Employing Bennett's Developmental Model of Intercultural Sensitivity (DMIS) to Understand Intercultural Sensitivity in ELT

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Abstract

This paper attempts to explain the nature and practice of intercultural sensitivity among international teachers of English using stage descriptions of Bennett's Developmental Model of Intercultural Sensitivity (DMIS). It draws on qualitative data generated from focus group interviews, individual interviews, recorded classroom observations and diary entries from 19 expatriate teachers in an English medium university in Saudi Arabia. The study showed that most of the actions and behaviours of teachers indicate intercultural sensitivity frames that reflect descriptions of the DMIS ethnocentricity stages of *defence* and *minimisation*. Many views some teachers put forward about pedagogy and intercultural communicative competence (ICC) development in ELT however, indicated higher stages of intercultural sensitivity that reflect some of the ethnorelative dimensions of *acceptance* and *adaptation*.

Keywords: cross-cultural communication, Developmental Model of Intercultural Sensitivity (DMIS), English Language Teaching (ELT), ethnocentricity, ethnorelativity, intercultural communicative competence (ICC), intercultural sensitivity

1. Introduction

Intercultural sensitivity (IS) is a complex term which is founded upon one of the most difficult words to define in the English language (Williams 1983) or any other language for that matter which is 'culture'. Culture is a core phenomenon in many disciplines of study with its main roots in anthropology. Because it is viewed from different perspectives by many disciplines, there is no consensus on its definition. Samovar and Porter (1995) contend it is difficult to arrive at a single definition because the nature of culture is ubiquitous, multidimensional, complex, and all-pervasive (pp. 46–47). Similarly, Holliday 2011 was critical at any attempt to define culture since it has traditionally been viewed as a 'fixed entity' and thus, should be abandoned (cited in Byram & Wagner 2018). However, to reduce complications as Williams (2005) contends, research must go on and cannot 'await the delivery of a completed theorised understanding of culture' (p. 137); because the discipline of this research is applied linguistics, it makes sense to consider the ELT perspective of culture as a foundation to help understand and explain what we mean by 'intercultural sensitivity' which is firmly grounded in anthropology.

Applied linguists divide culture into big C culture and little c culture. The United States *Standards for Foreign Language Learning*, 1996, defines big *C* culture as *formal* culture which includes:

> the formal institutions (social, political, and economic), the great figures of history, and those products of literature, fine arts, and the sciences that were traditionally assigned to the category of elite culture (cited in Bennett, Bennett & Allen 2003, p. 243).

Little *c* culture on the other hand is defined as:

> those aspects of daily living studied by the sociologist and the anthropologist: housing, clothing, food, tools, transportation, and all the patterns of behavior that members of the culture regard as necessary and appropriate (ibid.).

In simple terms, big C culture are the more visible aspects of culture such as national products and symbols, while little c culture are the more invisible aspects such as beliefs and behaviour. Taking account of this view, for this study, I have chosen Moran's (2001) definition of culture as:

> the evolving way of life of a group of persons, consisting of a shared set of practices associated with a shared set of products, based upon a shared set of perspectives on the world, and set within specific social contexts (p. 24).

This definition distinguishes between big *C* culture and little *c* culture which a study by Stempleski and Tomalin (1993) showed that these distinguishable elements of culture make up the ELT perspective – products (big *C*) and perspectives and practices (little *c*). Therefore, our understanding of intercultural sensitivity for the context of ELT will be based on the ELT perspective of culture. Keeping in line with this perspective as the term *intercultural* is synonymous with similar terms such as *cultural*, *transcultural*, and *cross-cultural* (Risager 2000; Stone 2006), it is related to communication across cultures. With the added *sensitivity*, the literature shows there is no agreed upon definition (Braine 1998; Bhawuk & Brislin 1992; Edge 1996; Fantini 1995, 1997; Gudykunst & Kim 1984; Kramsch 1998; McAllister & Irvine 2000). To reduce complication and keeping in mind the ELT perspective of culture, the definition of intercultural sensitivity deemed practical for the purposes of this paper is Bennett's (1993) conceptualisation of it as a continuum of the awareness, understanding,

and response that a person has towards people of other cultures (pp. 24–28). Due to increased border crossings in our globalised world, the wide use of English and with that the demand for English teachers, intercultural sensitivity seems to be a requirement for teachers who more than likely will be exposed to student populations who may have different cultures and views of the world than them and hence, will need to be aware, understand and respond appropriately to ensure their effectiveness and survival in foreign contexts.

