defeating hostilities threatening the world.' (2012: 5). In their analysis, Machin and Mayr highlight that the term is one which can suggest 'humanity, tolerance and openness' without (conveniently) ever having to provide 'concrete examples of how it is to work' (2012: 6).

An additional example of strategic vagueness, the prevalent use of 'excellence' and a strong desire to make use of the subject matter can be seen in the School's Proposal for a Centre of Excellence in Language Teaching (Document 59: Appendix 3.2.14). Leaving aside discussion of 'excellence' in the proposal, the six page document, which has been redacted to protect anonymity, makes multiple references to the subject matter by

⁵³ I count myself as often guilty in this process.

alluding to intercultural competence, intercultural studies, intercultural pedagogy, intercultural understanding and intercultural skills but with no clear distinction between the various forms. The location of the subject matter within teaching and scholarship is also noteworthy as it suggests that the subject matter is best contained within limited areas of the University. This containment can also serve to potentially limit the criticality within the subject matter itself.

6.4 Marketing Language vs. 'Elite' Language

The strategic vagueness in the research environment as noted above offers a contrast with the noticeable tension over styles and genres of language. This was most evident in connection with emergence 3 ('The Strands'). As the 'Strands' initiative was a wider University project which emanated from the upper echelons of the University management, considerable resources were invested in its promotion. Naming the 'Strands' also appeared to be sufficiently important to employ 'creative consultants' to package and create the name for the initiative. In the data below, an academic who was instrumental to the development of the 'Strands' explains how these consultants were engaged.

There was a certain amount of internal kicking around of ideas, by and large getting pretty much nowhere. So I think in the end because there were creative consultants coming to do various other maps and branding things for the university, they were given the task.

(Interview: 'Mitchell' 21 March 2014)

However, within the deliberations for packaging and naming the CEP initiative, there appears to be a distinction emerging between what students may find enticing and what academics might see as theoretically valid as seen in Mitchell's comments below:

But that was part of the agenda, and has been part of the agenda in lots of our internal knowledge, to say we don't actually care what your colleagues call it. If your colleagues are giving you a hard time that that's not absolutely the right, elite, academic way to describe it, they've kind of missed the point.

(Interview: 'Mitchell' 21 March 2014)

This discrepancy between the 'marketing' terms and the 'academic' term is an important one for a number of reasons. Firstly, once the students have made their choice of study and may have been attracted to an initiative with a name given by creative consultants, the module(s) will need to be taught by someone who must then establish its aims and objectives. Secondly, by turning students into consumers who are offered an array of module choices with 'exciting names', these very students can object that the module did not provide the type of 'skills' which they had 'purchased' or were attracted to via the marketing campaign. Finally, the distinction between the language genres used for marketing purposes and that used by academics suggests the possibility of a fractured and divided University and an environment where there is a tension between which 'appropriate' language is sanctioned.

While it would be wrong to argue that the 'strand' of 'languages and intercultural understanding' must be taught in an identical, 'elitist' or uninteresting fashion across all areas of the University, it is important to at least consider the theoretical relevance and

limitations of what a term such as 'intercultural understanding' offers. However, this appears to be lacking in the resources dedicated to its promotion. Moreover, there appears to be no attempt to establish a theoretical understanding of what 'intercultural understanding' might suggest. How this 'strand' is interpreted is down to individual academics in their specific School. In the next interview extract, Mitchell suggests that the integrity of each School will be enough of a guarantee that the strand will be taught in a considered manner, but this is not always a straightforward process:

Yes, I was going to say that I think theme leaders probably don't have the resources to police all the teaching.

(Interview: 'Mitchell' 21 March 2014)

Emerging from the above data is a picture of the University where marketing is prevalent. This physical and virtual environment of the University is saturated by commercialisation and is marked by language features including strategic vagueness, overstatement and jargon and includes a tension over what is seen as appropriate language. The impact of this environment on the emergence of the subject matter is substantial. This picture can also be seen as congruent with portrayals of a university that increasingly employs public relations experts who specialize in marketing language. Cribb and Gewirtz argue that this language, which they refer to as gloss and spin, is now commonplace within an increasingly corporate university identity:

Universities are keenly aware of the need to compete in the international marketplace for students, private sector investment, prestigious international links and not least their position in various highly publicized university league

tables. Under these conditions it is hardly surprising to find that there has been a substantial investment of time, attention and financial resources into the management of “image” and that growing importance has been attached to slick marketing approaches and practices. (Cribb and Gewirtz 2013:342)

6.5 Selling the Intercultural: Marketisation and the Priority of Student

Recruitment

While marketisation of universities encompass a broad range of practices, one of its primary concerns is the recruitment of students. Universities have now developed large recruiting apparatuses in order to ensure that there is a critical mass of students enrolled on degree programmes. This particularly includes the recruitment of international students and these students’ course fees are a crucial source of income for the University. Some subject areas or disciplines may be more susceptible than others or in greater need of recruiting new students and Modern Foreign Languages, in its critical state as seen in section 2.2, may particularly need to be seen as embracing discourse and ticking the appropriate boxes. As marketisation and employability/broadening discourses proliferate across the University, they seep into layers of the University’s language and practices and into the curriculum and teaching of subject matter. This not only affects the process of institutionalisation for new subjects, but the extent to which new subjects can be marketed to attract students can become the very rationale for their existence or emergence. It is here that the connections between the emerging subject matter and the University’s discourses become even more apparent.

Of the six areas of emergence which were identified in chapter 5, student recruitment arguably played a major role in four of these. This also includes the strategy of

recruiting students from one part of the University into the School. An interview with a University academic (Betty) demonstrates how the first area of emergence (The MA) is an example where the recruitment of 'international' students was the primary driving force for the creation of the programme as opposed to the perception that, for example, intercultural communication or intercultural studies was an important field of knowledge that needed to be included within the School curriculum. Betty's strategic position as one of the contributors to the creation of the MA allowed her to recognise that the inclusion of intercultural studies in the programme appeared to come significantly after the initial strategy to create an MA programme. Moreover, the creation of the programme was primarily done in order to increase international student recruitment:

H: ['The MA'] was very much driven by the potential recruitment of international students, not any kind of theoretical / conceptual drive at all?

B: No, none whatsoever. And in its creation, it was entirely locally contextualised. We didn't do any market research, none whatsoever. We didn't look at what (university name) did, we didn't try and get on their website, or the (university name) and get on their website and really look down their modules, what they had. We didn't do any of that, (Name) also knew that the students they were rejecting weren't absolutely rejectable. It was silly that we were rejecting so many, and she also knew that they didn't all want to be translators. ... Yes, so there was a perceived pool of students that they wanted to target.

(Interview: 'Betty' 20 September 2013)

Students clearly vote with their feet and subject areas cannot continue to flourish without new students breathing life into them. However, the degree to which student recruitment has become the *raison d'être* for the existence of many aspects of the curriculum is surprising. Another contributor to the creation of the MA programme (Edison) concurs with the importance of recruiting international students to emergence 1a (The MA) stating the following:

H: How did the inception of ['The MA'] transpire?

E: [Name] was aware that [subject area] were receiving many enquiries from able students in especially China, applying for [name] courses but having no real desire to become [subject specialism]. There appeared to be a market for a high level overseas language qualification, but no suitable course was available.

Besides the language component, which was to be central, the programme would need to embrace an academic strand in order to justify the 'Masters' level qualification. Education, Politics and Linguistics were all considered, and turned down through lack of interest or staff in the respective departments.

Intercultural Studies was a late choice: I can't remember who first suggested it.

(Interview: 'Edison' 24 September 2012)

These two excerpts highlight the priorities for the development of the MA programme. The potential students were identified firstly and the subject matter was clearly secondary or in Edison's words 'a late choice'. Thus, the starting point for the creation of the MA was driven by the localised strategy within the School of attracting international students to a new taught postgraduate programme. This included steering students onto the MA programme who were previously rejected from other School

programmes due to not meeting the English language requirements. It also included keeping an eye on what would 'sell' or be particularly attractive to new students as Betty recalls:

I remember at one point I think [name] weighed in. He'd been out to China and he was saying, get business in there somewhere, even if it's not in the title, get it in the title of a module, which is how come [the] module ended up being created and [name] was going to do it.

(Interview: 'Betty' 20 September 2013)

This comment also demonstrates how making links to other parts of the University or other subject areas (International Business) which are recruiting well is another strategy for increasing student enrolment within what is otherwise a decline in students in Modern Foreign Languages. In this case intercultural communication was seen to adhere well to subjects such as international business. However, while these comments certainly suggest that student recruitment was the primary motivation for the creation of the MA, this data also only refers to the initial stages of the programme's inception. The programme was then left in the hands of University staff who had to create and shape a coherent programme and address the use of the term 'intercultural' within its name. It is within these practices that resistance to discourses can be formed which will be explored in chapter 9.

6.5.1 Selling the Intercultural: Student Choice and Marketisation

Compared to the creation of 'The MA' which was driven less by the possible theoretical relevance of the subject matter and instead by a desire to recruit more students, the primary impetus for 'The Strands' initiative was a desire to 'broaden' the student

experience and offer greater student choice within the pre-designated 'strands'.⁵⁴ The perceived importance of 'broadening' and student choice can be seen in the following interview data from a University academic (Mitchell) who was instrumental in the development of the initiative:

I suppose also there was this idea that alongside the broadening, which students would have the opportunity to do beyond their discipline specific studies, that all degrees should have shot through awareness of what I think we ended up calling global and cultural understanding. Now everybody has to get that in some measure, whereas the agenda about broadening and ['strand's name'] is, for the most part, about student choice.

(Interview: 'Mitchell' 21 March 2014)

The discourse of 'broadening' is used as an impetus for student choice, but this choice is circumscribed and defined by key words, some of which could arguably be considered as marketing jargon but that are also considered to be attractive to students. This nexus also suggests a greater commodification of knowledge which makes use of various market terminology such as 'enhanced' and marketisation practices such as product testing. Marketisation discourse is not limited to language but can also be seen in practices which are undertaken across the University to offer student choice. Here an interview participant who is a member of staff has identified a business practice which

⁵⁴ It should also be acknowledged that one of the rationales behind 'the Strands' was an attempt to replace what seemed to be an almost infinite variety of choices with a more streamlined and coherent selection of modules. However, this was done through a significant increase in marketisation which was also used to promote the University to prospective students.

she sees as an obvious method of improving student choice through the system for choosing elective modules:

Trying to look on a catalogue and find a Foreign Language elective [module] is really hard work and even if you know what to look for, it hasn't been designed that way. So we need a real shift in thinking, this is how we want it to be designed. We want the sort of Amazon approach: Students who looked at this also looked at such and such; have you considered this pathway?

(Interview: 'Candice' 19 July 2013)

While this approach may appear to be a rational one for improving the 'student experience', it could also be viewed as arguably a move towards greater commodification of knowledge.

6.5.2 Selling the Intercultural: The Market Potential of the Subject Matter

As the University places significant value on student recruitment, when a School within the University sees recruitment stagnate or decline, it suddenly can be seen as a failure in the eyes of the University. Thus, success is measured in Shahjahan's terms of an 'overarching frame of economic rationality' (2012: 221). This creates a need for the staff within the School to react with new economic plans and forecasts and rebranding exercises which repackage knowledge, or to look for new subject knowledge which can 'enhance' their portfolio.⁵⁵ In this example, Candice perceives the subject matter as offering market potential:

⁵⁵ This can also have significant impact on decisions made concerning areas such as staffing and it can also trigger processes such as a financial and strategic 'review' of the activities of the School as a whole as mentioned in section 4.4.1.

The drop in the number of students taking Italian, it's like for me, I'd be thinking, right, the writing's on the wall here. What are the opportunities? If students don't want to do Italian, what else can I, me as a professional, be involved in? What do we need to be offering to attract those students? I think you've got to accept that it doesn't matter how well the [centre name] is going, if the students don't want to do it at undergraduate level, there's an opportunity to, what else can we be doing or should I be retraining? If intercultural is an area of interest to the students and, as you said, it seems to be growing, what can I do in that?

(Interview: 'Candice' 19 July 2013)

This marketability is also evident from interview data from academics at other UK universities as one academic gives an account below:

The admission numbers have jumped up, probably doubled for the [programme name], or more, and intercultural is by far and away the most popular [programme name] after the standard MA in Education, which has been our backbone.

(Interview: 'Penny' 24 May 2013)

In sum, it would be naïve to consider student recruitment as unimportant or to portray marketing as a great evil, but there is clear evidence that the institutionalisation of the subject matter is facilitated greatly by the perception that it has potential to attract students. While I do not hold that marketing value is necessarily mutually exclusive or

incompatible with theoretical validity, this begins to suggest a market-driven paradigm for the subject matter.

6.5.3 Selling the Intercultural: The Employability Potential of the Subject Matter

Emergence 5 ('The Pilot') demonstrates how the institutionalisation of the subject matter can be heavily influenced and shaped by University discourse. In this case, marketisation and employability/broadening were influential. One of the rationales for developing 'the Pilot' was to test the feasibility of recruiting students from across the wider University to the School for an elective module on intercultural communication. Document 7 (Appendix 3.2.4) demonstrates how quickly and frequently employability is made reference to in the advertisement for the module.

The course is marketed as a way to enhance students' CV's for prospective employers and to increase the students' employability. This can be seen from the second line in bold in the advertisement for 'the Pilot' which states that students can 'demonstrate intercultural awareness and competence to a prospective employer' and again in bold which states that students earn a certificate 'which can be used to enhance your C.V. and to show a prospective employer.' The extent to which employability permeated what was in fact quite a short pilot was surprising, particularly as it only featured two face-to-face meetings between the tutor and students. Notes from my class observation of the final session of 'The Pilot' illustrate how employability was not only used to attract students to the module, but was an important element of the syllabus where a significant portion of the final class was dedicated to students being asked to explain to future employers how the pilot had enhanced their skills. In other words, students were asked to imagine a future job interview and were then asked to articulate how 'The Pilot' had enhanced their employability skills. The students taking part made the

following points (in quotation marks) which were summarised in my class observation notes:

- 'Intercultural communication as a name is very useful because employers will understand what it is. Employers will want to see that you know some theory. The Employability team identified that only 4 out of 50 students mentioned their Year Abroad to respective employers.'
- 'Critical thinking' was mentioned as a benefit of the module. 'It's easy to bring up in an interview.'
- Intercultural Communication was referred to by one of the students as 'Cultural Studies'. The pilot was considered 'a bonus.'
- 'Big companies will think that you must have this skill'.

(Class Observation 1 November 2013: 'The Pilot')

What stands out in this observation is that there appeared to be less emphasis on how culture or intercultural communication were conceptualised and more emphasis placed on explaining, arguably through self-commodification, how students were now more employable due to having gained a marketable skill. Theoretically, students joining the pilot could have taken any conceivable position with regard to their view of culture or intercultural communication, including a very essentialist position, but this seemed to be of little concern provided that students could market their 'new skill'. Additionally, given that this pilot was relatively short with two face-to-face meetings and four on-line sessions, students were expected to have picked up this 'new skill' in a surprisingly short space of time. Comparisons can be drawn between this example, with its fixation on employability, and Furedi's portrayal of the commodification of academic education

which 'is oriented towards the transformation of what is an abstract, intangible, non-material and relational experience into a visible, quantifiable and instrumentally driven process' (2011: 2). This also raises ontological questions regarding the nature of knowledge where the University's discourse constructs knowledge as a commodity which can be packaged into digestible and measurable skills as opposed to an on-going process.

A final example of links between the discourse of employability, marketisation and broadening and the subject matter involves emergence 4, 'The Cornerstones'. As noted above, one trend which was evident within the School was the attempt to create connections between the subject matter and other subject areas, particularly international business. This was often done under the auspices of 'broadening' and/or 'interdisciplinarity'. However, this seemed to be driven by practical measures which privileged student recruitment and allowed a further emphasis on employability as seen in excerpts from the first three lines of the module description of emergence 4 (The Cornerstone):

What is intercultural competence and why do you need it to succeed in modern leadership roles? What cultural assumptions do you bring to your working relationships, and why do you need to be self-aware? This module will introduce and address these questions with particular reference to the context of international business and management.

(Document 18: Appendix 3.1)

Without wishing to 'other' international business research through suggesting that the approach that it takes with respect to culture can be labelled in its entirety as essentialist, it has been nonetheless widely recognised that there is a history of an

essentialist approach to culture in this field which can be partially traced to what Holliday terms 'the Hofstedian legacy' (2011:6). As seen in section 3.2.1, this legacy has also proven to be particularly stubborn despite substantial criticism. With this in mind, an interesting question for emergence 1d (the Cornerstones) is the type of approach that the module would take, particularly as it connects a Modern Foreign Languages School with a Business School. One clue to the approach taken in the module lies in the use of the term intercultural competence as this suggests an emphasis on portraying the subject matter as a quantifiable skill which is easily measured.

Although class observations were not undertaken with respect to this module, interview data with one of the academic tutors on the module does suggest a particular approach used on the module:

H: Okay, that almost pre-empted my next question, so do you see the work of researchers such as Hofstede, Trompenaars, Lewis, Globe of particular value?

I: Oh yes, I love it, to be honest.

H: <laughs>

I: So now I have a dual heart here, haven't I, because then I can switch easily to the business side of things.

H: Right.

I: Because to me, Hofstede's work speaks quite a lot so I can actually relate to it and I love to teach it to the students because if you really... I think there is more substance to Hofstede than the business people would understand. If you then start combining it with your deep knowledge

about a specific culture, there is something beyond the figures which talks to me, and I think it's very, very useful.

(Interview: 'Bastian' 13 October 2013)

As mentioned previously, I would like to avoid presenting a one-sided portrayal of the research environment which strips away all nuances and complexity. Thus, Bastian's comments above should not be taken as a straightforward confirmation that this module simply adopts an essentialist framework for the treatment of culture particularly given his comments on the need for deep knowledge of a culture. Bastian also makes use of the concept of small cultures through seeing different departments or schools within a university as small cultures which adopt their own specific practices and theories. Nevertheless, the course content, which is influenced by employability, broadening and marketisation (self and University), suggests a default inclusion of previously mentioned researchers such as Hofstede who push an essentialist agenda.⁵⁶ This skills-based approach which provides, in Holliday's terms, 'the certainty of precise, tightly measurable behavioral formulae for how to act in the presence of people from specific cultural groups' (2011:7) fits in neatly with the above discourses through providing perceived marketable and quantifiable skills to 'employable' students. While the discourse of employability/broadening and marketisation is prominent throughout the University environment, what is most salient for this research is that it heavily affects the process of institutionalisation for the subject matter by impacting on how the intercultural and its variant forms are framed within the University.

⁵⁶ In the later stages of this study I was asked to make a small contribution to this module. This participation did allow me to see first-hand how the module was underpinned significantly by the 'Hofstedian legacy.'

6.6 The University Paradigm of Globalisation and Internationalisation

In this section I move to an exploration of data more closely related to the discourses of globalisation and internationalisation while retaining the recognition that the four discourses presented in this chapter are interconnected and mutually constitutive. The discourse of 'international' and 'internationalisation' is often invoked as a marketing tool which is apparent in the twenty-eight-page University internationalisation strategy document. While this document addresses a range of aspects associated with internationalisation, there is a tangible business-facing and entrepreneurial emphasis within the strategy. This can be seen in one of the nine 'key elements' of the internationalisation strategy:

To maximize the profile and reach of the University of [name] brand through the development of increasingly differentiated products that can command a premium market and price positioning.

(International Strategy: Document 52)

Although a thorough theoretical critique of globalisation is beyond the limits of this study, similar to terms such as culture, globalisation resists a definitive definition and is rife with ambiguity. Staunton and Morrish argue that globalisation is a particular preoccupation for Russell Group universities along with 'using [the group's] international status as a marketing tool' (Staunton and Morrish 2011: 80). Their corpora study of university mission statements notes conflation of internationalisation and globalisation through the frequent use of 'international' and 'world' which are usually collocated with 'leading' (Staunton and Morrish 2011: 80). Globalisation can be inconsistently and alternately positioned as either an opportunity or a threat, but both

globalisation and internationalisation are frequently referred to by interview participants from other universities in the UK and Ireland (Elliot, Julian, Joan, Trevor) who were interviewed for this study and spoke about their own universities and the institutionalisation of the subject matter there.

In discussing his own university, Elliot notes that globalisation has mutated beyond a single phenomenon into what he calls the 'globalising paradigm' of the University:

Well then, the university is in something of a dilemma because how can it form national subjects for a nation-state that has changed beyond all recognition? [...] It sees what it calls the nation-state has mutated into the market state. What the market state does is that it goes in search of these market opportunities around the globe, which means that what you are educating your students to do becomes quite different. And I don't want to pass a value judgment on whether this is a good or bad thing, but [...] the intercultural then gets kind of co-opted into this kind of globalising paradigm of the university. Even if, of course, with the intercultural there is, you know, a deeply critical school of thought about the effects of this deterritorialisation.

(Interview: 'Elliot' 6 March 2013)

Elliot's above statement identifies how the subject matter becomes subsumed or co-opted into a globalising paradigm. This paradigm is seen as a driver for changes within HE and with making education a globally traded commodity which the World Trade Organisation recognised to be worth an estimated \$200 billion per annum by 2003 (Foskett 2011: 34 citing Bretton 2003). Foskett argues that, '[u]niversities have been drawn into the global HE business through rising demand for international education and transnational education provision, and also through a view that all their students

(home or overseas) should be exposed to an education that equips them as global citizens' (2011:34).

While globalisation can be constructed as a vehicle for offering opportunities which address global issues such as climate change or for theorising concepts such as global citizenship, it also feeds a hyper-entrepreneurial environment where universities now have greater markets for their technology or products. Moreover, globalisation can be seen as a process that creates greater competition within HE which in turn drives universities to continually attempt to market themselves as distinctive, or if possible, as 'world leading' in order to compete with a growing list of competitors. Ball points out how this aspect of globalisation also shapes political discourse in his example from a Tony Blair interview below:

Complaining about globalisation is as pointless as trying to turn back the tide. Asian competition can't be shut out; it can only be beaten. And now, by every relative measure of a modern economy, Europe is lagging. (Tony Blair, *Newsweek* 29 January, www.msnbc.msn.com in Ball 2013: 18))

Another aspect of globalisation is that it is often invoked for explanatory purposes to capture the changes in societies which have themselves facilitated the creation of space within universities for the emergence of the subject matter. This dynamic process is applicable to Elliot's university as he describes his university's pragmatic response to the changes within Irish society:

What happened then over time is [...] the development that reflected in part the change in Irish society, [...] was something to do with the changing nature of the

economy. [...] What happens from the beginning of the economic boom, basically the economic boom in Ireland lasts from 1996 and it ends in tears in 2008 [...] but what happens there is that the two sectors in particular, the service sector and the construction industry suddenly find that they are desperately short of staff. It's this kind of accelerated growth in employment so that by the time it gets into 1999, 2000, 2001 they are short 40,000 workers a year.... [This sudden demand resulted in an influx of workers into Ireland *addition mine*]. So, the initial kind of emergence of intercultural studies in my own School, was very much, it seemed to me, a kind of pragmatic response to a particular set of demands which were driven very much by the kind of functionalist paradigm. A lot of it was what I suppose very disparagingly called checklist multiculturalism, you know when you go to Japan, take off your shoes sort of thing.

(Interview: 'Elliot' 6 March 2013)

Again, there is a salient aspect of Elliot's account which is crucial to this study. This is the functionalist form that intercultural studies has taken in his university in response to the changes in Irish society. In this case, globalisation can also be seen as a 'facilitator' for the emergence of the subject matter which then emerges in a functionalist paradigm.

Elliot's perception of the driving forces behind the emergence of intercultural studies in his university is analogous to Julian's account within his university. In both cases the universities are not self-contained but are influenced by changes in both HE and in the wider society. Julian describes how these changes have also affected the institutionalisation of the intercultural in his university:

What has really turned that into an institutionalised space is a kind of climate change that's happened this century. And that's the climate change that has come through interdisciplinarity, through global citizenship, through transnational attitudes to education, internationalisation, all those things have kind of coalesced as well as, kind of, infrastructure things like what makes a viable Master's programme, how can we badge things, etc. etc. All of those have coalesced in this, not even in this century, in the last 5 years to make intercultural have a more prominent and a more respectable place. So, institutionalisation has come about through those.

(Interview: 'Julian' 24 January 2013)

Julian and Elliot's comments highlight the larger societal changes outside of HE which influence and impact the institutionalisation of the subject matter. The following section considers the institutional response, specifically through internationalisation agendas.

6.6.1 Conflation and Facilitation

The interview data below continues the perception that the discourse of globalisation and internationalisation has been one of the catalysts which has allowed the subject matter to emerge within their institutions. One of the ways this is evident is through the conflation of international and intercultural. Here one interviewee explains how the internationalisation policy at her university was seen both as a strategic priority and as 'business facing':

A number of years ago, more than five, the university realised it was internationalising at a big pace, and that the home students also needed to be

internationalised in some way. They looked around and, through talking to businesses and things, they decided that 'cultural agility' was a kind of buzzword in business they felt they wanted to develop in all students. I think it's in the university's mission statement [...]. We have something called 'The [university name] Graduate', the qualities of the [university name] graduate, and I think one of those is displaying cultural agility.

(Interview: 'Joan' 2 May 2013)

The interview participant then continues to explain how the internationalisation agenda within the university allowed space for the emergence of the subject matter, despite some obvious conflation of the terminology.

The [Name] Unit, I think it's called, were tasked with driving the internationalisation agenda forward, and probably that is where, largely, lots of different departments got involved in things like cross-cultural, intercultural, and words like that. Staff were invited to take part in forums; we invited people to come and talk [...] and so a number of people from different faculties across the campus got involved in internationalisation activities, which might also be called intercultural.

(Interview: 'Joan' 2 May 2013)

Despite there being a great deal of ambiguity and conflation around the terms international, intercultural and global, there is evidence that universities have now prioritised the need to be seen to be 'international'. However, it is evident that in many senses, the institutions have not thought clearly about the theoretical implications of the terms. This, ironically, has in part allowed space for the variants of intercultural to emerge as they are often seen as simply synonymous with 'international'. An academic

from another university (Julian) describes below the discrepancy between the different strategic uses and approaches to these terms:

I was talking with the guy who's on the senior leadership team for the university about internationalisation and interculturalisation, about the difference. I could see that it was just terminology and a way of thinking about things that went straight over his head, it just wasn't his way of looking at it. So I think there's a kind of a way in which these terms serve a useful function in terms of institutional discourse, which is very imprecise and can mean all things to all people. And I find that more problematic, or more troubling, than a discussion of intercultural studies and intercultural communication and intercultural education, and international and intercultural education, and all the other labels we've got for MA courses, intercultural business communication, the list goes on and on.

(Interview: 'Julian' 21 February 2014)

The comments by Julian resonate with what has been observed within the University. Firstly, framing the subject matter in a strategically vague or imprecise way serves a useful function by making the subject matter appear to be more compatible with the institutional discourses. Whether this is by accident or design is left for debate, but there is clearly a discrepancy between Julian's understanding of the subject matter and its terminology and that of the member of staff on the senior leadership team who conflated international and intercultural.

Example of this conflation of intercultural and international can be seen in a number of guises within the University, but primarily through an essentialist default position which equates culture with nationality or a national language. For example, 'foreign' language study is advertised as an opportunity to learn *the* language and *the* culture of a particular nation (See Appendix 3.2.3). Another example from an excerpt from emergence 3 (the Strands) describes possible topics on offer in themed modules through the somewhat vague language of 'culture and identity viewed nationally and internationally' (See Appendix 3.2.7). Parallels can be drawn here with Holliday, Hyde and Kullman's comparison of essentialist and non-essentialist views of culture where the essentialist position sees culture as 'associated with a country and a language' and where 'the world is divided into mutually exclusive national cultures' (Holliday, Hyde and Kullman 2010: 3).

The School's Student Education Strategy is another example where the concept of culture is not problematised within the 'International Theme' of the School's 'vision.' The School offers four bullet points under the International Theme. Leaving aside the second bullet point which expresses a desire to develop teaching links across the world, the remaining three points concentrate on increasing 'international' student recruitment and 'creating opportunities for students across the University to study the world's languages, societies and cultures, and enabling them to participate more effectively in an increasingly global economic and cultural life.' (Document 22).

In this example, part of the internationalisation strategy hinges on the creation of the categories of 'international' student and 'home' student which will be discussed in greater detail chapter 9. What can be noted here is that the above notions of constraint

and naturalisation are also relevant in sustaining this binary division. Another aspect of the Student Education Strategy which warrants consideration is that culture appears to be a commodity owned by the University and which students can access via joining programmes of study within the institution. This remains a problematic construction of both knowledge and culture and this position is often simply transferred to how the intercultural is constructed.

It must be stressed however that these positions are not necessarily entrenched and the interpretation of 'internationalisation' or 'intercultural' can be ones which change over time. Elliot captures the dynamic nature of the emergence of the subject matter by also noting the changes within his university regarding how the subject matter is constructed, invoked and viewed:

E: But it was very much kind of a functionalist paradigm, and then what begins to happen is that, some people, what rather cynically is called the 'flag of convenience', a lot of other people began to see the value in broader terms of the intercultural paradigm. You know colleagues who had, with literature backgrounds and particularly with comparative literature began to, a bit like, 'well yes' [...] realised they had been in the bourgeois *gentilhomme* with this character who is told by this kind of quack teacher that he is going to teach him to speak prose and then he realises he has been speaking prose all his life.

H: (laughter)

E: (laughter) And they kind of realised that they were interculturalist all their lives and now that they have been told this fact, and of course, colleagues in translation studies, it's a similar thing. [...] So there was a certain element I think of strategic, you know, rebranding. To be kind of slightly kinder, I mean I think

because sometimes something can start off as a political move and then have so much more beneficial effects downstream...

(Interview: 'Elliot' 6 March 2013)

Elliot's comments serve as a reminder that positions with respect to the subject matter are fluid and changing.

6.6.2 Constructing the Internationalisation Agenda

The final example of how the discourse of internationalisation (and to some extent globalisation) is linked to the emergent subject matter concerns student support systems and non-credit bearing University initiatives. Much like the above interview data which refers to the larger societal changes within Irish society, UK universities, through their own recruitment activities, are increasingly attracting a significant number of students from across the world. However, once these students arrive, there are various opinions regarding how these students should be catered for. Kelo captures the essence of the debate:

It may be assumed that international students have at least some different needs to home students, as they may face problems including those related to cultural differences, language difficulties or the demands of moving from one country to another and being far away from home. The question is, however, whether the differences are so great as to necessitate and justify particular attention: in other words, whether there should be specific services for international students or whether they should be mainstreamed. (Kelo 2007: 172)

The evidence suggests that many HE institutions within the UK have opted for an internationalisation policy or agenda which offers specific support mechanisms for 'international students'. However, as mentioned above, the interpretation and use of

internationalisation is fluid and can be reshaped or contested. One academic's comments demonstrate how the term has developed and been reinterpreted within his university and suggests what he considers to be positive developments within this space created by the internationalisation strategy and further opportunities for the emergence of the subject matter:

Well, there's quite a large scale institutional internationalisation policy which, you know, I think in common with a lot of what's happening across the country, it's moving beyond income generation and getting into the idea of creating a properly, in inverted commas, "international" university where, to a certain extent, accommodations are made for the fact that students are not used to the UK way of doing things...but they're also extending into the idea of every student is an international student. So they're trying to give a little bit more to the UK students to internationalise them. This is potentially a really fruitful area and I think it's an absolutely necessary area, given the fact that, in higher education across the world, most students engage with linguistic and cultural difference because they have to do something with English language.

(Interview: 'Trevor' 26 October 2013)

The important point to reiterate is that the discourse surrounding internationalisation also acts a catalyst for the emergence of the subject matter. This can be seen in Trevor's statement below which illustrates how the development of intercultural skills is perceived to be an outcome of internationalisation in his university:

So I think the agenda's shifted a bit from international students as cash cows who are just coming here and just have to fit in and take what they're given. I think there is a sincere change towards making things more inclusive, accommodative

and also making sure that the accommodation is a kind of two way street, that their own students, and staff as well for that matter, acquire skills that you could loosely call intercultural which are transferable and useful to them in their lives and which, without getting too pious about it, make them better people.

(Interview: 'Trevor' 26 October 2013)

Within this construct of internationalisation and management of the student population, there is a complex and dynamic range of positions, strategies and political positions. This includes differences of opinion regarding the need for specific and separate programmes which cater for international students. Kelo notes this disagreement writing: 'Internal disagreements over the importance of services for international students within an institution can be frequently observed, most typically between student services staff or the international office, and academic staff or departments' (Kelo 2007:174). One academic from this study spoke about her own institution and bemoaned the fact that there are entrenched attitudes within the university which simply position 'foreign' students as a nuisance:

There's plenty of reluctance, and there's still quite a lot of what I would just call ignorance around probably, because we teach all over the university and in one building, I was teaching a class which was quite an interactive class, and students were having to come in and out of two rooms, because it was two rooms at the same time, and the man over the road, who was Professor somebody in another subject, came out and said, 'where are they from?', because he could see these were *foreigners*, where on earth were they coming from? Now I don't know

where he's been sitting for the last five or ten years as the university has been changing around him drastically, but there is a bit of that around.

(Interview: 'Joan' 2 May 2013)

Yet, despite Joan noting a clear need to change attitudes within her university, she also expressed reservations on how this was being accomplished via 'internationalisation' and the subject matter's role in this process.

I think there's still an 'it's them' approach, it's the international students who have either got to change. [...] It's basically you're focusing on international students I suppose. A lot of the intercultural agenda is [...] not about interculturality in its own sake, it's not about a deeper understanding, and it's not about us also being international.

(Interview: 'Joan' 2 May 2013)

Returning to the data which concerns the University at the focus of this study, the data suggests that the University's internationalisation discourse has served to create space for the subject matter to emerge in particular areas. The primary example of this concerns emergence 2, 'The Ambassadors'. This particular emergence was different in that it was not a taught credit-bearing module or programme offered within the University, but rather a University extra-curricular initiative developed by the International Student Office which had strong University support. The origins of this programme help to demonstrate that it is underpinned by the above-mentioned binary

categories of students at the University: international and home ('British') or alternatively home/EU. The social construction of students into two neat groups of 'international' and 'home' contributes both to the management of the student population and supports a fee system where 'international students' pay significantly greater amounts than students within the category of 'Home/EU'.⁵⁷ These two categories of students also lend themselves to a certain neatness which caters to a growing demand for student data, particularly data which projects student numbers. Sally, one of the early contributors to the initiative, gives an idea of how the construction of these two categories underpinned the establishment of the initiative:

H: How did the <programme name> originate?

S: It came from some ideas about being able to see and hear anecdotally from international students that there were difficulties in connecting and interacting in the way that they wanted with British students. This was borne out by the International Student Barometer survey, and we were sort of looking into what's happening here and seeing, and also hearing from some British students that they felt that there probably wasn't very much mixing going on.

(Interview: 'Sally' July 9 2013)

The support the University gives to 'international' initiatives such as these and the resulting student showcases which are an outcome of 'the Ambassadors' have the

⁵⁷ Document 21 (Appendix 3.2.8) shows that for the 2013-14 academic year, a UK/EU student would pay £3,950 for an MA programme compared with £12,500 for an International student within the School.

potential to not only reinforce the category of international and home, but to also allow the University to promote its 'cultural diversity' through displays of national cultural events in a celebratory fashion. This diversity, which the University can use as a marketing tool, can potentially be constructed primarily through an essentialist equation where different nationalities equal different and separate cultures and identities. Within this construction there is little room for the necessary complexity which reflects students' lives. There is very little room to explore similarities or to acknowledge the possibility that individuals may have complex relationships with their country of origin.

It also fails to highlight the possible diversity that can be found among students who share similar countries of origin and it depoliticizes thorny issues in preference to simply 'celebrating cultures' (see Document 5: Appendix 3.2.1). However, and at the risk of repetition, these positions are dynamic and fluid and offer the potential for resistance which will be explored in chapter 9 and include a reconsideration of the approach of celebrating cultures.

6.7 Conclusion

This chapter has introduced the research environment of the University and School and data which suggests that this environment exerts a strong influence on the institutionalisation of the subject matter. Within this environment are four principle discourses (globalisation, internationalisation, broadening/employability and marketing) which facilitate and act as catalysts for the emergence of the subject matter into the University and School. What begins to emerge from the data is that these discourses affect the process of institutionalisation for the subject matter and they affect how the intercultural and its variant forms are framed and understood within the

University. The discourses facilitate the subject matter's emergence and shape how the subject matter is constructed within the University through the language of marketisation which utilises strategic vagueness and is predominated by 'gloss and spin'. It is also manifested through University practices which support existing power structures.

Within the language of the University are categories which become 'naturalised' such as the 'international' and 'home' student to the extent which they appear to be beyond question and subtly impose constraint. These categories risk concealing heterogeneity and diversity and are also strategic in that they support existing fee structures. The University also gathers and reports data around these categories which is then subsequently used in further marketing to highlight diversity.

This environment influences how the subject matter emerges as it is subsumed into the language and fabric of the institution through discourses which blur and conflate the subject matter so that it is alternately employed as a marketing tool or as 'knowledge'. While the University's discourses may facilitate the emergence of the subject matter, the paradox of institutionalisation is that this may also have a hollowing effect which renders the subject matter theoretically empty.

The four discourses are not solely an internal product of the University, but flow freely into the University environment and impact educational policy within HE. For example, Thomson notes that HE has been influenced by meta-narratives such as 'the competitive nation-state', 'the work ready citizenry' and 'the prepared nation state' (2013: 177). A further example can be seen in David Cameron's frequent trope of 'the global race' seen in the 2012 Guildhall speech on foreign policy and exemplified in his following statement: 'But I say – there is a global race out there to win jobs for Britain and I

believe in leading from the front' (BBC 2012). It is this particular aspect of economic competition that I am most attuned to in analysing the four discourses and in this respect these discourses are mutually constitutive and work together in an attempt to tell a single story about both HE and the motivations of social actors within HE. Matsuo terms this collection of discourses as 'economic discourses' (2012:348). I prefer the term neoliberal and follow Harvey's definition of neoliberalism as it suggests a broader ideological spectrum:

'Neoliberalism is in the first instance a theory of political economic practice that proposes that human well-being can best be achieved by liberating individual entrepreneurial freedoms and skills within an institutional framework characterized by strong private property rights, free markets, and free trade. The role of the state is to create and preserve an institutional framework appropriate to such practices' (Harvey 2005:3).

This ideology prioritises commercialisation and marketisation where education becomes a form of consumption (Gibbs 2011:59, Furedi 2011:2). Within this ideological framework, knowledge is treated as a commodity and decisions are primarily driven by economic and instrumental considerations (Nixon et al. 2011:198). This includes what West argues is a narrowing of focus 'to learning for individualistic/career advancement and/or issues of economic survival in a fiercely competitive environment' (West 1998: 237).

Figure 9 below notes that geo-political and neoliberal discourses are important in that they influence the changing institutional and academic norms and values within the University. However, caution must be applied with respect to how these discourses and

policies are interpreted. Firstly, the boundaries between the wider society, University and School should not be interpreted as solid and clearly delineated. Secondly, I would also like to avoid viewing discourses as singular and mechanical and offering no opportunity for agency or resistance. Resistance will be explored later in chapter 9 with examples of how University students and staff resist or struggle with ‘naturalised’ categories which underpin discourse and sanction essentialism. Figure 9 below illustrates the flow of both geo-political neoliberal discourses and government HE policy into the University. Although this diagram is overly simplistic, it serves as a starting point which I will build upon as additional data from the findings is introduced.

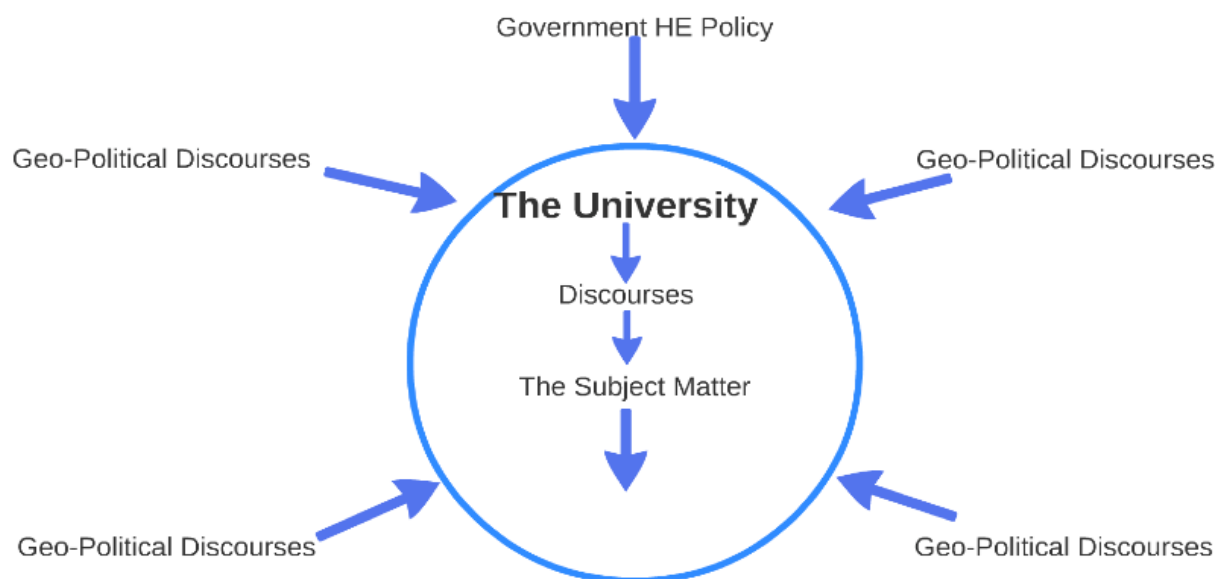


Figure 9: Discourses and Policy Flow

Finally, it is important to note that I although I have worked within the University for what feels like many years, I did not perceive it to be what I now label a neoliberal

environment prior to the start of this study. Moreover, the discourses of globalisation, internationalisation, employability/broadening and marketisation were not readily apparent to me until the fieldwork provided the data and critical distance to allow me to see this more clearly.

Chapter 7: Navigating Instrumentality, Daily Exigencies and Paradigmatic Tensions

Educating students is now, to a significant extent, a mass, global corporatized business exhibiting almost all of the characteristics associated with making cars or providing financial services. (Boden and Nedeva 2010: 40)

7.1 Introduction

This chapter connects the previous chapter and its analysis of the University discourse with the following chapters which have a greater focus on specific *encounters* which social actors⁵⁸ (University staff and students) have with the subject matter as it is being institutionalised. Data from chapter 6 suggested that the institutionalisation of the intercultural is facilitated in part by the University's discourses and that the subject matter is a mechanism for serving these discourses. However, it would be misguided to view discourses as a metaphorical straightjacket which offers no agency to social actors as discourses are propagated, challenged or navigated by social actors who work within an HE environment. This encounter with both the University discourses and subject matter is evident in the following chapter which helps to convey how social actors negotiate the daily exigencies of the University.

This chapter begins by exploring the emergent theme of instrumentality where social actors are immersed in an environment which places an importance on what I call 'getting on with the job' or what one participant called 'ticking boxes'. This chapter also includes ethnographic observations of three incidents (two of which involve me

⁵⁸ This choice of term is informed by Weber's theory of social action where social actors are cognisant of the relationship between their behaviour and its relationship to wider society. This takes into account how an action is meaningful to the actor through its relationship to others and its direction or purpose (Weber 1968: 24-25 originally published in 1922).

personally) which have particular significance for the institutionalisation of the subject matter. Through disrupting and analysing daily routines, these three incidents help to illustrate the paradigmatic tensions of the subject matter and the difficulties of reconciling different positions taken during the process of institutionalisation.

7.2 Instrumentality and ‘Ticking Boxes’

The emergent theme of instrumentality is used to signify that the University frames actions and motivations as a means to an end with a particular emphasis on economic rewards⁵⁹. The first interview data is from a focus group with postgraduate students from the University who were preparing to graduate. These students were selected because they were either completing ‘The MA’ or were enrolled on a module which was designed specifically for this programme. The postgraduate context is significant because taught postgraduate programmes are often designed to have a vocational emphasis and a link to a specific field of employment. Thus, there is an expectation that students are often guided by a decision to enrol on a postgraduate programme through anticipation that it will help to advance their future career. When questioned over their decision to pursue postgraduate education, an initial interpretation of data might suggest that instrumentality is the prime factor which guides the students’ decision making:

H: How did you decide, OK now I’m going to do a Master’s programme and I’m going to do a Master’s programme in this subject area? What led you to those decisions?

⁵⁹ I recognise the commonly held view that a significant degree (if not all) of human action is to some degree motivated by self-interest, but argue, following Matsuo (2012: 138), that interpersonal action and communication reflects that people are both economic and social animals.