2. Models for Understanding Intercultural Sensitivity in Context

To help further understand teachers' pedagogies and practices, this study has sought Bennett's Developmental Model of Intercultural Sensitivity (DMIS) to explain the level of intercultural sensitivity teachers displayed in various aspects of their teaching and views and admissions generated in the data. The DMIS is a continuum of six stages that describes the underlying worldview of individuals in their progress to intercultural sensitivity. The three stages at the lower end of the continuum are the ethnocentric stages of *denial*, *defence* and *minimisation*, while the other three at the higher end of the continuum are the ethnorelative stages of *acceptance*, *adaptation*, and *integration* (figure 1).

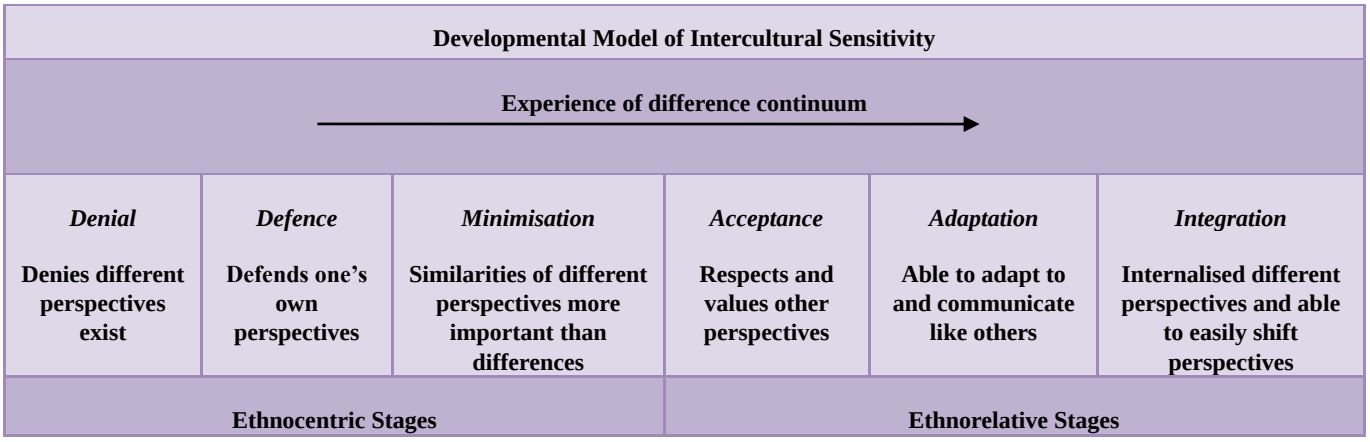

Figure 1. Developmental model of intercultural sensitivity (Bennett 1993)

Bennett (1993) proposes that such a description makes intercultural sensitivity possible to empirically measure. However, for this study, the theoretical conceptualisation of intercultural sensitivity in the DMIS and its stage descriptions will be used as a conceptual frame of reference for interpretations of intercultural sensitivity and its relationship with teacher practices.

Another model which is directly applicable and specifically designed for the foreign language teaching context is Byram's (1997) *model of intercultural communicative competence*. Based on the assumptions that individuals cannot know everything about everyone, and everyone is always changing, Byram, Gribkova and Starkey (2002) argue that five components of intercultural competence become important and necessary for linguistic competence, which I take to include the foreign language teacher's own linguistic competence as well as that of the learners. Byram's (1997) model identifies five such dimensions: *Intercultural Attitudes*, which describes curiosity and openness, readiness to suspend disbelief about other cultures and beliefs about one's own; *Knowledge* of social groups and their products and practices in one's own and in one's interlocutor's country, and of the general processes of societal and individual interaction; *Skills of interpreting and relating* which is being able to interpret a document or event from another culture, to explain it and relate it to documents or events from one's own; *Skills of discovery and interaction* which is having the ability to acquire new knowledge of a culture and cultural practices and the ability to operate knowledge, attitudes and skills under the constraints of real-time communication and interaction; and lastly, *Critical cultural awareness* which is the ability to evaluate, critically and on the basis of explicit criteria, perspectives, practices and products in one's own and other cultures and countries.