M: So for me coming to [University name] was more like ticking the box because I'm bilingual in Danish and Chinese and I thought it would be better for me to choose business studies because it would give me better opportunities not because I truly enjoy business studies but because I'm ticking the box (laughter across the room) and I know it's going to give me a job in the future. That's why I'm here.

(Focus group: 'May' 5 May 2012)

May's statement acknowledges a degree of sacrifice (studying a field which she is not particularly interested in) and a recognition that she is, to a certain extent, approaching her studies in an instrumental fashion through the belief that the University degree will secure her 'a job in the future'. I interpret the laughter from across the room at this statement as an indication that the other students in the focus group have also considered the practical outcomes that their degree can offer and that, to some extent, they may believe they are 'ticking boxes' as well. The laughter also possibly indicates a certain sense of nervousness at revealing this to a researcher, particularly as they might think that this suggests that they were not engaged with their studies. However, it would be misguided to generalise and interpret the above data as somehow proving that students are approaching their studies only to 'tick a box' which would then lead to greater employment prospects. Further data from May and other students in the focus group helps to illustrate greater nuance and their connection to and engagement with the subject matter:

It was very natural for me to take this course [a module on 'The MA'] because I knew it was going to be similar to anthropology and culture fascinates me in

every single way [...]. So, it has been really enjoyable and I've still learned a lot of new things in terms of culture and business across cultures and it's slightly different from what I was working with previously in anthropology.

(Focus group: 'May' 5 May 2012)

Although May stated previously that she is studying a field which she is not entirely interested in (Business Studies), she explains how she has been able to draw on her interests and her previous studies and select elective modules which she engages with. This includes, in her reference above, a module which was part of 'The MA'. In this next extract, Chen provides her answer for the above question regarding the decision to start postgraduate study:

I did Cultural Studies for my undergrad degree so I wanted to continue Cultural Studies because I'm extremely interested in this aspect but then I also want to be more prepared for a job in case I don't want to do further research so I think [the MA] would help me for a future career (laughter). So I chose this combination of my interest and some practicality so I could make a choice after graduation. Yes, and because orientalism and ethnocentrism are concepts that are mentioned quite a lot in my undergraduate studies so I would be quite interested in positioning myself in a different cultural environment to really experience these concepts from a subjective point of view.

(Focus group: 'Chen' 5 May 2012)

Even though Chen misnames her subject of study by referring to intercultural studies as cultural studies, her comments are useful for underscoring the false duality between an economically driven instrumental approach to postgraduate study versus a more

personal approach which is motivated by a desire for deepening knowledge in a particular subject area and a reflexive engagement with the surrounding environment. Chen recognises both the practical value that a postgraduate degree can offer her while maintaining an interest in how particular theoretical concepts relate to her daily life and she is able to negotiate these two positions.

Another interview participant, Cecilia, articulates an approach similar to Chen in that she is taking a practical or pragmatic approach to her studies while also following her own particular interests:

I had thought about doing one of the business [programmes] and then eventually decided that I wasn't going to do that and actually went more to the development side so I did development issues in South East Asia and focused on HiV in Vietnam which is what I'd been working on before [...]. Certainly my interest was there, the interest in HiV, the interest overall in development issues and this was obviously because I was in the East Asian department. The development issues would have been focused on well, was South East Asia so that was fine. So I guess I kind of hit two birds with one stone so that I could get the development issues going and then I could have the language and stuff like that as well.

(Focus group: 'Cecilia' 5 May 2012)

The autonomy and decision-making demonstrated by both Chen and Cecilia suggests a strategic approach which considers and navigates both future fields of employment and their own individual interest in a particular field of study. These distinctions do not entail separate categories for as West (2015) argues, conceptual distinctions between

vocational and personal motivations are not mutually exclusive, but rather bound together. Moreover, these decisions are grounded in a personal trajectory which the participants draw on during the focus group.

Young's insights below, however, are less straightforward. As an aspiring academic he is aware of the subject matter's apparent (specifically here intercultural studies and intercultural education) lack of academic cachet in the context of Higher Education in South Korea here indicated in his interview data:

H: So if you went back to Korea and it said intercultural communication on the degree, it would just be... that would be it.

Y: Yeah. <laughs, gestures and shakes his head>

H: <laughs> No job.

Y: Yeah. <laughs> It is linked with the next question.

H: Yeah, so is it (intercultural education) part of the curriculum in higher education in South Korea?

Y: No, unfortunately. That is the main problem. As far as I know, it's thought from the late nineties.

H: I'm just kind of curious about... say if you looked into, for example, education programmes in Korea, would there not be somebody... I mean it wouldn't be something on its own, but there might be a researcher within education, for example, that was maybe interested in cultural aspects of education or not?

Y: No. So if I gained a PhD in intercultural education, I would be the first Korean who has the PhD in intercultural education.

(Interview: 'Young' 17 July 2013)

Young's perception, which is possibly misguided, is that the subject matter is not necessarily well-known in South Korea or is considered as dated and is not 'housed' within a specific discipline thus hampering his employment prospects in South Korean academia if he has a degree in 'intercultural education' or 'intercultural studies'.

Although Young has a keen interest in the subject matter, his knowledge of the academic environment in South Korea has dictated that he makes strategic and instrumental choices about which discipline is most 'valued' within South Korean academia when considering further study.

The above data from students helps to underscore the different motivations and connections involved in the students' decision to enrol on a postgraduate programme. In all of the cases, even in the case of May, strategic and instrumental decisions do not deter students from a personal interest and motivation to engage with the subject matter and the choices are also informed by their personal trajectory. This highlights the perils of over-emphasising the value of education purely in instrumental, vocational and economic terms through its contribution to employability. In Weberian terms, this would represent the University's failure to recognise that 'instrumentally rational action' is only one type of social action and that social actors' conduct can be motivated by different factors (Weber 1968: 24-26 originally published in 1922).

As the discourse of employability becomes an increasingly significant part of the University's discourses and language, it risks denying space to the other important non-quantifiable aspects of university study. Students may also internalise and reproduce instrumental discourse in surveys, questionnaires or statements about their own experience with the University which then may appear to sanction and strengthen the prevailing discourse of the institution. However, exclusively linking education to

instrumental motivation and employability could also mean that the fortunes of subject areas (particularly at postgraduate level) simply wax and wane simply in line with the job market and with regards to the above data from Young could position the subject matter as having very little value. It also threatens to erase some of more relational and transformational values of education.

The data from the students suggest a sense of balance and negotiation that mixes a practical approach which keeps one eye on a future career and the esteem of the subject matter while also retaining an ability to engage with academic interests. An academic contributor to emergence 1a (The MA) is clearly sympathetic to the students' position and need for strategic decision making as she compares her own days at university with the current demands:

H: [...] that raises the question I think, and this is being asked a lot, what's the purpose of a university. Is employability the ultimate aim or is it supposed to be this environment for thinking and scholarship? I don't have the answer for that.

Y: Well, I belong to the generation of idealism, but of course we were privileged because people who were able to go into university during my time were elites, so you can afford to, you know, talk about intellectual freedom and academic growth, but that was always a discourse that was accepted. Universities were not a place where you get a degree so you could get a job. It was beyond that and I think we're living in a time that's relatively changed and sometimes I do empathise with the students because in some ways they have lost that possibility of in fact crafting a very different sort of university education for themselves.

(Interview: 'Yan' 21 February 2013)

While Yan evokes a sense of nostalgia in relation to the historical changes both within Higher Education and society, she also acknowledges how this translates into challenges and practices which affect students' participation on their courses.

I have students who already ask me for days off because they have to attend interviews so they have gone to interviews for an entire week for training because of the possibility of a job. I don't think, well in that sense, I mean I don't blame them in a way, because I didn't have to do that because during my time companies were lining up to sign students up in the university because you were the minority. So, should that be their problem or should that be a much wider broader problem that we have to look at more at a global level, a societal level? So, yeah that's difficult. So, in some ways we are much more a university factory rather than a ground for intellectual growth and I'm afraid it's a little bit gloomy.

(Interview: 'Yan' 21 February 2013)

Although Yan's portrayal of the contemporary HE institution cuts 'gloomily' at the very heart of the purpose of universities, intellectual freedom and academic growth should not necessarily be seen as incompatible with 'employability'. Whether or not it happens in practice, employers arguably should welcome graduates who are adaptable and able to analyse the complexity of fluid contexts and function well within them. Of greater concern however, and with respect to the subject matter of the thesis, is that tensions arise when discourses such as employability sanction a particular essentialist and non-critical framework of the subject matter which then plays seductively on instrumental motives. In this case there is a danger that demonstrating employability

takes precedence over academic growth and criticality where students fall prey to the temptation to reduce complexity to simple and measurable narratives which classify 'cultures' into homogenous groups simply identified with nation-states. In this sense, boxes such as employability may well be 'ticked', but what lies behind this ticked box is a much more complex reality than is recognised thus rendering the students' 'knowledge' potentially detrimental to their intellectual growth.

The theme of instrumentality also pertains to staff motivation and it is constructive in helping to understand the University environment. Academics or other University staff members who were asked to lead programmes or initiatives connected to the subject matter expressed a degree of practical and instrumental motivation after the process of institutionalisation had begun. In this interview data which focuses on 'The Strands', Candice speaks about how she became connected to the subject matter after it was introduced as part of a 'top down' initiative from the senior management of the University:

I think at a senior level, we're talking Pro Deans and I think it filtered down from them and it was their project board [that] established [it]. So that would have been used... I would imagine they contacted representatives of student education at that point to say this is coming, just to be aware of it. But I don't think the DSEs [Directors of Student Education] were promoting it at that point.

(Interview: 'Candice 19 July 2013)

In exploring the origins of the 'The MA', Betty, likewise, reveals that her own participation was not necessarily driven by a particular attachment to the subject matter:

H: How did you feel about all this, because this isn't your agenda, this isn't something your championing, it just fell in your lap?

B: [...] To finish answering the question you asked me about why I did it, in the first instance, yes, some self-interest, [...] but I'm sure that gradually something started to happen that has consolidated itself [...] which is that I've actually enjoyed working with people from across the School. It's given me a new perspective [...].

(Interview: 'Betty' 20 September 2013)

Betty's response also demonstrates a degree of nuance as she begins by framing her choice to be involved with 'The MA' as guided by self-interest, but then refers to facets of the work and relationships which offer a deeper level of satisfaction and 'a new perspective'. Similar to the above data from the students in the focus group, Betty's response serves as a reminder regarding what is a false conceptual distinction between instrumental motivation and more personal and social motivation.

To summarise this theme of instrumentality, the widespread belief that a university degree offers a pathway into a specific career which will subsequently offer economic gain is a basic idea which underpins universities. Many university degree programmes have historically been closely linked to specific vocations and this has been an integral part of university education. The prevailing emphasis on employability within the University which appeals to self-interest and instrumentality is thus no great surprise. However, what is debateable is the degree to which universities should communicate the value of education primarily through appealing to instrumental sentiments revolving around economic gain. This marked intensity is apparent within the

University discourses and is also seen in media coverage of Higher Education which frequently offers advice on choosing a degree subject through comparisons of lifetime salaries (e.g. 'Graduate Jobs: Top 10 Degree Subjects by Lifetime Salaries' Daily Telegraph: 2014) or through comparisons of universities which seemingly offer the best employment prospects (e.g. 'Graduate Jobs: Top 12 Universities for Getting a Job' Daily Telegraph: 2014). This narrative of the 'value' of universities is pernicious in its power of constraint which fails to allow space for the other benefits of universities which are more relational, social and less tangible. Without these values, Boden and Nedeva's epigraph in this chapter begins to appear as accurate.

In sum, while instrumentality is not a single-faceted and cynical system which drives the University and its social actors in a mechanical fashion, the University's discourses attempt to play to social actors' instrumental motivations. Data from the study supports the idea that instrumentality is an aspect of social actors' motivation, but this label of instrumentality can envelop various nuanced attitudes and negotiation where social actors play reflexively both within and *with* the University educational system. This chapter now moves to analyse three ethnographical observations which are relevant to the institutionalisation of the subject matter in connection to the daily exigencies of the University.

7.3 The Daily Exigencies of the University: Style Over Substance?

The next emergent theme which will be explored is the daily exigencies of the University. Daily exigencies centre around, for example, the need to market programmes, the need to make financial decisions and the need to manage resources. These exigencies are also part of the larger institutional framework which 'determines departmental time, resources, and the relations between other departments' (Blackman

2007:52). Ethnographic observations demonstrate that these demands which are an integral part of the business of HE have an influence on the institutionalisation of the subject matter.

The first ethnographic observation involved the library's cancellation of subscriptions to a number of relevant subject matter journals including *Language and Intercultural Communication* and the *Journal of Intercultural Studies*. The email exchanges in January 2012 demonstrate that the subject matter's lack of grounding within the disciplinary system contributed to difficulties in maintaining these resources. It also illuminates a contradictory situation where the University was dedicating substantial resources to publicise the value of the subject matter and the value of 'intercultural understanding' for 'The Strands' via websites and creative consultants while simultaneously cancelling journals which were dedicated to the subject matter itself. The cancellation of the journals prompted queries from an academic member of the School and the following email response from the library representative explained how the decision to cancel the journals transpired:

I can confirm what [...] I suspected. No department had ever actively chosen to pay for *The Journal of Intercultural Studies* [...]. When we consulted with Library Reps last summer we did it with a huge spreadsheet listing titles they already paid for to see if they wanted to continue, plus a massive list of titles that might be of interest that no one was actually paying for, in case they wanted to pick up the cost of some of them. *The Journal of Intercultural Studies* fell in that category, and presumably no one identified it as something we needed [...]. I haven't checked out the other journals you list [...]. If we don't have them, then

the issue will be money [...]. I hope this helps by way of an explanation, but I'm afraid this is not going to be easily solved.

(Document 50: Email 5 January 2012).

The library representative's use of the term 'departments' is telling given the attempts to establish a School identity which no longer formally recognised 'departments' but supplanted this term with 'subject areas' which are supposed to subscribe to a School identity (see section 3.5.1). The reply from an academic connected to 'The MA' appealed to both the library and Head of School for the reinstatement of the subscriptions through highlighting the fact that 'the MA' was not a 'departmental' programme and thus had no formal representation in the decision making process regarding which journals were significant.

[MA name] isn't a 'departmental' programme so if the library only approached departments (now subject areas) to consult re subscriptions to journals, we would never have been consulted (and indeed we weren't). My feeling is that if the [School] wants to maintain the [MA] (as well as to expand provision in modules dealing with intercultural studies at UG level from 2012-2013 which it plans to do) then we need this journal to be reinstated with immediate effect.

(Document 50: Email 5 January 2012).

In this case, the library staff member was faced with the daily demands of the University to allocate limited resources to specific disciplines or departments. The choice made to

either support and resource the subject matter or to 'mute' it is salient for two reasons. Firstly, the tension between the School identity and that of the individual subject areas (formerly departments) is one which cannot necessarily be resolved through a reorganisation and rebranding exercise. The residual identity of each individual 'department' extends well beyond the change in terminology. Thus, the librarian's decision to allocate funds in the School via a departmental or disciplinary system is perfectly reasonable.

Secondly, it also highlights paradigmatic tensions and the discrepancy between the subject matter's profile and status. Although the subject matter has emerged within the School in a number of different forms which have been supported by a substantial degree of University resources and institutional push resulting in what might be considered a high profile, the status of the subject matter is relatively low particularly given the lack of disciplinary home and formal representation within the School. In other words, there is a significant tension between the subject matter being pushed into the University and School as a marketing tool and the subject matter gaining a credible space within the disciplinary system of the University. This is particularly significant because it reflects tension between what is likely to be an essentialist use of the subject matter in the marketing and (potentially) a non-essentialist use in the academic journals and it suggests a priority of style over substance. This also raises questions regarding both the often-positing 'interdisciplinary' status and potential of the subject matter and the emerging theme of breadth versus depth which will be discussed in section 8.4.3.

Given the specific context of the library, it is somewhat unsurprising that this incident also resonates with Beaubien et al's system of disciplinary emergence as discussed in

section 1.4 in that it reflects a more mechanical aspect of institutionalisation where the process of establishing the subject matter transpires over a number of stages. Using Beaubien et al's terms, the ethnographic observation above would indicate that the subject matter is still in the *elaboration stage* of institutionalisation but it is hampered by the lack of clear attachment to a discipline or 'department'. However, as discussed previously, this classification of the processes involved in institutionalisation only partially reveals the environment into which a subject matter becomes part of. The following ethnographic observations also relate to the daily exigencies of the University, but these specifically concern the tensions between marketing demands and a critical approach to the subject matter.

7.3.1 The Daily Exigencies of the University: Championing the Intercultural

The continued existence and viability of academic subjects and taught degree programmes are reliant on their ability to recruit students. This is a practical element which the University must consider as it cannot continue to survive without students and this in part drives what has become an intensely competitive environment between universities. This creates an environment where programme managers must 'champion' their programme in an effort to recruit students.

This raises a number of questions including what exactly 'championing' the subject matter should entail. The importance of an individual or a small group acting as an advocate for intercultural communication or intercultural studies is a recurring theme from interviews conducted with academics in other universities where in several cases interviewees stated that the subject matter has emerged largely as a result of one or two people's efforts. This is evident in Julian's description of the development of the subject matter in his university:

The story at [university name] is one of two mavericks, I'm a maverick in my institution, and [name], she's the person in Translation, is also a maverick. So it's two mavericks who brought in an area to the curriculum which [...] had no space before and didn't necessarily have any institutional encouragement. And we both ploughed our own paths with those...with that intercultural tag. And we have created our own spaces which have been tolerated, which have grown to some extent, been influential to some extent[...].

(Interview: 'Julian' 24 January 2013)

Julian's statement above clearly illustrates his involvement with helping to push the institutionalisation of the subject matter into his university. However, it does not indicate the degree to which he may have been involved in the marketing of programmes and the recruitment of students and whether theoretical sacrifices were needed in the promotion of the subject matter. This is where I personally have struggled with a tension between the requirement to market and recruit students and my perception of a need to retain a critical approach to the subject matter which required nuanced language in order to avoid an essentialist framing of the subject matter.

This can be seen in the case of 'The MA' and my own fear over what is potentially lost in translation in the process of marketisation. This tension also spilled beyond language and also concerned my anxiety over other marketing exercises such as brochures and photographs.

7.3.2 The Daily Exigencies of the University: The Brochure

In the following two ethnographic observations, which should be considered as closely connected, I am 'writing myself into the research'. The first observation was recorded

in four field note entries below concerning the production of a brochure for the MA programme:

We've realised that none of the marketing team is going to produce a brochure for the MA programme so it is down to us to do so with some help from the School. Unfortunately, the scheduling of the photos is now outside of teaching and so we have to do a 'fake' lesson with students smiling and me pretending to teach. I have extreme reservations about this. We'll see how it goes, but it sits very uncomfortably with me.

(Field Notes 7 December 2012: 'The Brochure')

Although I found the session quite painful, the students were very friendly and cooperative. They didn't seem to mind participating and the short lesson at least had a small purpose in that we chose some ethical questions for discussion. We'll see the reactions when the brochures come out.

(Field Notes 14 December 2012: 'More Brochure')

What was unexpected for me in this situation was the students' reactions to the brochure and this was a development that I found difficult to interpret. The field notes record my thoughts after receiving the brochures and how the students' reacted to seeing the brochures in the two following entries.

The brochures are out and actually look really good. Will the students feel exploited? Will any object to having their photos included despite having signed a permission slip?

(Field Notes 9 January 2013: 'More Brochure')

The students are requesting copies of the brochure to send to friends and family; rather than seeming to feel exploited they appear to be happy that their pictures are included. How should I read this? Are the students happy to see something which looks 'legitimate' which they have chosen to participate in?

(Field Notes 16 January 2013: Students' reaction)

There are a number of possible interpretations of the students' reactions, but I will suggest one possibility which is that the students are so immersed in the discourses of marketisation within Higher Education that they readily accept their new position in this environment. In this view, the brochures can be seen to bestow a sense of legitimacy and esteem on the programme which they or their parents have paid for. Thus, as education becomes increasingly commodified, participating in a photo shoot for a new programme brochure is an activity which most students do not even give a second thought to. Comparisons can be drawn here with the argument that consumerist attitudes to education are 'deeply engrained' in students and thus a photo shoot for a brochure would only seem 'natural' (Nixon, Scullion and Molesworth 2011:206).

It should be acknowledged that the above tension primarily centred on the artificiality of visual images in the making of the brochures and clearly images in themselves arguably do not have a specific subject matter paradigm. However, the third closely related ethnographic observation which follows concerned the discrepancy between the marketing demands on *language* and the perceived need to retain a sense of a critical approach to the subject matter.

7.3.3 The Daily Exigencies of the University: The Newsletter and Competing Paradigms

The final ethnographic observation also concerns 'The MA' and the marketing of this programme. As stated above, the need to market university programmes to perspective students has become increasingly emphasised in HE and arguably the rationale for establishing the 'The MA' was to attract a greater number of postgraduate 'international' students to the University. Marketing is now conducted via a range of platforms including social media and a range of targeted messages in the forms such as ezines, brochures or, in this instance, newsletters.

In this account I was invited by a marketing assistant working within the School (Jenny) to an interview to promote 'The MA' in a newsletter. The interview transpired and included a range of questions including what the programme entails, who the students are, what kinds of modules are included and what students do after completing the MA. After the interview was completed I received the initial draft some days later from Jenny. I have chosen not to analyse the draft in its entirety but to simply focus on the 'headline' and first paragraph of the draft newsletter as seen below:

Make languages and culture your career

Would you like to improve your professional language skills? Or develop your understanding of cultural diversity, and the politics and cultures of other countries? [...], module leader on the programme, gives an insight into the course, and how it could take your career further.

(Document 58: The Newsletter)

Receiving the newsletter draft provoked an anxiety which was similar to what I experienced above in the making of the brochure. This was partially due to the emphasis on employability, but more significantly in the newsletter's use of the term culture. Regarding employability, it was clear that from the marketing assistant's perspective, the article needed to emphasise how the MA could contribute to a future career. The remit of the newsletter was to communicate the selling point of 'The MA'. The subject matter of the programme (in this case intercultural studies) thus becomes what future students can build a career on in the way that studying engineering can make one an engineer. The data from the focus group in section 7.2 helps to illustrate that this is certainly an important consideration particularly for a taught postgraduate programme and thus the marketing assistant would be expected to highlight what future applicants to the programme may consider as the most important feature of the programme. In this respect, the inclusion of information about future careers is pragmatic, expected and an aspect of simply doing what the marketing assistant would have seen as necessary part of the job.

However, from my point of view, the framing of culture in the headline was incongruent with the ethos of 'The MA' as it was, despite its vagueness, treated as a solid and reified form. As one of the primary objectives of the MA was to help encourage a critical interpretation of the concept of culture, what appears to be lost in translation between the language of marketing and the language of academia was the need for a critical definition of how terms are being used.

In producing the newsletter there were two social actors who are operating from different vantage points and doing what they believed their job entailed. From the marketing assistant's viewpoint, the 'USP' of the programme needed to be communicated clearly to future applicants and this included articulating how the programme will further their future career. From my perspective, it was important to articulate the critical and non-essentialist approach taken on the programme.

However, as someone who was involved with 'The MA', I also recognised the need to recruit students to ensure the viability of the programme. This positioned me uncomfortably between two competing agendas which I attempted to negotiate as best as possible. It also provoked self-doubt as I wondered whether I was simply being overly sensitive.

These ethnographic accounts suggest a tension between the daily exigencies of the University as seen in its marketing versus the need to critically define the subject matter. They also raise the question of whether the commercialisation within the University is compatible with a critical pedagogy.

7.4 Conclusion

What has begun to emerge in this chapter is an environment where social actors encounter the subject matter thus prompting decisions as to how it fits into their roles

and duties within the University. Whether or not this entails a consideration or recognition of the need for a particular stance or paradigm can depend on who encounters the subject matter and their role within the University. In the above data, arguably the librarian and the marketing assistant were not aware of a particular theoretical stance in relation to the intercultural as the subject matter was merely one momentary aspect of their job.

Building upon figure 9 from section 6.7, figure 10 below illustrates and highlights the inclusion of social actors to the flow of discourses and policies. Although social actors have been placed below the subject matter within the diagram to highlight the encounter with the subject matter, I recognise that different social actors also play a role in all stages of the dissemination of discourse into both the University and School.

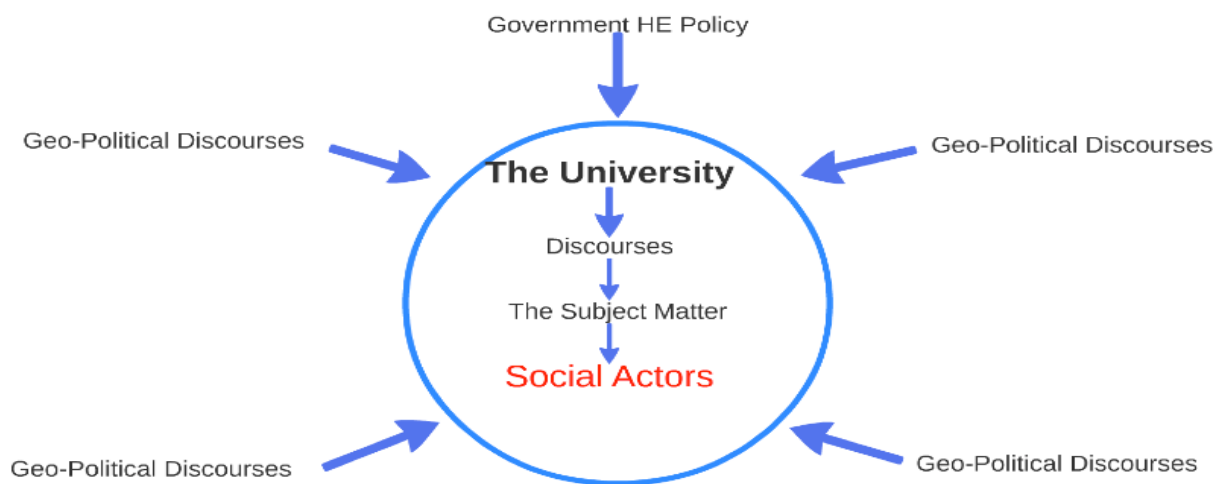


Figure 10: 'Social Actors Encountering the Subject Matter'

The positioning of University staff in respect to the subject matter can be influenced by a range of factors including personal trajectories and roles as well as a sense of belonging to a particular subject area. This may also be demonstrated through displays of small culture formation which will be introduced in the following chapter. In exploring the various positions taken by social actors as they encounter the subject matter (or act as catalysts for its emergence) a range of positions and uses begins to materialise which spans from a blurring of the University discourse and subject matter to a reinterpretation of the subject matter as a means to counter or resist University discourse. In this respect, the subject matter itself is contested as will be seen in chapter 9.

Table 5 below offers an additional visual illustration which attempts to categorise the various positions taken as a result of the encounter with the subject matter as seen in chapters 5 and 6. However, I would like to be very cautious with this system of classification as it is not done in order to place social actors in closed categories or 'boxes', but to illustrate how specific examples can demonstrate the wide range of positions taken with respect to the subject matter. Finally, it is also important to retain evidence which demonstrates how social actors negotiate and navigate between contrasting positions and discourses.

Example of the encounter with the subject matter.	Social Actors & Location	Paradigm	Comments
<p>Example: Internationalisation Chapter 6</p> <p>Invoked through Neoliberal Discourses</p>	<p>University Senior Management and then established across the University</p> <p>Pushed from above from senior management</p>	<p>Essentialist & Methodological Nationalism</p>	<p>Strategically vague</p> <p>Conflation of terms</p> <p>Use of instrumentality which plays to motivation.</p> <p>Individual social actors can contest this version of internationalisation.</p>
<p>Example: The Library Journals Chapter 7</p>	<p>Librarian and Academic Staff</p> <p>Library, School and 'The MA'</p>	<p>Loss of academic journals can demonstrate a lack of support for a critical paradigm</p>	<p>Resources dedicated to what the University prioritises. In this case marketing over academic resources.</p>
<p>Example: The Brochure & The Newsletter Chapter 7</p>	<p>Marketing team and Academic Staff</p> <p>School & 'The MA'</p>	<p>Tension between essentialist and non-essentialist paradigms</p>	<p>Marketing staff unaware of paradigms for the subject matter, but simply doing her job.</p> <p>Tension over language</p>

Table 5: Analysis 1 of the Encounter with the Subject Matter

Chapter 8: Encountering the Subject Matter - Disjunctures and an Uneven Reception

Understanding is fraught with ambiguity and contradiction, as it becomes clear that the range of positions to be occupied within a single space are many and varied and that the nature of the space is constantly contested. (Edwards and Usher 1994: 196)

8.1 Introduction

This chapter continues the exploration of the institutionalisation of the subject matter and the reception given to it by social actors within the University. This chapter begins with data which highlights the influence of the School and relationship which social actors have with their specific subject area (formerly known as 'departments'). In attempting to understand the positioning of subject actors, data has pointed to the significance of factors such as an individual's predefined role within the School or University, an individual's sense of belonging to a subject area within the School and an individual's particular specialism such as 'cultural studies'. These factors only partially help to contribute to an understanding of the institutional 'identity' of the individual social actor and how this may influence the position social actors take with respect to the emergent subject matter and it should be recognised that attempts to categorise the 'identity' of social actors are highly presumptuous particularly given that 'how people wish to be seen is a complex business that cannot be predefined' (Holliday 2011: 61). Moreover, these influences are not wholly deterministic as the concept of positioning must also recognise that 'fluid positionings, not fixed roles, are used by people to cope with the situation they usually find themselves in' (van Langenhove and Harre 1999: 16). However, knowledge of the various stratas and areas of the School can help to

inform the stances taken by individual social actors as they encounter the emerging subject matter. The chapter then shifts to the institutional push for the subject matter by analysing specific data gathered in connection to 'The Strands' before then turning to contrast examples of positioning from social actors who encounter the emerging subject matter.

The importance of a subject area to institutional identity and the fluidity of the subject area can be seen in the comments made below by Patrick in reference to cultural studies.

I think of myself as a cultural studies person, but not many people know what that is and in fact put two cultural studies people together and they might not agree as to what that means either.

(Interview: 'Patrick' 7 March 2013)

In this short extract, Patrick associates himself with cultural studies while also drawing distinctions between the variant approaches to his subject. His statement is illustrative of the complexity involved in trying to understand the positioning of social actors. Before exploring the various positions taken by social actors who have encountered the emergence of the subject matter, this chapter introduces themes emerging from data concerning the School itself and themes related to managerialism, administration and practices of 'othering'. These themes are relevant to the study because they exert an influence on the institutionalisation of the subject matter.

8.2 The School: Tensions Between Small Cultures and a Unified School

This section will explore data which highlights the tensions between small culture formation and the larger organisational structure of the School and tensions surrounding administrative demands. There are potential conflicts between attachment to a subject, specialism or subject area versus a larger School identity. Moreover, the increasing demands of the University require some staff to assume multiple roles which can be in conflict. This may include fulfilling some of the possible requirements for their own career advancement through taking on a School role which includes a substantial degree of administrative duties while also continuing to conduct research which is one of the measuring sticks for academic success within the University.

Not only are these multiple roles a possible source of conflict, interview data noted there was an emerging anxiety related to the tension between the subject area and larger School. While this relationship was not entirely seen in a negative light as seen in the comments by Solomon, a former department head, he questions whether the School identity can supersede a departmental identity.

On the other hand, (the School) had its positive side too, especially in creating a sense of belonging to a broader constituency and instigating collaboration between constituent Departments. On the whole, though, academics are more often than not tied to their own disciplines, and it is within the bounds of each discipline that the vast majority of research is carried out. To water down this identity is, in my estimation, counter-productive. Shot-gun weddings just don't work.

(Interview: 'Solomon' 9 February 2013)

The degree of frustration expressed by former University academics regarding the relationship between the School and department has continued over time. This is apparent in a memorandum from a Language Centre Management Group meeting in the late 1990s where it notes the following:

We have made a lot of suggestions this year, and a lot of protests. In the end, has anyone really listened? We do not have the confidence of [the School] throwing up a better management of our operations than ourselves.⁶⁰

(Document 63: Appendix 3.1)

What emerges from these comments can be understood in reference to Holliday's 'grammar of culture' (2011; 2013a). The participants have been integral to a small culture (the Department or Centre) which they believed was under threat. These threats are then expressed through 'statements about culture' where the participants attempted to establish delineations between their own small culture and the larger organisational structure of the School. In this sense, the School serves as the 'Other' against which small culture identity is constructed or expressed. The daily practices which the participants associated with their small culture are then contrasted against another more threatening culture which the participants believe will eventually destroy their own working practices.

The formation of a School can be seen as an attempt at small culture formation to replace the smaller cultures of departments and teaching units. Despite these attempts, there are arguably many members of staff working within the School who retain their

⁶⁰ I recently was present in a meeting almost 20 years later where the exact same sentiments were expressed.

sense of institutional identity through their attachment to their specific subject area and who have less allegiance or concern with wider School matters. These University staff may continue to find themselves in opposition to School practices and create ways in which they resist or play with the new practices (Holliday 2013a: 53). To these people, their more localised subject areas remain a cultural resource and give them a greater sense of institutional identity. They may well have a complex relationship to the School which was foisted upon them as their administrative and disciplinary 'home' within the University.⁶¹

The School's organisational identity (or small culture) requires, like any small culture, constant maintenance and in this respect the School is particularly active. This is achieved through various activities such as regular School-wide communication through weekly newsletters which highlight and praise the achievements of various members of the School. This maintenance is part of the 'creation of social glue which is implicit in small culture formation' (Holliday 2013a: 53). This process of small culture formation, now within the School, is also similarly expressed through 'statements about culture' which include 'outward expressions of Self and Other' vis-à-vis other Schools throughout the University.

8.2.1 Bureaucratic Toil

Although the bureaucratic nature of the University and School was not a theme which I was necessarily expecting to emerge, data suggested that it was both a strong concern

⁶¹ Parallels can be drawn here with the maintenance of 'national' identities. The allegiance to one's country is not primordial, but rather held together by a narrative of imagined communities (Anderson 1991) and (invented) traditions (Hobsbawm & Ranger 1983). This can be seen in a plethora of references to country which Billig labels as 'banal nationalism' (Billig 1995).

to interview participants and an historical issue which was identified during efforts to formally establish the School. Its relevance to the subject matter will become apparent at the end of this section.

As stated above, members of staff within the modern HE environment must often assume multiple roles which can potentially be conflicting and require a high degree of time management. The negative effects which stem from the requirement to wear 'multiple hats' may also be compounded by excessive bureaucratic demands. This perceived burden of bureaucracy can be seen in interview comments by a retired former Head of Department (Solomon). His comments suggest a premonition that the creation of the School would, in his mind, lead to an increase in bureaucracy and a distraction from the traditional roles that academics were expected to fulfil:

Contrary to official thinking on the matter, I believe the disadvantage was administrative simply because instead of saving on bureaucracy, it added another layer. [...] I was horrified to see the amount of time that was being spent by young colleagues on administrative matters. There had been a proliferation of committees which absorbed much time that should have been spent on research and course development. I think younger colleagues felt under a lot of pressure and staff rotation, as people became disillusioned and left, was disastrously high.

(Interview: 'Solomon' 9 February 2013).

These comments are echoed by Mary, another retired academic member of staff, who also expressed dissatisfaction over the increase of administration associated with the creation of the School:

Well, I think it was mainly that people didn't really see the need for it. I think they also foresaw, [...] that of course it would create unnecessary administrative layers as indeed it did. I mean the whole reasons, "oh, well you know things could be centralised, you know, it would actually cut out duplication of this and that and the other." But, in fact, as everybody knew, you had a director of the School and the people servicing that and then eventually all kinds of School offices were created, and so the whole thing snowballed until there were more administrators than people.

(Interview: 'Mary', 7 March 2013)

Comparisons between the concerns expressed by Solomon and Mary relating to the creation of the School and excessive managerialist controls and audits are similarly (and strongly) expressed by current academics. Arguably the sentiments relating to the 1990s have grown even stronger over time as can be seen in Patrick's comments below:

H: So, just a very broad question to start with about your work in the [School name]. I'm just curious about what things you enjoy in the [School name] and maybe what things you don't enjoy about your work in the [School name].

P: What I don't enjoy is the very bureaucratic nature of the institution, the way that you're continually patronised and forced to audit your work, you can quote me on this, it really fucks me off (laughter) and I don't like the fact that we're overworked. So, it's very difficult to feel that you're doing a good job

because you're constantly doing things faster than you should be doing them. It also eats into your personal life in a way that's very unhelpful.

(Interview: 'Patrick' 7 March 2013)

Another academic working within the School (Yan), expresses similar sentiments:

What I don't like [...] about my work, I think it's the bureaucracy. I think that [...] you literally could see how the bureaucracy is piling on itself. It sort of gains its own momentum and really is taking over the sort of the agency of all workers involved. And I think that includes the support staff as well. I'm quite sure that they feel it and also generating it and sometimes I wonder if we're ever going to stop because it takes on a life of its own.

(Interview: 'Yan' 21 February 2013)

The data associated with the theme of bureaucratic toil suggests that the ever increasing amount of administrative duties associated with their work leaves academics with less time to devote to what they consider to be more productive tasks or to develop their own specialist research areas.

8.2.2 The Attachment to a Subject Area

While the tensions between academics' sense of attachment to their own particular 'department' as opposed to the larger School explored above may have been more palpable in the earlier stages of the formation of the School through the 1990s, findings suggest a continued sense of unease among some staff. This sense of unease can partially stem from a realisation that they have been employed by the University for their expertise in a particular subject area and they must keep a strong research profile

in that area despite the many other requirements of the School. Betty's comments represent the need to negotiate and balance different roles within the School:

But over the course of the years, I certainly feel now that I need to go back to [specialism name] because I'm not... well, I've done too much admin so I need to spend more time actually reading in my subject area, my original subject area, to sustain what I am within the University and to be successful within the University's terms.

(Interview: 'Betty' 9 December 2013)

Although interview participants may no longer talk as above in terms of 'shot-gun weddings' (Section 8.2), points of tension remain for some of the academic staff participating in this study. Two examples below from academics working within the School demonstrate fairly typical responses to their relationship with the larger organisation. In both the degree of laughter was taken as a sign of a significant degree of frustration. The sense of frustration can also be a result of trying to implement School policies throughout all the various subject areas which may have a number of 'resistant' staff members. The case of Helga is significant for two reasons. Firstly, although she demonstrates a degree of frustration that her challenging School role brings, she also demonstrates an ability to navigate between her own subject area identity and the larger School organisation. This can be seen in the following interview excerpt:

H: Thinking about the [School name] as a whole, do you feel a particular attachment to your department or to the [School]?

He: And you're recording this < laughter >? Well, both really, I think that's changed over the last couple of years in particular. Obviously because I've got a

School role which ties me into the School, but I think also the School has become more of a big unit. Probably 50 / 50. Around the University I'd probably identify myself as [School name], because that's who I'm representing, but if I'm in academia, it's linguistics. I'd say, 'yes I'm in linguistics at [university name], within the [School name]', but it's linguistics that would always come first.

(Interview: 'Helga' 25 May 2013)

It is important to note that the association with the School and School roles are not universally seen in a negative light and that while academic staff clearly draw on a sense of belonging from their respective subject areas, they also may not want to feel restricted to them. In this respect, the School offers a possible area of expansion. This sense of navigating multiple influences on identity formation is an important part of what can be considered as intercultural, but the ease of which these identities can be balanced can differ. Interview comments from Matthias suggests that he clearly sees his role within the University as encompassing a broad remit which includes a highly visible role School role and is not confined to his subject area:

H: So the first couple of questions are quite broad [...]. So how would you categorise yourself in terms of your work in the university? So if somebody asked you what do you do, how would you explain what you do?

M: I'm a senior lecturer in German. I teach German language, politics, history, literature, culture and at undergraduate and post-graduate level, I am a researcher and a manager within the [school name].

H: So your identity, in a way, is both related to the wider school but also within what maybe used to be called a department in terms of German studies or...?

M: Yes, even though these areas are being broken all the time. So my research is comparative and interdisciplinary and with my background and a PhD in English literature, it's quite normal that I'm not confined to German studies.

(Interview: 'Matthias' 13 January 2014)

Matthias notes a lack of confinement in his role and opportunities for movement beyond the boundaries of his subject area. Ingmar's two-part response expresses a less positive view which includes both a sense of detachment from the School and a questioning of the (partial) 'area studies' type configuration of the School:

H: I'm just going to ask some broad questions to begin with about your work in the [School name] and things that you particularly like about your work in the [School name] or things that you dislike.

I: We might be here next week. (laughter) Well, let's bring it to the subject you're working on. I'm going to start with things I don't like actually. The way you described your understanding of kind of intercultural communication and what you're doing, your project, it sounds to me like a history of knowledge in itself, kind of how a discipline itself has evolved and my kind of problem with this university is that it is less interested in that historical aspect and the kind of wider context. It's really stuck in this very mundane, practical understanding of what subjects are. And it's very much driven by the way it used to be

many years ago to the extent that, for example, colleagues and units in our School are referred by the main language they teach, not actually what they do in actual terms which again reminds me of the old signs of the Cold War because it's kind of like a base camp of spies, or something like that, as opposed to a unit where you learn many things, not just linguistic skills as such.

H: And do you feel a particular attachment to what used to be called your department, Russian, or do you feel a wider part of the [School name], or is that relevant?

I: No, I don't feel I'm part of it although this is what my contract says and this has been part of the problem, and the university does structure us according to those rubrics.

(Interview: 'Ingmar' 7 March 2013)

While Ingmar may have a similar lack of confinement as other academics, he expresses a degree of frustration that the 'rubrics' of the School structure are much less adventurous and have a historical resonance which restricts and narrows. This suggests a possible disjuncture between School structures and academic interests.

8.3 University 'Othering'

The degree of 'Othering' which is prevalent within the School was also an unexpected theme which emerged and was expressed strongly by participants who passed judgement on other Schools within the University. Here Patrick comments on another School which is also involved in cultural studies:

[...] obviously in the [name of School] there would be people doing stuff related to cultural studies, but they're so fucking arrogant up there that you can't get near them. So, it's a bit frustrating.

(Interview: 'Patrick' 7 March 2013)

Klaas expresses similar sentiments about another School:

H: And have they [School name] been pretty receptive as well?

K: No. I don't think that [School name] is a very receptive unit. They're very much inward looking. It may change and they, you know, with new hires in Middle Eastern Studies that could well change and with this new research collaboration at the, sort of, research groups. But so far, they don't really need us and it's more that we need them in a way.

(Interview 'Klaas' 8 May 2013)

Bastian's following comments are specifically related to 'The Cornerstones' and are directed at what he sees as a lack of cooperation and balance between the two Schools which are responsible for joining together to deliver the module.

H: Right. I wasn't planning this question but what about... I'm just thinking in terms of the relationship with other schools such as [School name].

B: Do they talk to us? That's the problem, isn't it?

H: Yeah.

B: So...

H: [...] and you're not the first person to say this.

B: The reality is, if you look at the genesis of this cornerstone module, it was originally envisaged to be actually co-taught between the [School name 1] and [School name 2].

H: Right.

B: That was the idea and this is how it should be done, shouldn't it? But it's not happening because ... it's all [School name 1] and you wouldn't believe how many times we invited them to come on board. There's no interest whatsoever because we do not have that equal playing field. We have a quite... in fact we have a very... you know, we are very low in the food chain, that's how it is and the discipline is looked down upon, area studies specialist, in my own perception or experience.

(Interview: 'Bastian' 23 October 2013)

Bastian's following comments can be seen as questioning the hidden reality behind aspects of interdisciplinarity and collaboration. The lack of cooperation he felt was being shown by a more 'powerful' part of the University⁶² reflects how he believes that his own School is perceived across the University. In this respect, Bastian's sense of institutional identity is created in relation to his perception of other areas of the University.

At this point it is worth considering why this tension with administrative demands and displays of 'othering' are relevant to the current study. The first point relates to the

⁶² Power in this case is largely derived from student numbers and ranking systems.

purely practical situation whereby staff members feel overworked and overburdened by excessive bureaucracy and become sceptical regarding new initiatives and subject matter emerging within the School. Academic staff with very limited time and increasing institutional demands must prioritise their work and research interests and new subject matter emerging within the School through an institutional push may be considered as an unnecessary distraction. This tension can also affect how staff may view larger initiatives which filter into the School such as ones which make use of the subject matter and require a degree of support from staff. This can result in a range of positions from avoidance or resistance to cooperation and implementation.

Secondly, the degree of 'othering' shown in the findings demonstrates that staff members are also aware of their own institutional capital, to perceptions of esteem and to the competition between Schools within the University. This can also have an influence on how they may align themselves with discursive regimes and how they strategically select their research and teaching interests. Academics within the School are often known for their particular expertise in one or two specific areas. While this may not restrict them to these areas, there may be negligible motivation for these academics to devote substantial time to a focus outside of these research interests. What emerges from this section is a keen sense of the need for positioning and navigation within the University and this helps to highlight that the University and School can be considered as a microcosm for what can be considered as intercultural.