Byram's model has been at the forefront of intercultural language education and core for the *Common European Framework of Reference for Languages* which provides the guidelines and standards for language teaching, learning and assessment (Byram, Gribkova & Starkey 2002). This model will be used as a reference guide to understand the level of intercultural communicative competence (ICC) skills teachers show in their practices and also the awareness of, and importance they give, to ICC teaching methodology.

3. Methodology

The context of the study was a university in Saudi Arabia where issues of intercultural sensitivity arose during the researchers work there creating an opportunity for further investigation. The approach taken to investigate this phenomenon reflects Tsui's (2003) position that teachers' knowledge should 'be understood in terms of the way they respond to their contexts of work' (p. 64). Hence, a qualitative approach was deemed most appropriate as primary interest was in human behaviour, attitudes and experience. The methods used to generate data for this study were audio recorded focus groups interviews and follow-up interviews, video recorded classroom observations and diary entries. Teachers were provided with an information sheet about the research and its importance as well as consent forms to participate. There were a total of 19 expatriate teachers who voluntarily participated in the study and they came from the US, UK, Jordan, Malaysia, Sudan, Philippines, Morocco, and Pakistan. Three of these teachers had a Christian background, while the remainder were Moslem who shared their students' faith. To maintain the anonymity of participants, teachers were given pseudonyms in the analysis

to reflect their cultural back-ground to help further understand how their native culture may influence their teaching. All interview and observation data were transcribed and a soft copy of all the data was imported for analysis into the Nvivo software. A total of 55 themes were identified and upon further analysis, this figure was reduced to 16 themes which fell into 4 clusters. Proceeding is an analysis of the teacher's accounts and experience cluster used as a basis to understand their frames of reference for intercultural sensitivity.

4. Intercultural sensitivity indicators

While some studies have used the theoretical descriptions of the DMIS to psychometrically measure intercultural sensitivity (Hammer & Bennett 1998), the approach in this study is to identify indicators of the DMIS stages that teachers displayed during this research. In other words, teachers' behaviours, actions and statements relating to intercultural sensitivity can be taken as indicators of the intercultural sensitivity frame teachers are operating from based on the stage descriptions of the DMIS. In what follows, I refer to the DMIS stage indicators as intercultural sensitivity indicators. These indicators are important to identify as they allow us to make sense of and interpret the teachers' intercultural sensitivity frame as it plays out in the ELT context. More specifically, how teachers handled the intercultural incidents they reported during teaching will indicate the intercultural sensitivity frame they operated from. Since it would be considered impossible for an expatriate teacher to be in *denial* of other worldviews since choosing to be immersed in another culture, and no teacher in the study exhibited such extreme ethnocentric frames of reference, the following data analysis begins at the second stage of *defence*.

4.1 Defence

Bennett, Bennett and Allen (2003) describe individuals with a defensive mindset as not only having an 'us-and-them' attitude, but likely to engage in denigration as well such as belittling and stereotyping. Teachers in this study displayed various forms of denigration, the main ones being vilification, mockery and negative stereotyping. The data also indicate that a number of teachers had a sense of cultural superiority and an inclination for avoiding other cultures. Others tended to defend Saudi culture based on the threats they perceived that Western culture posed to them or their students. Some further saw engaging students in Western culture as burdensome. Many of these intercultural sensitivity indicators were most apparent during incidents relating to topics considered taboo, notably dating.

4.1.1 Denigration of Other Cultures

Teachers had a number of ways of displaying denigration of other cultures. One of these was vilification which was mainly used by Moslem teachers concerning aspects of Western culture. For example, some of Sohail's comments denigrated Western culture based on instances of dating in the textbooks:

> my students ... were all convinced that this is something very bad. We shouldn't adopt these things in our culture. These are below the human level ... *alhamdulilah* (thank God) we have got [a] very good culture; our culture is the best one (Sohail).