8.4. The Institutional Push: 'Intercultural Understanding'

Before moving to consider specific positions that social actors have taken in respect to the emergence of the subject matter, the next two sections will focus on 'The Strands' whose profile within the University was widespread as a result of considerable

publicity. Two salient points about this particular form of emergence are that it was firstly introduced less as a subject grounded in a particular discipline, but as a term (intercultural understanding) which was to be assimilated into the University's curriculum and, secondly, it was pushed down through higher echelons of the University's management. Interview data with one of the academics who was instrumental to the introduction of the theme demonstrates how the theme materialised from senior management of the University:

The project started, it must be four to five years ago, and at that stage, there were big chunks of work to do with research-led learning and institutionalising level 3 research projects. There was a section on assessment, there was a section on broadening, and the powers that be looked at the then team of pro-Deans and said, you do that one, you do that one, and you do that one. [...] It's as simple as you trot off to the PVC's office and she sits you down and says, would you like to do it? And by and large you don't say yes and you don't say no in those circumstances.

(Interview: 'Mitchell' 21 March 2014)

Mitchell's comments above demonstrate the institutional push of the subject matter which was largely 'from above' and was complete with the necessary weight of pro-Deans. This offers a marked contrast offered in section 7.3 where there was a lack of subject matter resources within the library's budget. Moreover, the manner in which the subject matter was being institutionalised as a term was without reference to any particular paradigm and it was presented as neutral and self-explanatory.

8.4.1 Promoting ‘The Strands’: Employability and Exoticism

Modules which fall into the theme of intercultural understanding are promoted to students through a publicity campaign which includes videos posted on YouTube and through a variety of University media platforms. These videos are in addition to the more general video discussed in section 6.3 which promoted both ‘The Strands’ and ‘Curriculum Enhancement Scheme’. As ‘The Strands’ attempted to link the study of languages with the notion of intercultural understanding, it is difficult to separate these two concepts within an analysis of the promotion. However, the attributes and settings chosen for the promotional video connote two principle ideas to prospective students. Moreover, the style of language in the video where, for example, students are told that they can construct their own ‘personal pathways’ and can be ‘spoilt for choice’ also carries attributes of marketing language similar to that introduced in chapter 6.4.

The first idea communicated in the video is that the value of learning a language is seen primarily as a key to employability and broadening. The focus of the value of ‘broadening’ emphasises building ‘well-rounded graduates’ with a ‘broad range of skills’ and includes an example of the importance of language skills from an overseas marketing manager. Marketing materials directed towards prospective students asks the question, provides the answer and ends with a warning:

Want to get ahead? Get a language! Employers and the business community have identified a major shortfall in foreign language skills as a barrier when it comes to graduates competing in a global market. So don’t be left behind....

(Document 61: Appendix 3.1)

The message conveyed is that the value of learning an additional language should be seen in primarily economic terms and in 'keeping up' with others. The second message which is communicated and may represent an attempt to bring culture into the equation is foreign exoticism which is achieved through visual salience where 'certain features in compositions are made to stand out' (Machin and Mayr 2012: 54). The video foregrounds what may arguably resonate with Said's (1997) notion of orientalism as it employs images which have been selected to accentuate foreign exoticism through scenes of 'traditional' Chinese street musicians, market food, a crowded train and a tourist street in what appears to be Nepal (Figures 11 and 12). The semiotic choices made in the selection of the images are made in order to accentuate and arguably commoditise a difference which is then to be explored and discovered on the University modules. This use of language arguably suggests an analogy to colonialisation where 'new worlds' are to be discovered.



Figure 11 Street Musicians

The two images in figures 11 and 12 can create conflicting reactions. On the one hand, they both appeal as destinations which I personally would like to 'discover'. However, given the potential visual images which are available to represent a modern China, the use of traditional street musicians is a telling one which was arguably chosen in order to construct an exoticised 'west as steward' discourse where 'modernity and progress resides in the West' (Holliday 2013: 110). Moreover, the city street scene below in figure 12, which appears to be a representation of Nepal, stands in contrast to the above marketing (page 248) of the importance of language given that Nepalese is not offered as a language which students can study within the School.

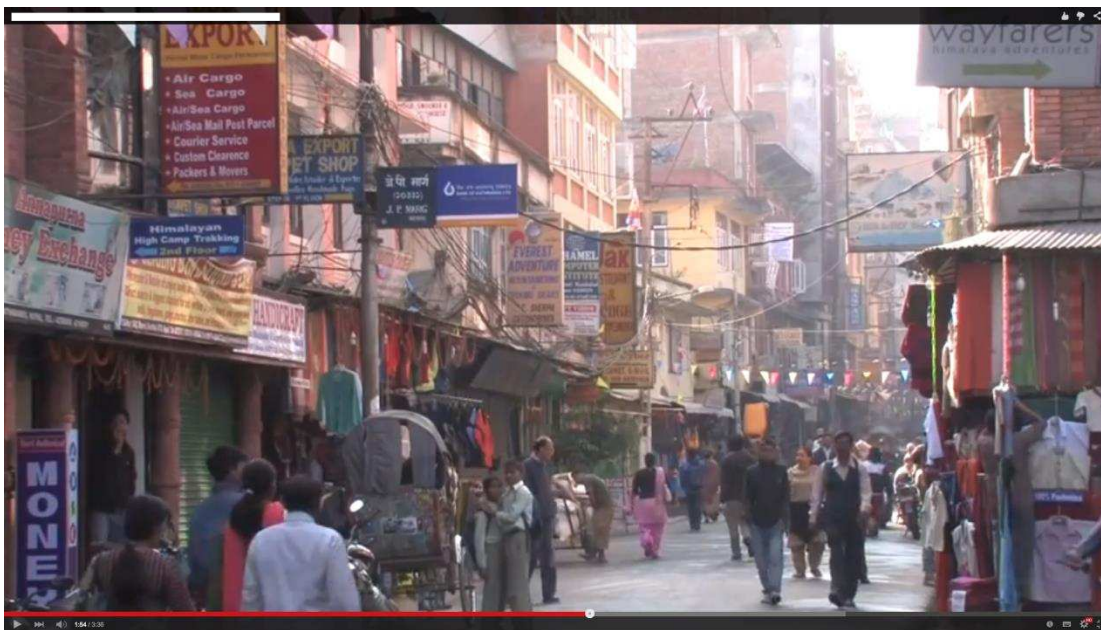


Figure 12: City Street

While the apparently natural link between language and intercultural understanding may appear to be a sensible and practical one, it can lead to ambiguity over how intercultural understanding is arrived at or whether it is simply a natural result of

language study. Piller (2011:47) in criticizing the 'language X – culture X fallacy' explains this potential confusion:

Despite the fact that the relationship between a particular language and a particular culture is obviously relative, a universal relationship is often assumed and asserted in the literature on intercultural communication, particularly when it comes to official national language and the national cultures they are supposedly matched to. (Piller 2011: 47)

I would not want to dispute either the value of learning languages nor of increased knowledge of the world, but these values are communicated through the words and images which draw heavily on the discourse of employability/broadening and globalisation and in a linguistic style which is increasingly in-keeping with marketisation. In this respect, the above rubric of 'language X = culture X' fits neatly into this paradigm and the link is taken as 'natural' (see appendix 3.2.3: Document 6). However, given the importance of language learning, there is an argument that this rubric is justifiable and that any way in which students can be enticed to study languages and gain some form of intercultural understanding is worthwhile. This argument will be addressed in chapter 10.

8.4.2 Breadth versus Depth

The institutional push of the subject matter, as seen in 'The Strands' (through intercultural understanding), at undergraduate level was largely done under the auspices of 'breadth'. Breadth, or in the University's terms 'broadening', is a term which was applied to the curriculum enhancement scheme which allowed students to choose modules outside of their specific discipline which were grouped under a rationalised set of 10 key 'strands' (see section 6.3). Although this may potentially

encourage interdisciplinarity, it is not necessarily synonymous with it. The tension between breadth versus depth was a theme which arose early in the data collection starting with comments by Solomon, a now retired member of staff. While his comments were directed at the historical evolution of the School, they represent both concern and recognition of potential value in expanding areas of study:

The broadening out into new areas of study was positive; the 'pick-and-mix' modular approach much less so, because the methodological questions appropriate to each discipline (language, literature, film, political science, sociology, art) were hardly ever considered. But this is a national, not a [University name], deficiency. The lack of foundational training becomes horrendously obvious at the MA and PhD level.

(Interview: 'Solomon' 9 February 2013)

Other interview participants also noted similar tensions between breadth versus depth as seen in comments by Candice:

You could say that a UK degree up until now has been about the opposite of broadening, it is depth and becoming specialists in an area.

(Interview 'Candice' 19 July 2013)

However, the palpable sense of ambiguity regarding the notion of broadening was one which reoccurred in comments by interview participants. Paolo expresses this ambiguity eloquently:

One thing a teacher of mine used to say was that in some ways there's so much more to know now. So, we might not have that sort of depth but there is a breadth. I mean I don't know if that somehow reflects the sort of world that we live in where students might not know this particular 19th century author, and whether he was a 'realist' or a 'romantic', but they might know a lot more about music or film or this sort of wide, ... I guess the kind of cultural studies turn has made those things as equally as valuable and maybe they are more valuable for the students, you talk about intercultural communication, in the world we live in if a student wants to go and work in Brazil, maybe having this knowledge of soap operas, music and popular culture, it's probably more useful than having this knowledge of a 19th century grandfather of Brazilian poetry who most Brazilians aren't going to know either. So, yeah, I don't know, I'm very ambivalent about it.

(Interview: 'Paolo' 31 January 2013)

In contrast to Paolo's comments, catalysts for introducing broadening into the University curriculum are sanguine about its potential value as can be seen in comments from Candice who was instrumental to the development of 'The Strands'.

I think the third reason is the <university name> rationale is we want to produce these young people who will have a global mindset and who won't just know about their discipline and will have skills that they will have developed in lots of different ways, and whether that's through volunteering on a Wednesday afternoon or through sports, but not just through their discipline, this is another way of actually having evidence of these skills, and having something new.[...] So we're looking at having gateway modules so that we can give students access so

they can have a taster to see, yes, I could do this. Or it might be they have a very different style of assessments and that would be really good for them. So they don't just know this is my discipline and this is how it's assessed; it really will be broadening in lots of ways, and I think that's a really good idea.

(Interview: 'Candice' 19 July 2013)

To return to the subject matter, while these arguments for the benefit of broadening are compelling, the disadvantages of this particular view of broadening is that it may lead to the intercultural or intercultural understanding as being seen as a box to be ticked within a particular module or something that can be superficially added or injected into the teaching of a variety of content, particularly language. Candice offers an example which demonstrates how intercultural understanding might become more visible in a language class.

H: Would you consider the area of intercultural understanding to follow on naturally from studying languages? Or is it something that should be approached separately?

C: When I thought about your questions, I put down, ideally embedded part and parcel of... but I think it depends on staff awareness and staff expertise. So I think if we took a crude example and let's just say Japanese. When you're teaching, let's say *itadakimasu* you're teaching students and you make this gesture and you bow, that's what you do when you say that word, that's what happens in this situation. So, on that very basic level I know that that is covered.

(Interview: 'Candice' 19 July 2013)

Although the above example from Candice was offered as a simple illustration, there is a clear concern of whether these types of examples of culture are privileged over the space, time and depth necessary to explore complexity within any area of study including language. Betty expresses these reservations:

H: What about the use of cultures in the <programme name>? Do you think that this is clearly articulated?

I: I don't know. I think there is a use to the fact that it's there because we need to indicate to students that we do something other than just teach them language, but I'm thinking of a very recent interview with a key staff member in [subject area] that was published I think with the [Newspaper name] or something, where she was talking about the value of studying Chinese and she was emphasising the fact that you have to study language with culture and I did raise an eyebrow because it's going down a path that is a sticky route. It's all too easily taken for granted that if you teach people that people bow and have chopsticks, that you'll have somehow taught the culture.

(Interview: 'Betty' 20 September 2013)

The above tension between breadth versus depth helps to highlight the contestation surrounding the subject matter's assimilation into the University curriculum. Social actors within the School experience 'The Strands' emergence 'from above' in connection with an agenda of broadening and through the subject matter's assimilation into the University discourses. This includes encountering the subject matter as a term (intercultural understanding) for which they may then be tasked with evidencing how they have implemented it into their teaching. This encounter with this particular form

of the subject matter can lead to concerns and to possible resistance which will be demonstrated in the next chapter.

8.4.3 Symbiotic Relationships and Attachments

In considering how and where the subject matter has been institutionalised, one frequent occurrence is that it has emerged in multiple forms through a perceived symbiotic attachment to other subject areas. This can be seen in, for example, 'The MA' where the subject matter is linked to 'professional language' and 'The Cornerstone' where the subject matter is linked to international business. The link between the subject matter and language as seen above is also commonly made. However, the following data from academics (Joan, Elliot) at other universities suggests that how this evolution is viewed and employed is very uneven. An academic from another university describes how the subject matter is viewed by her university as very much belonging to the study of languages.

That section, the Modern Languages Teaching Centre, began to offer languages with intercultural awareness, so the students could take those modules [...] and I think the university probably sees intercultural as belonging to languages in particular.

(Interview: 'Joan' 2 May 2013)

While this link between language and the subject matter may appear to be 'natural', data from an academic from another university reveals that this is not always the case:

H: And this emergence was it driven by academics or by maybe administrators within the university?

M: It was driven largely by academics, I'd have to say. I mean what they did, the School was then divided into two sections and this was abandoned as an idea because it didn't work for, you know, reasons which I explained. They decided to divide the School into Language Studies, Intercultural Studies and Translation Studies, so people who saw themselves as primarily teachers of a foreign language would be in the Language Studies section, people who were working basically with the kind of functionalist sort of intercultural paradigm and the comp lit people were in the Intercultural Studies and then there were the people in the Translation Studies. But of course, the division is ludicrous.

H: Right.

M: because the idea that you could do language without engaging with cultural differences, the idea that translation studies would not involve foreign languages or (laughter) ...

(Interview: 'Elliot' 6 March 2013)

Elliot's statement offers a contrast with Joan's university and suggests that there are questions which should be raised related to how the link between the subject matter and languages should be reflected in the formal structures of a university. The link between the subject matter and language in the University is evident in two forms of emergence ('The Strands' and 'The MA'). However, once this link between language and culture or language and intercultural awareness has been made, the issue which remains is how the subject matter is then treated within the pedagogy. Again, data suggests an uneven and disjointed approach with some possible cause for concern which follows.

8.5 Encounters with the Emergence: Relationships and Positioning

This chapter now moves to consider further encounters with the emergence of the subject matter. In addition to the section 8.2 which highlighted the tension between subject areas and the School, there are numerous factors which influence the individual forms of positioning with respect to the emergence of the subject matter. As individuals encounter the emerging subject matter, their positions can range widely from ambivalence or uncertainty to resistance, support or to a problematised use. The following sections in this chapter will explore these positions by drawing on ethnographic observations and interview data.

8.5.1 'Do we have anyone who does it?'

In exploring the encounter with the subject matter, one of the first themes to appear was a widespread sense of uncertainty as to what intercultural communication, intercultural studies or terms such as 'intercultural understanding' may mean. Although this appears to be a rather obvious finding given the multiple interpretations and uses of the subject matter, it is somewhat surprising given that, as mentioned previously, one of ways in which the School is represented nationally is by the University Council of Modern Languages which includes a Vice-Chair for Language and Intercultural Education and references to the term 'intercultural' are made frequently within the subject area benchmarks for Modern Languages (Document 53). Moreover, one form of emergence ('The Strands') was heavily publicised throughout the University. However, a distinction should be made between those who have considered the subject matter and grappled with its meaning and those who appear to be entirely unaware of its existence. Ethnographic observations and interview data revealed examples of both.

One example of a lack of awareness of the subject matter (in this case, intercultural communication) was apparent through a response to a prospective PhD application to the School from an applicant who was interested in undertaking a research degree within the field of intercultural communication.⁶³ The internal response from a professor to colleagues in the School was telling in terms of the lack of status that intercultural communication has within the School. To paraphrase the response, the professor noted an uncertainty of what intercultural communication is and then questioned whether anyone in the School has an interest in it or does it. The professor's comments represent a lack of engagement which should be seen as being on one end of a spectrum. While it is certainly not a crime to be unaware of the subject matter's existence or meaning, it is significant that despite the heavily publicised promotion of the subject matter and its increased visibility within the School, this professor expresses no knowledge of its emergence.

This contrasts with other interview data found on numerous occasions where academic members of staff also expressed a significant degree of uncertainty about the subject matter, but this was after substantial deliberation regarding its meaning. This was the case for interview participants who were specifically chosen due to their participation in emergence 1 ('The MA'). Several of these participants had puzzled over the nature of the subject matter prior to both their contributions to the programme and to the interviews. One example is Patrick's response:

H: So, thinking about intercultural communication, does this phrase bring anything to mind for you? For example, when you first heard it, did you have a background...?

⁶³ The two emails described in this section are noted in the collection of ethnographic documents (49), but have not been quoted in this section due to ethical considerations.

P: I have to tell you because [name] has been talking about the intercultural communication MA for a while, uh, in meetings and stuff and I had no idea what it meant. And, I've looked it up a couple of times and I'm not sure that I'm entirely clear. I mean, in a common sense way, I think I understand, but I must admit, what it means to me is purely common sense. I've tried to think about it when you asked me to teach on the module and I looked at your descriptive material and stuff, but even so, I still found it a little bit difficult to grasp, but then is that necessarily a bad thing? I think sometimes a concept has to be in becoming, you know. And this is quite useful because you are establishing its intellectual points of references and so on. But, ah, to be honest I still feel I haven't quite grasped what it might mean.

(Interview: 'Patrick' 7 March 2013)

A similar sense of uncertainty is conveyed by Yan who offers her own possible interpretation of the subject area:

H: OK. How about this term intercultural communication? When someone says intercultural communication to you, what connotations do you have?

Y: Yeah, when I first heard it within the [School] context, I immediately associated it with the sort of cultural theories, postcolonialism, postmodernism which I have to be honest, I know very little about [...]. So, my immediate association was, oh OK, so these are sort of the cultural theories that people talk about you know, alternative framework...a bit of that. But I came to work with [name] a bit more, I realised that in fact that you were a lot more, encompassing, a lot more inclusive in the sense that you were including people who were not actually, like myself, coming from the cultural school, so it was interesting

because in that sense, I've also wondered myself as to what that 'intercultural' would mean for [programme name]. Does it mean it is just a space where academics from all hues and colours could come together and talk about cultures or does it mean that you do still frame your intellectual sort of perspective or framework within a sort of postcolonial, postmodernist, cultural theories? So, in fact in some ways it's also my question. Yeah. I don't think I have the answer.

(Interview: 'Yan' 21 February 2013)

Yan's attempt to grapple with the possibilities offered by the subject matter offers a contrast with the position noted at the beginning of this section where there was a lack of awareness of the existence of the subject matter or what possibilities that it may offer.

8.5.2 Quiet Resistance, Lip Service and a Critical Turn

The following sections will present initial examples of criticality and resistance to the emergence of the subject matter. These largely pertain to emergence 3 ('The Strands') and emergence 4 ('The Cornerstones') but criticality or resistance is not limited to these forms of emergence. The close connection between 'The Strands' and the four prominent University discourses and 'The Strands' connection to the larger curriculum enhancement project may have served to make it an easier target for criticism. In fact, 'resistance' may be too strong of a term to describe how some staff members reacted to this particular emergence because rather than there being a clearly visible resistance, it has been quietly expressed. An example of this can be seen from my field notes of an ethnographic observation made after a formal School review:

Coming out of a large Student Academic Experience Review meeting with programme leaders, one academic⁶⁴ started a conversation with me and two others. He quipped, 'did you notice the rapid drop in temperature when The 'Strands' were mentioned?' This vocalised criticism was what I had suspected was prominent amongst some academics in the School, but is often either left unsaid or just stated in whispers.

(Field notes: 27 March 2014)

Exploring this particular case further, one academic, Betty, provides further insight into how individuals may react or resist large initiatives such as 'The Strands':

H: I'm getting off topic here, but a little bit – like ['The Strands'], where people are supposed to sprinkle a little bit of 'intercultural' into undergraduate [teaching] which I know a lot less about, but ... /

B: Yes, but sprinkling's fine [...] because actually most academics will simply pay lip service to it. That's what they'll do. The University can ask for what it wants but it doesn't necessarily get what it wants, it gets a charade.

H: So it's willing to spend money on this idea of the sprinkling but it's not willing to commit itself in that particular way to people teaching.

⁶⁴ I consider it significant that to my knowledge this academic did not necessarily know who I was or what particular subject area I was attached to. The fact that I am attached to a degree programme which employs subject matter terminology may have played a factor in interview participants' lack of willingness to be critical of the subject matter for fear that I was acting as a champion of the subject matter.

B: But it's different, isn't it? Because the part of the university that is producing this discourse on the ['The Strands'] and the sprinkling [...] doesn't actually think that that costs anything because what it wants is academics who are teaching modules anyway to do a bit of sprinkling. It costs nothing.

(Interview: 'Betty' 9 December 2013)

In addition to identifying this soft form of resistance ('lip service'), Betty's comments also are salient because they demonstrate how the subject matter (in this case 'Intercultural Understanding') becomes blurred with the University discourse to the degree where it is difficult to separate one from the other. In other words, 'Intercultural Understanding' could be viewed as not necessarily *servicing* the University's discourse, but becomes a phrase which is simply part and parcel of the University discourse itself.

At the risk of belabouring a point, there was little attempt to define terms or make reference to any particular paradigm for the subject matter in the emergence of 'The Strands' at the broader University level. Instead the subject matter was used as a wide umbrella label and academics were asked to categorise their modules in line with one of the key 'Strand' themes (e.g. 'global and cultural insight') and sub-theme (e.g. 'language and intercultural understanding'). This categorisation resulted in 'language and intercultural understanding' initially covering an array of 527 different modules such as 'Gender, Sex and Cinema in France', 'Made in Italy: Italian for Business', 'Issues in Hispanic and Lusophone Cinema', 'From Toussaint to Obama: Resistance in African Diaspora' and 'Postcolonial Narratives in Portugal' (Document 13). While an argument could and should be made for how each of these modules are relevant to the theme and

sub-theme, evidence of these debates is scant. Moreover, as suggested above, if academics simply 'pay lip service' to the terms, incorporating the subject matter may become a tick box exercise.

8.5.3 Criticality and Seeking Clarity

As the 'Strands' initiative was not due to be formally initiated until the 2014-2015 academic year, this may have impacted the degree of debate by academics whose modules were to use the theme and sub-theme. However, emergence 4 ('The Cornerstones') does provide an example of the type of criticality which might be expected from an academic who is asked to integrate the use of the subject matter within a particular module. This example of questioning emerged from an ethnographic observation of an email from an academic who was encouraged to use the term intercultural in essay questions in connection with one of the non-business related 'Cornerstones' modules. In this extract from an email the academic (Rafael) asks the following:

Could you elaborate on what you mean by 'intercultural' in relation to comparative literature, which in my understanding is intercultural by definition? What might a question look like that touches upon the intercultural aspects of the texts? I can't think of any off the top of my head without falling into essentialist traps, but I'm sure that's not what you mean. Any ideas gratefully received!

(Document 48: 19 February Email)

The email reveals Rafael's critical stance and questioning of terms which would be expected within the University. In a subsequent interview with Rafael, he reiterated his sense of discomfort with the term intercultural:

H: Moving on to this term intercultural, so I mentioned this email that I saw and it seemed in quite a healthy way that you were questioning possibly the School or the general use of this term.

R: Yes, [...] my general feeling is that I'm weary about using terms, when you can't ... if someone were to ask you why you were using it, you can't really be able to explain it. It looks like a buzzword and therefore it's something that we need to be shown to use.

(Interview: 'Rafael' 23 July 2014 emphasis mine)

Rafael's expectation that someone would or should be able to explain their interpretation of the subject matter is a crucial point. Rafael's choice of the term, 'be shown to use it' also conveys this sense that the subject matter is being imposed on him. His questioning of the term intercultural also extends to an anxiety about how it may lead students into essentialist traps as he explains:

Using the word intercultural in an undergraduate essay title, what actually would an undergraduate be able to do about that? [...] What my problem would be there was if you are making an exam question you don't want to be going back and saying well...this is what the Russians think like, this is what the French think like, this is what the Italians think like...

(Interview: 'Rafael' 23 July 2014)

These concerns are particularly salient as they begin to reveal clear tensions resulting from the encounter with the subject matter which has been pushed into the curriculum 'from above' and he questions the lack of engagement or attempt to define and establish

the working parameters for the term intercultural and the proliferation of the term within the University initiative.

8.5.4 Perceptions of an 'Appropriate' Use

Although there is a clear criticality and questioning of the value of the term intercultural in Rafael's response which will be further analysed in section 9.2, one theme which emerged from the data was that he was much more prepared to use the term within a marketing context during University Open Days when students were being recruited:

When I talk about intercultural understanding at Open Days to [prospective] undergraduates I feel comfortable using that particular term because during pre-application Open Days for example, where there are always a few people in a room who haven't made up their mind whether they are going to do French at all [...] so you're saying well it's not just the fact that you are going to get the linguistic benefit and it's not just the fact that you are going to get all the analytical skills that you get from any Humanities degree, but you are going to get intercultural understanding through the period of residence abroad as well as the language and that will make you aware of your own culture...so that makes sense when you're talking to a group of 17 or 18 year-olds to me and I feel I can justify that.

(Interview: 'Rafael' 23 July 2014)

What begins to emerge from Rafael's comments is that there is a perception that the subject matter and in this case the term 'intercultural understanding' is one which is theoretically weak and should be questioned in its academic application but it is a term which offers marketing value. Comparisons can be drawn to both data in section 6.4

regarding 'elite academic terms' and findings in the following section relating to theoretical terminology used in academic research.

8.5.5 Strategic Essentialism and Tainted Terms

While the above section initially explored ways in which quiet resistance and non-engagement may take place, this section introduces findings which suggest that both the University's discourse and subject matter is used strategically and, that to a certain extent, many aspects of work within the HE environment share some degree of (strategic) essentialism. This questioning of the underlying essentialism, which is part of the fabric of Universities, was seen previously in Ingmar's objection to the University's 'cold war' organisational rubrics in section 8.2.2 and is also acknowledged by Betty's following comments which relate specifically to emergence 1 ('The MA') and questions over the naming of the programme:

H: But, yes, if there was something, I don't know, a theory that people were more comfortable with, you couldn't just call it [the programme] critical-cosmopolitanism [...].

B: No, because it means nothing to students and, of course, you get buy-in from members of staff for things that have kind of consolidated themselves because, of course, they all have to accept a degree of strategic essentialism to have a job. So they might take issue with the whole subject area being called French. It doesn't do justice to the complexities, etc, and what about the Québécois? But they're going to accept a job offered as a lectureship in the department of French, if they're told that it's called the department of French and it's offering a job and it's going to pay their way in this world. So it's where you've got a problem where you've got an emerging ... or an attempt to create a

subject area but you have no one assigned to work on it whose job is dependent on it, who's willing to say this is me because it's paying my salary and I'll fly the flag for it.

(Interview: 'Betty' 9 December 2013)

Betty's comments highlight two issues. Firstly, with respect to the subject matter, it is impractical to expect substantial staff 'buy-in' to the emergence unless there is a hefty institutional push and incentive or unless sufficient staff members feel an affinity with the subject matter. However, institutional push is also not a guarantee for support as it can depend on which part of the institution is seen to be promoting the subject matter. This is particularly crucial when the subject matter is emerging as a term or in a form which has no academic or subject area home or support structure.

Secondly, 'flying the flag' for a particular subject area may well require a degree of inherent and strategic essentialism. Spivak's (1988) notion of 'strategic essentialism' may be relevant in this case, despite the fact that as Phillips points out, Spivak 'subsequently distanced herself from what she saw as misuses of the notion of strategic essentialism' (Phillips 2010: 2). Thus, my use of 'strategic essentialism' may well be viewed as another example of misuse of the term as an institution's use of the subject matter is significantly different from Spivak's focus on the subaltern. However, the above data suggests that the social actors within the University may strategically employ the subject matter in an essentialist fashion for marketing value while also keeping these terms at a safe distance from other practices such as research where the same essentialist position would be deemed to be inappropriate.

A further example of this possible conflict between the inherent essentialism prevalent in University practices and discourse and the requirements of roles was brought to light in an ethnographic observation in the form of an informal conversation with a colleague who commented on how the University wants 'to have its cake and eat it too'. This is through activities such as the recruitment of students during Open Days which may require lecturers to, for example, 'roll out guacamole and mariachis' for visiting secondary school students to attract them to the University, but yet will also require the same researchers to be at the theoretical cutting edge of their subject area and to challenge previous conceptions regarding how societies and cultures are viewed.

8.5.6 'Pushing Buttons'

Given this need to strategically balance this essentialism with the requirement to be a cutting edge researcher, data suggests that some members of staff adopt a compartmentalised approach where they make a distinction between the language and needs of the University discourses and the language and requirements of their own research. This can be seen in interview data with Matthias:

H: We've got lots of different uses within the School and also within the University of people making application of this term 'intercultural' for different reasons. Is there a danger that there's an overload?

M: No, I wouldn't think so. It's a convenient shorthand and occasionally you need to press certain buttons and, therefore, you use that word and people are not always clear about what they mean by it, just as 'interdisciplinary' or 'fluency' could mean all kinds of things, but it's a good thing to put in because it *pushes the right buttons* and people like to read it. I don't think it is... in terms of our research, we are much clearer about these things. We don't just use

interdisciplinary, we look, for example, at transnational and we talk about international, transnational and [...]. So we differentiate and we are clear about our terms but when it comes to module proposals or saying what are the aims of, say, the [module name...] it's the acquisition and the knowledge of the language and the ability to understand and speak these skills, but there's also the intercultural dimension in as a shorthand for there's more than just the language involved (Emphasis mine).

(Interview: 'Matthias' 13 January 2014)

This separation between key terms used in research as opposed to terminology used in module proposals or marketing is a key point as the use of the term 'intercultural' can become simply a way of 'pushing buttons' or satisfying the requirements of the University discourse. The requirement for clarity of terms in research contrasts with the strategically vague terms used within the University for purposes such as marketing. Within these purposes the use of the subject matter or more specifically the term intercultural becomes an umbrella term which 'pushes buttons' and is simply (an essentialist) shorthand for 'more than just language'. In this respect, the variant terms associated with interculturality are seen simply as a part of the proliferation of the University discourse as opposed to a term that has significant theoretical value or relevance within a particular discipline.

8.5.7 An Irrelevant Academic Concept?

Interview data revealed the extent that the subject matter offered useful theoretical mileage in academics' own research. To a large degree, the theoretical value that the subject matter was perceived to offer was very low. This is also apparent from the

School's research groups which make no specific mention of the subject matter⁶⁵ and were largely established on disciplinary lines and included the following: Cultural Studies, History, Language, Linguistics and Translation Studies, Literary Studies, Social Sciences and World Cinema.⁶⁶ The responses concurred with the above findings in that researchers within the School had their own terms which in most instances did not include the subject matter. Ingmar explains how the term intercultural is one which he has moved on from:

H: In your own research do you ever make use of this term intercultural?

I: I used to. I don't that much anymore only because my interests moved from a kind of interest in kind of the end of nation-states and the end of modernity to this post-modern, post-broadcast era where 'intercultural' again sort of presumes that there are entities that are stable into something more fluid so I think the terms I use more often now are transnational perhaps.

(Interview: 'Ingmar' 7 March 2013)

⁶⁵ Arguably the subject matter, particularly intercultural communication, would commonly fall within the Language, Linguistics and Translation Studies group, but theoretically it would not necessarily be restricted to a single group.

⁶⁶ In December 2014, there was a proposal to switch from groups established along disciplinary lines to a thematic organisational scheme. While there were some alterations and additions to the research groups proposed, the subject matter was again not part of the proposal. Document 57 (Appendix 3.2.13) notes in its proposal that 'groups should only be established where there is a critical mass of researchers working broadly on the same theme'. The lack of inclusion for the subject matter was thus an indication that it was not an area of research interest for academics within the School. This is in contrast to a proposal for a Centre for Excellence in Language Teaching (Document 59, Appendix 3.2.14) where the subject matter was given substantial mention.

What is particularly striking is that Ingmar's interview comments demonstrate a presumption that the subject matter operates from a modernist framework which equates culture with nationality and in this sense it is assumed to be largely essentialist.

Betty, likewise, explains that her field has its own terms:

H: And in your writing, your research, do you ever make use of the term intercultural?

B: I have today but quoting someone else. It does come up, it comes up in a particular sense that is to do with [geographical area], which I think you know about, which is to do with indigeneity and today I used it, I was simply quoting someone else who was making an argument about the way that cultural mixing was presented in a literary work. The thing with my field is that it creates enough of its own key terms really that it doesn't really need interculturality [...].

(Interview: 'Betty' 9 December 2013)

Rafael concurs with fellow academics in not making use of the term intercultural in his research. His comments highlight the careful consideration of the connotation that certain terms may have and thus motivate his decisions.

H: Sticking with this term, in your own research, would you ever use this term?

R: I don't think I ever have. I mean it is not a term as you can probably tell that I felt particularly comfortable using [...] I've been doing some work on Cosmopolitanism in the late 19th century and that's again a term where we distinguish quite carefully between international, in terms of those ideas of exchanges between nations, transnational, in a sense of something that goes

beyond the nation and the notion of world literature in a sense would be seen as something which is transnational, transcending particular nations, and often people will prefer something such as transnational or global rather than cosmopolitan because of a certain connotation of that, but again I don't think that the term intercultural is something that I have ever used.

(Interview: 'Rafael' 23 July 2014)

However, it should also be remembered that this struggle over names and theoretical terms can be a point of tension in a number of different areas and it is not limited to the subject matter. This point is highlighted in further interview data with Betty:

H: In a previous conversation we had, we talked about the 'Race Ethnicity and Indigeneity' event and you noted the lack of pulling power that the term intercultural had. Can you talk a little bit about that?

B: Well, I think there again, intercultural has had a use in terms of theatre. It's a dated use. Intercultural as a term is experiencing a resurgence at the moment in Europe, to do with European politics where people have been preferring it to multicultural and contrasting it. But I think for many people, it's perceived as quite a dated term, hence their caution. So certainly in terms of the event [...], it's dead as far as people in Performance Studies are concerned. Anyone who's trying to revive that really hasn't got a grip on the discipline [...]. So it's tainted. It's tainted because it has been used and moved on from, but everything's like that. [Term 1] was the watchword in 2005 when I edited a book on that subject. Barely had we finished publishing it than we were informed that [term 1] was now tainted and that it needed to be [term 2] that we talked about or [term 3]. So

you can't win. So I think there's a clear problem then when you have... with anything where you pick words that are fixed in the title of your unit or the title of your degree programme, because you have to invent a whole new degree programme to be able to lose that word. [...] So you're damned if you do, you're damned if you don't.

(Interview: 'Betty' 9 December 2013)

While it is clear that there will often be a certain amount of ambiguity around how the subject matter should be used, what emerges from this section is a clear reluctance on the part of academics within the School to use the subject matter (specifically terms such as intercultural or intercultural understanding) in academic research, but a willingness by some to use the subject matter in connection with University marketisation. This may lead to a realisation that to some degree the subject matter may be, to borrow the above term, 'tainted' and that many academics working within the School share a lack of affinity for the subject matter particularly if it is presumed to be inherently essentialist and if it is seen to be imposed 'from above'.

8.6 Conclusion: Interculturality From Above

The three previous chapters have helped to reveal greater detail regarding the subject matter's institutionalisation. Chapter 6 demonstrated the subject matter's affiliation with the University discourses and suggested that the emergence and institutionalisation was made possible through this relationship. Chapters 7 and 8 began to explore positions taken by social actors as they encounter and negotiate use of the subject matter within a complex environment. Findings in these chapters suggest that the stances taken in relation to the subject matter range broadly from ambiguity

and uncertainty to viewing the subject matter as closely aligned with the University's discourses. However, these positions are not necessarily straightforward due to the fact that social actors may choose to use the subject matter differently in different contexts and for different purposes and because the subject matter has emerged in various forms. The table below builds on the table introduced in chapter 7 by adding examples of the stances as seen in Chapter 8.

Example of the encounter with the subject matter and positioning	Social Actors & Location	Paradigm	Comments
Example: 'The PhD application' Chapter 8	The Professor The School	No awareness of the subject matter or any particular paradigm for it.	The subject matter is not part of the social actor's field of study or interest, but there is recognition of the importance of an expression of interest for PhD study.
Example: Contributors to the MA Chapter 8	Academic Staff (e.g. Yan, Patrick) School and 'The MA'	Struggling with the subject matter's meaning and possible paradigm.	Reflexive struggle to understand the subject matter & to engage with how it relates to their interests.
Example: Breadth vs. Depth Chapter 8	Academic Staff and 'The Strands' School & 'The Strands'	Possible tension between essentialist and non-essentialist paradigms.	Tension between how the subject matter emerges through 'broadening'. Imposed from above
Example: Resistance and 'lip service' (Student Academic Experience Review) Chapter 8	Academic Staff School & 'The Strands'	N/A	Possible resistance to a large University initiative
Example: Criticality and Seeking Clarity in the subject matter's use. Chapter 8	Academic Staff (Rafael) School & 'The Cornerstones'	Possible tension between essentialist and non-essentialist paradigms.	Anxiety that the use of the subject matter may lead into 'essentialist traps'. <i>Has to be seen to use intercultural.</i>
Example: Perceptions of an Appropriate	Academic Staff	Possible tension between paradigms.	Using the subject matter to ' <i>push buttons</i> ', through

Use in Marketing Chapter 8	(Rafael, Mattias) School & Marketing		strategic essentialism or compartmentalisation
Example: An academic concept which is not relevant to researchers' field Chapter 8	Academic Staff (Betty, Ingmar, Rafael, Mattias) School & Research	Possible tension between essentialist & non- essentialist paradigms.	Various degrees of recognition of what the subject matter entails.

Table 6: Analysis 2 of the Encounter with the Subject Matter

These various positions from a range of social actors within the University only offer a glimpse into the complexity of the environment, but they begin to shed light on the perception of the subject matter across the School. What is striking in the positioning of social actors within the School is that few staff members could be described as a 'champion' for the subject matter. While there are a range of positions resulting from the encounter with the subject matter, the encounter is largely something which has not been initiated by the social actors themselves. In other words, the subject matter is emerging through an institutional push from above. Figure 13 illustrates this sense of 'interculturality from above' in a process where the subject matter is assimilated into the University's marketing and curriculum in a process which serves the University's strategy and discourse.

To clarify my use of this term, interculturality from above does not represent a form of interculturality at all, but represents the imposed (but vague) hegemonic framework for how the concept of interculturality should be implemented within the University.

Without explicitly stating a particular paradigm, it nevertheless suggests a taken-for-granted approach to culture and interculturality and arguably seeks to constrain and limit a critical approach to the subject matter. Although the term 'above' indicates the institutional push from higher echelons of University management, this cannot be

attributed to (or blamed on) one or two social actors. Although I contrast two competing directional forces within the University as seen above and in chapter 9 (above and below), I recognise that this only scratches at the surface of a more complex environment and that discourse should be viewed more as something which 'is deployed and exercised through a net-like organization' as opposed to two competing camps (Foucault 1980: 98). Therefore, while the notion of 'above and below' has clear limitations, I retain this model primarily to note the unequal power behind the discourses.

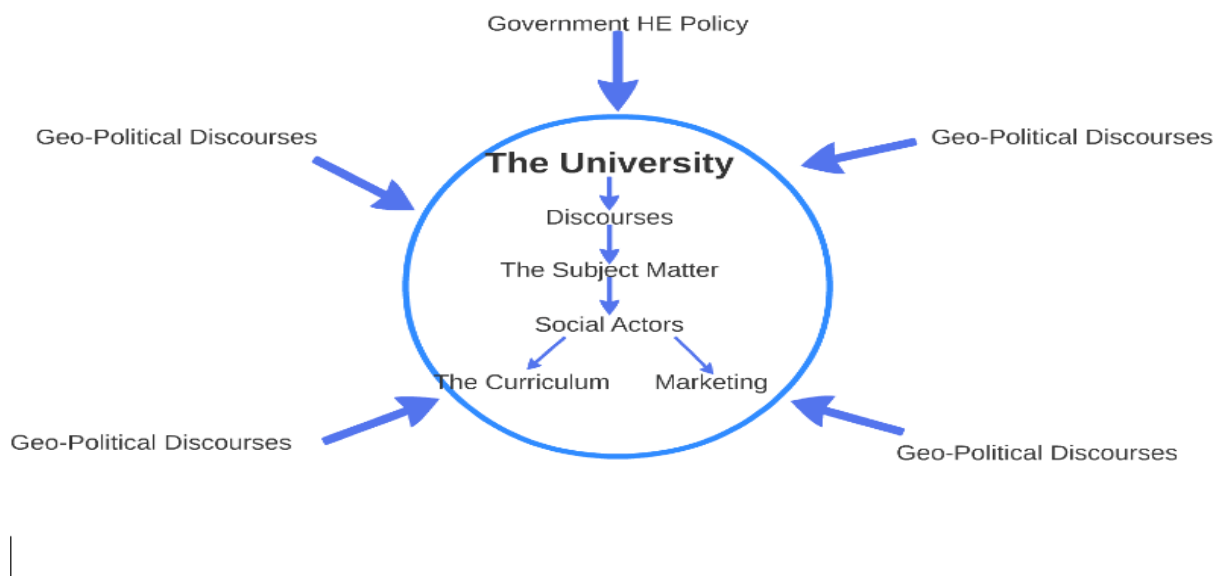


Figure 13: Interculturality From Above

In figure 13, the University is influenced by government HE policy and geo-political and neoliberal discourses and these help to shape the environment and values of the University. This is what one participant labelled the 'globalising paradigm of the university'. The process of institutionalisation requires the subject matter to be framed in a way which reflects the values of the University and its discourses. Thus, the subject

matter is presented, for example, as a key to increased employability or as a necessary skill for competing within a globalised world. As the subject matter is pushed from above, social actors encounter its emergence and make decisions regarding its suitability for the curriculum or marketing of the University and School.

However, as the latter half of this chapter has demonstrated, the substantial degree of publicity and institutional push was not coupled with a theoretical grounding or attachment to any particular discipline or subject area. Thus, while the subject matter might be widely encountered and has a relatively high profile, it also has a notable lack of status. The marketing potential that the subject matter is seen to offer the University does not infer it with a legitimising status as a theoretical valid subject matter and the lack of grounding and disciplinary home has clear consequences for the subject matter's relevance. What remains is that the subject matter (particularly as seen with the terms intercultural and intercultural understanding) is often seen as theoretically weak and can be used to 'push buttons' and help to recruit students. This resultant use of the subject matter runs the risk of creating what might be termed as 'hegemonic interculturalism' within the University which is institutionalised within the marketing and, to a lesser extent, the curriculum of the University. However, as will become apparent in the following chapter, space is available for social actors to contest this usage and employ the subject matter in alternative ways.

Chapter 9: Interculturality from Below: Navigating and Contesting Discourses Through Criticality, Creativity and Humour

I met one of the early pioneers of the couchsurfing.org website, a so-called 'ambassador', who had travelled around the world for two years sleeping on peoples' couches. I asked him what he had learned from his journeys. He replied, 'I've met many different people and now I know how to manage them in my work.' He was one of the least pleasant couch surfing guests I've had - very self-contained and self-absorbed. (Conversation with a friend June 2015)

9.1 Introduction

This chapter continues the exploration of social actors' encounters with the subject matter. The first section highlights a perceived weakness of the subject matter which can be seen in the emergent themes of credibility, disciplinary contestation and the 'sleight of hand' approach to interculturality. I then turn to data which suggests that the subject matter is perceived to have pedagogical value in its potential to act as a catalyst for challenging and problematising essentialist discursive construction. In these examples, social actors demonstrate a critical and reflexive reading of the subject matter. The theme of criticality extends to how students and staff can challenge some of the naturalised categories found within the University discourse. This opens the way for a critical reinterpretation of the subject matter as a space where discourses can be challenged through a process which I label 'interculturality from below'. While I do not view this process as a totally emancipatory one which offers ultimate solutions to the questions over the theoretical validity of the subject matter, I believe that this critical approach serves as an example of how the subject matter can retain some significance where social actors see the subject matter as relevant to their own lives.

9:2 The Perceived Theoretical Weakness of the Subject Matter

Dissatisfaction with essentialist applications of the notion of culture and the intercultural emerged from participant interviews where there is a perception that the subject matter is theoretically weak and dated and this theme was initially explored in section 8.5.5. Further interview data with Rafael, an academic in the School, expresses concerns with respect to the use of the term intercultural:

H: [...] Because you mention essentialist traps here.