In Sohail's examination of exposure to such topics, he commented that his students were convinced that such cultural aspects were 'something very bad'. He went further to show solidarity with his students, whose religion and many aspects of culture he shared, by vilifying such aspects of Western culture saying they were 'below human level'. Similarly, Saeed said in one of the focus groups that topics such as dating and Western forms of social gatherings were 'dirty' and he considered teaching such content was a 'dirty thing' to do:

> I'm not going to be the one who is doing the 'dirty thing' [partying and the social life of the West] … I couldn't find one linguistic advantage … in doing these activities or topics [with the students] (Saeed).

He also claimed that he saw not a single 'linguistic advantage' for his students in the topics about Western social gatherings, implying that such topics were without value as teaching material. In effect, his own intercultural sensitivity frame, specifically his attitudinal frame, was a key factor in his inability to see any linguistic value in the topic at hand. In contrast however, other teachers saw taboo topics as a teaching opportunity for engaging students in other cultures and developing their intercultural sensitivity skills:

> I find ... too much censorship ... really ... puts them off and sometimes you bring an issue, a hot issue for instance and suddenly you find the whole class ... really erupts and then everybody wants to get involved ... the dormant are alive and everybody's participating (Amir).

Denigration in regard to the topic of dating based on Western culture also came in the form of mockery. Dania admitted to having a habit of making sarcastic comments like '*Mash'Allah*' (literally '*if god wills*', but used more in a pragmatic way of saying '*wow!*') and 'isn't that nice!' on various occasions, such as when a boyfriend proposed to his girlfriend in a reading text.

> So, when the sentence talked about the boyfriend asking his girlfriend to marry him while they were on a date, I immediately said, '*Masha'Allah*' and they erupted in laughter because they knew that I didn't approve … I simply responded with, 'Isn't that nice' (Dania).

This would often cause the laughter she intended among her students. These episodes and reactions of the teacher were not isolated, as Dania admits her class had become used to hearing her sarcastic comments. In other instances, Dania emphasised that she shared the same view as her students in a show of solidarity against Western culture and did whatever she 'could to let them know that':

> I did whatever I could to let them know that I am with them, in this case. As I mentioned, this was a topic on which we shared a common belief (Dania).

Empathy towards other cultures is indicative of *adaptation*, but Dania's empathy was with her students and their denigration of Western

culture, and she showed no ability to view the topic from a Western or an intercultural understanding.

Another action indicative of the *defence* stage of intercultural sensitivity is the negative stereotyping engaged in by some teachers. Azzam, for example, based his classroom discussions about Western culture stereotypically on 'dating', which was taboo in his and his students' cultures, 'Yeah, we are basing everything on dating and everything'. Azzam judged the whole of Western culture just on the single aspect of dating as portrayed in the textbooks. Because dating was a recurring theme in some of the English textbooks, holding stereotypical views about Western culture may have been a way to control the topic. Kumaravadivelu (2003) explains that one of the reasons why English teachers stereotype is because it helps them 'reduce unmanageable reality to a manageable level' (p. 716). Similarly, Saeed, when speaking about curriculum visions, noted that the vision should include the removal of what he called 'phony' topics that permeated the syllabus to ones more manageable, 'We will clean it from all those phony little topics' (Saeed).

A particularly strong example of negative stereotyping, and an illustration of why Swedish teachers warn against 'allowing teaching to become too coloured by the teacher's own views' (Larzen-Ostermark 2008), occurred during one of Saeed's observed lessons. He took the opportunity, when speaking about the text on 'saving penguins', to generalise Western people as having 'no value' and as killers. He implored students to understand the text from the perspective that Westerners showed more care and value to penguins than they did to other human beings, such as those in Palestine and Africa, and that the history of the white settlers in Australia, New Zealand and America attested to a nature of violent killings of indigenous people.