R: [...] I think that you need to give first year undergraduates the type of question for seminar preparation and also for essays which means they're not going to fall into those traps. [...] I think at that undergraduate level, you're just going to end up with people coming out with clichés and stereotypes, and that's exactly what we're not wanting to do. [...] but I think there's something about the term [intercultural] which is... and I don't know if you'd agree – but it seems to me by definition, it has to rest, maybe not necessarily on a binary notion because of course binary suggests that there can never be any flowing between the two but by definition, there must be a dichotomy of two cultures at least, isn't there, to have some kind of intercultural [...].

(Interview: 'Rafael' 23 July 2014)

Rafael's comments highlight a discrepancy between the proliferation of the subject matter within the University's language versus a cautious and critical approach which demonstrates a reluctance to use the term. Interview data from another University academic (Ingmar) offers additional insights:

H: OK. When someone says to you, 'intercultural communication', what connotations does that bring up?

I: A very popular subject area from the 1990s.

H: So, something quite dated.

I: No, something that emerged around that time, as in the same way that film studies emerged in the same way in the 1970s, for example. [...] The timeframe defines the rise of the discipline and perhaps the slightly vague life of it in these areas and now, and I think it has to do with the political agenda, because it has been sort of supplanted by multiculturalism in these areas. And now multiculturalism is a taboo word, perhaps we are now returning to this use of the term intercultural because it is sort of the way the Labour government pushed it is that as if multiculturalism results in the disappearance of the differences, whereas I suppose the way the current government works with this is that intercultural stands for, there will always be these essentialised cultures that will perhaps talk to each other, perhaps.

(Interview: 'Ingmar' 13 January 2014)

What stands out above is Ingmar's perception that the subject matter is associated with essentialised cultures. He also notes the persistent attempts to alter and rename terms to suggest a more appealing connotation or to attempt to circumnavigate theoretical difficulties. This has clear connections with interview data from section 8.5.5 where there is a perception that the term intercultural has become 'tainted'. However, attempts to avoid the possible theoretical weakness through the use of alternative terms can result in confusion where one may believe that a more acceptable

connotation has been arrived at only to find that it is framed by someone else in a way which may be the opposite of what was intended.

This is evident in attempts, for example, to establish distinctions between intercultural communication and intercultural studies. While section 2.2.2 explored two attempts from academic journals to establish the parameters for these two fields, both can be considered as elastic and coterminous. Interview data from academics at other universities suggests that terms such as intercultural communication and intercultural studies are perceived differently and can provoke contradictory interpretations. Firstly, Julian explains how he makes distinctions between intercultural studies and intercultural communication:

In some ways that's where you get a tension then with intercultural studies people, because in some ways they're still quite comfortable with these large labels. They're interested in the formation of post-independence Algerian society, whereas I guess, it's not that I'm not interested in that but I would say that the primary concern with intercultural communications is looking at interpersonal communication; really a bit like a kind of spider in a web, all these relationships in the background, issues of power, gender, class, language, privilege, all of those.

(Interview: 'Julian' 24 January 2014)

Julian's sense of intercultural communication suggests a nuanced critical view which moves away from, in his own words, 'large labels' and which seeks to allow for greater complexity. However, Penny's understanding of intercultural communication

recognises the positivist history and seems to contradict Julian's understanding of intercultural studies by suggesting that the latter may allow for a *more* critical approach:

I think I've made that clear, that the intercultural communication is sort of embedded in the positivist; almost cross-cultural psychology, interpersonal communication positivist literature, it comes out of that. So if you look at, let's say... well, I'm thinking of the *Sage Handbook of Intercultural Competence* and that first chapter on models of intercultural competence; a lot of those are embedded in that discipline and come out of that. Whereas intercultural studies allows for a more critical approach to understanding culture, and the teaching of culture and understanding others through education and through languages.

(Interview: 'Penny' 24 May 2013)

However, rather than getting distracted by a never ending search for the essential nature or definitive definition of intercultural communication and intercultural studies, of greater importance is the participants' recognition for the need for a critical reinterpretation of the subject matter which addresses its perceived theoretical weakness. This critical reinterpretation offers a possibility that the subject matter retains a degree of both theoretical value and credibility. However, as the next section will argue, establishing credibility is not a straightforward process.

9:3 Discourse Effects: Credibility

The power and pervasiveness of the University discourses has a bearing on the subject matter in a number of ways and research findings in the next three sections highlight three particular effects. Firstly, it can have a hollowing effect which reduces the

credibility of the subject matter particularly if there is an assumption that it is wedded to a simplistic and essentialist view of culture. Secondly, it can present pedagogical challenges and opportunities where students must negotiate clashing frameworks. Thirdly, the University's discourses and their prevalence can paradoxically aid the establishment of the subject matter as seen in chapter 5, but this may contribute to an approach which I call a 'sleight of hand'.

The question of establishing credibility is relevant for all forms of emergence of the subject matter within the University. However, in considering the theme of credibility, I will focus specifically on 'The MA'. Interview data and ethnographic observations have suggested that the emergence of this particular programme was primarily driven by the potential to recruit 'international' students to the School for a taught postgraduate programme and that the inclusion of the subject matter, in this case intercultural studies, was to some degree an afterthought (see section 6.5). Moreover, the group of international students identified as possible candidates for the programme were ones who were annually rejected from other postgraduate programmes in the School on the basis of not meeting the relatively high English language requirement. This rather inauspicious inception led to clear issues of credibility. Data around this issue is particularly sensitive partly because establishing credibility has been an on-going struggle for the programme which it has to some degree managed to resolve. Betty, an interview participant who was involved with the MA, expresses this issue with credibility:

H: This idea of pulling power, do you think that that people [academics] have some reticence with this theoretical validity surrounding a term such as intercultural?

B: Yes.

H: And that may keep them from really wanting to commit to working on a particular programme?

B: Absolutely. I mean everybody who works in the [School name], on the academic side, is like me, has been employed as a [specialism], as an East Asian Chinese studies person, a political scientist working on the Middle East. And I think they know that basically they have to keep their profile up there because otherwise they jeopardise their own value to the school, potentially if it comes down to who's going to go.

(Interview: 'Betty' 9 December 2013)

These comments raise questions regarding the theoretical validity of the subject matter and highlight possible limitations in terms of the interdisciplinary potential of the subject matter. However, establishing credibility is not based on uniform criteria. It is also necessary to ask who the judge of credibility is. Further comments by Betty highlight this discrepancy with respect to 'The MA':

B: We went through a process of review, the whole school. [Programme name] was prominently under review [...]. As we went through this, I was shrieking the whole thing's incoherent, the whole degree programme. I'm really, really concerned about its validity. Even if it can recruit students, I'm very uncomfortable about what it is. Whilst it doesn't affect me externally in my career as a [specialism], internally you don't want to be particularly associated with something that everybody says is a load of rubbish.

H: The McMasters <laughs>

B: It was called the McMasters, as it was invented and it was a complete committee decision.

(Interview: 'Betty' 9 December 2013)

Betty's comments highlight the contested nature of the subject matter and the contrasting criteria for the validity of the programme. Validity for the School was defined primarily in terms of recruitment and the financial viability of the programme, whereas Betty demonstrates a clear concern for the programme's theoretical validity. This discrepancy begins to hint at a University with competing agendas and discourses which define and use the subject matter in contradictory fashions so that the subject matter itself becomes contested. From Betty's standpoint establishing credibility for 'The MA' required the assurance that there was a coherent, critical approach to the subject matter and further interview data from Julian, an academic at another university, explains this approach well:

So I suppose for me the critical edge came partly through my origins in TESOL, so looking at English as a complicated phenomenon in the world, as an international area of practice where inbuilt inequalities, some of them linguistic, some of them racial, some of them working in terms of North/South and in the centre and the periphery. That kind of concern for the inequities within the area and a desire to problematise those and, in many senses, to focus much more on individual teachers and how they functioned in that complex scenario, so the whole appropriate methodology thing. I suppose that's where the critical part started for me. So in those concrete terms I suppose the way in which we bring a more critical edge is really just knocking the word 'culture' out of the park. So if

nothing else, I would hope that every single student graduating for the [University name] MA would be absolutely kind of imbued with a sense of the problematic nature of the term 'culture', and very aware of everybody's own habit of falling into large essentialist kind of catalytic things with culture. So if nothing else that's what they do.

(Interview: 'Julian' 24 January 2014)

While this critical approach to the subject matter is paramount to establishing credibility within the community of academics, there may be very different criteria which must be met to establish a sense of credibility or validity for the more managerial and administrative structures of the University which includes the compulsion to be seen to be on message with the University discourse. This is where the most significant tension can be found. The emergence of the subject matter in the form of taught modules on degree programmes must demonstrate an ability to attract students to the modules and must also demonstrate that it can tick certain boxes such as employability. In addition to these criteria, there are regulations which govern the processes of teaching and learning within the University which also need to be adhered to. Meeting these criteria can not only help to aid the emergence of a subject matter, but can seemingly raise its profile within the wider University as can be seen in the example below. This form of managerial and administrative credibility is not necessarily mutually exclusive with the credibility gained through a critical approach to the subject matter, but the two are achieved in different forms by different social actors.

The truncated version of document 55 below details the 2014 postgraduate programme survey response rates where 'Intercultural Studies' is listed in the column with other 'Schools/Departments' and is joint-top of the list with a 100% response rate. Even

though this is a standard administrative document, an uninformed observer accessing the statistics from another area of the University could get the impression that 'Intercultural Studies' is a widely established subject within the University given its prominence in the document. The document's importance should not be underestimated given the increased attention devoted to quantifying what universities often label as the 'student experience'. However, even though the subject matter appears prominent in this document, this does not ensure a connection to theoretical validity. The irony is that intercultural studies is neither a School or Department.

PGT Programme Survey 2014 - Response Rates (23/07/2014)

<i>Faculty</i>		<i>School/Department</i>	
Biological Sciences	56%	Intercultural Studies	100%
Engineering	55%	Computing	100%
Environment	49%	Arabic and Middle Eastern Studies	70%
Arts	45%	Physics and Astronomy	67%
Mathematics & Physical Sciences	45%	Transport Studies	65%
Performance, Visual Arts & Communications	40%	Mechanical Engineering	64%
Business School	35%	Civil Engineering	61%
Medicine & Health	31%	Molecular and Cellular Biology	59%
Education, Social Sciences & Law	29%	Electronic and Electrical Engineering	59%

Table 7: PGT Survey Response Rates (Document 55: Appendix 3.1)

9.3.1 Disciplinary Contradictions

The discrepant requirements above for establishing credibility for an emergent subject matter suggest possible contradictions and competing approaches. A common example of this can be contradictory interpretations of the subject matter from academics located in different academic departments with international business being the most obvious example. An academic from another UK university (Trevor) speaks about this inconsistency which he believes also has pedagogical potential:

So you get an interesting situation going on here where, for example, the Business School present intercultural communication pretty solidly, in sort of Hofstedeian terms, even their own sort of position on it, and we obviously just spend most of our life questioning that position. So the students have quite an issue of resolving that difference and, if anything, it slightly confuses their own adjustment processes, I would think, in the initial stages, but I think towards the end of the adjustment, I think they start to get it. They get the idea of [...] disciplinary differences and, you know, I think for most cases, it's actually kind of quite a fruitful situation to find themselves in.

(Interview: 'Trevor' 26 October 2013)

Although Trevor's example above points to how 'disciplinary differences' affect the framing of the subject matter in his university, these contradictions can also be found within the same School of the University at the focus of this study where differences could not necessarily be attributed to disciplinary variances. This can be seen in the following student's struggle to reconcile two contrasting frameworks related to the subject matter for his MA dissertation. Even though there is a business dimension to the

dissertation, the student's principle supervisor was based within the School. Field notes from 2013 include the following the following email to me:

Hello Haynes.

I have sent a message to ask some questions about my dissertation.

My supervisor recommended Hofstede's cultural dimension theory can be ideal to describe the behaviour of British workers. As I remember, you didn't recommend utilizing it due to its attempt of cultural simplification. Thus, I'm wondering whether I should apply it to some extent or not.

Sincerely

[Name]

(Field notes: Student email 19 July 2013)

Although it would be inaccurate to the portray the School and its academics as all part of a single discipline, the student's email is a good indication of how students encounter contrasting frameworks related to the subject matter without necessarily moving from one School to another. The picture which continues to emerge is a University that is home to a host of various discourses and to contrasting subject matter paradigms. One implication for this is that an integral part of students' studies within the University should be to problematise and negotiate these competing discourses and to have an appreciation of the consequences that each alignment will have. Thus, there is pedagogical potential in the contestation of the subject matter which, as suggested in Trevor's comments above, can lead to a 'fruitful situation'.

9.3.2 The Sleight of Hand

The sleight of hand approach to the subject matter can best be seen in data which shows that even if there is a critical approach to the subject matter within the *teaching* of intercultural studies or intercultural communication, this is preceded by a very essentialist reading of culture which is prevalent within the *marketing* materials and marketing practices used to attract students to programmes. In this form, the value of programmes or modules are highlighted through raising expectations that students will be taught, for example, to learn the cultures of the world or how to communicate with people from different cultures. However, upon arrival, and to borrow a phrase from Julian's data above, culture is 'knocked out of the park' if the teacher takes a non-essentialist pedagogical approach. As Trevor states above, this at the very least 'confuses [the students'] adjustment processes'.

It should be noted that I also consider myself in many ways complicit in this process as I am associated with the emergence of the subject matter and have potentially benefitted from the subject matter's alignment with University discourses.⁶⁷ Concerns related to the sleight of hand approach can be seen throughout the thesis and are noted for example in section 7.3.2 regarding 'the brochure', in section 8.5.5 regarding 'mariachis and guacamole' and in sections 6.3 and 8.4.1 regarding the two Strands videos.

Specific examples of the 'sleight of hand' can be seen in the various examples of the University and School's marketing of 'cultures' and its emphasis on the 'consumption' and 'discovery' of cultures as seen in the photo below.

⁶⁷ One of the more paradoxical phenomena related to what I consider a sleight of hand is that through criticising a particular theory or subject matter, one can somehow then become inextricably linked to it resulting in an odd association that is difficult to break.

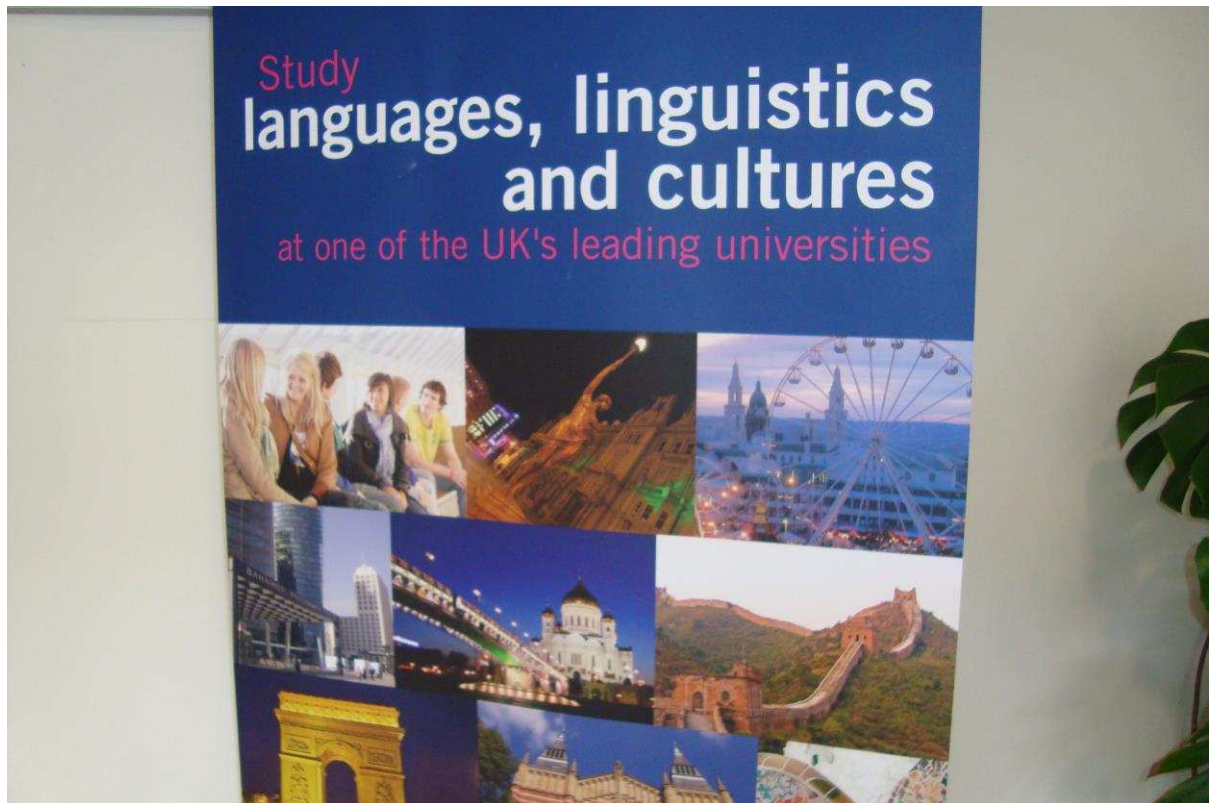


Figure 14: Study languages, linguistics and cultures

Comparisons can be drawn between this approach and Hall's critique of racialised images in popular advertising such as the United Colours of Benetton. In this critique, Hall notes how images are used to 'appropriate difference into a spectacle in order to sell a product' (Hall 2013: 263). Parallels can be drawn between these appropriations of difference and the University's marketing of cultures. Thus, it is then unsurprising that students who are being recruited to the University may have expectations of culture being framed in a particular way on their degree programme. This approach has parallels with Dervin's critique of a Janusian discourse on interculturality (2011: 47-48) and Holliday's notion of neo-essentialism (2011:6). However, this use of 'sleight of hand' attempts to capture more specifically the discrepancy between the way the subject matter is first treated in marketing language and then the way it is potentially

approached critically through pedagogy and research. This represents an incommensurate mix and match of paradigms where students may encounter a very different paradigm for understanding culture and the subject matter within the classroom than was used in the marketing of the University. While these competing discourses of interculturality may be seen as offering pedagogical potential though the challenge of negotiating discourses, arguably there is a disingenuous element at play in the way that culture has been framed in the marketing of the subject matter.

9.4 Encountering the Emergence: Critical and Productive Uses of the Subject Matter

I move now to additional encounters with the subject matter in order to introduce data which illustrates a critical approach to the subject matter. Firstly, these are apparent in the interdisciplinary overlap between an academic staff member's research or teaching interests and the subject matter particularly if the subject matter is seen to offer potential synergies with other fields through shared critical points of reference. This use of the subject matter within the curriculum does not necessarily require a full commitment to the extent where one is a 'champion' or 'flies the flag' for the subject matter. Research findings suggest that some staff employ the term intercultural in their teaching in recognition that it has relevance to their own subject area.

The subject area of 'border studies' offers fertile ground for comparison as it faces similar epistemological challenges in the form of a dominant paradigm which focuses on (and supports) 'the sorts of "soft" borders produced within broadly liberal discourse: benevolent nationalisms, cultural essentialisms, multiculturalisms and the like – in short, the state of "border studies"' (Johnson & Michaelsen 1997: 1). The contestation within the field of border studies between one model which 'imagines a day of nearly

infinite judgments about otherness' versus a model of 'radical inclusivity' offers striking parallels with essentialist and non-essentialist approaches to intercultural communication and intercultural studies (Johnson & Michaelsen 1997: 4-5). The overlap between the two fields can be seen in the comments of Gladys, an academic within the School, who researches within the field of border studies:

I thought if you're looking at borders and border areas, then it is kind of inherently intercultural because you are looking at the way in which, you know, two or more cultures sort of come together and mix in a certain area and if you are looking at borders you are looking at a line that supposedly separates *even if it doesn't* [emphasis mine].

(Interview: 'Gladys' 7 February 2013)

This sense of connectivity came through in Gladys's teaching on 'The MA' where she sought to make active links between her own interest in border studies and the subject matter:

I suppose for me it was quite easy to make the links between sort of borders theory and a bit more on the side of intercultural communication theory. And I think I've tried to look at that a bit myself and I think that actually there are a lot of similarities in terms of the way that people who work on borders sort of articulate what a border is and what happens on a border and the way that people work in intercultural communication articulate what happens in instances of intercultural communication, but in a sense they have not tended to borrow that much from each other. [...] So, that's what I was kind of interested in looking at where you could make those links a little bit more explicit. [...] I just

tried to make it a bit more explicit for the students so they could see why we were doing that on that particular programme or on that particular module.

(Interview: 'Gladys' 7 February 2013)

Thus, although Gladys may not necessarily be championing the theoretical value of the subject matter, she recognises its existence and does not avoid making reference to it while simultaneously being prepared to problematise its usage. Here Gladys comments further on her contributions to 'the MA':

H: I think of all the people who contributed to the [name] module, you had very clear links to what might be under the umbrella label of intercultural communication, but when someone says intercultural communication to you, do you have a sort of clear idea of what you take that to mean?

G: I'm still trying to, sort of trying to work out, I suppose I would go from the starting point of it being all forms of communication sort of between different cultures and cross-borders, but then as soon as I sort of start with that, I want to problematise it. So, it's kind of, that why I sort of say I'm not sure I have a clear idea of what it means because I think that it's essentially the starting point for how I would define it but I would then want to kind of say, 'well ok, but there's lots of problems with that', because [...] you can't really talk about discrete bounded cultures, it's not discrete, but that's kind of where I would start and then I would try to break it down a bit.

(Interview: 'Gladys' 7 February 2013)

Gladys's comments begin to hint at a perceived value that the subject matter may offer through a connection with other research interests within the School. These connections have also been evident within classroom observations on 'The MA'.

Recognition of this became evident through ethnographic observations, teaching observations and interview data. While some academic staff may have been uncertain as to exactly what the subject matter is or what it encompasses, others were also open to the theoretical possibilities that the term intercultural might suggest. Thus, while an academic from the School would not necessarily be described as 'flying the flag' for the subject matter, there was a perception that it was a useful springboard for critical questions that can be addressed in their teaching..

Two examples from class observations during my data collection in the 2013-14 academic year will be offered. Firstly, a lecture by 'Cindy' on 'Techno-Orientalism' on 5 November 2013 made direct links to the subject matter through challenging binary opposition with respect to the notion of culture. Through challenging the idea that culture is static, fixed and monolithic she noted how statements about 'Western' culture tend to be 'qualified' whereas statements concerning other 'national cultures' are not. She spoke of how she banned her own students from using phrases such as 'Japanese culture' or 'the Japanese' and she challenged the students on the MA programme by stating the following:

'You are the people who should be the most sensitive to the need to go beyond the cultural stereotype.'

(Class observation: Cindy 5 November 2013)

While I will not offer greater detail of the entire lecture, this approach demonstrated an understanding of one of the primary aims of the module and a willingness to take a critical approach to the subject matter in her teaching.

The second example is from Alice's 3 December 2013 lecture on the Politics of Intercultural Contact in Latin(o) America: Hybridity & Border Cultures. Again, while I will not offer detailed coverage of the lecture, Alice was able to make direct and critical connections to the subject matter and programme. This was through challenging the problematic way in which categories are employed particularly with respect to the notion of hybridity. Alice noted how hybridity is often offered as a positive escape from the straightjacket of nationalism but that this remains problematic because it ignores the politics behind this representation. In this sense rather than the notion of hybridity offering a way beyond bounded cultures, hybridity itself can become essentialised. In a clear example of a critical approach, Alice challenged the students to consider the extent to which 'The MA' was implicated in some of these theoretical problems shown in the lecture.

Like other academics who contributed to this particular module on 'The MA', Alice, Gladys and Cindy have their own subject areas and research specialism. While they would not necessarily consider themselves to be 'champions' of the subject matter, they were able to make the connections between their own research and the questions and issues which are also relevant to the subject matter. In this sense, the subject matter could be rightfully included within the fields of knowledge that one would expect to encounter within the School. This resonates with Wilkinson's (2012: 307) suggestion that a future direction for intercultural communication research is 'further exploitation of the synergies between theories of intercultural communication and border theories as developed in geography, sociology and anthropology' (2012: 307). Thus, when the subject matter is approached through a critical and non-essentialist paradigm, it can potentially provide interconnectivity (or even interdisciplinarity) within the University.

9:4.1 Discursive Constructions of Students

This section will consider more specifically the discursive construction of students within the University discourse and the implications for the subject matter. In this study, the University acts as the cultural broker by reproducing discourse which constructs the 'home'⁶⁸ student and 'the international' student and accentuates differences between the two categories.⁶⁹ The accentuation of difference is accompanied by a discursive regime which emphasises a need and/or a value in understanding these categorical differences. Thus, on one hand, difference is discursively accentuated while, on the other hand, ready-made solutions to perceived problems in communication and socialisation between these two groups are then offered in the form of the institutionalised subject matter. This discursive construction is conveyed through a number of platforms, but examples here will be offered in the form of interview data. In the first example, a School academic (Bastian) expresses a degree of frustration with students' lack of interest in the culture of a country:

So here we have students, and I've been seeing this now, I've been here now for ten years <laughs> is that we have students who are really keen to study the language but who have no interest whatsoever in the culture and in the country. So that is maybe an important observation to be made. But yes, they are happily chatting away and maybe even reading some Japanese characters and so forth, but if you ask them about something... who's the current... what is the current

⁶⁸ This category is also frequently employed as 'Home/EU' and 'International' to reflect the fee structures in HE.

⁶⁹ I note that the starting point for these categories is not specifically the University and that these categories relate to broader geo-political discourses and policies.

political statement towards economics or whatever it is, they have no clue whatsoever.

(Interview: 'Bastian' 23 October 2013)

In this excerpt, Bastian comments on both the students' perceived lack of 'cultural' knowledge while also extending this to a perceived lack of interest. Although his comment regards a personal observation which does not attempt to distinguish between 'international' and 'home' students, the following interview data from a member of the University's staff (Sally) who was instrumental to the development of 'The Ambassadors' suggests that the discursive construction of students is not merely based on personal observations, but includes the measuring of student behaviour by private companies like the International Student Barometer through the binary division of 'international' and 'home' students:

H: You mentioned the International Student Barometer, is that a national thing or is it...?

S: It's national and international. So if you haven't seen some of the results, I can send some to you, it's very interesting. Basically there is a company called i-Graduate which you can pay to survey your students, and they basically will do it on behalf of all the universities that decide to participate. So there will be a goodly number in the UK, a large number in the UK, and then there are others internationally who would participate, and what they do is they can provide you your results but they will also compare it with other institutions. [...]. So what it tests is student satisfaction on a broad range of areas and it looks at students' decision making, but it also looks at areas like their learning experience, living

experience, arrival experience and that, we've been in it three times now. And we are very strong in the majority of areas but one key area where we're not so strong, actually interestingly, is making friends. [This area] generally, is not as strong as we'd like to be. But really very not strong on making friends [...] international students making friends with British students. So that also gave us a bit more leverage to do more work in that area.

(Interview: 'Sally' 13 July 2013)

These comments highlight how the perception of a need is created and measured which then provides 'leverage' for the creation of solutions through the emergence of the subject matter which is then linked with the term 'internationalisation'. As a result 'international' students are discursively produced as lacking friends with the 'target' nationality (British) and this perceived need is one which the University must then address particularly as data gathered by future surveys would be something which, if positive, could be used in further marketing promotions. An excerpt from the i-Graduate website emphasises this marketing potential with the following statement regarding the International Student Barometer (ISB):

The ISB tracks and compares the decision-making, expectations, perceptions and intentions of your international students from application to graduation. It enables you to make informed decisions to enhance the international student experience and drive successful recruitment and marketing strategies.

(<http://www.i-graduate.org/services/international-student-barometer/> 2014)

The ISB approach of monitoring the international student population has a certain Orwellian sense and is analogous to Foucault's critique of the Bentham panopticon. It is

evidence for the economic importance that universities place on ‘international’ students, reveals a need to manage and control this category of students and displays a lack of nuance or distinction in the category itself. The discursive construction of students is not limited to the category of ‘international’ students. ‘Home’ students likewise can be discursively constructed as lacking certain key skills. Trevor, an academic from another university, describes his perception of some of his students:

The British system, the UK kids don’t have that, you know. They simply have a kind of blank assumption that the world is going to speak English to them and that they don’t need to bother, and I think there’s an impoverishment there, that we’re not creating properly cosmopolitan internationalised mobile citizens if we allow that kind of parochial attitude to kind of persist. So I think that there is a push and a challenge towards making every student an international student. I think it’s sincerely meant and I think it’s been approached in the sense of attributes, you know. At the end of a degree, what are the students acquiring that makes them more, crudely – and it is very crude and it’s very sort of capitalistic, but basically what’s making them more saleable. And I think the soft skills around interculturality are seen as being something that is distinctly saleable.

(Interview: ‘Trevor’ 26 October 2013)

The positioning of students as needing specific qualities is not altogether a contentious issue given that students attend a university to gain knowledge or to acquire a set of skills. Additionally, Trevor’s recognition of the aim of countering potential parochial attitudes and a lack of general knowledge of the world through the notion of cosmopolitan citizens is important. However, Trevor’s recognition that what his

university values most is the creation of 'saleable' students is very significant and is part of a wider trend within HE which frames the value of university degrees in economic terms. This idea is apparent in figure 15 below which advertises another UK university and how it meets the needs of a, possibly fictitious, discursively constructed student and her career demands.



Figure 15: 'I Want to Give My Career an Edge'

This discursive construction of students from across the University also resonates with the work of Dahlén as discussed in section 1.6, as one of his central arguments is that 'a culture concept which accentuates difference is a vested interest of cultural brokers' (Dahlén 1997: 177) and in this case it is the University which acts as the cultural broker. However, students may not always assume their ascribed discursive roles. In other words, students 'talk back' or may be resistant to their discursively constructed

category. This is done through criticality, reflexivity and humour which will be demonstrated in the next section.

9.4.2 Student and Staff Criticality, Reflexivity and Humour

While it may not be possible to displace the neoliberal discourses of the University which exert an influence on the framing of the subject matter, what remains is for individuals to negotiate and make their own interpretations (and reinterpretations) of the subject matter in an attempt to create their own space within the University and to possibly decentre this prevalent discourse. A key point to retain is that individual social actors who encounter these competing discourses must create their own interpretation and understanding of what the subject matter means to them even if these interpretations are not always consistent. Examples of reinterpretation of the subject matter may include students interrogating how they are positioned discursively through representations which are underpinned by essentialist notions of culture and the intercultural. Just as academics can struggle to define the subject matter or explain its parameters, students who have chosen to study on a programme or module offering intercultural studies or intercultural communication may encounter similar difficulties. However, in attempting to make sense of their studies, the subject matter and the University students demonstrate criticality, reflexivity and a sense of humour in their own interpretation of the subject matter.

These themes, which I have grouped together, emerged from data collected with the aforementioned focus group introduced in chapter 6. As described earlier, one aspect of the data which is not easily apparent in the transcription is the degree of laughter shared between the students as they gave examples of conversations they have had trying to explain their postgraduate programme to other students at the University. The

laughter was nearly uncontrollable and there was a sense of relief from students at being able to acknowledge these shared experiences and struggles. In this respect, the students who were from a variety of different backgrounds could be said to be engaging in their own small culture formation through shared experiences and a shared identity which is created through the use of humour and acknowledgment of common difficulties in understanding and making sense of their studies. This can be taken as an example of what Holliday (2013: 3) terms 'underlying universal cultural processes'. My use of the term 'ticked the box' below in the interview question to the students is an adoption of the term used previously by one of the students:

H: I think I'm going for one more question, ok. So now, you've almost 'ticked the box' [...] So you've finished your degree and you bump into somebody in the street and they say, 'What have you studied?' How do you explain that?

Flor: That's a really good question. [...]

Becky: I always find difficulty to explain what my course is because, you know, when I'm asked, you know, what courses have you done, and it's just [programme name] and literally everyone goes blank like (makes funny face) (laughter across the room). And I'm like yeah, it's sort of (more laughter and faces). It does what it says on the tin.

Flor: Or, you're doing what?

Becky: Yeah, so no one gets it. You know what you do in this course and I'm kind of, well it's sort of you know, something to do with culture and English...hmm, I'm not quite sure what I'm doing but, you know (some laughter), I know what I'm doing but it's hard to explain to people like in a nutshell. It's kind of really broad and it contains like lots and lots of different things connected together.

Chen: Yeah, I feel the same so I just tell people 'language', that's all (more laughter across the room).

Becky: Yeah, first people don't understand well what I mean by like [programme name]. Second, people are not familiar with the term Intercultural Studies.

Becky: So, it's kind of hard to explain.

(Focus Group: 'Flor', 'Becky', 'Chen' 5 May 2012)

The significance here is the reflexive struggle to explain and translate the meaning of the subject matter to other students within the University. The struggle may also relate to the students' need to find the type of language which is used by the University to describe degree programmes and realising that this language is not entirely helpful. However, while the students may have had difficulty explaining the subject matter of their degree programme to fellow students, they appear to have much less difficulty in connecting the subject matter to their own lives and daily experiences. Cecilia, for example, speaks about her daily life in Trinidad before arriving at the University:

I don't think I thought about culture...um...the meaning of culture, the definition of the word, you know, anything like that. I was quite aware of my druthers, my preferences. [...] The thing about um.... different races and different people and stuff like that ... I don't think it had really been an issue for me because that's what life in Trinidad is about. So, we make roti at home and how do we eat roti, *with our hands* (expressively)[...]. And [...] if there are Chinese people who are Chinese-Trinidadian, I don't think of them any different to myself...because they're going to be eating the same foods, doing the same things, going to the

same schools and acquiring the same qualifications, having, you know, much of the same troubles [...]

(Focus Group: 'Cecelia' 5 May 2012)

Cecilia's understanding of her life in Trinidad is one where rather than diversity being the exception to the rule, it is the norm. Moreover, this is not a ritualised diversity constructed on a fetishisation of difference, but is an integral part of the complexity within her society. Cecilia is also simultaneously critically aware of the global politics and history of the island and of the various strata within the society there:

At the same time I do realize that in Trinidad there does still exist to some extent a colour hierarchy...but...that is also many times superseded by a class hierarchy so, ... and class doesn't just have to do with just.... I think money and so your economic prowess has very much has to do with your education, outlook, stuff like that, your ability to move through society... So, I guess I'm fortunate in that aspect, [...] that's not to say that there isn't the issue of [...] the African-Indian you know divide which is historical you know, the divide and rule from the colonial powers.

(Focus Group: 'Cecelia' 5 May 2012)

It is important to recognise that this experience is part of the rich personal trajectory that Cecilia brings with her and helps her to navigate the University. Cecilia's self-reflexivity regarding her life in Trinidad reflects Caruana's findings which show how prior learning experiences in alternative cultural contexts contribute to shaping perceptions of academic culture (Caruana 2014: 92). Chen also demonstrates a self-reflexive awareness and recognition of her daily life and of her own cognitive processes in respect to the tendency to 'other' when speaking about her flatmates. In this respect,

'interculturality' suggests a process and an awareness of the necessity to challenge one's own perceptions and practices. Moreover, the concept of 'Othering' becomes a relevant part of her personal experience as seen below:

Yes, I thought I was quite open-minded before I studied this module (jokingly).

Oh, I am the most open-minded person in the world, I don't discriminate.

(Laughter across the room). Whenever, the first time I ate with them [flatmates], they ate their food with hands, I thought euuuh that's dirty...and they don't take their shower, they take their shower whenever they feel like ...and I oh that's dirty...this sudden...criteria about hygiene and what is being civilized in mind.

[...] But then, getting along with them, and then I learned all those biases all those prejudices, that I was taught to be a 'civilized' person [...] I think the awareness of your being biased is what helps you to push those [...] thoughts away.

(Focus Group: 'Chen' 5 May 2012)

Chen's internal struggles where she challenges her own perceptions and practices are an important aspect of interculturality where there is a reflexive consideration of the different influences on how the self and other are constructed. The above data captures the ability of students to deal with the complexity of daily life, to reflect on their experiences where they need to be self-aware of their positioning of others and to critically negotiate the subject matter in consideration of how it relates to their own lives. It should be stressed that this is done creatively and with humour.

9.4.3 Student and Staff Criticism of the Discursive Construction of Students

An integral part of the students' criticality is directed towards how students themselves are being positioned by the University discourses or by other students. One Danish-Chinese student (May) recounts how other students questioned the fact that she had joined a Chinese Studies degree programme even though her appearance suggested that she was Chinese. During her comments in a focus group, another student (Cecilia), also expresses agreement.

May: But when I say Chinese Studies people go, 'But aren't you Chinese?'

(Laughter across the room) 'Are you doing Chinese Studies?'

Cecilia: Yes, yes! Yes, exactly.

May: No, I'm from Denmark! Things like that, oh.....! (exasperated)

(Focus Group: 'May' & 'Cecilia' 5 May 2012)

Both May and Cecilia here express a deep frustration with the expectation that other students have of them based on their appearance. Young expresses an even more complicated scenario where he not only recognises some of the stereotypical representations that are held about students from his 'national culture', but how he at times strategically conforms to these expectations in his behaviour within the University:

H: Do you think your nationality is important to your sense of identity?

Y: It is quite a difficult question but I think it's important actually. So for the last one year, I tended to stick to my original identity, with my own culture. There are not that many Korean students [...] but some lecturers know Korean people's

personalities so Korean people would be this kind of stereotype, so I don't want to ruin their perception of Korean cultures so I pretended to be gentle. [laughs].

(Interview: 'Young' 17 July 2013)

Young's comments suggest a high degree of awareness regarding how certain students are discursively positioned within the University and the comments also suggest that students may consciously decide in certain contexts to strategically conform to these expectations and stereotypes. This reaffirms a much more nuanced sense of identity than that suggested by discursive representation of 'international' students.

Similar findings were apparent with respect to 'The Ambassadors'. Section 9.4.1 highlighted the use of corporate surveys which measure and quantify the 'student experience' with a particular focus on 'international students'. Within this type of survey, students are classified into two dichotomous categories of 'international' and 'home' which measure students' experience. Results from the previously mentioned 'IGraduate Survey' suggested a University environment where 'international' and 'home' students were not mixing well. While this helped to leverage programmes (e.g. 'The Ambassadors' & 'The Horizon') which were tasked with resolving this perceived deficiency, one University staff member connected to the Ambassadors programme (Sally) clearly recognises and acknowledges in interview data a greater degree of complexity than these two categories suggest:

One thing that we found very interesting with 'the Ambassadors' was that it attracted a lot of British students who came from backgrounds that meant that they had a lot of different cultural influences, whether it's because they were third

generation originally from a different country, or whether they were sort of dual / triple nationality or whatever. So I think, from that point of view, the term “home student” and therefore “home students” will need this kind of support and will want to do this kind of thing and will be a bit like this, and [...]these other people will identify themselves automatically as “international”, *is quite meaningless*, but very widely used by people. And also [another] very bizarre term, used by students and staff alike, are ‘our’ students to mean students that aren’t international students, and ‘these’ students to mean students that aren’t ‘our’ or are international students, *which is a bit scary*, I have to say.

(Interview: ‘Sally’ 13 July 2013 emphasis mine)

In addition to challenging the fallacy of a neat division of students into two categories, Sally’s comments help to illustrate the underlying implications that these categories may encourage. Sally also challenges the results of the survey itself in conjunction with also raising the question of the motivation and expectation of students:

So I formed this idea that there was a sort of spectrum of students, some of whom were perfectly happy staying with compatriots, whether they came from Britain or China or wherever they came from. They were happy and that’s all they wanted out of the experience because they’d come here for the academic experience but they weren’t too bothered about other stuff. And then there were a few people or a certain percentage of people in the middle for whom it was working. They were managing to integrate, they were getting the experience that they would hope from an international university, and then there were a lot of people who would have liked more.

(Interview: ‘Sally’ 13 July 2013)

Rather than an environment in which two groups of students were failing to connect as suggested by the survey results, Sally sees a very different reality. Moreover, Sally's next comment also emphasises the problematic nature of the two binary categories themselves and highlights how these categories may exasperate the very problem which the survey is hoping to address:

So the idea came from how can we make it easier, how can we break down some of the barriers? [...] Because we'd noticed that if you ever advertised anything as 'international', British students automatically assumed that that meant it wasn't for them. And then we had this real difficulty in getting people to engage with activities that they would have enjoyed but didn't see as relevant to them.

(Interview: 'Sally' 13 July 2013)

Sally's comments clearly highlight the problematic nature of how these two categories position students and in the case above, can even serve to perpetuate division. The relevance to the subject matter can be seen in the following data where there was a conscious decision to make use of the term 'intercultural' as a displacement for 'international' particularly in light of the perceived status differences of the terminology.

Well, we'd already established that international wasn't at all helpful if you wanted to engage British students, and [...] what I wanted to emphasise was the connectedness; the fact that you were reaching, that were doing something between

things. So 'intercultural' really seemed to give that idea of kind of 'open to everybody', kind of an equality of status within that, because that's another area I had concerns about, the idea about whether there were perceived status differences over if you're a home student or an international student. But it was that sort of idea of connectedness.

(Interview: 'Sally' 13 July 2013)

Whether or not one necessarily agrees that the term intercultural helps to solve a possible status difference, the term was nevertheless important for this participant. This led to a significant student action where they contested how they were being positioned as representatives of a particular country.

There was a complaint about having countries on badges. We used to in the first year have their country on their badge and we stopped doing it after that. [...] Which really further emphasised that the people were the people that they were regardless of whatever else they were.

(Interview: 'Sally' 13 July 2013)

The students' desire to remove their country badges may seem like a relatively insignificant act but it demonstrates that individuals often have a personal relationship with their country of origin and they may not want to be defined primarily on the basis of where they were born. While nationality can have a very significant impact on students' daily life within the University and affects their access to certain University services⁷⁰, their nationality does not summarise who they are as they draw on this

⁷⁰ For example, non-British students at the University who want to join a society which does volunteer work in local primary schools might be denied this opportunity due to the complexity of a Disclosure and Barring Service (DBS) check for non-British students.

construct in different ways and for different reasons. It also underlines the fact that although the University uses these categories to establish the amount of fees that students pay or that surveys are devised which measures the quality of student experience for particular types of students, these labels of 'international' and 'home' should not be the basis to encapsulate the students' identity and that there are hidden agendas that these categories sustain.

This data also resonates with a small-scale research project by a student (Samantha) on 'The MA' who investigated the University's use of the term 'international student'.

Samantha's research stresses that a significant portion of students who are classified under this umbrella term are unhappy with the term being applied to them primarily because it serves to separate them from other students (Margolis: 2015).⁷¹

The following section examines similar student criticality of the subject matter.

9.4.4 Student Criticality of Essentialist Uses of the Subject Matter

Students at the University demonstrate a capacity for criticality which can be directed towards reductionalist uses of the subject matter. May, who has extensive experience living and working in China, offers her opinion during the focus group with regard to a module at the University which offered 'Chinese Business' and cultural aspects of doing business in China.

May: Yes, can I say one more thing? I remember in our Chinese Business one, I feel personally that the conclusion of that class was our lecturer telling us that if you want to be successful doing business in China you just need to know how to do '*guanxi*', and you will be fine. Then I'm thinking, 'why am I here then'?

(laughter around the room). I didn't learn anything. So you know, if that's your

⁷¹ References to the MA dissertations by Margolis 2015 (above) and Nakayama 2014 (below) are not listed in the bibliography in order to preserve the anonymity of the University.

conclusion, then I feel I'm wasting my time coming here, that sort of thing. But that is what I understood from our lecture, you just need to know how to do '*guanxi*' and you will be fine.

(Focus Group: 'May' 5 May 2012)

May's knowledge and understanding of the intricacy regarding business practices and contexts within China meant that to reduce this to the one concept of '*guanxi*' and to suggest that this concept was singular and universally understood was for her clearly objectionable. This reductionist approach which May criticises has clear parallels with the functionalist paradigm that is employed in connection to the intercultural.

In another example, a Master's research dissertation by 'Kanakano' who studied on 'The MA' takes exception to the international business and management theories by Richard Lewis. In particular, she challenges Lewis' (2009: 510-519) representation of 'shyness' as a cultural value for Japanese. 'Kanakano's' exploration of her Japanese research participants' in the UK demonstrate that the environment, context and language all play a much greater role in the students' confidence and willingness to speak out (Nakayama 2014). Even when speaking a second language there are distinct contextual differences where students may vacillate between a verbose out-going manner or a more introverted listening phase. Thus, rather than opting for a simplistic application of a behavioural trait to a whole nation, Kanako's research explores the specific contextual and individual factors connected with a willingness to speak.

While I do not wish to place too much significance on the nationality of the students such as May, Kanako, Cecilia and Young who all demonstrate forms of criticality in the above data, these example do serve to call into question literature which suggests that culture, or specifically 'Confucian-heritage cultures' can somehow act as a barrier to

critical thinking (e.g. Atkinson 1997, Ramanathan and Atkinson 1999, Andrews 2007). Moreover, in an additional irony, 'Western' universities are often portrayed as the ideal place where 'international' students can acquire critical thinking skills. The above examples, however, suggest that the University could possibly serve to close down criticality, and it is the students who continue to be critical or in Canagarajah's terms 'creatively negotiate' the specific practices that they encounter (Canagarajah 2002: 64). Another student (Paola) discusses her time at the University and her studies on 'The MA'. Her interview data illustrates a willingness to question uniform cultural representations including her own preconceptions:

I think my ideas and things got much clearer because obviously I was confronted more with these ideas and with the ideas that the culture is not something kind of given. [...] Because I think that a lot of people actually buy in to these stereotypes and you don't really realise that you have these stereotypes. But I think my first... actually being half awake or waking up halfway was when I came here because obviously I had a stereotypical picture about the British, about how they are and how they're supposed to be and how they're not supposed to be, and when I actually came here, I had a little bit of a small culture shock, I would probably say, because my expectations were very much different to the actual reality.

(Interview: 'Paola' 11 July 2013)

Paola's comments above also highlight the fact that students' understanding can be a transformational process which develops over time and is a part of an engagement with and an adjustment to a particular context. This idea can also be seen Nordensvard's

objection to a consumer metaphor for students in Higher Education in preference for a metaphor of citizen where '(s)tudents should learn how to challenge both the relative position of themselves and challenge the structures of scholarship, science, education, history and other aspects of the self and society' (Nordensvärd 2011: 166).

At this closing stage of my data chapters, what has emerged from this study is a very uneven landscape where the subject matter is used across the University in different ways and for different purposes. However, within this elasticity and fluidity are legitimate concerns regarding whether the subject matter through its assimilation into University discourses has simply become an empty or hollow term or in the words of Ulrich Beck, 'a zombie category' (Beck 2002: 203). Moreover, the co-option of the subject matter into University discourses fuels the potential for further scepticism about its usage, particularly as its worth is only presented in the instrumental terms of market values. While instrumentality and market values are prevalent within the University, critical humanism offers a framework for consideration of the importance of nonmarket values. Cornel West (1999:11), while admitting that it is 'extremely difficult for nonmarket values to gain a foothold', reminds us that these values can still be found even if they are in short supply:

Parenting is a nonmarket activity; so much sacrifice and service go into it without any assurance that the providers will get anything back. Mercy, justice: they are nonmarket. Care, service: nonmarket. Solidarity, fidelity: nonmarket. Sweetness and kindness and gentleness. All nonmarket. Tragically nonmarket values are relatively scarce. (West 1999:11)

9.5 Conclusion: Interculturality from Below

The above positions and practices exhibited by students and staff during my fieldwork informs my notion of 'interculturality from below' as seen in figure 17 where students and staff navigate, negotiate and contest institutional discourses. This sense of navigation and negotiation emerged strongly from the research. Although it is fair to say that not all students necessarily exhibit criticality, creativity or autonomy in their work, these emerged frequently and sometimes unexpectedly. The phrase 'from below' is neither new nor my own. E.P. Thompson made use of the term 'History from Below' in 1966 and this sense of local criticality or resistance is also an integral part of Smith and Guarnizo's 2003 notion of *Transnationalism from Below* which explores changing 'transnational practices and processes' such as 'the political organisation of transnational space' (Smith and Guarnizo 2003: 6). Delanty also makes reference to this framework in critiquing forms of globalisation which include 'counter-hegemonic projects, such as networks of international non-governmental organisations (INGOs) and movements related to citizenship and democracy' (Delanty 2001: 116). However, borrowing this sense of 'from below' requires an awareness of the fact that '[t]he dialectic of domination and resistance needs a more nuanced analysis than the celebratory vision allows' (Smith and Guarnizo 2003: 6).

Thus, the limitations stated in section 8.6 with respect to 'Interculturality from Above' equally apply to the notion 'Interculturality from Below'. These include an avoidance of claims of any ultimate emancipatory power in 'interculturality from below' and an avoidance of claims which suggest that a non-essentialist framing of culture can entirely displace the University's discourses. There are areas of ambiguity, middle grounds and shifting positions between what are competing discourses. Where the 'from below' can

be helpful however, is the recognition that competing discourses are not equal in terms of power and status and that the institutional discourse is largely hegemonic.

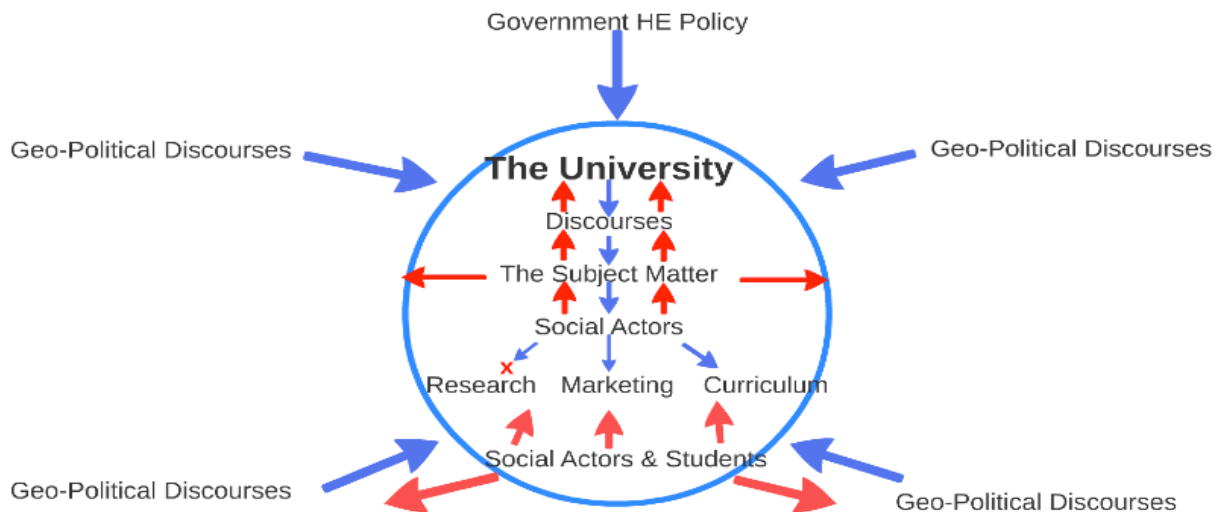


Figure 16: Interculturality From Below

Figure 17 attempts to represent the fact that social actors (including students) criticise and creatively reinterpret the discourses they encounter within the University environment. This criticality is represented by the arrows which run in a direction counter to both the discourses which are pushed down through the University and to the arrows of geo-political discourse which are pushed into the University. Although I have observed a range of different positions that may be best plotted on a continuum, data led me to contrast a more ‘top down’ push where the subject matter is used as a mechanism for serving the University’s discourses in what I have labelled ‘interculturality from above’ with a more critical approach of ‘interculturality from below’ which captures the reflexivity and process of negotiation and sees the subject

matter as offering value through the provision of a space where staff and students can contest reductionist representations, discourses and essentialist or culturalist approaches. While interculturality from below cannot necessarily displace the University's discourses, it may at least serve as a counter-balance.

Perhaps more importantly, interculturality from below may encapsulate Delanty's notion that universities can serve as environments where cosmopolitanism is cultivated and where 'knowledge is becoming more reflexive in so far as it is becoming more linked with communication' (Delanty 2001: 153). Data in this chapter has suggested that despite being immersed within the complex environment of the University and its discourses, staff and students are able to use their knowledge and experience to take a critical stance with respect to essentialist approaches to culture and to reductionist representations inherent in categories such as 'international' and 'home'. What may be most important is that the University offers an environment where Delanty's notion of 'social connectivity' can be manifested as part of critical 'cosmopolitan forms of citizenship' (Delanty 2001:158).

In 'interculturality from above', variants of the subject matter are vaguely defined, but become an important reflection of the University's way of structuring and seeing the world. This ontology is further apparent in the University's discourses where the value of the subject matter is constructed in economic terms and the subject matter is also constructed as a vehicle for interaction between 'home' and 'international' students. Interculturality from below represents the effort to contest, challenge and redefine this epistemology. It can be seen in small acts such as the students' removal of nationality badges or in the objection to reductionist forms of knowledge. However, interculturality from above and below should not be read as a simple tale of good and

evil, but are part of the politics of knowledge which staff and students must negotiate within the HE environment. The final table below categorises encounters with the subject matter as seen in this and previous chapters to form one large table encapsulating a sample of the range of positions taken by social actors.

Example of the encounter with the subject matter and positioning	Social Actors & Location	Paradigm	Comments
Example: Internationalisation Chapter 6 Invoked through Neoliberal Discourses	University Senior Management and then established across the University Pushed from above from senior management	Essentialist & Methodological Nationalism	Strategically vague Conflation of terms Use of instrumentality which plays to motivation.
Example: The Library Journals Chapter 7	Librarian and Academic Staff Library, School and 'The MA'	Loss of academic journals can demonstrate a lack of support for a non-essentialist paradigm	Resources dedicated to what the University prioritises. In this case marketing over academic resources.
Example: The Brochure & The Newsletter Chapter 7	Marketing team and Academic Staff School & 'The MA'	Tension between essentialist and non-essentialist paradigms	Marketing staff unaware of paradigms for the subject matter. Clear tension over language
Example: 'The PhD application' Chapter 8	The Professor The School	No awareness of the subject matter or any particular paradigm for it.	The subject matter is not part of the social actor's field of study or interest, but there is recognition of the importance of an expression of interest for PhD study.
Example: Contributors to the MA Chapter 8	Academic Staff (e.g. Yan, Patrick) School and 'The MA'	Struggling with the subject matter's meaning and possible paradigm.	Reflexive struggle to understand the subject matter and to engage with how it relates to their interests.

Example: Breadth vs. Depth Chapter 8	Academic Staff and 'The Strands' School & 'The Strands'	Possible tension between essentialist and non-essentialist paradigms.	Tension between how the subject matter emerges through 'broadening'. Imposed from above
Example: Resistance and 'lip service' (Student Academic Experience Review) Chapter 8	Academic Staff School & 'The Strands'	N/A	Possible resistance to a large University initiative
Example: Criticality and Seeking Clarity in the subject matter's use. Chapter 8	Academic Staff (Rafael) School & 'The Cornerstones'	Possible tension between essentialist and non-essentialist paradigms.	Anxiety that the use of the subject matter may lead into 'essentialist traps'. <i>Has to be seen to use</i> intercultural.
Example: Perceptions of an Appropriate Use in Marketing Chapter 8	Academic Staff (Rafael, Mattias) School & Marketing	Possible tension between essentialist and non-essentialist paradigms.	Using the subject matter to ' <i>push buttons</i> ', through strategic essentialism or compartmentalisation
Example: An academic concept which is not relevant to researchers' field Chapter 8	Academic Staff (Betty, Ingmar, Rafael, Mattias) School & Research	Possible tension between essentialist & non-essentialist paradigms.	Various degrees of recognition of what the subject matter entails.
Example: Intercultural as a substitute for international or nationality Chapter 9	Participants on 'The Ambassadors' & 'Sally' University	Challenging reductionist connotations associated with nationality	A critical stance towards the University's discourses of 'international' and 'home' students.
Example: Critical & Productive Uses of the Subject Matter Chapter 9	<i>Academic Staff:</i> (e.g. Gladys, Cindy and Alice) <i>Students:</i> (e.g. May, Flor, Becky and Chen) School	Problematization and challenging essentialism and discursive constructions.	Synergy with other subject areas. Students bringing in their own experience and knowledge to challenge discursive construction within the University Interculturality from Below

Table 8: Analysis 3 of the Encounter with the Subject Matter

Table 8 attempts to capture the range of positions taken by various social actors within the University who encounter the subject matter. This spans from social actors who have relatively little knowledge or particular interest in the subject matter to social actors who actively struggle to interpret how the subject matter can be used to help make sense of their own immediate and wider surroundings. The interplay and relationship between the subject matter and the University discourses also influences the range of positions taken by social actors. At one end of the spectrum, the subject matter is framed in a way which sees it closely aligned with the University discourses to the extent that separating the two may be difficult. This is apparent in chapter 6 and in examples such as the University's approach to internationalisation. At another end, there is an active attempt to use the subject matter to challenge forms of essentialist discursive constructions as seen in critical stances taken with respect to the construct of 'international' and 'home' students. Within these positions exists a tension between essentialist and non-essentialist approaches to interculturality.

Chapter 10: Navigating and Negotiating Discourses: Findings, Implications, Reflections and Conclusion

If intellectuals can do anything I would hope we might disseminate a healthy critical suspicion of stabilised identities that might bring us to see ourselves more bound up in each other than not. Brad Epps (Kings Parade 2014: 5)

10.1 Introduction

Having explored the institutionalisation of the intercultural (i.e. the subject matter) in its various forms in one large university in one relatively narrow moment in time, what follows in this chapter is an identification of specific findings and their implications. Through studying the institutionalisation of the subject matter greater insight has been gained regarding the University itself, the discourses which underpin its operations and the paradigmatic tensions involving the subject matter. Emerging from this study has been a clearer picture of the specific institutional demands for the subject matter and how these demands reflect the ideologies of the University which are to some extent generalisable to HE. What stands out in the University are three positions with respect to the subject matter which social actors must negotiate.

Firstly, there is a general lack of a critical delineation of the subject matter despite its proliferation within the University and its default meaning tends to be largely framed in a structural-functionalist paradigm where culture is perceived as tied to nationality. The second interrelated position is that some social actors within the University perceive the subject matter to be synonymous with the University's discourses and as offering greater marketing value than theoretical usefulness. This position is influenced by the lack of disciplinary home for the subject matter which in turn can help to explain

the protracted nature of a paradigm shift for the subject matter within the University. The third position is a critical one held by other social actors within the University who challenge reductionist uses of the subject matter as seen in the two above positions and who acknowledge the subject matter's relevance to their own lives. A central argument which emerges from this study is that the daily exigencies and discourses of the University propel an essentialist framing of culture and the intercultural and impede a more conclusive institutional paradigm shift. This chapter now moves to consider the specific findings listed at the beginning of each section heading and is followed by the implications of the study.

10.2 Finding 1: A Proliferating and Polysemic Subject Matter

- The subject matter (the intercultural) has visibly emerged within the University and School within the last six years through a process of institutionalisation which has resulted in the subject matter being widely established in different forms.

At a very basic starting point, this study sought to establish whether the subject matter was significantly emerging within the University and to what degree this institutionalisation was taking place. Empirical observations established that the subject matter was proliferating throughout the University and was perceived to offer a range of uses and benefits. This meant that the subject matter did not emerge as one clear entity or concept, but emerged in various forms and in various University locations. It was constructed as an objective for all University UG students to achieve (i.e. 'intercultural understanding' as seen in 'The Strands') which was to contribute to 'broadening' and to improving 'employability'. It emerged as a title and subject for an MA programme in the School (i.e. 'intercultural studies' as seen in 'The MA') and as a

module for University UG students (i.e. 'intercultural communication' as seen in 'The Pilot'). It was part of an initiative by the International Student Office to facilitate interaction between 'home' and 'international' students (i.e. 'the Ambassadors') and was part of a module devoted to training and preparing students for their year abroad (i.e. 'The Horizon'). It was employed as a link between Arts & Humanities and International Business (i.e. 'The Cornerstone') and it was also significantly used as a marketing tool by the University.

The proliferation of the subject matter in the University and School resonates with Dervin's observation of the 'omnipresence of the intercultural' (Dervin 2015: 71). In this study, I have attempted to provide detail regarding this proliferation by analysing how, when, where and why this was taking place. It is in the specificity and detail of the study where new knowledge can be claimed.

Although there were contradictory discourses which influenced the institutionalisation of the subject matter in what I have labelled 'interculturality from above' and 'interculturality from below', the variety of uses across the University environment resists a clean and neat narrative of unicity. Appropriations of the intercultural within the University were at times incompatible and at other times strategically vague. However, given the current trajectory within HE, the University discourses increasingly had the upper hand in shaping the interpretation of the intercultural. Thus, while the subject matter could be said to be polysemic, it should be noted that there was often a lack of critical delineation involved in its use.

10.2.1 Finding 2: The Neoliberal Trajectory of the University

- While the University can be considered as heteroglossic, it is moving increasingly in a neoliberal direction and this is reflected in its language and practices.

This study has found the University and School to be contested, complex and heteroglossic environments. This recognition resonates with Dervin and Risager's (2015:3) observation of what can be considered as the 'interculturality of the academic landscape' where '[d]isciplinary identities are continually (de)constructed and reconstructed, disciplines and interdisciplinary fields compete with one another not only for recognition and funding, but also for preferences of epistemology and ontology and even gurus!' However, this notion of interculturality can be extended beyond academic identities as HEIs now support multiple layers of various categories of staff such as academic-related staff, managerial roles, international officers, diversity and equality officers, quality assurance officers, teaching enhancement officers, admissions officers, marketing teams and librarians to name but a few.

Within this plethora of roles are commonalities including the desire among staff to build a career and to do what each social actor perceives to be what the University considers 'a good job' within what I have termed the daily exigencies of the University (or in the University's terms this would be fulfilling its 'strategic aims and objectives'). How this relates to the subject matter is not always straightforward, but for some social actors within the University, daily exigencies may serve to justify a 'pragmatic' essentialist position which they argue offers 'a way in' to the subject matter which in turn could lead to an eventual broader world view.⁷² This position holds that within the context of the School, which specialises in languages and cultures, any method which encourages students to study additional languages and learn and experience different parts of the world is legitimate. In other words, the end justifies the means. This has even more

⁷² Holliday's narrative of Francisca, Gita and Hande similarly notes this position where intercultural training sessions are seen by Francisca to be 'useful starting points' (Holliday 2013: 26-27).

relevance for a School within the humanities which, as Preston argues, is seen by successive governments as 'impractical and unprofitable, elitist and outdated' (Preston 2015:3).

Thus if, for example, a University Open Day takes a 'mariachi and guacamole' approach to promoting languages and intercultural understanding in the School, then some may argue that this is justifiable in this specific context if it succeeds in facilitating the eventual development of a broader world view which may counter parochial attitudes and outlooks. By way of comparison, if an Engineering Faculty can include exciting explosions and pyrotechnics for potential applicants visiting the University on an Open Day, it is unsurprising that a School which specialises in languages and cultures may look for similarly exciting Open Day activities, particularly when there are daily pressures on staff to recruit new students or when students are believed to demand excitement as figure 18 on page 333 suggests.

While I believe that this position is one which must be rejected, I also recognise that within the multiple uses of the subject matter and in its uneven applications, many people are under substantial pressure which limits the time available for nuance, particularly when the subject matter is invoked in many diverse aspects of a university's operations. If, for example, there is a perceived problem with a lack of interaction between 'international' students and 'home' students, then staff will be obliged to find a 'solution'. In this case, the subject matter in the form of intercultural communication may be deemed to help solve this problem, but what may be lost in the demands of the University is the need to consider which paradigm of intercultural communication is best or to what extent these categories are helpful. Staff tasked with solving perceived problems may also be unaware that 'paradigms' for the subject matter even exist.

Additionally, staff can believe that adhering to the University discourse and implementing its strategy is a means to facilitate their own career advancement.



Figure 17: 'I Want an Open Day that Excites Me'

The social actors within the University must traverse its landscape and balance their own personal beliefs with what they believe are the University values. Social actors are aware of the importance of being abreast of, or employing, the ever-changing terminology and discourses of the University which can largely be considered as neoliberal and are part of what Cribb and Gewirtz argue is 'the changing character of the UK university' (Cribb & Gewirtz 2013: 338). Although I had not considered the University in neoliberal terms prior to the start of this study, it is increasingly argued

that neoliberalism is currently the dominant model in operation in HE (Ball 2013:5, Boden & Nedeva 2010:38, Nordensvard 2011:158, Sauntson & Moorish 2011:173). It should be recognised that within this ideology there may be 'a complex, often incoherent, unstable and even contradictory set of practices' (Shahjahan 2012: 221). Shahjahan highlights the impingement of neoliberalism on social life arguing that neoliberal HE 'encompasses both a set of material developments in HE, such as marketization, privatization and emphasis on human capital development' and that '(e)conomic rationality operates as the overarching frame for understanding, evaluating and governing social life' (2012: 221).⁷³ This neoliberal picture of HE is important for the study because it resonates with the principle University discourses which have emerged from the data and which have an influence on how the subject matter is emerging and is being institutionalised.

This study has also highlighted a personal struggle where I have been caught in a conflictual position between the discourses of the University and my own epistemological beliefs. This can be seen in the tension between the need to market a University programme and recruit students through the University's marketing language which does not accurately reflect the language and stance taken in the programme itself.

⁷³ Harvey (2005:3) also provides the following definition: 'Neoliberalism is in the first instance a theory of political economic practice that proposes that human well-being can best be achieved by liberating individual entrepreneurial freedoms and skills within an institutional framework characterized by strong private property rights, free markets, and free trade. The role of the state is to create and preserve an institutional framework appropriate to such practices' (cited in Sauntson and Moorish 2011: 73).

10.2.2 **Finding 3: The Neoliberal Discourses of the University Facilitate the Institutionalisation of the Subject Matter**

- The institutionalisation of the subject matter has been facilitated by the University discourses. This has, in some cases, impacted the subject matter pedagogy where the intercultural is perceived to be an effective mechanism for enhancing student employability and 'broadening' and gaining skills in intercultural competence.

What has become increasingly apparent over the course of this study is the relational nature between neoliberal discourses and the subject matter in what I termed the paradox of institutionalisation. A significant and frequent framing of the subject matter has revolved around discourses that seek to emphasise how students must be better prepared for a 'globalised world' where they will need to compete internationally for the best employment positions and will need a broad set of skills in order to do so. To meet these objectives, the subject matter was frequently framed as a vehicle for 'broadening' students' horizons and for improving 'employability'. One stark example from the research data noted how a class session was devoted to students practising telling future employers how they were now more employable based on having participated in a brief intercultural communication pilot module.

The paradox here is that while the University discourses facilitate the institutionalisation of the subject matter, the paradigm in which it emerges can potentially render it theoretically hollow and can impede alternative uses of the intercultural. The hegemonic vision offered of the intercultural within the University discourses is of 'the world based on self-enclosed nations' where the 'international' student is a product of his or her national culture (Delanty 2014:8). This approach is

combined with the strategic vagueness of marketing language and materials which attempt to convey a warm and cozy feeling to potential 'customers' regarding the study of 'cultures'. Within this environment of competing paradigms, disciplinary fault lines may add further uncertainty to how the subject matter is approached.

Stier's critique of the ideologies of HE which specifically drive internationalisation initiatives highlight this neoliberal approach which can be understood as 'a viable road to profit, economic growth, sustainable development or ideological goal-attainment of political regimes, multinational corporations or interests groups' (Stier 2006: 4). This view of the value of internationalisation in instrumental terms has clear parallels with how the subject matter has been institutionalised within the University as data has revealed that the intercultural is being framed in a similar instrumental fashion. This approach, which is one aspect of the larger neoliberal ideology in HE, is dangerous because the daily exigencies of the University can influence pedagogical approaches resulting in a skills-based and essentialist framing of the subject matter. Hanks refers to this as a 'problem-to-solution paradigm' where 'problems can be identified relatively easily and "fixes" are sought even more avidly' (Hanks 2013: 235). In this paradigm, there is a risk that the intercultural is seen primarily as a vehicle for providing 'solutions' to problems which occur in interaction between essentialised 'national cultures'. This model can then further frame tutors as 'service providers' (Molesworth et al. 2009; Hanks 2013: 235) and with respect to the subject matter, it can further result in a 'training approach'⁷⁴ which was documented in Dahlén's study of the interculturalists (section 3.6).

⁷⁴ It should be noted that a training approach can take many forms and some may not necessarily operate from an essentialist paradigm.

Concerns were also evident regarding the discourse of broadening as its proliferation at the expense of depth privileged a tick-box approach which may result in a shallow and one-dimensional pedagogy. These concerns can also stem from the parallels seen between the concept of broadening and consumerist language and choice-making opportunities within HE. Nixon, Scullion and Molesworth argue that '[u]niversities may now legitimately claim to "give customers the choices they desire", otherwise understood as "what the market demands", in preference to what subject specialists may intuitively feel that students need, or the subject demands' (2011: 198).

Consumerist language and choice were clearly evident in the forms of the subject matter's institutionalisation within the University and School. This includes 'The MA' where students were offered an opportunity to create a bespoke degree programme and 'The Strands' where students were invited to create their own 'personal pathways'. The inescapability of consumerist language and choice may also privilege the 'student experience' over characteristics such as 'curiosity, a willingness to learn for learnings sake, persistence in tackling complexity and the development of critical capacity' (Nixon, Scullion and Molesworth 2011: 206).

10.2.3 Finding 4: An Uneven Reception of the Subject Matter

- The reception given to the subject matter by social actors has been very uneven. This includes a wide range of positions and awareness as to what the subject matter entails. Positions of social actors range from blurring the subject matter with the University discourses to challenging essentialist applications of the subject matter.

Throughout the data chapters I have categorised a selection of different positions, interpretations and uses of the subject matter. The data revealed a very uneven

reception to the subject matter's emergence as seen in the different interpretations and uses of the subject matter. In some cases, social actors used the subject matter without being fully aware of any particular paradigm in which it can be framed. At other times, social actors were highly reflexive in their interpretation of the subject matter.

Two examples from the data offer contrasting approaches to the interpretation of the subject matter. Interview data from Sally in chapter 9 noted a reflexive struggle in how she attempted to bring students from across the University together through the use of the subject matter in 'The Ambassadors' by employing the term intercultural in an attempt to circumvent the problems presented by the term international. Alternatively, the approach taken with respect to 'The Cornerstones' offered a different position where there was a persistent use of a structural-functionalist Hofstedian framework and an emphasis on intercultural competence.

Zotzmann questions the notion of intercultural competence by locating it within 'Competence Based Forms of Education' which 'generally aim to attune the workforce to the needs of highly competitive work environment while other educational goals such as criticality, citizenship or aesthetic appreciation are often marginalized' (Zotzmann 2015: 182). This approach is often underpinned by a pedagogy which is tied to descriptions of 'performance standards' or 'can-do descriptors' which suggest a false promise of, 'objectivity, clarity and transparency' (Zotzmann 2015: 182).

10.2.4 Finding 5: High Marketing Value and Low Theoretical Value

- The instrumentalisation of the subject matter within the University suggests a perception that it has a high marketing 'value' but a low theoretical 'value'.

Emerging from the data was the position of social actors who used the subject matter to, in the words of one participant, 'push buttons' or as a term which was useful for recruiting students to the University. Marketing and recruiting students is an essential part of a university's operation and this takes different forms. The approach is rarely as stark as the previously mentioned 'guacamole and mariachis' approach which exoticises culture, but is more often subtle, ambiguous and/or strategically vague. Furedi argues that, '[o]ften it is cultural, intellectual and pedagogic consequences of marketisation that represent a cause for concern' (2011: 2). The instrumentalisation of the subject matter in marketing and recruitment and its historical association with a structural-functional paradigm may have influenced the general reluctance shown by academics within the School to use the subject matter in their own research. This suggests that the subject matter is perceived within the University to offer a high marketing value but a relatively low theoretical value.

10.2.5 Finding 6: The Neoliberal University Impedes a Paradigm Shift for the Subject Matter

- There is a clear tension between the daily exigencies of the University versus critical social theory related to the subject matter. This is apparent in how the University discourses (particularly the language of marketing) and the language of critical social theory are potentially incommensurate and difficult to reconcile. Thus, while there has arguably been a paradigm shift within *research* concerning interculturality, intercultural communication, intercultural studies and intercultural education, this paradigm shift is not conclusive throughout the current environment of the University and its discourses.

Data from the research has led me to emphasise the importance of the specific context into which the subject matter was emerging and the relational interplay between the subject matter and the University environment. The University's ideology and discourses are important for helping to clarify how and why the subject matter was institutionalised. This can be partially attributed to the subject matter being seen to serve the needs and discourses of the University and to fit neatly into a dominant neoliberal paradigm of HE. This paradigm, which is underpinned by essentialist categories of national cultures, can potentially serve as an impediment to problematisation and deeper critical engagement with the subject matter. This model also privileges particular educational 'performance-based competencies' while marginalising other potential attributes which Zotzmann lists as the need to 'develop individuals as socially responsible and open-minded people, to enable democratic debate and reflexivity, and to nurture and strengthen our moral imagination' (Zotzmann 2015: 188).

The performance-based competencies approach to education resonates with Thomson's critique of a 'master narrative' with a 'distribution of knowledge-as-a-thing, where outcomes are privileged over purposes and processes, and learning is assumed to proceed in the same way for all' (Thomson 2013: 170). These concerns are shared by a number of other academics. Thompson's critique of the dominant master narratives prevalent in education policy is closely linked to notions of a global knowledge economy (GKE) which requires 'the population to become consumers and a knowledge economy workforce' (Thompson 2013: 173). Thompson argues that this 'is a classic romance narrative in which the hero's (nation state) quest is to find a better life for those deserving of rescue from the dreadful fate of not progressing' (2013: 173). Three of Thompson's storylines which are part of the master GKE narrative, have particular

relevance to the University discourses emerging from the research and include the competitive nation state, the work-ready citizenry and the prepared nation-state (2013: 177-178).

Similarly, Stier's notion of 'content competencies' which have a 'one-dimensional, or static character [...] of both the "other" and "home" culture' provides a further point of comparison (Stier 2006: 6). Of even greater relevance is how this approach harks back to Dahlén's work detailed in section 3.3. where he emphasises a tension between academic anthropologists and the interculturalists who were the focus of his 1997 study:

Moreover, subtle, detailed cultural understanding is unlikely to be a major concern in itself to the consumers of interculturalist commodities, in contrast to the professional anthropological market where scholars present intellectual goods mostly to each other. Rich contextualisations and descriptive thickness thus do not necessarily meet with much appreciation among people with a largely instrumental interest in overcoming difficulties that cultural differences create. At the same time, of course, they need to be persuaded that *culture is a significant*, identifiable factor behind the conflicts and misunderstandings arising in their interactions with particular others. (Dahlén 1997:177 emphasis mine)

The persistent perceived significance of national culture as a tool for explaining, predicting and measuring human behaviour resonates closely with Dahlén's notion of 'cultural brokers' and 'intercultural commodities'. These terms help to highlight the fact that 'a culture concept which accentuates difference is a vested interest of cultural brokers' (Dahlén 1997: 177). This should not be translated as an argument for

decontextualisation or a suggestion that everyone in the world is identical, but that it may not be in the interest of a cultural broker to recognise the underlying processes of culture that are shared by all as seen in, for example, Holliday's 'grammar of culture' (2011; 2013) or in the epigraph by Epps at the start of this chapter. Dahlén's recognition that the notion of culture must be kept 'significant' for the consumers of intercultural commodities is particularly relevant as it can deter approaches which, in the words of one interview participant, 'knock culture out of the park'. Instead, perceived essentialist cultural differences are kept both as an explanatory force and as a way of seeing and ordering the world. This paradigm for the subject matter persists because it serves the University's interests and these interests similarly act as an impediment for a more widespread paradigm shift within the University for the subject matter.

10.2.6 Finding 7: Interculturality From Below

- The subject matter is contested and productively redefined by some social actors within the University particularly through objections to reductionist and essentialist instrumentalisation.

There was clear evidence of critical stances taken in respect to the subject matter and discourses within the University. Although academic freedom is a rather dated term, the existence of this freedom within the University allows for what I have termed 'interculturality from below' where social actors express oppositional concerns regarding the essentialist paradigm of the subject matter and contest University discourses. For example, the notion of internationalisation was a key facilitator in the subject matter's institutionalisation, but similarly contested by students who demonstrated they did not want their identity encapsulated simply through the single

lens of nationality or within the category of an 'international' student. This suggests that in many cases students are well-versed in living diverse and complex lives and bring a critical awareness to the University, rather than, as it is so often suggested, the other way around. Contestation also lies in the concern that the subject matter is used to index 'diversity' and as a vehicle for demonstrating the University's commitment to 'internationalisation'. Matus and Infante take exception to discourses of diverse and international environments arguing that 'the master discourse of diversity acts on students' imagination as creating comforting, coherent cultural and social spaces. Certainly, this comfort needs to be problematized, particularly when it serves to produce coherent subjects to serve economic imperatives' (Matus & Infante 2011: 297).

However, productive uses of the subject matter are also not simply limited to contestation and oppositional discourses. Interview participants used the subject matter as a framework for understanding the transformations which they have undergone over the course of their study within the University. Likewise, students participating in the focus group were able to share stories and identify common social experiences which heightened their sense of fraternity and group cohesion. In these instances, the intercultural is relevant for understanding the fluid and transformative nature of the University and for highlighting the notion of small cultures, relational forms of identity, in/out group formations and for potentially contributing to forms of global citizenship. It is within these examples where the value, particularly non-market value, of the subject matter rests.

10.3 Is Critical Social Theory Compatible with a Neoliberal HE?

There have been significant attempts to provoke a paradigm shift which moves the subject matter away from an entrenched essentialist structural-functionalist and

modernist paradigm to a critical cosmopolitan and postmodernist paradigm as detailed in chapter 3. The challenge for the subject matter is also not limited to the context and demands of the University and a neoliberal HE as criticism of the subject matter can be found in regard to its application over a wide range of contexts including how it is invoked within transnational and non-governmental organisations. This criticism has frequently centred on the structural-functionalist paradigm, in the inherent weakness of the term 'intercultural' itself and in the recognition that there is a need to 'go beyond conventional categories in order to comprehend phenomena related to recent global change' (Frello 2015: 194).

This highlights the tension between critical social theory and the daily exigencies of HE. Critical social theory as seen in the form of (re)interpretations of the concepts of culture, interculturality *sans* culture and critical cosmopolitanism (sections 3.3.3, 3.3.4 and 3.3.5) are all nuanced concepts which see identity as relational and offer a framework for engaging with complexity and interpreting the world. These are crucial not the least for informing research practices and methodological strategies, but for also informing pedagogy related to the subject matter in HE. However, one question which remains is how these models can be reconciled with a neoliberal HEI which arguably puts business and profit first and increasingly uses a marketing language of soundbites. The paradigm shift within the global community of researchers who make use of the subject matter is a starting point and data from this study pointed to examples of vibrant critical social theory connected to the subject matter within the pedagogy and classrooms of the University and School.

Thus it may be reasonable to conclude that a non-essentialist, critical and small culture approach to the subject matter which takes into account the notion of intersubjectivity,

global politics and shared universal practices can retain some value, but this is largely visible within research and critical pedagogy. It is questionable as to whether this approach is fully understood or even supported throughout the University and more generally throughout HE in the UK. A more cynical perspective might be to suggest that the subject matter has been institutionalised not *in spite* of its theoretical weakness but *because* the inherent weakness allows the subject matter to be invoked in ways that support existing power arrangements. In other words, it is possible that it is the subject matter's theoretical weakness and elasticity which facilitates institutionalisation within the University.

10.4 Implications and Future Trajectory for the Subject Matter

The significant proliferation of the subject matter within HE is well documented and this study adds a further example to existing literature which chronicles this growth. However, as Piller states, this proliferation should not necessarily be a cause for celebration (2011:173). Dervin and Layne's (2013: 1-2) argument for the 'need to critically delineate the meaning of the "intercultural"' is more important than ever, but this is not without challenges. It is a source of some optimism that the subject matter is increasingly 'critically delineated' through a non-essentialist approach within the research community (and to some degree pedagogically), but critical delineation should not be limited to these areas. This criticality can be quickly lost, blurred and kept strategically vague when it is instrumentalised within the University's discourses and daily practices.

Critical delineation must be more widespread across the University but this cannot be confused with simply learning about other cultures. Narayan recognises the fallacy of this approach:

Multicultural education cannot be seen as a simple task of replacing “ignorance about “Other cultures” with “knowledge,” since problems [...] are precisely not problems of “ignorance” *per se*, but problems related to understanding the “effects” of context on issues, and of decontextualized, refracted, and reframed “knowledge”. (Narayan 1997:104)

At the risk of sounding overly dramatic, the subject matter can be judged to be in a perilous position within the University and is positioned between competing paradigms which social actors must negotiate. This negotiation process should involve building an awareness of the implications for how culture and the intercultural are being constructed, who this construction serves and how it is co-opted into the discourses of HE. In addition to the alternative frameworks presented in chapter 3 which offer a more productive direction, Piller suggests that a primary concern for intercultural communication must be a commitment to social justice which questions ‘exclusionary discourses’ (2011: 176). However, it is important to consider how social justice might exist within the daily demands and exigencies of the University which is being transformed through massification and neoliberal practices. Could, for example, new technologies (i.e. distance learning) serve to dislocate universities and thus render categories such as the distinction between ‘home/EU’ and ‘international’ meaningless? Would this contribute to new forms of intersubjective communication and critical cosmopolitanism? The answer here is certainly a ‘no’ unless new funding regimes are introduced which establish parity of course fees for all students. This suggestion in most current HEIs would likely have very little support. However, this idea should not be dismissed too quickly. Delanty, for one, argues that one of the key functions which

the future university must play is a contribution to what he terms 'technological citizenship' (Delanty 2001: 156).

However, the essentialist framing and historical structural-functionalist approach to the subject matter within the University exists in part because it supports the existing geopolitical power structures and it reflects wider societal discourses. This includes representations of solid 'cultural' or national identities which are visible in populist politics (Dervin and Layne 2013: 3). While this view of the subject matter can be challenged, it is unlikely that these discourses will soon be displaced in the day-to-day operations of the University. They are too convenient and they support power structures which serve the University's interests. Nuanced non-essentialist approaches can also be seen as 'elitist' or incongruous with the evolving language of the University where 'difference' is accentuated for a variety of instrumental purposes such as marketing 'diversity' or demonstrating a commitment to 'internationalisation'. Thus, the subject matter in all its various forms remains a floating signifier which is pulled in different directions within a heteroglossic University environment.

The contrasting epigraphs at the start of chapters 9 and 10 offer alternative epistemologies for how the intercultural is imagined. One approach interprets the aim of the subject matter to be a collection of cultural knowledge and experience which can then be used to 'manage' people and 'compete on the global stage'. The alternative suggested in the epigraph of chapter 10 is a 'critical suspicion of stabilised identities that might bring us to see ourselves more bound up in each other than not' (Kings Parade 2014: 5). In the first position, the intercultural is seen as a skill and a commodity; whereas the second position seeks to problematise the inherent essentialism within the psychological disposition to categorise and 'other'. These

positions serve as contrasting examples of how social actors within the University must navigate competing discourses, or in the words of Matsuo, 'negotiate between educational and economic articulations of what intercultural competence should consist of and what its goals are' (2012:348).

It would be naïve to suggest that the concept of intercultural communication and its variant forms are somehow completely incompatible with economic activity or that the subject matter has no relevance in economic and business contexts. On a similar note, it would be equally naïve to suggest that the University (despite its charitable status), should not invest in attracting students to study within its gates. These points are reflected in Matsuo's observation that 'we have been and continue to be both economic and social animals as well as being people of heart and mind' (2012:348). However, the danger is that by framing the intercultural in primarily economic and essentialist terms which reinforce national and psychological boundaries between people and has little concern for social justice that this will become the hegemonic form of the subject matter. Matsuo warns that if these economic discourses 'squeeze out other voices, so that it becomes very difficult to have a dialogue or debate with them, then they are on the way to becoming totalitarian' (2012:348).

10.5 Implications for the University and for Higher Education

I hope this research will strike a chord with potential readers from other HEIs who are involved with the subject matter, but I am aware that the context of the University cannot simply be generalised to all other HEIs. The multi-layered and multi-faceted positions taken with respect to the emergence of the subject matter serve as a reminder that it is crucial to differentiate between the more nebulous and faceless institution versus the social actors working within its doors. As mentioned in the introduction

above, one significant finding is that my data has suggested that the University is itself highly fractured and disjointed. My use of 'interculturality from above' and 'interculturality from below' tries to capture this tension between the nature of the University's imposed interpretation and constraining use of culture and the intercultural versus a more critical stance taken by social actors within the institution. In this fractured University, the institutional trajectory is most definitely a neoliberal one, but this trajectory can be contested by individual social actors. However, the difficulty of contesting this trajectory should not be underestimated if Ball's following account of neoliberalism in HE is accurate:

Neo-liberalism is realized in practical relations of competition and exploitation within business but also in very mundane and immediate ways in our institutions of everyday life, and thus it "does us" – speaks and acts through our language, purposes, decisions and social relations. In thinking about these practices, and concomitant changes in the form and modalities of the state, we can also think about how we are "reformed" by neo-liberalism, and made into different kinds of educational workers or learners. (Ball 2013b: 131)

Where Ball's account of the naturalisation of neoliberal practices has relevance to this study is in the seepage and influence this ideology can exert on the subject matter. As HE itself has become increasingly commoditised, the subject matter is moulded neatly into the neoliberal paradigm where the intercultural becomes a commodified subject which is studied in order to primarily facilitate exchange and commerce and is underpinned by methodological nationalism. Examples of this can be seen in chapter 6 where the subject matter is marketed to students (clients) as a way to 'get ahead' or alternatively as a means to ensure not 'getting left behind'. It can be seen in the

persistence of a structural-functionalist paradigm which continues to make extensive use of a Hofstedian approach and a predilection to frame the subject matter as a competence. There are clear parallels between this application and Ball's account of HE which transforms social relations and practices 'into calculabilities and exchanges, that is into the market form' (Ball 2013b: 131). Thus, to use Ball's language, neoliberalism not only 'does us', but can also 'do the intercultural'.

This environment is also a fertile ground for the highly visible internationalisation agenda which allows categories such as 'international' and 'home' to go unchallenged and become naturalised. The danger here is that lurking behind the label of internationalisation is the discursive construction of categories which serve to 'other' international students by overplaying and reifying differences and can suggest a patronising attitude which resonates with what Holliday argues is a 'West as steward discourse' (Holliday 2013). Holliday argues that this discourse 'is fed by a neoliberal tendency within the internationalisation agenda, to give the appearance of equality and diversity by acknowledging the rights and value of "international students", but in effect allocating them a "special needs" space' (Holliday forthcoming).

Throughout the process of this research I found myself repeatedly returning to the question of the purpose of a university. At times, the neoliberal environment has suggested that it is simply a conduit which is used to provide students with a future role within a wider existing social power structure. At other times, the University in this study appears to offer a space to problematise those existing power structures. Where the concept of interculturality fits into this environment is not straightforward, but its elasticity as a term can allow it to be used to support diametrically opposed viewpoints. Thus, social actors within the University must negotiate and navigate competing

discourses. One way to do this is by retaining Piller's maxim to consider 'who makes culture relevant to whom, in which context and for which purpose' (Piller 2011:174).

10.6 Personal Starting and Ending Points

Before considering final reflections I would briefly like to review my starting and ending points particularly in light of the fact that I am sensitive to the suggestion that I have found what I set out to find. I cannot argue that I entered the research environment as a *tabula rasa* without any knowledge or experience of the operations of the University and School. However, the research was motivated by a sense of curiosity about how and why the subject matter was becoming part of the institution and not by any agenda against the University or School. Institutionalisation of the subject matter involved my own personal activities and thus any potential criticism also includes self-criticism. The research allowed me to establish a critical distance and the data led me to emphasise the role of the University's discourses and its neoliberal trajectory. Thus, while I was previously aware of the business aspect of the University, I had not thought of this in neoliberal terms nor was I aware of particular discourses to the extent that I might be able to label these.

I would also like to stress in my ending point, that this study has not shattered my belief in the potential value of the University and the subject matter. While I have concerns about the direction in which the University is heading, I continue to see the benefit and value which it offers. This belief is extremely important for it allows me to continue to work within the University's confines. Regarding the subject matter, I will also continue to make use of it within my work, but I will do this cautiously and with an emphasis on the critical cosmopolitan values of fraternity and social relations.

10.7 Final Reflections and Recommendations

In Nigel Barley's ethnographic account of the Dowayo in West Africa, the author returns from his fieldwork weary and disconcerted. He is met by a fellow anthropologist who asks if Barley had asked all the wrong questions and failed to make sense of his time in West Africa. A somewhat bewildered Barley agrees that this is indeed the case. Despite having not having travelled to distant lands, I share a degree of his sense of disconcertedness. This study is only a snapshot in time of a particular space and environment. With the passing of time, the University, the wider HE environment and the world itself will be a very different reality. What can be assured though is that social action will continue and the usual thorny issues of power, inequality, and representation and the predisposition to 'other' are unlikely to disappear. Whether or not the language and communication involved with social action is best analysed under the umbrella label of intercultural remains open for debate. However, to return to the first paragraph of this dissertation and to risk striking a pessimistic note, scant evidence was found in this study to suggest that the treatment of the subject matter in the University is likely to provide much relief or many solutions to the current ills of the world unless more of the non-market values of universities are allowed to flourish. With this in mind, this thesis concludes with some final, and deliberately loose, recommendations.