> People like the Palestinians dying in Gaza; nobody helps them. But the penguins, oh that's fine we're gonna help the penguins … Humans we kill them ... we let them starve. But people, they have no value … You can actually know the history of Australia [and] how they happened to exist, you will start thinking. The first people who were there they were criminals (Saeed).

He was painting a very ugly picture of Westerners, warning against them and their values and telling students not to believe nice stories. Although his students may not have adopted his views of Westerners, he deliberately promoted his defensive intercultural sensitivity frame to his students, strongly colouring his teaching and pleading that they view such texts from his perspective, which he saw as entirely correct.

> And they started killing the Aborigines. You know the Aborigines of Australia? You know them? Where are they? The people who lived in Australia before the white people, where are they? The people who lived in New Zealand before the white people, where are they? The people who lived in America before the white people, where are they? … They can live in their habitat ... that's how we should see these things. Don't let them fool you with this (Saeed).

In his interview, Jake, being one of the few non-Moslems at the site, did the reverse of Saeed. His negative generalisations were directed at the host culture, based on some of his experiences of the Saudi context. For example, Jake generalised that, 'laziness and lack of attention to detail' could be ascribed to 'Saudi society' and not just be special characteristics of students (Jake). This reflects Kumaradivelu's (2003) point that when students' fail to interact or engage in class in the way expected by the teacher, teachers are often ready to explain their behaviour 'in terms of culture and cultural stereotypes' (p. 717). Furthermore, Jake's comments that he was a 'guest worker and a valuable one', and that on account of being a native English speaker he was 'more educated and in a position of respect and authority' not only involved denigration, but an assumption of superiority as well:

> Well I am older, more educated, and in the position of respect and authority. Actually it is the responsibility of the students to be interculturally sensitive to me. As a guest worker, and a valuable one, it is the responsibility of admin to be interculturally sensitive to me (Jake).

Due to his perceived language and cultural superiority, he considered that it was the responsibility of students and the administration 'to be interculturally sensitive' to him and not the reverse. In other words, the context should adapt to him. This attitude is quite opposite to Hofstede's views on teachers who teach in foreign countries. Hofstede (1986) maintains that it is incumbent on teachers to adapt to their teaching environments as the process of *adaptation* itself is one of the elements required for intercultural sensitivity (p. 301). This view of teachers adapting to their teaching contexts is also put forward by Holliday (1994). In this light, the value to a Saudi university of a teacher like Jake, who expects the context to adapt to him and has the added tendency to denigrate the host culture and assert cultural superiority, is questionable.

4.1.2 Avoiding Contact with Inner Circle Culture

The pedagogical choice of avoiding contact with the mainly Inner Circle (Western) culture of speakers as presented in the textbooks was another way teachers indicated a defensive intercultural sensitivity frame. Bennett, Bennett & Allen (2003) do not detail avoidance as an aspect of *defence*; however, I would argue that, given my data, it could well so be detailed. I base my argument on avoidance being a less extreme but related version of isolation, which is a feature characteristic of the *denial* stage. According to Bennett, Bennett and Allen (2003), mindsets in the *denial* stage, prior to the *defence* stage, maintain that there is only one view of the world, and that is their own. They either isolate or separate themselves from other people to maintain that state of mind. However, the teachers in this study were unable to isolate themselves from Western culture given the teaching material they were using to teach, which is replete with Western culture, whilst also including other cultures. They could not deny it, but they could, and did, take steps to avoid it, as discussed in detail below:

> consciously or unconsciously now, we've been guilty of teaching ... [English] cultural values ... deliberate [or] ... not ... it is there

> [and] ... a fact. Being … English teacher[s] … we have accepted ... the culture … coming through [the] language and we are teaching it (Khan).

Teachers demonstrated different degrees and types of avoidance: some would totally avoid whole texts about an aspect of culture considered taboo, while others would merely avoid particular words. In a lesson in the textbook about the topic of being in love (see Section 4.1.1 above), Saeed sought to justify his total avoidance of the topic because he 'saw no linguistic value' in it and he believed his 'students would not respond to such topics'. In contrast, instead of talking about dating, Amjad chose to retain the textbook's original text and modified it to a theme about meeting a friend:

> I'll give you one example. There [wa]s one unit about dating. So I didn't talk about dating; rather, I used the same language and the same structures for meeting a friend (Amjad).

Suhaimi on the other hand, substituted only the word alcohol, a drink forbidden in Islam, with something the students could relate to more:

> normally, what I do is I would change the words ... for example ... wine or alcohol or liquor, I would definitely change and adapt them [with] ... other words to suit ... the ... culture (Suhaimi).

Both Amjad and Suhaimi thus demonstrated what I would call 'partial avoidance' of aspects common to Western culture, whereas Saeed's choice of substituting a whole text deemed to promote Western culture with a topic unrelated to culture – 'we could talk about the environment; we could talk about different types of energy' – demonstrates a position of 'absolute avoidance'. This extreme position was evidently a personal choice as his justifications were not shared by other teachers most like him, namely those who were Moslems and shared many aspects of their students' culture. No other teacher in this study sought to justify any censorship on the basis that they saw no 'linguistic value' in the original learning material, even though it may have been known to be taboo in their own and their students' culture. Saeed's 'absolute avoidance' intercultural sensitivity frame is further evidenced in one of his curriculum visions (Section 4.1.1 above) where he envisioned that themes deemed to promote Western culture should be 'cleaned' out and replaced with themes about the 'environment, energy and science and technology', uncontroversial themes that would do little in developing students' intercultural skills. By contrast, Amjad's and Suhaimi's 'partial avoidance' processes can be said to be related to what made more sense to the students and what was more real and applicable in their immediate lives. In these examples, teachers exposed students to the original texts but linked them to the students' own culture whilst, unlike Saeed, keeping open the door of opportunity for intercultural skills development. Their pedagogy points to what Sowden (2007) explains as a meaningful platform negotiated by teachers and students where interaction is not dominated by one party, but is equal, and language is modified for the needs and priorities of both teachers and students; Canagarajah (1999) is a key proponent of this view.

A further understanding of avoidance of Inner Circle and Western culture could be taken from the underlying reasons given for it by the teachers:

> consciously or unconsciously now, we've been guilty of teaching ... [English] cultural values ... deliberate [or] ... not ... it is there [and] ... a fact … indoctrination of those cultural values which are not our own (Khan).

Teachers said they felt guilty engaging students in Inner Circle culture and believed that such culture teaching amounted to indoctrination. McKay (2002) notes that considering English is an international language, learners need not 'internalise the cultural norms of Inner Circle countries', which provides a position from which Saeed's and Khan's concerns could be addressed. Both teachers were at the forefront of the indoctrination arguments and expressed a sense of guilt for exposing students to Inner Circle culture as many aspects of it were incompatible with Islam; they considered it to be 'polluting' the mind. However, a deeper look is needed into the justifications teachers gave for such views. Saeed mentions not wanting 'to be the one instigating' and 'tempting' the students, referring to cultural aspects he considered his students 'would not relate to or dream of'. This attribution was a clear generalisation, which is a typical indicator of a defensive intercultural sensitivity frame. This assessment that Saeed's view about aspects of Western culture originated from his own views and not his students is corroborated by an account given by Azzam where he expressed surprise at the passivity of students regarding taboo material he tried to avoid.

> I have noticed off and on over the past few days that whenever a unit is preceded by a musical tone, [a] few of my students start moving rhythmically. They never express themselves yet there is something they want to take some liberty with. ... a passive response toward music (Azzam).

His students did not display negative attitudes towards such content nor seem threatened by it. Furthermore, Khan stated that students displayed acceptance to aspects of Western culture generally considered taboo in Saudi culture:

> All these photos, and students' somewhat 'cold' response[s] suggests that they are no more culturally sensitive ... they don't react. I mean, it's just as if it's very normal (Khan).