There is a danger that a hollow and sanitised version of interculturality, which is devoid of any theoretical and social value, will continue to be the hegemonic version within the University. As noted above in section 10.2.1, one of the unexpected findings from this study was the pervasive neoliberal trajectory of the University with its concomitant marketisation which mobilised the subject matter with a view towards maximising its

market value. This finding places the thesis within current debates regarding the trajectory and purpose of current day universities. The tensions between competing visions of universities are significant and imagining a university through the identification of a concept such as 'the critical cosmopolitan university' may offer some productive mileage, but this will be limited by interpretation, perspective, contestation and daily exigencies. However, if universities are to serve as institutions which aspire to make the world a better place, it is necessary to begin imagining different possibilities for their continued existence. The work of Ronald Barnett, who has written extensively on the possibilities of universities, is instructive for providing some suggestions.

Tracing the different historical paradigms of universities (the metaphysical, the entrepreneurial, the research), Barnett (2011: 447) offers 'feasible utopias' which begin to imagine a different type of university. Barnett's work has been criticised for not being prescriptive enough (e.g. Blackburn 2013) and, in some respects, thinking in these very broad and somewhat nebulous terms does very little to address the daily practices and burning issues when, for example, university management may have to make what are difficult decisions that are primarily guided by the realities of financial viability. Moreover, each of these imagined universities raises its own subsequent questions. For example, Barnett's vision of the therapeutic university may lead to a perception that the concept suggests a lack of academic rigour at the expense of well-being. However, while Barnett may not offer any ultimate solutions or specific recommendations and the complexity of the issues within universities cannot be solved by resting on a single vision and concept, this does not mean that the ideas and visions offered for future university trajectories are not worth considering, particularly where they overlap with the subject matter.

Barnett's (2011: 451) proposal for the ecological university is of particular relevance. In this paradigm, Barnett argues that 'students would be encouraged to see themselves as enquirers and so dent the tendency towards their self-understandings as consumers.' This resonates with the need to not lose sight of the importance of what has come to be labelled as 'non-market values.' The concept of the ecological university is also suggestive of the need for sustainability, balance and responsibility and it suggests a need to retain the importance of the 'collective academic community' (Barnett 2011:445). The qualities which coalesce around the concept of the ecological university and the collective academic community may also allow the concept of the intercultural to help establish a university which has a greater moral, ethical and reflexive underpinning. This can be partially attended to through recognising and emphasising greater interconnectivity, the concept of the global citizen and the shared universal processes to which everyone is subject. Barnett points out that, '[a]s global citizens, students come to have a care or concern for the world and to understand their own possibilities in the world and towards the world' (2011: 451). If the subject matter can be framed to emphasise the interconnectedness and responsibility that everyone shares as global citizens, then this position begins to suggest some guidance towards a more reflexive, critical, balanced and sustainable university which admittedly is also in need of deeper structural changes.

Researchers (and teachers) have a role to play here in helping to contest and challenge discourses which rely on dangerous simplifications and binary models of 'us' and 'them'. In some respects, this role has a disruptive function. Not disruptive in the sense of damaging or endangering the lives of research participants, but in the sense of illuminating injustices through examining and contesting discourses and the taken-for-granted approach to our daily lives. It is the researcher's role to invite complexity and

to clarify this complexity through reflexivity and ethical research. While it may be too hopeful to expect that this may lead to a paradigm shift within the University, a redirection of its moral compass would be welcomed.

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Appendix 1: Interview Data

Appendix 1.1 Interview Groups and Participants

Group 1:

- (A) Academics who contributed to emergence 1 'The MA'
- (B) A contributor to emergence 2 'The Ambassadors'
- (C) Contributors and designers of emergence 3 'The Strands'
- (D) Module leaders of emergence 4 'The Cornerstones'

Number of interviews: 16

- 'The MA'- (9)
- 'The Ambassadors (1)
- 'The Strands' (2)
- 'The Cornerstones' (3)
- 'Miscellaneous (1)

Group 2: Academics and staff with a historical connection to the School and 'The MA'

Number of Interviews: 4

Group 3: Academics in other institutions working with the subject matter

Number of Interviews 7

Group 4: Students encountering the subject matter

Focus Group: 1

Number of Interviews: 3

Appendix 1.2: Interview Pseudonyms and Groups

Group 1 (a - d) (16)	Group 2 (4)	Group 3 (7)	Group 4 (3)
MAPLIS contributors (9) Cornerstones (3) Ambassadors (1) Strands (2) Misc (1)	Historical connection to SMLC and to creation of programmes 4	Academics at other universities which make use of the phrase 'intercultural' 7	Students on programmes which make use of 'intercultural' 4
'Paolo'	'Solomon'	'Julian'	Focus group
'Gladys'	'Edison'	'Denise'	'Young'
'Yan'	'Betty'	'Elliot'	'Paola'
'Patrick'	'Mary'	'Penny'	'Kanakano'
'Ingmar'		'Trevor'	
'Betty'		'Joan'	
'Klaas'			
'Helga'			
'Maja'			
Cornerstone Modules (B)			
'Matthias'			
'Bastian'			
'Rafael'			
Intercultural Ambassador			
'Sally'			
Discovery Themes/Broadening Strands			
'Candice'			
'Mitchell'			
Miscellaneous			
'Polly'			

Appendix 1.3 Sample Group 1 Interview Questions: 'A Contributor to 'The MA'

- 1) What do you enjoy most about your work in the School? What do you like least about your work in the School?
- 2) What were you hired to do in the School?
 - a. Have you moved away from that in any respect?
 - b. There is a certain amount of discourse of interdisciplinarity which seems to be the climate of the times. Are you encouraged to work across different disciplines in your own work?
- 3) Academics who work in what might be called Area Studies often have multiple identities? When someone asks you what you do, how do you reply?
 - a. Do you use a discipline or specialism to explain what you do?
 - b. Relationship to 'cultural studies'.
 - c. Do you feel a particular attachment to both your 'department' and the School?
- 4) How substantial is the pressure to publish as part of your job?
 - a. To what extent is your hand limited in terms of where you can publish?
 - b. If you published in, for example, the Language and Intercultural Communication journal – could this ever be conceivably a 5 star publication?
 - c. Would intercultural ever be a term that you used in your research?
- 5) As someone working within the School, how do you understand the university's use of 'Cultures' in this context? Is it clearly articulated?
- 6) What do you first think when someone says 'intercultural communication'?
 - a. Do you consider intercultural communication/studies to have a clear and recognisable subject matter?
 - b. Do you think there are clear conceptual limitations to intercultural communication/studies?
- 7) In a previous conversation we talked about the 'Race, Ethnicity, & Indigeneity' event and you noted the lack of pulling power the term 'intercultural' had. Can you expand on that?
- 8) Regarding your teaching on 'The MA', to what extent was intercultural communication/studies important to the conceptualisation of your teaching session?
- 9) We've previously discussed how 'The MA' could use more contributors and on one occasion I remember [name] saying that she was surprised more staff in the School weren't interested in leading a module.

a. Do you think the perception of reticence is founded and does this have anything to do with a lack of theoretical validity surrounding a term such as intercultural?

Sample Group 1 Interview Questions: A Contributor to 'The Ambassadors'

- 1) How did the programme originate?
- 2) How did the selection of the name come about and the use of 'intercultural'? Did you consider any different ones? How useful do you believe this distinction between international and home students is?
- 3) How have different areas of the university viewed the scheme? Has there been any particular resistance or support from particular areas of the university?
- 4) Why do you think the programme is important? Does this generally match with why the university might think it is important?
- 5) What are the aims of the programme?
- 6) Why is there a need for this programme?
- 7) How does this connect with the overall remit of the international office?
- 8) What informs the selection of students?
- 9) What are some of the best projects that you seen completed?
- 10) What were some of the less successful ones?
- 11) Could you ever see a time where a programme such as this was no longer necessary?

Appendix 1.3.1

Sample Group 2 Interview Questions: 'A Retired Head of Department'

- 1) Prior to the establishment of the School, what was the organisational structure within the Faculty of Arts?
- 2) Did the pre-School structure in anyway help or hinder your research or impact on your own academic identity?
- 3) Approximately when was the School established?
- 4) Aside from any possible bureaucratic and administrative disadvantages, were there any conceptual disadvantages to the move to the Federal School?
- 5) My understanding is that the 'C' in SMLC was added at a later date. Is this the case? Why was it done?
- 6) Was there a conscious effort to in some way address the 'C' in the School name once it was added? Was there a consistency among researchers within your organisation as to how 'culture' was imagined, understood and presented?
- 7) Has the concept of 'interculturality' or 'intercultural communication' to your knowledge been referred to specifically within the School?

Appendix 1.3.2

Sample Group 3 Interview Questions: 'Academics from other universities'

1) Could you tell me about the current landscape at (university name) with regard to programmes and modules which make use of this label, intercultural?

a. Has the emergence of intercultural communication and/or intercultural studies spread out into different faculties, or is it within a particular faculty where this has emerged?

b. Do you see intercultural communication or intercultural studies as belonging to any particular School or Faculty within your university?

2) In establishing that programme, were there particular challenges in doing so, or did you find the people in the university were quite receptive to the programme being established?

3) Thinking about intercultural communication, do you see this field of knowledge belonging to any particular place within a university; I mean your programme is placed in Education, but do you see it having a natural home?

4) What are some of the primary drivers of the emergence of 'the intercultural'.

a. Did you have a hand in driving the emergence?

5) Are there examples of multiple or conflicting understanding of interculturality within the university that can cause particular problems?

6) Is it fair to say that there is a backlash in certain parts of the university against approaches to education where students are allowed to pick and mix modules and to take a multidisciplinary approach?

7) What does the term 'intercultural' mean to you?

a. Would you consider IC as a subject, a discipline, a methodological tool etc?

8) How do you retain a critical edge within your pedagogy that relates to the intercultural?

9) Is there any scepticism regarding the increasing employment of the term?

Appendix 1.3.3 Group 4 Sample Interview Questions: A Student on 'The MA'

- 1) How important is your nationality to your own sense of identity?
- 2) How did this affect your stay in the UK?
- 3) Were you aware of any occasions where you were defined by the university as an international student? If so, what were your reactions to that?
- 4) Is the distinction between an international student and a home student in your opinion a useful one?
- 5) So you have been working closely with other students on the MA programme over the year, has that presented any particular challenges for you? Would you say these are 'cultural' challenges or challenges dealing with particular personalities?
- 6) Was the term intercultural important for your selection of the programme?
- 7) Did you have a strong conceptual sense of what 'culture' and 'intercultural' meant before joining the programme?
- 7) Did that change in any way over the course of the year? In what way?
- 8) Do you find yourself having to explain to other people what intercultural might mean? Who? Perspective employers?
- 9) As 'The MA' is not necessary a recognised discipline, but a degree title in this case, have you ever felt there was a lack of legitimacy studying something that wasn't a recognised discipline such as Linguistics or Anthropology?
- 10) You have taken modules in different areas of the university, did you feel that there were different approaches to teaching and learning in the different university environments? Were there different concepts of 'culture' which you encountered?

Appendix 1.4 Sample transcripts of interviews (Group 1 sample)

Transcription of Interview with 'Ingmar': 7 March 2013

Minimum notation symbols used:

Italics indicate emphasis

... indicates pause of approximately 3 seconds

/ indicates interruption

(?) indicates unclear statement

() indicates specific comments i.e. laughter or rising intonation

(name) indicates name omitted

H: = Haynes I= 'Ingmar'

I: (Continuation of conversation) Can I tell you that sort of story and then you can start asking questions? So, it's about doing research in other countries and cultures and then using those forms, consent forms in other countries and I know this is the experience of our students because the forms are not designed with the awareness that there are different rules that actually kind of regulate that sort of thing. An example that my students kind of came up with is that to actually use these forms in Russia, they would actually never get what they wanted because every time a form was produced people there think, 'Oh, it must be some sort of KGB agent.' Because the cultural history dictates that you don't do forms. As soon as you start doing forms, you're in trouble.

H: Yes, I had this exact discussion this morning. I did another interview today and the person I was interviewing was saying, 'God, I would never use anything like this in Italy.' In fact, he doesn't use anything. And I was saying that there is something about these forms that bumps up the formality in a slightly uncomfortable way for some people.

I: I think it depends. I mean, I don't think that's the case in the UK or the US as well, but once you go to countries where there is a different tradition, in other words they would be happy to talk to you and all you need to do is to say how you are going to use it. You don't need to show that written form because that written form bounces back to the older times of Stalinism.

H: Sign this form or else.

I: Sign this form (laughter) But we're in a free country so we can say whatever we want.

H: (laughter) I'm just going to ask some broad questions to begin with about your work in the (School name) and things that you particularly like about your work in the (School name) or things that you dislike.

I: We might be here next week. (laughter) Well, let's bring it to the subject you're working on. I going to start with things I don't like actually. The way you described your understanding of kind of intercultural communication and what you're doing, your project, it sounds to me like a history of knowledge in itself, kind of how a discipline

itself has evolved and my kind of problem with this university is that it is less interested in that historical aspect and the kind of wider context. It's really stuck in this very mundane, practical understanding of what subjects are. And it's very much driven by the way it used to be many years ago to the extent that, for example, colleagues and units in our School are referred by the main language they teach, not actually what they do in actual terms which again reminds me of the old signs of the Cold War because it's kind of like a base camp of spies, or something like that, as opposed to a unit where you learn many things, not just linguistic skills as such. So, I find that a bit discouraging. But at the same time it's a university that is actually quite flexible so I do hope that eventually there's going to be a change. Whether it will reflect this intellectual agenda that you're interested in or whether it will be driven by another marketing tool, that I don't know.

H: Yes.

I: There are other things that I like or don't like but yeah. They probably have to do more with the way that we structure our teaching or access the VLE.

H: I think you've kind of alluded to the structure of the (School name), it's got that connotation of an 'Area Studies' configuration, so I'm thinking about how you might categorise yourself personally. I know it depends on who that person is, but if someone stops you and says, 'What do you do?'. How do you categorise yourself or how do you answer that question?

I: Well, I sort of do it very often so I might as well just rehearse what I say which would be, I'm a specialist in film and new media and then if need be, I then specify and say working on a specific area of the world, because I think this is sort of what I do as opposed to using new media and film as an entry point into, in this case Russia, but it could have been any other country.

H: What about cultural studies, would that come up (...)

I: Oh yes, but that's more a ... that is not a subject area or a department, it's more of a tool, kind of a methodology that one uses to tackle those things because you can do the same stuff, for example you can do film or new media, but from the point of view of communication or aesthetic theory or whatever that might be, political economy, but I am embedded in cultural studies.

H: And do you feel a particular attachment to what used to be called your department, Russian, or do you feel a wider part of the (School name) or is that relevant?

I: No, I don't feel I'm part of it although this is what my contract says and this has been part of the problem, and the university does structure us according to those rubrics. In real terms kind of intellectually it's beyond there (?). It's sort of a cloud on which we all exist. And one day I'm might be asked to contribute to something as a specialist on Russia, but another day it's totally different, yeah.

H: I'm taking it as a given that publishing is a big part of your job. To what extent is your hand limited in terms of where you publish?

I: Um, I'm limited, funnily enough, by the REF. And the way REF is structured because there are loads of journals where I'd be happy to publish, but I would not be able to use them as effectively for REF, because their subject area is outside our field as the School sees it. So, for example if I were to publish in some kind of communication journal, I think that might be a problem because it will be branded as a paper in communication studies, not as a paper for languages or area studies. So, that is actually a big pain. It really is because you always meet some of the audience that you're actually working with. There's been also change, I should say in the past three or four years, people stopped putting country names into the titles of their papers, but they kind of explore things beyond that. So, for example, somebody can present a paper to a journal called '*New Media and Society*' and five years ago that paper would be, uh, 'Russian Television', now they just say television and they may not include 'Russian' in the title of it. So, it has kind of emerged into this wide non-localised area of study.

H: And you take that to be a positive move?

I: Yes, I think it is a positive move.

H: Looking at the name of the (School name), how clearly do you think the (School name) articulates what it takes the word 'cultures' to mean?

I: I think it is very unclear and there has been some work done recently trying to make it clear, but I think we're still working on it. We're still working on it, and again I think in many ways the discussion is structured not about where people are at the moment and what exactly they want it to be, I actually do not remember if we had a School Board or any event where we would try to define our own identity. I can't remember that, but maybe it was before I came here. So, in many ways culture represents all aspects of teaching or research that are not precisely language or linguistic focus. So, it's a kind of a basket for everything from politics to history to cultural studies proper.

H: What about the 's' on cultures at the end of it?

I: At the end of it?

H: The language and culture(s).

I: Oh yes, right OK. The plural. Well it's the same as in the other unit where I work (Unit name). I think it's a good 's' in the sense that it represents a polycentric, multiple approach. In other words, we see cultures as a diverse and dynamic element as opposed to a more unified approach because the pitfall with that would be that it would just tell a very European-centric story of what culture is.

H: OK. When someone says to you, 'intercultural communication', what connotations does that bring up?

I: A very popular subject area from the 1990s.

H: So, something quite dated.

I: No, something that emerged around that time, as in the same way that film studies emerged in the same way in the 1970s, for example. It sort of more defines, the timeframe defines the rise of the discipline and perhaps slightly vague life of it in these areas and now, and I think it has to do with the political agenda, because it has been sort of supplanted by multiculturalism in these areas. And now multiculturalism is a taboo word, perhaps we are now returning to this use of the term intercultural because it is sort of the way the Labour government pushed it is that as if multiculturalism results in the disappearance of the differences, whereas I suppose the way the current government works with this is that intercultural stands for, there will always be these essentialised cultures that will perhaps talk to each other, perhaps (?).

H: And from somebody who has been an academic in the U.S., do you see any particular difference between intercultural communication and the way it is approached there with the way it has evolved here?

I: Well, in my work in the U.S. I have found that intercultural communication is really perceived as an almost practical tool. It is an add-on to people who normally graduate not from foreign languages but rather from communication studies. But that's my kind of limited experience of it and they are very successful in working with businesses who travel around the world and there is a kind of sense of that, it's a kind of extra value that people bring to their business and to their company which I don't find in the U.K. that much. But it has to do again with the idea that Europe is always a multicultural entity and therefore there is more everyday mundane understanding of intercultural communication that there might not be in the U.S. Here, on the contrary it is seen as a less practical and more academic discipline and I actually find that my students find that it is hard when they try to translate their knowledge and skills into the practical terms when they go out looking for jobs.

H: What about intercultural studies, would you take intercultural communication and intercultural studies to be synonymous?

I: Well, I suppose intercultural communication is a sort of, is part of intercultural studies. But, any study is communicative and any form of cultural exchange includes communication so it's kind of more-or-less the same, I'd probably say.

H: In your own research do you ever make use of this term, 'intercultural'?

I: I used to. I don't that much anymore only because my interests moved from a kind of interest in kind of the end of nation-states and the end of modernity to this post-modern, post-broadcast era where 'intercultural' again sort of presumes that there are entities that are stable into something more fluid so I think the terms I use more often now are transnational perhaps.

H: And possibly networks?

I: Networks, yeah. Having said that, I think the focus of my research has been on those things that are designed for global consumption whether deliberately or not, but it does mean that all cultural production is designed for that dissemination. So, it's more me. I imagine it's still relevant to talk about various specific cultural exchanges that we can call intercultural studies or intercultural communication particularly I think one of the key areas is diaspora studies. That's a thing where it would be very relevant.

H: Definitely. How about the teaching that you did on (Programme name)? I think the teaching you did on it connected really well with the programme and the students were able to use the session and make reference back to it throughout the programme.

I: Hopefully.

H: But, in preparation for that session was it necessary for you to even think about this label of 'intercultural'?

I: Yes, I did. I did. I probably wasn't that articulate in terms of how I used the term in my lecture, but I did think about it as I was working on it, in the sense that all the case studies that I used, they were very much, sort of, communication based ones. They were not very much static, they were very fluid, very open, almost to the extent of crowdsourcing. All the case studies I used were also open to use outside of the cultures where they were created. And I think this is what I wanted to sort of argue in my lecture, that a history of globalisation is not about kind of pushing cultural practices on people, but rather being open to those practices being used by other people. So, I hope that worked. But I think that intercultural communication would have been a very useful term if we were to talk about the way people would react to those projects that I discussed in the lecture because whatever happens, they perceive those projects as based in specific cultures, whatever their experience might be. I'm just sort of thinking whether, for example, somebody looking at one of those projects I discussed, let's say in China, would actually think of them as being Austrian or British or they would just think of them as being European, for example.

H: So, it's losing its specificity.

I: Yes, but, it's definitely about intercultural communication where people construct their perception of a different culture and I think this is what it's about, it's about recognition of some kind of difference.

H: This reminds me a little bit, we were in a class and we were looking at advertisements and the students selected advertisements and were looking at ways in which companies can use the narratives of national identity or stereotypes to sell a product and they chose a Coca-Cola advertisement that was done in Chinese. And we watched the advertisement and we were discussing it afterwards and I had this slight uncomfortable feeling about being an American and Coke as an American product that was being foisted upon Chinese...

I: Why did you?

H: Well, it's just part of my background and looking at the original 'I'd like to teach the world to sing' commercials. I don't know if you remember those, but talking to the students, they were saying, 'We just see it as a drink'. It's not necessarily an American drink, it's just a drink and we can evaluate it you know, for its own merits or lack of merits therefore. But it was interesting because they were definitely coming at this from a different angle.

I: Well, they might be different examples because Marlboro for many years as you know used this idea of the Western cowboy as a global brand so I suppose there are different tiers to it, and the same local, national, transnational story can be applied to different products and ideas as such. So, it's not one directional, definitely.

H: Yes. Last question.

I: Already?

H: And I think you touched on this before but there is a lot of talk about interdisciplinarity at the moment. So, are you encouraged, is this something you sort of push yourself to do to work across different disciplines. Is this something that is natural to you?

I: I think it is quite natural although you never know. Well, I mean I do....again, disciplines are things that are designed to a very large extent by REF panels, not so much by how people really work and what they do or what kind of training they've got. Also, in my case it's very often what you studied defines who you are. So, if you are studying film you are sort of by definition become a film scholar although your approach to film might be something completely different, linguistic analysis, or political analysis or economic or whatever it might be. Yeah, in my case definitely it is interdisciplinarity. Again, and I am kind of thinking about the research projects which I have been working on and I'm thinking whether I would ever apply the word 'intercultural' in any context. And I think my problem would be that, 'intercultural' sort of stands for as if there are two entities as opposed to, and multicultural is a word that I wouldn't want to use because of that political agenda that I mentioned before, and so, it's sort of, that's that kind of trap that one falls into and therefore I think transnational is a kind of a way out. But, I remember a few years ago I actually tried to put a course together on transnationalism and I remember vividly that one of the problems that I had was how to distinguish it from intercultural studies because when you look at the core of transnational movement, it really is about that multi-directional perspectives in cultural exchange.

H: I was at a conference last year in Milton Keynes and there was an academic in Australia and she had been successful in renaming all the programmes, making the shift from intercultural to transcultural and very clearly explained why so that conceptually it was something that was sound and something that I could recognise as being a positive move, but then I think the university might see the practical aspect as well in the way that university programmes are marketed and sold so you have a private sector

agenda. And so, it might be conceptually sound, but then will it attract enough students?

I: Yeah, I see what you mean because I suppose the prefix 'trans' may not be that popular with sort of companies and what they actually do, um, but I think a sort of basic search in newspapers would reveal, like I don't know business supplements, whether those companies describe themselves as international or transnational, I don't know Danone, for example or whatever it might be. Um, but I agree with you that 'trans' seems to be just a way to modernise the same body of work to make it sound new, whereas, in fact, there probably isn't that much difference. But then, again, I might be very wrong in my memory, but I think intercultural studies, intercultural communication way back, sort of 15 – 20 years ago, was not that interested in the figure of the migrant or diaspora and I think that emerged with kind of transnational studies. The way I remember it is the intercultural communication was about people having temporary experiences with a different culture not really occupying that mental space of difference that probably describes where we are now.

H: I think this goes back to at least the American origin where it evolved out of the Foreign Service Institute for diplomats who were going to go for a short period, as you are saying, in a foreign environment and come back. So they needed these very practical(...)

I: And it was very short term. Very short term. In other words, this week it might be training on how to operate effectively in Thailand and the following day it's Africa etc, etc.

H: And it was very prescriptive as well.

I: Yeah.

H: That's what you do in Thailand and that's what you do in Africa.

I: But that was before, sort of, this new wave of migration and so I suppose there is nothing wrong with the term intercultural communication, it's just what we actually put into it and what sort of experience we talk about because actually as I kind of person one is always talking about themselves and the 'other' and so intercultural is kind of applicable. Any other questions?

H: No, I think that's it. Thank you very much.

Sample transcripts of interviews (Group 1 sample 'Mitchell') 21 March 2014

Transcription Code

Minimum notation symbols used:

Italics indicate emphasis

... indicates pause of approximately 3 seconds

/ indicates interruption

(?) indicates unclear statement

() indicates specific comments i.e. laughter or rising intonation

[name] indicates name omitted

(xxx) word(s) not clear

(xxx xxx) sentences(s) inaudible or indecipherable

Participants

H = Haynes

M = 'Mitchell'

Recording starts

H: Quite a broad question at first, could you talk me through your association with the ['The Strands']?

M: The project started it must be four / five years ago and at that stage, there were big chunks of work to do with research led learning and institutionalising level 3 research projects. There was a section on assessment, there was a section on broadening, and the powers that be looked at the then [xxx]pro-Deans [?]and said, you do that one, you do that one, and you do that one.

Actually I thought that if I was going to get any one of them, I think that would be quite a nice one to have. It's as simple as you trot off to the PVC's office and she sits you down and says, would you like to do it? And by and large you don't say yes and you don't say no in those circumstances.

I think by definition, geography is a discipline that has fairly porous boundaries, it bleeds out into others areas of the university, and I'd done some work chairing a group that looked at modules that were essentially offered only as electives and didn't have a home within a particular departmental structure. So there was a university committee that sort of looked after those, so I kind of felt it sort of added up.

So it wasn't some great evangelistic desire to broaden, although I think I have always believed in that. It was more the university's decision making about who does what, but maybe there's some logic to that but it was never really shared with me.

H: When you say the 'powers that be', so this is coming from the top?

M: Well, the idea that the institution as a whole should just pause and take a good look at its curriculum, that very much driven... I don't know how high up but clearly it's the very senior team, it is the project of the current Pro-Vice Chancellor, <name> and I think before I became particularly involved, there was a definite agenda there that there was a wasted opportunity in terms of the existing elective system.

Students were not taking that terribly seriously, and a lot of them simply didn't appreciate the range of opportunities that we could offer them. I think that has ramifications for education. Clearly it also has ramifications for recruitment. If you're saying in an increasingly competitive environment, what might make [uni name] your place of choice as opposed to [uni name] or [uni name] or some other equally excellent university.

I suppose also there was this idea that alongside the broadening which students would have the opportunity to do beyond their discipline specific studies, that all degrees should have shot through awareness of what I think we ended up calling global and cultural understanding. Now everybody has to get that in some measure, whereas the agenda about broadening and [The Strands] is, for the most part, about student choice.

There are some degrees that, frankly, cannot accommodate a great degree of student choice. So for the most part students choose the degree to which they broaden and then the idea is that we give that choice some structure through the development of discovery themes because I think it was very obvious...

What was problematic before was students either weren't aware, didn't look very hard, or they came in thinking, I'd really like to do something about x but if it's not conventionally labelled in terms of this is more history, or I want to learn, I enjoyed French A level and I want to carry on with French; if it was a more complex thing that they were looking for, just saying the university has 70 departments I'm sure one of them will be able to sort you out, is not a very helpful response.

Whereas if you try and reimagine the university and quite deliberately try and reimagine it in ways that crosscut or blur, shall we say, traditional disciplinary boundaries and bring together module offerings and opportunities that clearly do relate to one another but not worrying too much about where they're taught, where they come from. So that was the next stage.

Then we had to think through, okay, if that's the principle, how do you step back from the university and think, could it look different. We went through some stages which were utterly conventional and I think wouldn't have got us very far, just saying, we've got nine faculties so we'll have nine... it's got to be better than that.

It really was a process of discussion with a small group, which I chaired, kicking around various half-baked notions until we ended up with something that seemed to work. There were lots of dilemmas about how many themes do you have? Lots. Might be fine grain but do you get to a point where too many is too confusing, too few and actually you've achieved nothing because you're just saying that there are three big pots.

I guess we always knew that there had to be something that would focus around language and the ability to learn another language, I think that's really where that intercultural strand started, but saying if we're reimagining something a bit more imaginative, engaging with other cultures, other parts of the world, yes, having that ability to communicate at a basic level is hugely important.

But that's not what everybody wants, and even those who might want to learn a language might want to think about using that as a stepping stone to doing other things. So essentially you come up with a set of titles. The word 'intercultural', as I recall, was not the original title. I cannot remember for the life of me

H: Cross?

M: Cross-cultural, yes. I think that did spark a little debate. Cross-cultural I think was used in naivety by non-experts saying isn't that what you call it? And then Caroline as more of an expert in the field said, no, that's not what people would call it.

And I think there was probably a little flurry of exchanges in terms of what is more important here. What an expert might call it or using a term that students in general... if they're looking for language plus engagement with other aspects of culture that is specific to linguistic groups in other parts of the world, but I think we reassured ourselves that we could please both parties.

But that was part of the agenda, and has been part of the agenda in lot of our internal knowledge, to say we don't actually care what your colleagues call it. If your colleagues are giving you a hard time that that's not absolutely the right, elite, academic way to describe it, they've kind of missed the point.

H: Because it's with the students.

M: It's about the student knowing where to find the sorts of things they want and recognising that often students come in with a general idea but if it's not why you've primarily come to university, if it's something you're interested in but not as a specialist, you've actually got to be quite careful that you don't shut the door in their face right away.

H: You talked a little bit about this name change from cross; ['The Strands'], my understanding is that it wasn't always called ['The Strands'].

M: No.

H: So that went through a number of name changes as well, could you just...

M: Yes. The part of the project that I head up it always was and is about broadening, and recognising that broadening for many students will be via the ['The Strands']. Broadening has a larger meaning. So what some of the schools that can't accommodate ['The Strands'] within their programmes are being asked to do is saying, this is the agenda as defined by ['The Strands'], show how in other ways your students are engaging with this. So there's that distinction between broadening and the ['The Strands'].

I think when we started off, we had some rather complicated textual analogies which I invariably got wrong, but the things that were shot through every degree, they were threads I think, so every degree had to have these threads through it. Then it was kind of understood from the outset that if you wanted to make the broadening provision, which is to say the elective provision, more comprehensible to students, then it had to have these.

It had to be organised in some way, and in some way that added value rather than simply reinforced the established structures of the faculties in schools. I think at the outset they were called strands. So you had strands and threads, and that was always the holding position, and I don't think anyone was under any illusion that's what we'd end up calling them but they were kind of a working title.

Once we'd got flesh on the bones and said there are ten of these things whatever they are, and we'd done a bit of road testing with students and indeed with colleagues to say, the things that you currently teach and would want to continue to offer, do they fit? Which was interesting as well in terms of just fine tuning.

So we'd got titles, I think we'd even got as far as... no, we probably hadn't actually appointed people to head them up but we knew that was what was going to happen, but we still had issues about terminology to crack. It's actually quite difficult to come up with a title that doesn't sound either deathly dull or totally cheesy marketing speak, because other institutions have had a stab at this. [uni name] calls them their... however many centuries old [uni name] is, and that one doesn't work particularly, and I don't think it helps [uni name], frankly. What does it mean? And other people were playing around with broadening and [...] and whatever.

There was a certain amount of internal kicking around of ideas, by and large getting pretty much nowhere. So I think in the end because there were creative consultants coming to do various other maps and branding things for the university, they were given the task. They came back with a list of titles, stuff about tailoring which just made me think of, how would sir like their jacket worn? Double breasted is very fashionable this year <laughs>, tailored modules. I think they were trying to be clever but it just didn't work, and actually wasn't descriptive of the modules because the modules are not tailored to the student; it's about choice.

I think my recollection is that they came back with various things and the group met and they were all equally dreadful, please [name] have another go. I think they were kind of working on ideas for themes. They were also working on some strapline ideas for the whole thing. I'm not entirely sure what's happened to those, like many of these ideas about branding, I think they probably quietly sunk without trace, but perhaps that's a bit you might not quote me.

H: Okay.

M: And they were [...], grow, whatever. All harmless but not very exciting words, and again you go to a meeting and there's nothing that everybody likes. I think we just got to the point and said, on the face of it, there's no right word for this, in six months' time provided we don't choose something utterly stupid, we'll kind of get used to it, it will sound natural. We didn't want to call them broadening because that's confusing, and explorer theme sounds really naff.

It was hard to think of a word that embodied choice in quite the right way. So I think [...], personally I don't think I sort of felt, eureka that's it, I think it just felt, we could sit here for another three weeks and we wouldn't end up with something that's perfect, does that do the job? Do we think in six months' time, we'll look back and think that was totally the wrong choice, and do we all want to get home today, and that's kind of where it went to.

Predictably I think once it gets out into the wider world, some people like it, some people don't, some people said it made it look childish, or it was too much like the [...] and it was too populist. But when you then say to those people, okay, tell me a better word. 'Oh well...' I think it's, as these things so often are, an iterative process and now it's just what they're called.

I think we did a bit more agonising about if they were [...], what were these things? Well, ['The Strands'] modules, that's fine. So what were the bundles of them? And again I think personally I'm sure I went through a stage where I thought, themes, god, that sounds so dull, can we not come up with something better and by and large, we decided we couldn't.

If you're being really negative, I suppose it is the lowest common denominator but I think it kind of does what it says and I suppose it is saying to students, if you want to buy into this... if you don't want to buy into it, fine, but if you want to buy into the opportunity that somewhere like [uni name] offers you, because we do have hundreds of these modules, the sheer range that we can offer because we're a big institution puts most other places in the shade.

The way that other institutions are approaching broadening, because quite a lot of other British universities are going down the broadening route, but often that's seems to be something which is essentially a major / minor component and you're choosing essentially from one of a dozen minor options or you're doing what [uni name] seems to be doing, which I think is well intentioned but I

cannot see the structure, I cannot see the logic of the range of things they're offering.

We're saying we have put a bit of effort into thinking about a structure, we have tried to devise something which shows you the range of opportunities on offer and helps you navigate through that and find the right thing for you. There are all the caveats about, will it fit my timetable and whatever, but if you want to buy into it, there are opportunities there and discovery sounds a positive, enlightening, what university education should be about sort of word.

H: You're answering lots of questions so the good news is you're knocking out lots of questions as you go <laughs>. Going back to this tension that between... the publication of the initiative is really, by and large, for students to see and to recognise the choices they have.

M: Yes. Well, I think the terminology absolutely has to be for students, but the intention is also to say to colleagues... because one of the revelations, although it's not actually that surprising when you think about it, is when you start saying to people who clearly do have a shared interest around a theme, is this the first time you've talked to each other about this and they say yes, you think maybe that of itself is a good thing. It's getting people to think about innovations in teaching, what will come out of it for some themes.

Some themes are fantastically well stocked anyway and actually it's more a management task of perhaps slightly slimming things down, defining a clearer structure and one or two things that are outliers just quietly disappearing, without compromising the breadth of course. But for others I think what comes across is, here are some opportunities that haven't fully been exploited to develop new teaching.

Some of which will be entirely for students to take as part of ['The Strands'], some of which actually is saying, here is something that will enrich programmes, maybe jointly taught by us between one or more schools. Or maybe here's a jointly taught module that actually enriches programmes in two schools who might not previously have thought they had things in common, things to debate intellectually.

And I suppose in the medium term, at the moment it's very much about getting the thing up and running in terms of teaching and making sure that when we launch it to first years next year, we haven't made a rod for our own back by saying it will be marvellous and it turns out to be not quite as marvellous as we promise.

Now that's top priority, but once you're bringing people together to discuss teaching, to discuss innovation in teaching delivery, because there will be some demands here about greater flexibility in delivery, it's got to fit diverse

timetables, but also the opportunity to say what about research coming out of that?

So this is probably being naively optimistic but I think in some instances you could at least hope that this will push a whole lot of buttons. It will make things better for students; it will refresh our teaching; it will make some parts of the university that perhaps haven't thought quite as much as they might about teaching methods and delivery actually just engage with some of that; and if it launches some research conversations, okay, that won't be universal but if it happens in a few places, then that's a ripple of good going through the university.

H: The area that I'm particularly interested in, I think I've only got one or two more questions, is this idea of languages and intercultural understanding, what the theme is actually rested with that term. I think language we can implicitly understand, but this term 'intercultural' I think is quite a slippery term. Is there in the themes a clear understanding of that term, how it's meant to be used and what kind of teaching would revolve around that particular term?

M: Well, perhaps it is a little bit rewinding and saying how did this happen? As we've already established, it wasn't the term first thought of. I suppose the initial thinking was all about how you... how, as immediately as possible, a student who's saying, I kind of know where I want to go, and they're presented with a list of ten, clicks the right one or the right two or three that they're interested in exploring first time.

So I think that in many ways was the top priority in terms of the actual title, to imagine a student, especially a student who's completely new to the [uni name] and quite possibly this is the first academic decision they make beyond deciding to come to the university, because we're envisaging that students will first access the notion of the specific range of opportunities online.

So it has to be something that they can work through, that has the right balance between accessibility and information. Okay, it's always understood that this will be supplemented by real people talking about what they really want when they get here, but first off, it's about signposting to a student who's got a vague idea but not necessarily a terribly precise idea, this is what I want to explore.

Then the next thing they will see are bullet points which try and explain what's going on. Now when we were developing the themes, I think the group of us, we wrote the bullet points for everybody, and inevitably as we've got theme leaders appointed, they've come back and said that's not actually how I see it, or indeed when I've looked at the modules that are at my disposal, that's not actually what we can deliver.

So I think the first approach is actually quite pragmatic, it's to say to a student, this is the area you're looking in and these are broadly all the things we can offer within that area. So it's actually designed to be as own prescriptive as possible,

both for students and indeed for various parts of the university, because I think you get a very negative reaction if someone had a really elective that they were used to offering and they looked at all the definitions and said, you've written me out of your script.

So in that sense, I don't think there was any real sophisticated nuanced, certainly not on my part, understanding of what the term might mean. It really was a useful device that says there's a big block of languages and it's very easy to see that those are already popular. People go down that route as an elective for a variety of reasons, as long as they're utterly pragmatic. I want an international career as a lawyer, I will need a second language, my GCSEs were rubbish, it's my last chance to do something about it.

And probably those people that's what they'll do. They will do their language, language, language, and the notion that there might be anything beyond that, not really interested. But it was to say, some of you choosing languages or that sort of interest in another culture...

H: I guess from an outsider looking in, my slight concern would be that if you look at this term and the body of literature that looks at how this term is used, sometimes it can be quite critical about that the term can be used in quite a essentialist ways. So if you go to Japan, you need to do A, B, C, D because the Japanese are like this; if you go to Saudi Arabia, you need to A, B, C, D because...you get the idea.

So there is quite a body of literature which is quite critical around this term. So as an outsider looking in on the themes, is there any mechanism there, any safeguarding, to see that if you're using this term and you're pointing students in this direction, are there any safeguards so that the teaching actually won't be teaching them in quite an essentialist way about other cultures. Is that up to the theme leader?

M: Yes, I was going to say that I think theme leaders probably don't have the resources to police all the teaching, because I don't quite know how many...

H: I think a lot.

M: [Name] would probably be able to tell you how many modules there are, but some of these themes, they have hundreds of modules. So I think to a certain degree we are taking on trust that we are dealing here with modules that are the product of a [name] leading research, and all the other positive words we use to describe ourselves.

All the modules I suppose, even if they're only available as ['The Strands'], are owned by a school, a faculty. All of those go through the approval process. So I think what we're primarily relying on is that these are modules who are taught by experts, their design, their aims and objectives, their teaching methods have all been vetted in a way that...

H: Any module...

M: Any module would be, and in fact quite a lot of the modules, the vast majority of the modules we're talking about, they are designed primarily as part of a degree programme and then they're being made selectively available to students from across the university.

But clearly the theme leaders have a key role. That's why we ended up with the term intercultural rather than cross-cultural because [name] came back and said that's not the term I would use if I were you. So they have, I think, an important role in defining an agenda. Now that kind of has to look two ways because I think that does have to be a sort of a heavyweight intellectual agenda, but it also has to be capable of expression, as I've said before, in ways that a student says, yes, that's the part that I want to buy into.

In terms of what sorts of teaching fits, the allocation of individual modules to the themes has been done through a process of negotiation between theme leaders and schools, and indeed between theme leaders, because the themes are deliberately intended to bleed one into another. So there will be modules in common between languages and intercultural, and culture, media and creativity is the most obvious one, but there will be modules in common with all sorts of things.

H: Yes, ethics could go either way, couldn't it?

M: Yes. So theme leaders have a role in shaping the reality, and I hope they will have a continuing role once we get up and running in reflecting on the longer term development and saying, are there opportunities here that we're missing, are there aspects of teaching that one would ideally like to see and is underrepresented? If there was a sense, and I'm not saying there is, that teaching in any one theme was slanted in a particular direction and you want a bit more breadth, then I think that would be a priority for a theme leader.

But of course theme leaders don't have power of absolute dictat; they cannot order. They can encourage, they can enthuse, they have some modest resources to help kickstart new teaching, but they can't march into a school and say, wag their finger, when one looks at this, you're teaching all this in the wrong way, please remedy that, and oh by the way, I'd like four or five new modules that redress the balance.

If we go back to what this might achieve longer term, if it is another friendly pair of eyes just saying have we missed a trick here, could we perhaps think about developing something slightly different and I can put you in touch with somebody else who's interested in this in another school that you might not already know. Again I'm not imagining that that will spawn hundreds of modules but if it gets two or three interesting things up and running and does that on a reasonably regular basis.

I suppose what is also evident is because these modules are by and large parts of existing degrees, those are going through a process of review and updating. People do change what they want to teach, new staff arrive. So I think there will be some turnover, some of that will be disruptive possibly but you kind of hope the balance will be to grow and positive.

Potentially as well, if this thing really get institutionalised, you may get some people at least saying, I'm designing this primarily as something for my students within my school but I've kind of got maybe not half an eye but a quarter of an eye on the bigger picture. I think at the moment when people design teaching, and for the last few years, it's been entirely about where does it fit in that narrow little box in that degree scheme; if somebody else wants to come in and do it, that's all well and good, but that's not any part of my design agenda, and perhaps just trying to say, okay but perhaps it should be.

H: I think you've answered all my questions. Thank you.

Appendix 1.4.1 Sample transcripts of interviews (Group 2 sample)

Transcription of Interview with 'Mary': 7 March, 2013

Minimum notation symbols used:

- Italics indicate emphasis
... indicates pause of approximately 3 seconds or less
/ indicates interruption
(xxx) indicates a word or short phrase which was unintelligible
(xxx xxx) indicates a longer phrase that was unintelligible
(laughter) indicates my own specific comments i.e. laughter or rising intonation
(name) indicates name omitted

Participants

H = Haynes

M = 'Mary'

M: Somebody, I suppose you've already spoken to him, but (Name) was somebody who was at a lot of the meetings.

H: Yes, I've been told that. And I think (name) as well might be another person.

M: Yes. I can't recollect (name) being at the meetings actually. He may have come after.

H: So, the first question if that's alright, prior to the establishment of the (School name), what was the organisational structure within the Faculty of Arts?

M: Of the department of Spanish and Portuguese?

H: So, you had Arts and underneath that structure was departments?

M: It was departments.

H: And as an academic working within the particular department, is that where you felt your identity as academic lay?

M: Oh, I think very much so. I think staff and students. It was very much a departmental identity. Now obviously in the case of Spanish it was Spanish, Portuguese and a Latin American component. So, um I suppose with the various complicated kind of degrees that were in existence they did connect with other modern languages and other departments within the Faculty of Arts and the thing originally, there was single honours degrees in a particular subject. Initially, there was supposed to be a modern languages degree so students could read Spanish and French and that was the main thing, it was mainly with French, other modern languages had a modern languages degree with French. But basically in the initial stages the modern languages degree programme that was the only two subject programme, um, it was virtually doing two single honours degrees. So, only a very few, you know, well-qualified students did that.

And then gradually, the whole programme of what we call joint-honours degrees were...Spanish could be read as a joint honours degree, um with other modern languages such as Italian or with other non-language degrees so then they could run gradually more and more combinations came about and then eventually the old modern languages degree which was basically Spanish and French, that just went by the board and everything became either a single honours or a joint-honours. But I think within that sort of thing though, most of the students doing single honours, say Spanish, their identity and loyalty as for the staff, would be to the department.

H: And when was the (School name) established?

M: This I can't remember but it must have been around (... ...) I think (name) must have come at about '89, and it must have been...the discussions must have started about 1990, 1991, something like that. So, it would have been established something like the early 90s. I mean isn't there a historical record of this?

H: So far, I haven't found it.

M: Oh right. *Oh right.* This is my memory going back because I think (name) came in '89, uh, it might have been a year or two after that. It certainly was before I took early retirement which was in '93. So, it was somewhere in the early 90s.

H: Just an aside, but (name) actually passed through the (name) not too long ago and I didn't know who he was until after he left and someone said (name) and I thought, 'oh, he used to be in (name) department.

M: Well, I don't know if this is on or off the record, but my impression was that (name's) brief was wherever this came from, in the university management direction, was to create a school so it was he who called all the meetings which eventually was thrashed out and eventually it was accomplished but with a great deal of resistance from departments.

H: And what were the main objections to that?

M: Well, I think it was mainly that people didn't really see the need for it. I think they also foresaw, what seems to be my impression, that of course that it would create an unnecessary... ..

H: layer of...

M: administrative layers as indeed it did. I mean the whole reasons, 'oh, well you know things could be centralised, things, you know, it would actually cut out duplication of this and that and the other.' But, in fact, as everybody knew, you had a director of the School and the people servicing that and then eventually all kinds of School offices were created, and so the whole thing snowballed until there were more administrators than people. And this was I think something that people (xxx xxx)

H: And am I wrong in thinking that I've heard that the, and I don't know if this is true, but the 'C' was added later. So you had the (School name) but then the idea of 'cultures' was added. And do you remember when that was added, or why that was added?

M: Well, um...I know in the department of Spanish we had already instituted an MA programme which was actually called Iberian, an MA in Iberian languages and cultures which had different parts, according to which (laughter) part of Iberia cultures. (xxx xxx). So, you know, Spanish was sort of in advance in terms of the idea of introducing *cultures* into a programme. Then I think as the modes of the time went more away from language and literature, into cultural contexts, it was then that it became, I don't know, *sexy* to cultural (xxx), but it was to indicate that programmes were no longer just studying literature, language, history, yes. So that did come later.

H: And do you remember any of those discussions or about what time that was, the adding of the cultures?

M: Well that I don't know because that was after I was no longer involved in that. The initial discussions were just to create a (School name), but then the big debates, beside the basic one of why (laughter), it was about which departments would actually be included in this School. So, um, people who came were people in linguistics and phonetics and there was also a debate about whether East Asian studies should be included. Um, I think also possibly Arabic as well. So, there was lots of toing and froing, people coming into the discussions.

H: (laughter) It sounds highly political.

M: It was actually, very.

H: Do you remember the concept of 'intercultural' being used in the 90s or 2000s?

M: Well, not in the initial discussion. This was just about (School name).

H: And what about programmes in the 90s, was there any use of this term 'intercultural' within any of the teaching that might have...

M: Well, certainly in the Spanish department, yes. Um, and certainly when we, again we had a whole series of discussions involving the theatre people in German, French, Italian, with us and the chap who is in charge of the workshops theatre in the School of English we were trying to institute with European partners as part of, I suppose, the Erasmus programmes that we were wanting to instigate a European MA qualification which would have majored in, within the (University) one of the departments for doing theatre (xxx), but doing some other things that we (xxx) particular to European theatre and then doing exchanges with other universities, in our case it would have been with Murcia. So, yes, I think we were trying to institute a programme where you know a student doing an MA in European Theatre would have attended and been directed within one of the departments but also would have, I supposed, plugged to a common programme, a common course in that programme, which would have given them a whole European theatre link. So, yes that was our attempt to get everybody together, but it was very difficult.

Appendix 1.4.2 Sample transcripts of interviews (Group 3 sample)

Transcription of Interview with 'Joan': 2 May, 2013

Transcript Code

(xxx) = word(s) not clear

... = pause or switch of thought mid-sentence

Word with (?) = indicates best guess at word

[xxx xxx] = sentence(s) inaudible or indecipherable

/ = interruption

Participants

H = Haynes

J = 'Joan'

J: IB, I think I might have told you about it, International Baccalaureate and they wanted us, me and a Spanish colleague and a Swedish colleague and I to look at how they use the term 'international-mindedness' and relate it to issues in the literature. They say that international-mindedness is intercultural understanding, multi-lingualism and global engagement. So we had to take those constructs and kind of look at how they might relate to what people are saying in the literature, and then analyse the IB documents, and then look at how they are the same or different. And yesterday was the deadline for handing in the draft report, so we've had a few sleepless nights.

H: So the term international-mindedness?

J: Yes.

H: I'll have to think about that one for a while.

J: Well, it's interesting because it doesn't really appear much in the literature outside of the International Baccalaureate; nobody really uses it, so that was part of the issue. But when we saw how they were describing it, we could see that in fact it's very much a cognitive thing for them. They talk about empathy and they talk about other things but they don't connect it all in their document; so it depends what they want really.

H: That sounds really interesting. I'm not sure if you've had a chance to look at the consent form I sent a few minutes ago.

J: I've got it now.

- H: What this interview is sort of in connection with is it's slightly tangential, because I'm looking at a case study here at the University of (university name) and I'm looking at how this umbrella label of 'interculturalism' is being institutionalised within this particular setting here, along with intercultural communication and intercultural studies. But in doing that, I've been encouraged to talk to other people in other universities to see what the landscape is and a little bit about the history there. Although I'm focussing on (university name) and the case studies here, it's very useful for me to talk to other people to find out what's happening in their universities.
- J: Of course, that's absolutely fine. It's for your PhD, is that right?
- H: That's right.
- J: But it's also of interest for your work in general anyway, yeah?
- J: That was the idea, to try to have something I'm doing for the research degree to be connected to my work, so I don't feel like I'm doing separate things on different days. If I made reference to the data from the interview, you would be kept anonymous, your university would be kept anonymous.
- J: All fine. Do I have to print it off, sign it and send it back?
- H: You can do that, you can give it to me in (university name), whatever's easiest for you.
- J: It all looks fine to me.
- H: I sent the questions as well, I don't know if you've had a chance to look at them?
- J: I've had a quick look through them, and I think that the first ones I can give you my general understanding but I can't tell you for sure. I mean I could do a bit of searching while we're talking and tell you what I think, because I'm not totally sure how it works but I've got some idea.
- H: That's fine. Is it okay if I record the interview?
- J: Yes definitely.
- H: What's the current landscape at (university name) with regard to programmes or modules which make use of this label 'intercultural'?
- J: Do you want the exact label of 'intercultural' or do you want other ones as well?
- H: I think related ones would be interesting as well.
- J: A number of years ago, more than five, the university realised it was internationalising at a big pace, and that the home students also needed to be internationalised in some way. They looked around and, through talking to businesses and things, they decided that 'cultural agility' was a kind of buzzword in business they felt they wanted to develop in all students. I think it's in the

university's mission statement, and I might be able to find that for you online. We have something called 'The (university name) Graduate', the qualities of the (university name) graduate, and I think one of those is displaying cultural agility.

The Learning & Teaching Services Unit, I think it's called, were tasked with driving the internationalisation agenda forward, and probably that is where, largely, lots of different departments got involved in things like cross-cultural, intercultural, and words like that. Staff were invited to take part in forums; we invited people to come and talk. Well, I didn't but they did in LETS, and so a number of people from different faculties across the campus got involved in internationalisation activities, which might also be called intercultural.

People began then to look at their curricula and say, well, actually I'm using all my legal examples are coming from Britain, so, therefore, now I need to perhaps throw in some Chinese or African examples as well. Or that might be the same with medics or with engineers. So I think people were encouraged to broaden their case studies and examples that they use in their teaching. That's was one way in which it happened.

So in the broad nationalisation agenda, I think culture, intercultural and cross-cultural have all been put forward by our senior management and driven through by the LETS Unit.

H: Has this spread out into different faculties, or is it within a particular faculty where this has emerged?

J: That was across all faculties. It was across all faculties but then there was a big discussion about... but having said that, the Modern Languages Teaching Centre, which is part of the School of Languages & Cultures, and it's the bit that offers the languages for all programmes but it also offers the degrees for engineers, chemists and mathematicians with a language. That section, the Modern Languages Teaching Centre, began to offer languages with intercultural awareness, so the students could take those modules across a variety... well, they could take them within any programme, pretty much, and the university has committed itself to...

And I think the university probably sees intercultural as belonging to Languages in particular. And it's committed itself, for example to, let's say first year students, medics I think who maybe don't have any spare credits, has committed itself to letting any student that wants to take a ten credit language module, to be able to do so for free if they can't fit it within their degree structure, so they can do it on top and that seemed to be sort of developing. I think that's ticking the intercultural / international box. I think quite often people here still see intercultural and international as the same, a lot of people.

But in the Department of English Language & Literature, it tends to be a couple of motivated individuals who are setting up interesting things. And this morning I was just talking to someone who says he gets students to work in intercultural groups and they have to do a kind of cross-cultural comparison thing, and they make a video or they relate it to literature. Let's say they look at food and they do a cross-cultural food comparison and then they read Proust, so they connect it in that way. So you get individuals doing something really interesting I think. But I would say that institutionally, the biggest message is about internationalising with cultural agility for employment purposes.

H: You mentioned a bit about how this was being driven, did you see it as being driven by a few people or by management?

J: It's probably our [.....], who is very active – don't quote this bit in your research because it will give us away. But his wife used to [...], so he's very aware of languages and the issues and he's a geographer himself and his interest is in migration and Europe

So he was very aware of the kind of need for the integration of international students, and to become an international university as opposed to a British university I guess. I think it's a combination. It always is a combination, isn't it, and it can sometimes be one or two individuals that can make a huge difference, but at certain points you've got to get the support of the people who hold the money and the people who can actually make decisions happen.

H: And was there any reluctance that you noticed?

J: Yes. There's plenty of reluctance, and there's still quite a lot of what I would just call ignorance around probably, because we teach all over the university and in one building, I was teaching a class which was quite an interactive class, and students were having to come in and out of two rooms, because it was two rooms at the same time, and the man over the road, who was Professor somebody in another subject, came out and said, 'where are they *from?*', because he could see these were *foreigners*, where on earth were they coming from? Now I don't know where he's been sitting for the last five or ten years as the university has been changing around him drastically, but there is a bit of that around.

Then there's a very, very interesting case, which I think is the kind of voice that gets unheard sometimes, which is a member of staff in another department who has been actively involved in the internationalisation. I've met him at kind of seminars or discussions and he's very involved, but he says, 'well, my way of communicating with the students is I crack jokes, and those jokes are part of who I am, and they're part of my style of lecturing, and I don't know what I'd do without them in terms of developing a rapport with students, but I'm told I can't

crack those jokes anymore because they're not understandable by international students, they're not understood.'

And I think sometimes the institutional drive tells us that this is all a good thing, and I agree, but I think we should properly address the things that say, it's not necessarily a good thing, and I think that's one example. This lecturer is actually feeling very constrained by the fact that he can't carry on the way he is.

And I think what we should be doing is perhaps supporting him in the way he wants to be, and saying, well, what could happen with students then, could you actually put students next to each other so that they could explain to each other what the joke is about? Is there some other way so that you're not having to tell staff, your identity has got to change. Yes, we've all got to change and there's a lot of transformation going on, but for him I just felt like he was losing something that he felt was so valuable, that it was really upsetting him.

H: I think that is along the lines of another question I was going to ask but I'll go ahead and ask the question anyway. Do you think there are examples of multiple or conflicting understandings of interculturality within the university that can cause particular problems?

J: Yes, I think there is. I think there's still a 'it's them' approach, it's the international students who have either got to change or got to... or who are... It's basically you're focussing on international students I suppose. A lot of the intercultural agenda is directly related to that I would say, and it's not about interculturality in its own sake, it's not about a deeper understanding, and it's not about us also being international.

There is still definitely that 'us and them' agenda here, and it's often in very good faith as well. Recently I think I saw something that was an advert for an international café, 'come to an international café on Friday evenings in the bar, all international students welcome,' written I think by a couple of home students who wanted to welcome all international students. Well, what about the home students, why weren't they being invited to this international café? And it was all done with goodwill but I think that's probably where we are sometimes, different pockets of different groups will be in different places at different times on this subject, I guess.

H: Okay. I think that's my first two main questions you've answered, thank you. Do you personally see intercultural communication as belonging to any particular place within a university? So do you think it should be housed, for example, within Applied Linguistics or does it belong to a particular place?

J: Oh, that's interesting too. I think the nature of where it belongs, intercultural communication you're talking about?

H: That's right.

J: Okay, where it belongs I think depends on the institution. If you look at (university name) where it's clearly in the Business School, I think the fact it's in the Business School affects the way it's developed or developing.

We've actually got... I'm in the School of Languages and English Language, which has the MA in Applied Linguistics, which is more about language teaching, is in the School of English, and they now run an intercultural module as well, and they might use some of the same references that we do, they might use Ingrid Piller, for example, I think they are going to use her book, in particular, but they will relate it more to language teaching. We're trying to work together, to some extent, and perhaps swap optional modules with students but the focus that we might have...

Well, we have a module on ethnography as well and we have... our identity is also connected to the fact that it's a suite of four taught Masters courses: Translation Studies, Multilingual Information Management, Intercultural Communication and Screen Translation. So the students can take language translation modules as well, and we will quite often find that when we're talking about translation, we're talking about translation as an intercultural act, do you see what I mean?

H: I do, yeah.

J: So we could, we could fit in the School of Education as well, because lots of intercultural MAs do fit in the School of Education, and we might fit more comfortably there, but we're lucky because it belongs to this suite of four Master courses, it gives us an identity. We're also lucky that we have a Head of School who is supportive of different approaches, so he doesn't feel that we have to fit into your old French, Germanic, your departmental structure necessarily.

I haven't quite answered your question because there was something else I wanted to say about where does it fit. Shall I carry on?

H: Yes (laughs).

J: It's nice when someone asks your opinion, you know. (laughter). I didn't realise how pleasant it is that you get your... people don't often ask for your opinion, do they?

H: No. (laughs)

J: Okay. The other thing is that I think that rather than an international flavour across the whole university, we ought to be having an intercultural flavour which is related to perspective taking, which would break down the discourses of internationalisation versus widening participation, you know. It would break down... it would bring in diversity within the UK, as well as students who are from another country, and I'd like to see that mix. I'd like to see those barriers a

bit broken down and made fuzzier, and I think the way to do that would be some kind of overarching intercultural module.

And it has been discussed, but it hasn't happened because faculties have quite a lot of power, in terms of how they make decisions about their programmes, and they're not really going to let their students... it might change, but at the moment they're not necessarily going to let their students take... have credits taken out into taking another module. Does that make sense?

H: It does, yeah. So /

J: Where they do that, sorry, is at the University of (university name) in (country), (name), if you want another country's take on it. They have something called 'Intercultural Encounters', which runs across the whole university. She talked about it once at one of the cult-nets [...], and it was about ten years ago but I think it still runs across all the university departments.

I'd love to see something like that happen here and it would be much less about... It might be a bit about language, it might be a bit about perspective taking, it might be about adopting perspectives of others, and you could do that through any curriculum, discipline. You could do it through medicine, no problem.

H: One of the other people that I've interviewed recently is (name) who was at (university name) last year as well.

J: Oh yeah.

H: And this is exactly what he was saying as well, he said, 'I can apply it anywhere.'

J: Absolutely. I think where you're... if you've got a set up programme, like a named programme, and he'll probably say the same because I think he's halfway between languages and education, isn't he?

H: Yeah.

J: It's going to take on some of that flavour. You could definitely apply it anywhere, yeah.

H: So if you have to give... maybe you don't have to, but if someone was pushing you to give intercultural communication a name, would you say it was an approach, a subject area, a field of knowledge, a discipline, or is it just not important?

J: It probably depends who I'm talking to, probably (laughter). But I think... I think that for us, the reason we use the term 'communication', and we have talked about moving it to 'intercultural studies,' probably the reason why we're resisting that at the moment is because we like to focus on the theory and practice going hand in hand, and that it's possible to lose sight of the implications for practice if you call it 'intercultural studies' for us here. That's one of your questions, isn't it, later on?

H: It is, yeah.

- J: But I don't feel really strongly about the term, you know, and I think the trouble with calling it 'intercultural communication' is it often gets bagged into the Hofstede or the US American style, that doesn't necessarily quite fit here. So it's nice when we get books like Ingrid Pillar's book that are out of that mould, and doing something different but still using that name; it gives a bit more power to retaining the name I suppose, if that makes sense.
- H: Yeah, I think it does.
- J: I don't feel strongly about it. It's just a political move here really that it fits, to call it that.
- H: So do you see yourself... I mean in a way you answered two of my questions just then, but I'll go ahead and ask the last one. Do you see somebody who's sort of committed to this label, maybe not necessarily 'intercultural communication' but the broader label of 'interculturality' or 'intercultural', are you somebody who sees that as a useful term?
- I: Yeah, do you mean me personally, professionally or either?
- H: Either or both? (laughs)
- I: Yes, definitely. I'm totally committed. (laughs) So yes, and I don't really mind which term it is but in terms of seeing my... I'm always trying to work out what it means and what I mean by 'interculturality'; I'm always interested in what it gives me personally as well, in terms of viewing things differently and in terms of learning new ways of doing things and new ways of communicating so that I find myself, when I get to a situation, I'm looking at, am I in this situation because I'm looking at it from just one perspective? What would happen if I have a conversation about this? What would happen if I try and view it from another perspective? What would happen if I saw it from a different way?
- So I sit on the School Executive Board as well and people have noticed sometimes that I'm able to adopt the perspectives of others at certain points and maybe that's partly... What's useful about sitting slightly outside the formal Language Department structure as well is the perspective from which you see things is already different; you're already on the margins. We live on the margins in our place and that's actually very helpful. Does that make sense?
- H: Yeah.
- J: So, yeah, I'm very committed to it.
- H: I think you've answered all my questions. Thank you very, very much. I think that was really useful for me, thank you.
- J: Is that enough?
- H: Yeah, that's fine (laughs), thank you. That's what everybody says after I've interviewed them, is it over? (laughter)

J: That's enough to get you started, isn't it?

H: Very much so, yes. Thank you.

J: And together with my Spanish and Swedish colleague, we wrote an article where we looked at internationalisation across... from between... in a Spanish university, a British one and a Swedish one, and I don't know if you might be interested in... There's a bit of a case study and it is of the same university that you're talking with me about now, which is anonymous, that one. So you might just want to have a look at that as well, that's up to you if it's useful for you?

H: Yeah, that would be great.

J: Okay, I'll send it to you then.

<general remaining conversation not transcribed>

Appendix 1.4.3: Sample transcripts of interviews (Group 4 sample)

Transcription of Focus Group with University Students: 31 May 2012

Minimum notation symbols used:

Italics indicate emphasis

... indicates pause of at least 3 seconds

/ indicates interruption

(?) indicates unclear statement

() indicates specific comments i.e. laughter or rising intonation

Participants

H = Haynes

Student Participants = 'Cecelia', 'Heather', 'Chen', 'Flor', 'May', 'Becky' Yu?

H: (After initial welcoming) Let's go back kind of a year ago, or maybe not quite a year ago, and think about the process that you may have gone through in deciding to do a programme of study. So I know we've got... 4 people on 'The MA' and two on, is it Chinese and Business?

Cecilia: Both, Chinese Studies and Chinese and Business, both from East Asia...

(East Asian Studies)

H: OK. So what kind of Went through your mind about deciding how to do what you are doing now?

Informants. (No response) (Confused expression by question)

H: How did you decide, OK now I'm going to do a Master's programme and I'm going to do a Master's programme in this subject area? What led you to those decisions?

Cecilia: For me my, um, my first degree had been in Chinese and I had been away from full time study for so long and I had always intended to come back at some point in time, um, to do graduate study and had done some modules um externally, but not to do with language, it's to do with you know the work that I was doing which was in development so doing things like 'poverty and development', development issues you know...broad, post development, all the things you know....bringing us to where development is now. And um at the same time I had been working as well on a freelance basis with immigration authorities, police, you know, stuff like that in *Chinese*. So um, I had been researching it for awhile and then all of this work came along I just decided you know I needed to take a break, do this now, reacquaint myself with Chinese language at a very, very fundamental level um and then see what happens after that.

H: So the language was a big ...

Cecilia: Language was a big part, yeah. I wish it had been more of the degree actually.

H: So that was a big...decision

Cecilia: Big focus

H: So, and were there other things as well because.... Were you looking at business...

Cecilia: Um, no I didn't do, I had intended, I had thought about doing one of the business modules and then eventually decided that I wasn't going to do that and actually went more to again the development side so I did development issues in S.East Asia and focused on HiV in Vietnam which is what I'd been working on before I'd been working on HiV and Aids, so it seemed to be sort of like a natural, um.....cover (?)(Rising intonation) to follow. Certainly my interest was there, the interest on HiV, the interest overall in development issues and this was obviously because I was in the East Asian department. The development issues would have been focused on um, well, was S. East Asia so that was fine so I guess I kind of, um, hit two birds with one stone. So that I could get the development issues um going and then I could have the language and stuff like that as well. In addition, um even though I worked at pretty high level um I think at pretty high level in organizations, um I realized that for certain *donor* organizations, for example USAID um and stuff like that...they, even while they see the experience and the capacity and stuff like that, they are always a little unwilling to um give a higher position to somebody without a Master's degree so even though I'd been an executive manager, I'd been deputy CEO in an organization you know and stuff like that, even though I'd been the project coordinator for, you know, for the flow of funds you know and stuff like that, organizations, especially donor organizations are still a little, you know...(implied meaning - hesitant to hire or give positions). So I think they want to see that OK, even though you can do the work they want to see some evidence of academic rigour so it was also a good thing to do this at this point in time.

H: Right, OK

Heather: At my point I think I had been in Shanghai at a university for 4 years and to keep studying in that university will, would be 3 years, another 3 years for an MA. Then I thought, I was doing tourism and it's too broad, it's like everything but nothing and I just want, wanted to change environment so I decided to come to UK and it's a coincidence that my friend was here. So doing the MA in [degree name] was because my background, I had been working in foreign affairs office in my university for three years. I had been contacting people from foreign countries for quite a lot so looking back on my interest, where my interest is, like interacting with people and my ability to apply for a MA, so I chose this programme. But I didn't have a really organized future, planned future but I am flowing well...yeah, I think and gain things.

H: So you could see some possible connection between your interests and the programme?

Heather: Yes

H: OK

Heather: It's a combination of my interests and my capability - what I can *achieve*, mmmm.

H: OK

Chen: And for me... yeah, cause I did Cultural Studies for my undergrad degree so I wanted to continue Cultural Studies because I'm extremely interested in this aspect but then I also want to be more prepared for a job in case I don't want to do further research so I think professional language would help me for a future career (laughter) so I chose this combination of my interest and some practicality so I could yeah make a choice after graduation. Yeah, and cause orientalism and ethnocentrism are concepts that are mentioned quite a lot in my undergraduate studies so I would be quite interested in ah positioning myself in a different cultural environment to really experience these concepts from a my subjective point of view

H: mmmm

Chen: Rather than always reading Said and those theorists, yeah.

H: Hmmm, OK.

H: OK, I've got another question for you but I'll wait, yeah. How about the rest of you, what sort of decision making process did you go through?

Flor: For me ...for me I think um partly because my major in the undergraduate is translation so when I choose the modules or the subjects I choose the one that's related closely to translation and that's part of the reason and I also discussed this with my friends...and at first when they heard what you are going to study some *cultural things* (rising intonation)...they think it's quite abstract and/

H:mmmm

Flor: (laughter) they have no idea what is going to study and they just give me some suggestions maybe you should consider more because that things not that concrete you can learn right. And then I checked the modules online and I found those things really, like the business things, I had no idea before. I think and um, that's also sometimes when I translate some things I met some problems because I have no background or the more information about that area so I cannot translate it exactly. I *think* that maybe because I, that maybe I need some further study on this ground and not just translation itself and language is just a tour of something, so I need to go further abroad...to prepare myself for the future job so I um....

H: Can you give me example, say, when you are saying you are translating and you can't quite, you not sure about exactly how to translate, what....

Flor: Oh yeah, for example about the business letter; sometimes when they give us some jargon or vocabulary, we can't understand exactly what does it mean.

H; Umm

Flor: And also some engineering text we have no idea even we know the words exactly, but don't know more about it, what's the meaning of it. So, uh I think this might be our own knowledge that we don't teach enough. So, I think I don't want to just study language itself, I want to go further and so that's why I choose this course um because it covered um a lot of areas and is really practical I suppose, I can use this.

H: OK. What about you two?

May: For a year ago I was in Shanghai working and I just got promoted actually at this time of the year as a visa officer for the, I was working for the Danish consular generate in Shanghai and at that time I started as an intern to start with and then I got promoted three months later but at the time I only had a B.A. in Chinese and Anthropology and I really truly enjoyed my anthropological research and studies which I took in Wales, but then I realized like Cecelia you know she said you know it's like when people see you only have a B.A. and I know that especially for Danish companies if they see you only have a B.A. , they would um they would hesitate to give you a higher position.

H: mm

May: So for me coming to [University name] was more like ticking the box because I...because I'm bilingual in Danish and Chinese and I thought it would be better for me to choose business studies because it would give me better opportunities not because I truly enjoy business studies but because I'm ticking the box (laughter across the room) and I know it's going to *give* me a job in the future. That's why I'm here.

H: Right. OK. Interesting. What about you?

Becky: Mine is kind of a bit similar to [name] I guess, but I did just English for my Bachelor's in Japan and...when was the time I had to start looking for a job in Japan I realized that I wanted to use my English ability for my future career, but it wasn't like good enough so I wanted to keep studying English further then decided to come to the UK. Then, like it was just the first priority for me to come to the UK and study English more. Then I decided the course. First, wanted to do either interpreting or translation but I found difficulty in the application. Then, uh, you know....you recommended me to take [degree name] (laughter around the room) but I really do appreciate that you did it because I really enjoyed it and I think like that rather than just you know doing interpreting or translation it's themselves like...doing [degree name] course kind of broadened my mind and gave me more opportunities for my future career cause just translating or interpreting is just ...just...*that's it*, you can't do anything further, but with this course I mean, it's kind of too broad to be honest, but at the same time I've been given lots of more opportunities and knowledge...which is like pretty helpful for my future career...(quietly) so I'm glad I took this course. That's why I chose this course.

H: OK, good, good. OK, I'm thinking of skipping to kind of another topic. Before you started your studies this year, did, in your mind you have clear ideas about these terms 'culture' and 'intercultural'? Did they or did you have a sort of working definition and

did they mean something specific to you and did those meanings change over your year of study?

Informants: (Absolute blank faces)

Heather: I didn't have a very clear, sorry (to another informant) I didn't have a very clear concept of what is interculture (sic), but I have been practising this kind of culture, yeah, so before I think identification and stereotype is very important in somebody's life (?) and after this course I realized, it's like what is good at language is the one that is not offensive (?), before that I thought the UK accent is really charming (laughter across the room), but then, in front of American's it can be a little bit offensive so then this is just one example of (?) ...actually it's the blurring of culture is the fascinating thing, it's not the very clear identification, stereotyping is very fascinating, it just change my view. Because actually if you want to deal with the conflict between cultures it's too blurred and it's not too clear where the borders is. So yeah this is, but I didn't have a very clear concept but I had been practising it before and now I have a different view on it.

H: So in a way you're saying that it's kind of a part of your life anyway...

Heather: If it was part of my life...

H: you were operating

Heather: ...it was part of my life but I had been stepping out of it but I was (?) to it later on, I think.

H: Mmm OK

May: It was very natural for me to take this course because I knew it was going to be so kind of similar to anthropology and culture fascinates me in every single way...I'm not exaggerating if I say that this was my favourite module of the whole year...

Cecilia: Absolutely agree

May: Yeah, (laughter around the room)

Cecilia: (with emphasis) absolutely agree...

May: Yes So, it has been really enjoyable and I've still learned a lot of new things in terms of um culture and business across cultures and it's slightly different from what I was working with previously in anthropology...

H: What difference can you give me...any examples

May: Examples like previously my dissertation for my B.A. I was doing um cross-cultural relationships between Western men and Chinese women for my dissertation and then I did some transnational adoption andthings like that.

H: Mmmm, Ok.

Chen: I think culture to me...cultures to me... is different ways of seeing things, and then are socially constructed...but what I don't really agree with is people tend to put culture in a set of hierarchy and then the West cultures are always superior than the Oriental

ones, but then my understanding is they're just being different because different weather, different society, then they all kind of... these elements together they breed this particular culture and if you discriminate people from a different culture, then you have this hierarchy inside your mind. What we really should do is to get to know, have the willingness to get to a certain culture and understand that culture. I think...that's just to be what we do with people, you don't put people into hierarchy because of their race, their class. They are just being different and then you understand and then you will...you will have a good time enjoying that culture and being with people. That's my concept of culture, different products that are great in different ways. Yeah.

H: And did you feel in your studies did you have the space or opportunities to sort of challenge those problematic perspectives of culture where there is a hierarchy? Did you have the space or opportunities in the work that you did?

Chen: You mean in the [degree name] course...

H: Yeah

Chen: Um...yeah...I think so. Some of the reflective logs gave me, like your module Skills and Issues in Culture (sic) gave me opportunity to reflect like my experiences getting along with my Indian flatmates, I thought ...yeah you read that

H: MM Uh huh

Chen: I hope you still remember ...

H: I do (laughter across the room)

Chen: Yes, I thought I was quite openminded before I studied this module (jokingly) Oh, I am the most openminded person in the world, I don't discriminate

(Laughter across the room)

Chen: whenever, the first time I ate with them they ate their food with hands, I thought euuuh that's dirty...and they don't take their shower, they take their shower whenever they feel like to...and I oh that's dirty...this sudden...criteria about hygiene and what is being civilized in mind.

H: mmm

Chen: But then, getting along with them, and then I learned all those biases all those prejudices, that I was taught to be a civilized person....yeah, I think...I think I have a....basically from my life

H: And some people would say that it's not just.... So you were saying ok that 'I thought I was very openminded and these things came up...I mean some people would say that everybody is going to have these things come up because it's in our, sort of, our hard wiring and in sort of the process, the cognitive processes....that 'othering' is, is something that everyone is going to have and they are going to have to fight...and push that back down. I don't think it is something you should take personally and go, 'Eeh I

thought ...I thought I was openminded but maybe I wasn't...but I think everybody goes through those processes where you have thoughts that you have to kind of push down.

Chen: Yes, very true. I think the awareness of your being biased is what helps you to push those like...not so good.... I shouldn't label it but then those thoughts away.

H: Yeah

Chen: Always be aware that...how do you see people or see things

H: Yeah, and it's awareness of your own thinking is what you're saying, isn't it?

Chen: yeah

H: Yeah

Heather: And actually, (?) to happen to see everybody, I just remembered one discussion we had in Richard's class about the migration and people say what is the migrants and what is the foreignerwhat, in their concepts of foreigners and migrants. So, I met a friend from Italy who said that if people come from the UK and from America they're foreigners but come from the Oriental worlds, they're migrants and it's not decided by the time they stay, it's decided by their race.

H: Mmhuh, yeah.

Cecelia: I didn't have any, well, I don't think I thought about culture...um...the meaning of culture, the definition of the word, you know, anything like that. I was quite aware of my druthers, my preferences. This is what I see. So, for example, I see people going into the bathroom and they use the toilet and they don't wash their hands (small laughter), I'm quite clear (more laughter) *no, no, no* (more laughter). No. Um, the thing about um.... different races and different people and stuff like that ... I don't think it had really been an issue for me because ..well...that's what life in Trinidad is about. So, we make roti at home and how do we eat roti, *with our hands* (expressively). Dhal and peas and you know whatever you.... and of course you have to wash your hands...um, you eat with your hands, you know you eat Indian food with your hands. And if I have, if there are Chinese people you know whatever who are Chinese-Trinidadian, I don't think of them any different to myself...because they're going to be eating the same foods, doing the same things, going to the same schools and acquiring the same qualifications, you know having you know much of the same troubles, you know some of the time even though at the same time I do realize that in Trinidad there does still exist to some extent a colour hierarchy...but...that is also many times superseded by a class hierarchy so, um...and class doesn't just have to do with just um.... I think um money and so your, your economic prowess you know whatever has very much has to do with your education um outlook, stuff like that, your ability to move through society...so, um I guess I'm fortunate in that aspect, but I can't... that's not to say that there isn't the issue of again you know the African-Indian you know divide which is historical you know, the divide and rule from the you know colonial powers and stuff like that. But I hadn't in, in....being here I guess I was sort of um...being more of an observer, really looking at

things going on and it wasn't....I mean, it's not, it's not sort of like the first time because I was, um, a lot of my education has gone on here, you know my school education was in Trinidad but the rest of my education has all happened in the UK, you know. So, it not as though it's the first time, or it's new or anything like that...and I guess what's the culture, if I can use that word, that's been different has been the culture of time, the things that have changed since doing my um B.A. and you know coming back to do full time graduate study so...

H: So things haven't been static, things haven't stayed the same here. There have been changes of attitudes and perspectives/

Cecelia: Yeah, and I felt um... I think as I did before um ... quite open and ...that it would be quite easy to get along with you know just about everyone. And I don't that has been wrong, really.

H: Mmmm

Cecilia: Um, well amongst my, my peers. I think it's been a little bit different with the undergraduates.

H: Uh huh.

Cecilia: Yes. Who I think tend to be very insular.

H: Mmm huh

Cecilia: You know they...(gestures, pulls a face)

H: (laughter) Um... Go ahead

Chen: Just one more thing. Just what you said earlier inspired me to think that, like my relationship with culture is myself is a cultural product.

Others: Ah yea

Chen: It's that I don't take it personal, it's also part of the socialization, culturalisation.

H: Mmmmm

Chen: Yeah, one more point to that.

H: Mmm. Good

Cecilia: Probably for all of us...

H: Yeah, yeah. ... Thinking about your year of study here and keeping with these concepts of 'culture' and 'intercultural', did you see a sort of consistency in the way that the lecturers or the academics made use of these concepts? Was there a sort of consistency or did you see inconsistencies...did you...

Flor: How do you mean?

H: Well, this may be particularly a question for the two of you (Chinese and Business Students) I thinking /

Cecilia: There is a difference you all and them. If that's what you're looking at. There is a difference.

H: OK , well so what do you mean?

Cecilia: Um...I didn't know about [degree name], I didn't know about you know any of the other things of course ... you know...um about the other foreign languages so French, Spanish, German, Arabic, Russian you know whatever. I hadn't thought about English at all maybe because I am a native English speaker so that wasn't an issue...um, in coming to this course, I really wish we had more time to get into the meat of this module. So, I did this as one of my assessable modules and then I audited Precis and Summary Writing and I don't know if it's you know an individual thing, for example, you and [name] being a particular way but I felt the sense of um...lecturers who were not afraid to be involved or who were at least willing to um...be more concerned about (rising intonation) maybe, I'm not even sure that's the right thing, um with students, so you're concerned that, and not just from a purely administrative perspective, you know where we write an assessment at the end of it. Um, I get the feeling that the people in the two examples I have in you and Judith, of being interested in the students and wanting the students to um work well, be successful, level playing field, you know this sort of thing whereas I get a much more of a hands off, distanced, I'm not sure if disinterested is the word, I don't know if I said that I would be unfair um to the other lecturers but um ...I went through this year with a feeling of being disjointed, you know of not being...really very different to my...my Bachelors programme and certainly not what I was expecting.

H: Mhuh

Cecilia: A fair amount of isolation as well, I think because you know everybody is taking different things and chopping and changing and taking different modules but um...I guess there's a certain amount of ease maybe or comfort in dealing with you and Judith that I don't think was there in dealing with um East Asia.

H: OK, let me just uh rephr/ go back to that original question, because I think that's helpful but in the modules that you were taking were, other than the ones that you took with me, were there other lecturers or academics that were using these terms, the terminology of culture and interculturality and, if so were they doing it in a consistent way or ways that sort of made you think possibly/

Heather: I think different um....different lecturers have their different priorities. Like when I was doing a [degree name] courses there was quite consistency, like you have told us that um ... there is ... expected to blur the borders of culture and not the stereotypes (?) and [name] classes tell us that there is no good style; the good style is really resisted in (?) different cultures, it depends on different cultures in the way of seeing it. But when I was doing the Chinese Business, that is very different, the international politics are telling us that what is the communist countries like, what is the capitalist countries like and what is different ideas about the (?) of them. It is very separate. I'm doing a Chinese business with both [name] and (?) and what happens in

China and this is what China likes so if you want to do the business in China you have to adopt these ideas/

Others: (laughter)

Yu: Sounds very essentialist.

Heather: Yeah, so it's different (animated) so I think different lecturers have different aims, different goals. Chinese one is just to let students, foreign students to fit into the (?) turner but culture oriented classes is more like you have to considerate about culture, be careful about stereotypes so it's just the different aims of the classes.

May: I definitely think that there are business classes, also Chinese business I, Chinese Business II, we have been discussing about Chinese 'guanxi' like in interpersonal relationships but based on you know from a business point of view and we've always done that as a chapter or like you know base one lecture on that so it hasn't been consistent and I think like a lot of lectures seem you know, tend to stereotype it and like try to of course, um, try to explain to us what 'guanxi' is, and like, but then 'guanxi' is so broad, it's so difficult to explain what real 'guanxi' is and you really need to be in China in order to understand it properly and sometimes I think, our lectures tend to stereotype it andyeah. So it hasn't been consistent in our course.

H: And how do you approach that inconsistency, is that something you see as positive because you are seeing different viewpoints or how do you work through that sort of inconsistency?

May: I don't know well, for me it just um....it hasn't helped me, anything like, you know it's really interesting to see from a Western lecturer trying to teach me about 'guanxi', cause I've already been in China, I've been working in China, and I know exactly what 'guanxi' is, it's almost in my blood and it's just um..it's strange to see how they you know sometimes try to teach us about that.

H: Mmhuh, I mean this is kind of ...in a way I can draw parallels with what you were saying because you were sort of living a sort of intercultural life before you got here and yet you didn't really think that much about the concept, but you were sort of living it so it is quite easy to get sort of to do a course and get this kind of academic clutter that may actually not be so helpful...if you know what I mean. Um/

Cecilia: There was a point when, um ... I don't know if it...speaks to culture in the way we've been discussing it but when we were doing PPR, Principles and Practices of Research, there was this thing about 'the other', you know, researching 'the other' and so therefore you know about, and I guess that was the ethical construct about you as an outsider going into somebody's culture and um...you know, your behaviour, your attitude, the respect that you need to have, you know, just bringing that um....bringing that aspect, you know to us because again, you know, you don't, you don't think about it. I'm going to talk to Chinese migrants and find out, you know, whatever but, I'm going into their culture and finding out about them and you know, there's certain things that you don't think about before...

H: And you/

Cecilia: So that was good.

H: And you may be going into sort of as you say, 'their culture', even though it's in Trinidad (Cecilia: Trinidad, simultaneously).

H and Cecilia: Yeah, yeah

Cecilia: Yes, so again when she was talking about migrants or foreigners, you know...it's possible, Chinese migrants you know to Trinidad that I'm going to speak to, but this has me thinking now who's a migrant and who's a foreigner. You know, so this is another thing to keep at the back of my mind.

H: Can I just move to, where you going to say one more thing?

May: Yes, can I say one more thing? I remember in our Chinese Business one, I feel personally that the conclusion of that class was our lecturer telling us that if you want to be successful doing business in China you just need to know how to do 'guanxi', and you will be fine. Then I'm thinking, 'why am I here then'? (laughter around the room). I didn't learn anything. So you know, if that's your conclusion, then I feel I'm wasting my time coming here, that sort of thing. But that is what I understood from our lecture, you just need to know how to do 'guanxi' and you will be fine.

H: Right.

Heather: (...) just being very practical. I agree totally about the inconsistency. I agree both of them (emphasis). It is just a different way of tackling things.

H: As you said before, you were saying before, it's a different purpose. OK. I'm going to kind of jump to almost another um topic, if you will um. Do you feel like you have a university identity?

Group (Several informants): What do you mean?

H: So, ok, let's say you're at the university and you're...I don't know, at the student union and you meet another student and they ask, 'What are you doing?', 'Who are you?'. Do you feel an identity that might, for example, be attached to [the School]?

Heather: Not really. But I'm happy to have a T-shirt of [University name] (laughter).

H: Happy to have what, sorry?

Heather: A t-shirt of [University name].

H: Oh, a t-shirt.... (laughing)

May: I mean I totally do not identify myself with [University name], probably because I've only been here for such a short period of time and maybe because I haven't enjoyed it as fully as I wanted to and for me, I'm just happy that I can write it on my CV and then get on with my life, kind of thing. I'm sorry but that's how I feel. (Laughter)

H: No

Heather: The time is too short.

May: That's how I feel. I don't feel (like I'm part of it – *Other informants together*). Yes, I don't feel I'm part of it at all.

H: So, if you don't feel a part of [University name], would you say you don't feel part of, for example, the [School name]?

May: Um.....(very hesitant). I don't know...

Cecilia: Probably, it happens to be where I'm housed.

May: Ummm

Cecilia: Academically.

H: Can you say more on that?

Cecilia: It happens to be where I'm housed, you know. I mean if they had put me in geography instead, I would be in the geography department; it's just a department.

May: Yeah, but I don't feel that I am anywhere (emphasis). That's the thing because it just feels like we don't, you know, we are part, like what I'm doing is like half business, half Chinese, but then like when the business students in business schools are doing parties and stuff we're not invited (laughter across the room) so we're not part of that and then I feel that, you know, East Asian Studies haven't done much for us either so I just feel like we're in-between, nobody wants us kind of thing.

Cecilia: So, I think that echoes a little bit of what I talked about, a little bit of isolation.

May: Exactly

Cecilia: You know you're really quite closed off in many ways.

May: Mmmm

Flor: I think it's strange, um cause, yes I had the same feelings when I stayed here. I had no feeling that I'm part of it. I didn't realize that I was studying in the SM...(hesitantly)...this school (*Unsure of schools acronym*) but when I went to Cambridge, I know, oh wow, I'm a student of [University name]. That they are the students of Cambridge and I suddenly realized that.

May: It's when you leave the place that////

Others: Yeah, (w/ emphasis)

May: It's when you leave a place you realize that, 'oh I've actually been there' (laughter across the room w/ sounds of emphasis). You know and I've been doing my course and stuff like that. It's always like that and I feel that I can identify myself more with my previous university while I'm here/

Others: Yes

Cecilia: Absolutely

May: And I realize how good (emphasis) my previous university was (strong laughter across the room) things like that...

H: And do you think...Ok, you said your B.A. degree was in anthropology, do you think that the discipline of anthropology had anything to do with that?

May: Ummm, discipline, you mean like my interest?

H: Well, that anthropology is a recognized discipline. You might study anthropology and you can become an anthropologist; you study engineering and you become an engineer.

May: Yes, probably yes. I think so. Um.. I feel very in touch with my anthropological side and then jumping into business studies was totally different from what I was doing before and doing that I've been feeling really lost this year because I felt that I had no foundation in business, but [University name] still took me in, but I don't feel like they have given me any kind of fundamental teaching in how to write a proper business report and so I feel really lonely and lost and haven't got any student support at all.

H: Mmhuh.

Cecilia: Yeah, I agree. Absolutely agree.

Yu: Well, I might be the odd one out but I go against, like I do really feel like I'm part of the university and I think it's partly because...I've been here for more than, about two years so it's the difference between you and me... and also I've got quite a lot of friends, I mean good friends, close friends from university or undergraduate and they are also under, from the School [name] so we are in different courses. They are undergraduate, I'm postgraduate student, but we're under the same school and also I...feel very much like I'm in this course, like [degree name], so, I do feel a very strong connection, I've got an identity like [University name] student, and also like, I think it was the very beginning of last year, so my first year in [University name]., I went to see a rugby match between [University name] and [another university]. So that made me feel like OK I'm a [University name] student cause we got like 'union, union'. They got like '[another university]' and I was like, OK, I'll go for [University name]. (Laughter). Yeah.

H: Ok....Anything else you want to say on that..

Flor: I think it's always when we encounter the other, then our own identity becomes more pronounced. Maybe I will feel that more identity with the university when I leave.

Others: Mmm; I totally agree; yeah

Flor: It also depends on how much you participate in the activities in [name] University. Like, Becky, I know she's in the Japanese Society and she's like really get to know the local people, that's why she identifies more with the culture here and the university here which is a good thing. Really appreciate the willingness to really get to know, to participate and to enjoy.

Becky: Yeah, and also I think like being a course representative you know gave me this kind of thought as well because I'm, you know, kind of here for my classmates and I'm within this school and kind of sometimes need to fight with the school as a representative and so I'm this school and part of it.

H: Ok, I think I'm going for one more question, ok. So now, you've almost 'ticked the box' (laughter). You're nearly finished, um, so you've finished your degree and you bump into somebody in the street and they say um, 'What have you studied?' How do you explain that?

Unidentified informant: That's a really good question.

H: Who are you? What have you done? What have studied? Where have you been?

Becky: I always find difficulty to explain what my course is because, you know, when I'm asked, you know, what courses have you done, and it's just Masters in [degree name] and literally everyone goes blank like (makes funny face) (laughter across the room). And I'm like yeah, it's sort of (more laughter and faces). It does what it say's on the tin.

(Another informant: You're doing what?)

Becky: Yeah, so no one get it's you know what you do in this course and I'm kind of, well it's sort of you know, something to do with culture and English...hmm, I'm not quite sure what I'm doing but, you know (some laughter), I know what I'm doing but it's hard to explain to people like in a nutshell. It's kind of really broad and it contains like lots and lots of different things connected together.

Chen: Yeah, I feel the same so I just tell people 'language', that's all (laughter across the room)

Becky: Yeah, first people don't understand well what do I mean by like professional language. Second, people are not familiar with the term Intercultural Studies.

H: Mmm

Becky: So, it's kind of hard to explain.

May: I used to always say that...that I'm from Denmark although I don't look that I'm from Denmark. But then I always start and say that I did my high school in Denmark and then I went to Britain in 2006 for my B.A. in Anthropology and Chinese Studies and people go, 'What's anthropology?' (Laughter) And I said that's cultural studies, you know, studies about human beings and things like that. And then they go, 'Ah...!' (makes face – laughter across room). And then you know, I say, 'Oh, I've been studying in China as well and then come back to the UK, been working in China, and doing my M.A. in Chinese and Business so ... So, it's just like I have to, like, I don't know for me it's like a timeline. Every time when people ask me, I think of my own timeline, you know so that's how I would explain it.

H: mmm

Cecilia: Mine is very easy, MA Chinese Studies. 'You do Chinese!!!' (Laughter across the room). Easy (ironic). Never mind what ever else is contained in M.A. Chinese Studies. 'You do Chinese?'

May: But when I say Chinese Studies people go, 'But aren't you Chinese?'

(Laughter across the room) 'Are you doing Chinese Studies?'

Cecilia: Yes, yes! Yes, exactly.

May: No, I'm from Denmark! Things like that, oh.....! (exasperated)

Yu: Yes, I think like this concept of studying culture as an academic subject is not, you know, common or popular in the world. If you're not in this field, you have no idea why you study culture cause you're in a culture and culture is something that's always there so/

Unknown: But that's very hard to explain (?)

May: But, I think in Denmark I noticed that cultural studies are not as popular as in the UK.

H: Mmm

May: Absolutely, because cultural studies is very, you know like, you have to be a bit of a hippy to do that (laughter), whereas here it's so common because Britain is so multicultural. I believe so. It's quite interesting to see the difference.

Cecilia: And for me now, I think that I would not have thought of it before as an academic bent, if you like, but it's certainly something now, my interest is piqued. You know there are things that I want to follow up. So, you know, if I was offered um a course or to do something more in-depth in intercultural studies I would absolutely jump at it.

H: Do you think there is a question of legitimacy.... about the subject?

Cecilia: No, I ...it never...I suppose it's possible, it could be but that thought had never occurred to me. I guess for me I was really quite blinkered because it was, I'm coming to do Chinese and you know whatever else is, you know, around um...in the making up of that M.A., um, so I was happy to find 'Managing Business Across Cultures' and see what that would be in [School name] as opposed to in the business school because the business school also has one and I did go there once too and I thought, 'no, I don't want to do this.' And tried it with [School name] and I guess the focus really is the intercultural aspect which for me I find, um, very interesting. So, not...um, as I said, you know, I would like to pursue this from a wider perspective. More reading, more, you know, more information because um, it's not something that I thought about before and decided to try and you know I guess like May has spoken about her anthropological studies that, that's, you know, there's an interest that's been piqued and I'd like to follow it.

H: OK, one minute past. I think I want to stop there. Would anyone like to volunteer to transcribe the focus /// (laughter). Sorry, just joking.

Appendix 2 Interview Data Analysis

Appendix 2.1 Sample of interview analysis

Interviewee, Date, Area	Data – Theme and my initial analysis in bold
<p>'Sally' 5/7/13</p>	<p>'It came from some ideas about being able to see and hear anecdotally from international students that there were difficulties in connecting and interacting in the way that they wanted with British students. This was borne out by the International Student Barometer survey, and we were sort of looking into what's happening here and seeing, and also hearing from some British students that they felt that there probably wasn't very much mixing going on.' Discursive construction of students; Influence of outside organisation (IBS)</p> <p>Because we'd noticed that if you ever advertised anything as international, British students automatically assumed that that meant it wasn't for them. And then we had this real difficulty in getting people to engage with activities that they would have enjoyed but didn't see as relevant to them. Weakness of discursive construction of students; 'international as forming barriers as opposed to bringing students together'</p> <p>So I formed this idea that there was a sort of spectrum of students, some of whom were perfectly happy staying with compatriots, whether they came from Britain or China or wherever they came from. They were happy and that's all they wanted out of the experience because they'd come here for the academic experience but they weren't too bothered about other stuff. And then there were a few people or a certain percentage of people in the middle for whom it was working. They were managing to integrate, they were getting the experience that they would hope from a international university, and then there was a lot of people who would have liked more. A lot of people who didn't even know they would have liked more but had it been easier would have actually participated. Challenging the discursive construction and recognising complexity; Challenging binary categories</p> <p>One thing that we found very interesting with the <programme name> was that it attracted a lot of British students who came from backgrounds that meant that they had a lot of different cultural influences, whether it's because they were third generation originally from a different country, or whether they were sort of dual / triple nationality or whatever. Challenging the discursive construction and recognising complexity</p> <p>So I think, from that point of view, the term home student and therefore home students will need this kind of support and will want to do this kind of thing and will be a bit like this, and everybody... these other people will identify themselves automatically as international, is quite</p>

meaningless, but very widely used by people. And also a very bizarre term, used by students and staff alike, are *our* students to mean students that aren't international students, and *these* students to mean students that aren't international students, which is a bit scary, I have to say.

Challenging the discursive construction and recognising complexity;

But I have heard that on a number of occasions. So it might be in a situation where, for example, there's clearly some underlying concern about the impact of having an international cohort and what might do the dynamics or the learning experience. And so if you think that, having an international student or international students in your class is not as positive or in your accommodation or whatever, is not as positive or creates extra problems, then you will see the British students as *our* students and these other people as... **Weakness of discursive construction**

...the other important aim for it was to raise the profile of interculturalism – I don't know if there is such a word – but, you know, intercultural activity, the potential of intercultural interaction; raise that profile much more because it was really pretty invisible. Beyond a few sort of society days, there wasn't a great deal for your average student to look at and think oh yes, this is a very diverse environment. So some of it was about that. **Absence of interculturalism; Using 'interculturalism' in preference to international; Potential value of term**

Appendix 2.2 Interview Themes and Frequency (Reduced, Grouped and Anonymised)

Theme:	Interviewee																
Discursive construction of students	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x								
Discursive construction of Uni or School (Othering) (Esteem)	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x			x	x				
Weakness of Discursive construction of students	x	x															
Challenging Discursive construction of students and recognising complexity	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x									
T/R Identity (in relation to theme, concept, discipline or name) (interdisc) (championing) (Knowledge construction)	X x	X x	X x	X x	X x	X x	X x	X x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
T/R Identity & Location and Connections & Esteem	x	x	x	x													
T/R beliefs (anti-essentialism) (breadth vs depth)	x	x	x	x	x	x	x										
T/R beliefs (disciplines & structures) (strategic essentialism) (sprinkling)	x	x	x	x													
Disciplines & Interdisciplinarity & structures & IC	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
What is IC/culture – terms w/out def; lack of clarity-absence of Int	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x							
What is IC – (an add-on) (modernist underpinning)	x	x	x														
What is IC – (theoretical weakness) (history) (lack of esteem)	x	x	x	x	x	x	x										
What is IC – (floating signifier idea) (small culture recog)	x	x	x														
What is IC – (distinctions) (where should it sit)	x	x	x	x	x	x	x										
Intercultural as embedded	x	x															
Living interculturally	x	x	x	x	x	x	x										
Clashing paradigms	X x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
Employability	x	x	x														
Marketisation (General) & (tension with theoretical) (internationalisation)	x	x	x														
Marketisation (student recruitment) & (Survival)	X x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
Marketisation & Naming & IC	X x x x x	X x	X x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
Institutional Power Behind Strands	x	x	x	x													
Institutionalisation	x	x	x	x	x	x											
IC & Internationalisation & Globalisation	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
Professionalism (examples of)	x	x	x	x													
Description of Cornerstones	x	x															
History (Historical changes) (MA)	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x						
Language & National culture	x																
Tropes	x	x															
Instrumentality	x	x															

Appendix 2.3 Tentative Analysis of Positioning

Who & Where	Position with respect to 'Intercultural'	Analysis & Motivation	Final analysis and potential theme
School Academics	Ambiguous; Reluctant; Uncertain	<p>IC & ICS is not clearly understood or doesn't fit into their subject area or area of research.</p> <p>Researchers are attached to an area or concept of interest.</p> <p>University structures (workload modules) prevent easy movement within the School (silo & discipline).</p> <p>IC/ICS works when it is considered to be embedded within the researchers own field of research. However, there is little displacement of that main area (Border studies; Diaspora studies).</p> <p>Possibly could weaken institutional or researcher identity.</p>	<p>Not valued or seen as useful within academics' research.</p> <p>Theme: Teacher/Researcher Beliefs; The Subject Matter is Considered as Theoretically Weak</p>
Researcher	Willing to use to the term or be attached to the subject area, but anxious about the inherent or associated essentialism.	The subject area or term provides professional opportunities and a connection to an interest (expands personal institutional identity).	<p>A compromise where the term is retained, but is constantly problematized.</p> <p>Theme: Teacher & Researcher Beliefs; Wrestling with Paradigms</p>
Promoters of the Strands	Accepts and employs the term.	<p>Expands identity and serves the University's interests of curriculum enhancement.</p> <p>A willingness to readily accept or disseminate the discourses of employability and those which discursively construct 'the student'.</p> <p>A shift in the role of the University and with clear ethos of links between business and the University and the need for students to have a 'broad' experience.</p> <p>Supported and driven by Student Education.</p>	<p>Terms employed without too much concern or worry about epistemological positioning. It is for the students (customers).</p> <p>Theme: Marketisation; Student Recruitment</p>
A Promoter of the Cornerstones	Employs the term and reaches out to another	Expands identity and serves the School's interests of curriculum enhancement and broadening.	Terms employed without too much concern or worry about epistemological

	(powerful) School.	IC and intercultural seen through a business context and less concern about essentialism.	positioning. It is for the students (customers). Theme: Marketisation & Student Recruitment
Promoters of Ambassadors	Employs intercultural and largely accepts the term. Begins to challenge other terms.	Expands personal identity Serves the University's internationalisation agenda. An initial willingness to employ the categories of home & international students, but then begins to problematize these categories. Sees the need for greater integration between categories of students. Supported and driven by Student Education.	Sees intercultural as a viable alternative. Theme: Challenging the University's discursive construction of students Interculturality from below.
Promoters of Horizon	Employs the term.	Expands personal identity. Serves the University's internationalisation agenda. Serves the University's interests of curriculum enhancement. Supported and driven by Student Education. An alternative Year Abroad which recruits more students from across the University.	Theme: Marketisation & Student Recruitment

Appendix 2.4 Tentative Themes Emerging from Field Notes with Entry Dates

Notes/Theme	Date(s)			
Teacher/Researcher Beliefs & Identity/Disciplines/Home/Structures	24/9/12	1/10/12	30/4/13	20/5/13
	12/6/13	15/7/13	1/8/13	7/8/13
	25/2/14	26/2/14	27/3/14	
Naming	6/20/13			
Discursively constructing students/nationalities/cultures	18/10/12	5/11/12	17/4/13	26/9/13
	10/28/13			
Marketisation Employability	7/12/13	14/12/12	9/1/13	24/7/13
	8/9/13		16/1/13	
Identity via connection to theme & 'champions'	14/5/13	24/5/13	24/9/13	
Terms w/out definitions	30/5/13			
Internationalisation /Globalisation	17/7/13	10/4/13		
Clashing Paradigms	19/7/13	16/9/13	19/9/13	
Institutional Power & Values	23/9/13			
Market value vs Theoretical value (not necessarily a theme but as seen through ambivalence from researchers)	10/4/13			

*There will be some overlap between emerging themes from Field Notes and from Interviews as Field Notes sometimes were a reflection of interviews.

Appendix 3: University Documents and Publicity

Appendix 3.1 Written Documents and Records

Document Number	Document & Emergence	Discourse or Theme	Notes
1	International Cultural Festival 2012 Poster 'The Ambassadors'	Naming & Celebrating Cultures;	Use of the terms international and culture
2	World Unite 'Think' Sessions Flyer (2014) 'The Ambassadors'	Challenging Discursive Constructions	Change in name from 2012; The terms 'culture' and 'international' have been dropped
3	World Unite 'Taster' Sessions Flyer 'The Ambassadors'	Language & Culture	Paradigm Clash?
4	Email from staff 'The Ambassadors'	Clash - 'Celebrate cultures'	Paradigm clash
5	World Unite Festival Poster & Booklet 'The Ambassadors'	Naming; Challenging Discursive Constructions	Contrast with name in 2012 (See Document 2)
6	'Learn Korean Poster' No specific emergence	Language & Culture link Naturalised categories;	National= culture paradigm Nation = single language
7	Advertisement 'The Pilot'	Marketisation & Employability	IC tied specifically to employability & internationalisation
8	Advertisement in alternative form 'The Pilot'	Marketisation & Employability IC & Employability	IC not only tied to employability & internationalisation, but it affects the pedagogy as well.
9	Email to staff in HoS blog 'The Pilot'	Marketisation & Employability; IC & Employability	Similar themes to 7 and 8 above
10	Article in HEA publication 'The Ambassadors'	Institutional power & support	ISB leveraging the emergence of the 'intercultural'
11	Ambassadors - 'Showcase'	Institutional power & support - discursive construction of students	A form of 'intercultural' which the institution is willing to support
12	<i>University Reporter</i> backpage story 'The Strands'	Naming; Nation = culture	Another example of nation and culture being treated as synonymous

13	Broadening Group (CEP) Minutes Extensive notes 'The Strands'	Notes from CEP; Institutional Value; List of all modules; Consultation Feedback from High Schools	Sample groups with high school students; commodification of education
14	STSEC minutes 'The Strands'	STSEC – Theoretical fuzziness	Purposeful ambiguity?
15	<i>University Reporter</i> 'The Strands'	CEP – Naming;	Cross-cultural; global citizenship skills
16	Publicity Document 'The Strands'	Curriculum Enhancement Project – Employ & national cultures	Quote: 'Enhance employability and increase their competitiveness in a global environment ...awareness of their own culture and others'
17	Advertisement 'The Strands'	Employability; culture= nation Commoditisation	Quote: 'Culture viewed nationally and internationally' Bubbles with over 250 modules from 13 Schools
18	Short module advertisement 'The Cornerstones'	Link to Bus & Management Employability	
19	Joint Honours Review publication 'The Cornerstones'	IC+ International Business	IC linked to Int Bus & Management & 'Multicultural Business Environment
19	Development of the Horizon Year Abroad paper 'The Horizon'	TSEB – Resource & Location	Influence of TSEB
20	Personal email 'The Horizon'	Naming – 'Cult'	
21	Fees structures School publication Miscellaneous	Fees: 'Int vs Home/EU'	
22	Student Education Strategy Document School Structures & Values	Internationalisation – Vagueness of terms	'International' – cultures not explicitly defined assumed national; recruitment is a big part, internationalisation high on the agenda for purpose and values

23	Senate Document School History Miscellaneous	History	Establishment of School
24	MA History – Staff meeting minutes from 2009 Miscellaneous	Programme already working with categories of ‘native speakers’ and an eye on recruitment.	August 2009
25	Document on MA history ‘The MA’	Naming; Marketing	Recruitment of students a key driver of the programme
26	SDDU document – ‘Training game’ Miscellaneous	Structures/Disciplines	General university; How to market yourself; How the university sees the staff/school; Training simulation
27	‘How to Market Yourself’ poster Miscellaneous	Employability; Discursive construction	Document for general University consumption
28	Notes from the VLE ‘The Pilot’	Employability; Marketisation	Last session – ‘how you would intergrate intercultural awareness and skills into job applications’
29	Curriculum Enhancement Update ‘The Strands’	Core programme threads (CPT); Employability	Various docs – compare with e-docs
30	Event email: Discourses Miscellaneous	Employability & School	
31	TSEB document Miscellaneous	Structures; Internationalisation; Employability	‘Strategic Priorities’ TSEB
32	Email advertising programme ‘The Ambassadors’	Employability	
33	Power point slides from presentation ‘The Strands’	CEP	‘academic vision’
34	Brochure ‘The MA’	Marketisation & employability	With critical incident in field notes
35	Personal emails regarding naming of the School	Naming - Blog	Intensity of emails

	Miscellaneous		
36	Personal email: Naming Miscellaneous	Naming; internationalisation	Official title change
37	Personal email 'The MA'	Naming; Signage	
38	PGT review notes 13/12/11 'The MA'	Discipline alignment -	Programme review Critical incident
39	Student Education Bulletin	Discursive construction of students	Separate language for students
40	Pro VC publicity CEP & 'The Strands'	University speak	'highlighted paragraph'
41	Student Education Bulletin 'The Strands'	'Meet the Broadening Strand leaders'	'Global citizenship skills'
42	Student Education Bulletin 'The Strands'	Internationalisation; Student Barometer	Why something is accepted; challenged; Notice parallels with Thompson's GKE
43	Student Education Bulletin 'The Strands'	Enhancement; Employability	Compete; succeed
44	<i>University Reporter</i> Internationalisation team Miscellaneous	Internationalisation; strategic advantage	Reporter
45	University student newspaper Miscellaneous	Internationalisation; 'Racism' charge	
46	Poster (anti- KPMG) Miscellaneous	KPMG	University divisions
47	Personal email Miscellaneous	University values	Email from Dean's statement
48	Personal email 'The Cornerstones'	What is intercultural?	Interview followed
49	Personal email IC as a whole Miscellaneous	What is IC: PhD app – What is IC and who here does it?	Critical incident – email chain PhD student
50	Personal emails from	What is IC?	Critical incident: Library;

	library 'The MA' and other areas		email chain
51	Student email 'The MA'	Employability	Paradigm clash
52	The Senate: Internationalisation Strategy Miscellaneous	Marketisation	
53	HoS Blog Miscellaneous	UCML – Language and Intercultural Education vote	Term is applicable to MFL
54	HEA AHRC symposia on interculturalism and translating cultures		Wider organisational bodies
55	PGT Programme Response Rates Miscellaneous	Mechanical emergence	IS becomes an organisational unit through mechanical admin practices.
56	Employability Office Email: Miscellaneous	Discourse	
57	Research Group Reconfiguration: Email Miscellaneous	Subject matters omission	Compare with multiple mention in 'scholarship'
58	Announcement of Joint Agreement: University Website Miscellaneous	'Competing on a global stage'	
59	Centre for Excellence in Scholarship Miscellaneous	Data Post-script	Incorporation of multiple themes in a single document
60	'The Newsletter' The MA	Marketisation discourse	An assumed spin and naturalised discourse around the programme
61	Strands Publicity Document [online] 'The Strands'	Globalisation and marketisation discourse.	'Want to get ahead?' 'So don't get left behind.'
62	University Reporter Miscellaneous	Strategic vagueness	High impact work on 'culture'.
63	Language Centre Meeting	Historical Tension	School vs. Unit

Appendix 3.2.1 Document 1: International Culture Festival

International Cultural Festival 2012

Hosted by

The International Cultural Festival is an action packed week of activities and events to celebrate and showcase our different cultural groups and to bring together students from home and abroad. From the various films showcasing at the International Film Festival to the Carnival and Bollywood Dance Evening, we're confident there will be something inside this programme that makes you want to join in. We would also like to say a big thank you to all the students involved in making this happen, especially the International Cultural Ambassadors festival project team. We look forward to seeing you during the week!

All events are based in the University Union building and are FREE unless otherwise stated.

The festival is made up of a mixture of films and events, use the key below to find what interests you or turn to page 10 and 11 for a full overview of this year's events.

EVENTS ● **FILMS**

Events and Films hosted by the Intercultural Ambassadors and Santander

Throughout the Week

Cultural Perspectives
Come and take some time to look through some beautiful pictures from around the globe. *Monday, Wednesday, Thursday & Friday, 9:00am to 5:00pm, Union Chapel*

The History of Henna
Exhibition showing the history of henna, the henna plant, a world map of henna (different styles of henna art), the use of henna and black henna. Plus photos of members henna. Henna will be available 11:00am-3:00pm. *Monday, Thursday & Friday, 10:00am to 4:00pm, Union Chapel*

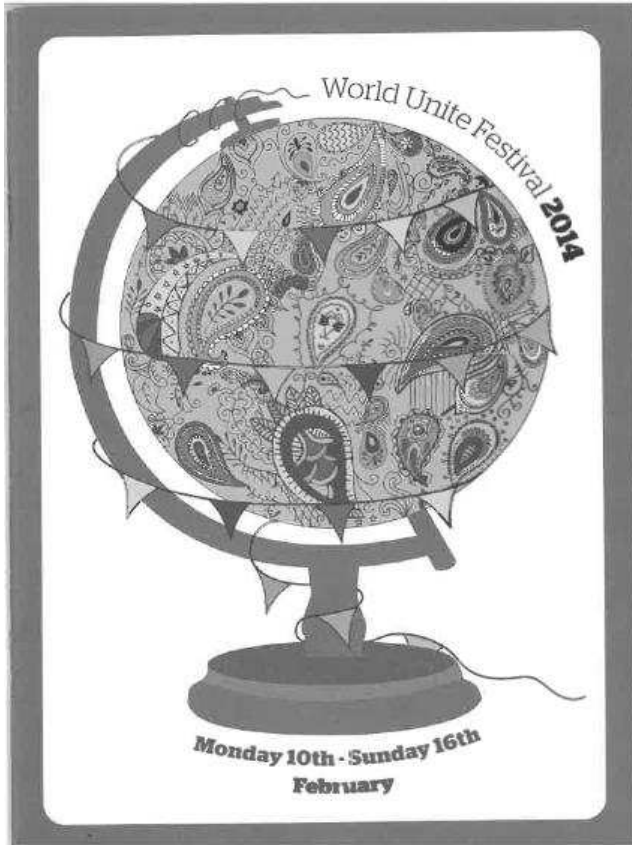
During the International Cultural team every weekday. We will be talking about different cultures each day as well as playing some great music, news headlines and lots of fun on www.icrfm.com
Every day, 9:00am to 11:00am.

Cultural showcase: Wedding Extravaganza

No matter where in the world you are from, weddings are universal. International Cultural Festival is giving you an opportunity to witness a variety of weddings from all over the world. From a white dress and tuxedo, to the West African Dashiki, to the Indian langha and sherwani to the Mexican mantilla veil and maladorian outfit, and many more! Expect an evening of colourful fashion vibrant dances and diverse music from all around the world.
Friday 10th February

OUR PICK

Appendix 3.2.2 Document 5: International Culture Festival Change to World Unite



Appendix 3.2.3 Document 6: Learn Korean (Language = Culture)

LEARN KOREAN

are for undergraduate students at the who have elective credits and who want to develop their knowledge and skills in a particular language as part of their degree.

Why learn Korean?

- To gain an understanding of another language and culture
- To enjoy a period of study, work abroad or travel in Korea
- To enhance your employability and to differentiate your CV from others

Which level?	Suitable for...
FLTU1002 Beginner Korean	Those who have no previous study or knowledge of the language

Provisional 2013/14 timetable:

Module	Credits	Semester 2
FLTU1002 Beginner Korean	20	Wed 10-12 Fri 10-12

For more information please contact:

[Redacted contact information]

Appendix 3.2.4

Employability)

Document 7: Advertising the Pilot (Marketisation &



Are you interested in learning about intercultural communication?

Do you want to be able to demonstrate intercultural awareness and competence to a prospective employer?

The Foreign Language Teaching Unit is offering an introductory module, **free of charge**, to students taking an FLTU module in 2013-14 on a first come first served basis. The module will be delivered mainly online, and will run from the end of October till the beginning of December.

Over the five weeks of the course we will explore 'culture' and communication in a mixture of two face-to-face sessions and online learning and through readings and assignments that will encompass not only theory, but also visual elements and, most importantly, fun!

There will be 5 sessions covering key concepts in the study of culture, language and communication, and there will be 4 assessment tasks (brief texts and presentations, photographic images) and these will be assessed on a pass/fail basis. In addition, part of the assessment will be your regular online interaction and constructive engagement (at least twice a week).

The module will earn you a Certificate which can be used to enhance your C.V. and to show a prospective employer. You will also have evidence of developing skills in this area from the tasks that are completed as part of the module.

By the end of this course you will:

1. Be aware of your own cultural socialization and be able to use cross-culturally productive communication skills for speaking and writing tasks in everyday situations
2. Be able to demonstrate the development of intercultural awareness and reflexivity
3. Have a working knowledge of the basic theoretical approaches and debates in the area of intercultural communication
4. Increase your employability by developing your intercultural communication skills

Therefore, the course will be relevant for you no matter whether you will be entering the job market in the following year, or whether you have just begun your studies and may want to take up Intercultural Communication as a main subject.

The module will be delivered by [redacted], who works on discourses of 'difference', cultural memory and cultural production – most recently on the performance of religious identities in hip-hop culture.

If you are interested in enrolling, please email [redacted] with your name, your programme of study, which year you are in and your student ID number.

Appendix 3.2.5 Document 13: Strands (Broadening)

Curriculum Enhancement Project

Broadening Group

March 2013

Present:

The Project Board is asked:

- a) To consider how the Curriculum Enhancement Project can best ensure that all undergraduate students gain access to broadening opportunities? What degree of flexibility can be permitted in the delivery of 'Broadening'? (paragraphs 1-4 and ANNEXE 1)
- b) To comment on the attached summary of key themes and ideas arising from the draft Broadening Strand Visions. ANNEXE 2

1. Principles relating to programme structures, student choice and access to Broadening opportunities.

- 1.1 The Curriculum Enhancement Project aims to ensure that all students are presented with opportunities to broaden their intellectual horizons, so that the issues and ideas studied, and the skills and understandings gained, are not narrowly confined by disciplinary boundaries. The preferred means for facilitating access to these broadening opportunities is through the reorganisation and enhancement of the existing elective system to create ten 'Broadening Strands'.
- 1.2 The strand infrastructure aims to clarify the range of available opportunities and also accords particular importance to choice on the part of the individual student – in deciding both the extent (up to a defined maximum) to which they wish to broaden their studies and (subject to practicalities such as timetabling) which specific elective modules they wish to study.
- 1.3 The opportunity to pursue broadening via the strands can to a large extent be accommodated within the existing structure of most¹ This will entail some variation in the number of credits available for broadening and the precise distribution of broadening opportunities across the levels of a degree, whilst maintaining the principle that there is scope for students to opt to take broadening electives (normally weighted at 10C or 20C) at two or more levels.
 - 1.3.1 ANNEXE 1, however, identifies a minority of degrees which are not currently structured in a way that is consistent with the principle just outlined.
 - 1.3.2 In some instances the Schools involved appear to be ready to revise their programme structures. Where, for example, students are currently given the opportunity to select from a predefined set of optional modules, there may

Appendix 3.2.6 Document 14: STSEC Strands (Broadening)

- STSEC update Nov 2013

1. From 2014 (formerly known as electives) need to link to 1 or more of the 4

Creating Sustainable Futures
Enterprise and Innovation
Ethics, Religion and Law
Exploring the Sciences
Language and Intercultural Understanding

Media, Culture and Creativity
Mind and Body
Personal and Professional Development
Power and Conflict
Technology and Its Impacts

For more information
Student version - !

2. Language and Intercultural Understanding: Sub-themes

1. Language

1.1 Practical language skills

- language acquisition
- language
- language learning
- translation
- pronunciation
- communication
- grammar

1.2 Understanding language

- language teaching
- linguistics
- phonetics
- stylistics
- sociolinguistics
- psycholinguistics
- Syntax
- grammar
- discourse analysis

2. Culture

Understanding culture through ...


- gender
- race
- identity
- ethnicity
- literature
- poetry
- theatre
- essays
- cinema
- art
- photography
- architecture

Appendix 3.2.7 Document 17: Strands Advertisement (Commoditisation)

Language and Intercultural Understanding *Theme Leader:*

Topics include:

- learning a foreign language, from beginners to advanced levels
- linguistic analysis and the study of discourse via textual analysis
- culture and identity viewed nationally and internationally
- the insights that art, culture, education, film, history, language acquisition, linguistics, literature, religion and theatre offer into other societies and cultures



over 250 modules from 13 schools

Appendix 3.2.8 Document 21: Student Fees (Home/EU vs. International)

Postgraduate fees

Research Postgraduate (2013/14)

Alumni bursary – Home/EU graduates are eligible to receive a **10% bursary** towards tuition fees (UK/EU or International level) when registering for a taught MA or research degree in the **Faculty of Education**. Students with full fees funding are not eligible for the discount. Please contact **Postgraduate Office** for more details. [Terms and conditions](#).

Programme	UK/EU students	International students
Research MA	£3,950 (1 year studying full time)	£12,500 (1 year studying full time)
	£1,975 (2 years studying part time)	
PhD	£3,950 (per annum studying full time)	£12,500 (per annum studying full time)
	£1,975 (per annum studying part time)	

Taught Postgraduate (2014/15)

Alumni bursary: Home/EU graduates are eligible to receive a **10% bursary** towards tuition fees (UK/EU or International level) when registering for a taught MA or research degree in the **Faculty of Education**. Students with full fees funding are not eligible for the discount. Please contact **Postgraduate Office** for more details.

Full Time and Part Time Fees

Full time programmes are taught over 1 academic year and part-time programmes are taught over 2 academic years.

UK/EU International

“HOW TO MARKET YOURSELF TO EMPLOYERS”

Workshop session with international recruitment agency PageGroup that will also provide advice on developing a great LinkedIn page.

All year groups welcome.

Free tea and cake!



Tuesday 25th March 1-2:30pm (those with 2pm sessions can leave early)

House No 20 Seminar Room 1.06

Email pagegroup@pagegroup.com to book your place

PageGroup



Appendix 3.2.10 Document 31: TSEB Strategic Priorities

TSEB Strategic Priorities 2013/14

1. To develop a distinctive programme portfolio which:
 - a) is responsive to market needs;
 - b) embeds the aims and outcomes of the Curriculum Enhancement Project in all undergraduate taught programmes; and
 - c) embeds the Blended Learning Strategy across all taught programmes.
2. To encourage full engagement with the Teaching Enhancement Scheme.
3. To enhance all aspects of the student experience through engagement with alumni and external partners wherever appropriate, and particularly in:
 - a. embedding the employability strategy for all students;
 - b. internationalising the taught student experience.
4. To maximise the quality and inclusiveness of our student intake.

Implementation of the priorities will be measured and reported on through the Integrated Planning Exercise, including Annual Health Checks, and reviewed under the Inspire our Students strategic theme, reporting to TSEB and VCEG.

Appendix 3.2.11 Document 32: Ambassador Email (Employability)

Hello

Please could you circulate the below opportunity from the International Student Office to your students:

Opportunity to be a ; Intercultural Ambassador

Do you want to create exciting student-led activities, develop employability skills and increase your cultural awareness?

Volunteer as an Intercultural Ambassador and gain intercultural skills and valuable experience of project and activity management, as part of an enthusiastic multicultural team. Make an impact on student experience, make new friends and have fun!

More information and an application pack are available from

Don't miss your chance to apply! Applications close on Wednesday 23 October 2013.

Many thanks

KPMG not welcome here



Another £15million cut, another 350 jobs under threat and a record amount of cash in the bank. Should the future of a public university be placed in the hands of a private company?



Appendix 3.2.13 Document 57: School Research Group Proposal

3. Proposal for new/reconfigured research groups

International Relations and Development

Language, Linguistics and Translation Studies

Popular Culture

Religion and Society

Violence, Trauma and Memory

World Cinemas (in Centre for World Cinemas)

World Literatures (in new Centre for World Literatures)

- to be proposed to whole school for comment
- MoS to be given the chance to propose any other 'new' groups but will need to provide the following: title, brief abstract outlining rationale and how it would fit with terms of reference of research groups (see Appendix 1: ToR below), indication of the potential critical mass in the school. All new proposals to be discussed at next meeting of RISC.
- if above accepted, need to find RGLs for the two new (as opposed to reconfigured) groups i.e. 'Religion and Society' and 'Violence, Trauma and Memory'
- to be implemented next academic session (2015-16)

Appendix 1

Research Groups: Terms of reference

- Identify and promote research themes within the group
- Develop partnerships with other researchers, research clusters and research networks within and outside the university
- Encourage funding applications across the membership of the group and respond to developing Research Council agendas
- Encourage the full participation of PGRs in the group's activities
- Nominate an impact coordinator who will work with the 'impact director to develop and implement an impact strategy
- Develop and maintain the research group's website, thus enhancing external visibility of the School's research
- Submit an annual report on research and impact activity to the Research and Innovation Strategy Committee

NB, as a result of any alteration to the Research Groups, these current Terms of Reference would have to be revised and updated.

Appendix 3.2.14 Document 59: Proposal for Centre of Excellence in Language Teaching

[.....] Centre for **Excellence** in Language Teaching: Proposal

Vision

The [...] Centre for **Excellence** in Language Teaching will establish [...] as a world-leading centre in the pedagogy of language and **intercultural competence**. As the only centre of its kind in the UK, it will draw together expertise in Linguistics, English Language (EL), ancient language and modern foreign Language (MFL) teaching, translator and interpreter training, and **intercultural studies**. It will develop cutting-edge scholarship projects in language and **intercultural pedagogy**, to develop the best possible teaching practice and to develop colleagues' profiles in scholarship. By engaging closely with students to help identify its priorities, it will ensure that all language learners in the University [...] benefit from the latest research into language pedagogy in order to enhance their **international** experience and **intercultural competence**.

Context and rationale

The School [...] is home to one of the UK's largest groups of University language teachers, with over ninety year-round staff members employed primarily to teach language, a number of research-active colleagues who specialise in language acquisition, and a wider community still of academic staff who teach language and **intercultural understanding** as part of their portfolio of activities. It already makes a significant investment in language pedagogy, especially by allocating workload for scholarship for language-teaching staff in MFL, providing colleagues with access to funding to support scholarship activity, and encouraging EL colleagues to develop scholarship profiles. **Excellence** in language teaching is central to the academic mission of the School and supports the **internationalisation** of the University: the School offers the widest range of language degree programmes in the UK, in a highly competitive market for undergraduate students, and, following the integration of Classics into the School, teaches classical languages; it plays a key role in the University's efforts to recruit and support **international students**, over 1000 of whom attended the [...] pre-sessional courses in 2015; through its [...] programme, it offers MFL [...] modules to c. 1000 undergraduate students each year across the University. It is strategically crucial to the School, therefore, that we realise the School's potential as a leader in language pedagogy. The opportunity is all the more significant, given advances in technology and blended learning, given the place of Language and **Intercultural Understanding** as a broadening theme in the Leeds Curriculum, and given the research agenda being developed by the cross-Faculty [...] initiative.

At the same time, institutional frameworks to support scholarship activities are stronger than ever. The launch of the [...] Institute for Teaching **Excellence** and

Innovation will offer a significant boost to the profile of pedagogy in the University – a boost which is all the more timely in the context of the introduction of a national Teaching Excellence Framework (TEF) as set out in the Green Paper of 6 November 2015.⁷⁵ Recognition mechanisms for teaching **excellence**, through promotions criteria, are currently being refreshed. Collaborations in language research (including the Language [...] initiative) and in language education (through the [...]), which is housed in the [...]) provide an intellectual environment for language pedagogy to thrive.

The need for **excellence** in language pedagogy is now greater than ever. The globalised economy, and its associated societal challenges and opportunities, require multilingual, **internationally** mobile graduates; yet in the UK the number of students with a post-18 qualification in a language has declined sharply since 2004. Employers report a considerable language skills gap.⁷⁶ Building the language and academic skills of incoming **international** students is, furthermore, crucial to the **internationalisation** of the student body at the University [...]; an academically **excellent** [...] will therefore play a key role in the University's competitiveness.

However, as discussions on scholarship in an [...] School Board meeting in June 2015 revealed, a number of barriers to a successful culture of scholarship remain. These include:

- A continued sense that scholarship is a second-class activity;
- A lack of structure to support collaboration;
- Uncertainty among colleagues about how to develop scholarship activities, especially in relation to promotions criteria;
- Limited strategic awareness of the School's needs in language pedagogy as experienced by either teaching staff or students;
- A lack of coherent mentoring and staff development in scholarship;
- Little sense of peer review practice to mirror that which helps shape research activities;
- A lack of mechanisms to ensure that **excellence** in scholarship can transfer to reputational benefits for the School.

The [...] Centre for **Excellence** in Language Teaching, allied with broader institutional support for scholarship, is intended to help overcome these barriers, positioning [...] effectively in its key student markets.

Redacted: People; Structure; Steering group; Management group; Scholarship Groups; Activities Students; Indicative timetable for implementation

Consultation [...]

⁷⁵ <https://www.gov.uk/government/consultations/higher-education-teaching-excellence-social-mobility-and-student-choice>.

⁷⁶ As widely documented, but reported for instance in the most recent CBI/Pearson Education and Skills Survey (<http://www.cbi.org.uk/media-centre/press-releases/2014/06/more-firms-demanding-language-skills-to-break-into-new-markets-cbi-pearson-survey/>).

Comments are welcome on any aspect of the proposal, but especially on the following matters:

- Is the proposed name of the Centre appropriate? (Please consider the need (a) to be clear to external audiences what the Centre's focus is; (b) to capture the full range of activities and expertise in the School, including **intercultural skills**.)
- How can we best ensure that the Centre's activities bring direct benefits to language learners in the University, and enhance the School's and the University's reputation for **excellence** in language pedagogy?
- How can the Centre ensure that all colleagues involved in teaching language and **intercultural competence**, including those for whom language teaching forms only a small part of their portfolio, are able to benefit from the its activities?
- Colleagues who are aware of examples of good practice in structured support for **excellence** in language teaching elsewhere in the sector are invited to bring these to our attention.

Appendix 4.0 Class Observations Data

Appendix 4.1 Dates of Observation, Teacher and Area of Emergence

Date	Teacher(s)	Area of Emergence
25 September 2012	'Auto' & 'Alice'	MA – core module
2 October 2012	'Peter'	MA – core module
9 October 2012	'May'	MA – core module
16 October 2012	'Igor'	MA – core module
23 October 2012	'Patrick'	MA – core module
30 October 2012	'Jen'	MA – core module
13 November 2012	'Mary'	MA – core module
1 October 2013	'Peter'	MA – core module
8 October 2013	'Jemima'	MA – core module
15 October 2013	'Iris'	MA – core module
22 October 2013	'Saul'	MA – core module
29 October 2013	'Jen'	MA – core module
1 November 2013	'Greta'	'The Pilot'
5 November 2013	'Cindy'	MA – core module
19 November 2013	'Cleo'	MA – core module
29 November 2013	'Greta'	'The Pilot'
3 December	'Alice'	MA – core module

Appendix 4.2 Sample Condensed Notes from Observations

Date: 9 October 2012 **Area of Emergence:** The MA 'core module'

Teacher: 'May'

Topic: Migration/Diaspora/Identity: A Sociocultural Approach

(Detailed notes in observation notebook)

The teacher made extensive use of migration maps for students to present their migration and/or travels (or family's travel/migration) and presented their movements through time; they spoke of how their travels helped to change their personality and/or identity. Variety of trajectories w/ 'May' drawing on key issues and terms:

'fractured, hybrid, hybridity, fluid, dynamic, context, and not – homogenous – Your identity hangs on your context and flows like water – water put into a box is square: water has volume but not shape;

May discussed how to read the Parry article:

Parry, Elizabeth Amie (2012) 'Inter-Asian migratory roads: the gamble of time in *Our Stories*. Inter-Asia Cultural Studies, Volume 13, Number 2.

This centred on the national relationships which were developing:

Asia in the Coldwar – backdrop and script

US-Taiwan-China

US-Philippines

US-Vietnam

US-Thailand

US-Indonesia

Taiwan – Philippines

Can't talk about history of Asia w/out mention of the US

Interconnected lives; Deep interconnectedness; Tagalog has similarities w/ Taiwanese indigenous languages; 'Global citizens'; Migration is: Historical/Political, Geographical/Physical, Economic, Socio-Cultural, Personal, Local, National is a construction: **(Clear links with interculturality)**

'Distinct and unevenly positioned modes of knowing the world'

'Our Stories' rewrites and problematises a cold war version of positivism in Asia – images of Modernity and Rapid Industrialisation

'May' then raised questions regarding specific categories: Who is a migrant?

The stranger in our midst; The foreigner; The Other **Links w/ IC**

Deconstructing the idea of 'one, single homogenous people' **Links w/ IC**

The problem of mail order brides/foreign brides **Links w/ IC**

Neither the exploiter nor the victim

Trafficking and the discourse – generally positioned as victims but not always the case

What is endangered is the institution of marriage

Migration and Queerness: Only for Taiwan – changing sexuality: a temporal identity

Regimentation and resistance – there is a political energy, sexual agency, cultural creativity from the women which calls into account the discourse of who is being oppressed.

The teacher made final connections to the following concepts:

Orientalism; Essentialism; Subaltern; Stereotypes

Students migration was not subaltern migration – migration and travel converge in students' presentations

-----Teaching Approach-----

Not necessarily a typical lecture or seminar: mixture of student presentation; student discussion; lecture-like input; (1-3 grouping for discussion); feedback on post it notes at the end; conscious effort to connect to ideas mentioned in Paul's lecture – lots of connections w/ the MA across the board and potential for links to IC

Class Observation Notes: National, Transnational and Postnational

Date: 23 October 2012

Area of Emergence: The MA 'core module'

Teacher: 'Patrick'

Detailed notes in observation notebook

Lecturer was primarily focusing on Italian cinema as a case study and he began the class by encouraging sts. to apply the theory from the lesson to their own contexts. He said that he was interested in theories of nat'l, transnational and postnational as it applies to **cultural production**.

He gave an amusing story which imagined his family back in times in the bogs of Topour, Ireland. 'We have an intuitive sense of nation' 'we have a sense of national identity'. We can become deeply offended about 'our' nation. 'it is in the interest of nationalism for us not to be sure of what nation is.' Links to culture – If we can't define culture, how are we going to define 'intercultural'?

Elusive terms: 'nation-state' i.e. Wales is a nation but not a state.

Emergence of nation: 2nd half of 1800s

Brown: 2000: 5 'the three conceptual languages of nat'l identity.'

Primordial (can be linked to 'ethnicity'. Problematic with Yugoslavia example)

Instrumental approaches to nationalism;

Gramsci: argued reunification of Italy was an occupation by the northern group – developed idea of nation as a way of extending its economic reach

Constructivist: allows us to talk about nat'lism as a myth. Nation as a sense of stability; Ontological security; not from Topour but from Ireland.

B. Anderson: Imagined Communities

Imagined; Limited; Sovereign; Community

Dickie: A social fiction: story we have told ourselves; allows us to think how is it constructed; conceptual mapping- products such as films, TV programmes help us to imagine the nation.

Transnational: another slippery term. Crossing borders, w/out much consideration for borders; hyphenated identities: Irish-American

Transnational is v important in cinema now;

Postnational: usually a critique of the national esp the primordial, tries to lead us beyond the nat'l to avoid wars etc.

Internationalism; Liberal patriotism; Cosmopolitanism

Postmo transnat – allows us to move beyond nat identities

Black consciousness – postmo trans

Gave ex's of trans films in terms of production – The Last Emperor

Shaw: We can study film to study how the 'nation' is constructed – **Link with constructions of culture**

Lecturer then went on to focus on Italian cinema and 'Cinepanettone' Film Christmas cake, part. Natale in India (2003)

Focused on stereotypes: **Link w/ IC**

'Stereotypes function as a shorthand conceptual mapping of the world' 'offering a vision that you already expect'

Natale in India (2003): 'In group/out group' **Link w/ IC**

Notion that nation is defined against 'outsiders' or 'the outside'. Links with identity construction.

Appendix 5.0 Ethics Clearance Forms

Appendix 5.1 Canterbury Clearance Form



27 April 2012

Ref: 12/A&H/085C

Mr Haynes Collins

Dear Haynes

Confirmation of ethics compliance for your study "Intercultural Communication: An illegitimate field of knowledge?"

I have received a completed and countersigned Ethics Review Checklist for the above project. Because you have answered "No" to all of the questions in Section B, no further ethical review will be required under the terms of this University's Research Ethics and Governance Procedures.

In confirming compliance for your study, I must remind you that it is your responsibility to follow, as appropriate, the policies and procedures set out in the *Research Governance Handbook* (<http://www.canterbury.ac.uk/Research/GovernanceandEthics/GovernanceAndEthics.aspx>) and any relevant academic or professional guidelines. This includes providing, if appropriate, information sheets and consent forms, and ensuring confidentiality in the storage and use of data. Any significant change in the question, design or conduct of the study over its course should be notified to the **Research Office**, and may require a new application for ethics approval. You are also required to inform me once your research has been completed.

Wishing you every success with your research.

Yours sincerely

A handwritten signature in black ink that reads "Roger Bone".

Roger Bone
Research Governance Manager
Tel: +44 (0)1227 782940 ext 3272 (enter at prompt)
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