Thus, it can be concluded that any claim that the students could not relate to such aspects of Western culture is based on the intercultural sensitivity frame of the teachers themselves. This point suggests a change in culture among the younger population in Saudi Arabia confirming DeCapua and Wintergerst's (2004) account that culture is not static but dynamic and develops over time (p. 12). Cultural aspects traditionally known to be taboo currently appear to be accepted by some students, indicating that culture within the Saudi context is changing and Western cultural content is not seen as a threat by all. As a result, the view that Western culture was indoctrination which

needed to be avoided can be seen as a veil used to conceal the teacher's own intercultural sensitivity frame which was felt to be under threat.

Another justification for avoiding Inner Circle culture was given by one of the Filipino non-Moslem teachers who had similar views about taboo topics to some of the Moslem teachers. Corey explains that taboo topics were a pedagogical risk involving 'explaining more and talking more'; meaning a teacher would be required to exert more energy and effort explaining foreign cultural elements to Saudi students than teaching the language, and hence it was better to just avoid them.

> particularly the taboos. This is something that I don't want to get entangled with ... [I] don't want to tempt the students [by] exposing them because in the end ... you would ... [have] some ... difficulties explaining more and talking more about these issues because they would be more interested [in] that (Corey).

Academics such as Omaggio-Hadley (1993) point out the challenges of engaging students in culture because it essentially requires teachers to lead learners to different frames of reference (cited in Phillips, 2001, p. 4). Sowden (2007) also sees the challenge of addressing culture in ELT, and because its concern is predominantly for method, it 'places a huge burden on the shoulder of the teacher' (p. 306). Ultimately, a clear reason for viewing these topics as burdensome pedagogical risks which need to be avoided is the reduced time available for students to practise English themselves.

Azzam spoke about his perceived success in having learnt English without its culture, which convinced him that students did not 'need to be taught about English or American cultures':

> I've been trying to learn without having to know English culture itself you see. I've never had the need to know culture. I think the same goes for Saudi students; they don't ... need [to] be taught about English or American cultures. Things can be done without that, absolutely! (Azzam)

Thus in effect, his avoidance of foreign culture was seen as something that the students could emulate and learn from, adopting a similar stance in their acquisition of the English language. His intercultural sensitivity frame provides a reason for his surprise at the reaction of his students when he was trying to avoid some musical tracks in an audio material used in his teaching; the students, despite being Moslem like him, did show interest in music. Thus, although he may have tried to avoid the musical tracks because music was generally considered taboo in Saudi Arabia, his avoidance seems more related to his own defensive intercultural sensitivity frame than to sensitivity towards his students. This is corroborated in an incident (see above) where he admitted that a number of students expressed interest and insisted on the musical tracks being played, while the rest of the students were passive and not offended by it; an event which endorses Guest's (2002) and Stadler's (2018) beliefs that people do not always 'support, defend, and fully manifest the mandates of their own cultures' (p. 159 & p. 2 respectively).

Although it is difficult to conclude through the actions of the teachers whether avoidance was for the reason for their own sense of superiority or for sensitivity towards their learners, it can be seen that the teachers who denigrated the culture of Western speakers, as discussed in the previous section, also avoided it for defensive reasons.

In addition, some teachers conscious of Saudi culture believed it was also sound pedagogy to remove teaching materials that contradicted Saudi culture. Jake mentions resorting to an avoidance pedagogy if students 'clam up' when exposed to cultural material; thus it was better to avoid them.

> if the students are interested and engaged with the material ... [and] discussed it, it was appropriate ... if they clam up or become offended ... [or] were silent, it was inappropriate … I don't use them/ discuss them (Jake).

Although he was one of the few non-Moslem teachers in this study, his practice was seen as defensive of Saudi culture. Sensing a threat to his students' cultural identity, which Paige (1993) identifies as one of the six risks in teaching culture, he did not attempt to engage his students in such material and as a result, his avoidance strategy is justified for the preservation of his students' culture.

4.1.3 Summary: Indicators of a Defensive Intercultural Sensitivity Frame

This section has detailed the teachers' practices that indicated the various dimensions of a *defence* stage of intercultural sensitivity as described in the DMIS. Although Murray and Christison (2011) maintain that there are a number of factors which affect teaching, elements shaping the views of teachers seem to be the main factors affecting the *defence* dimensions described. These are summarised in Figure 2 below.

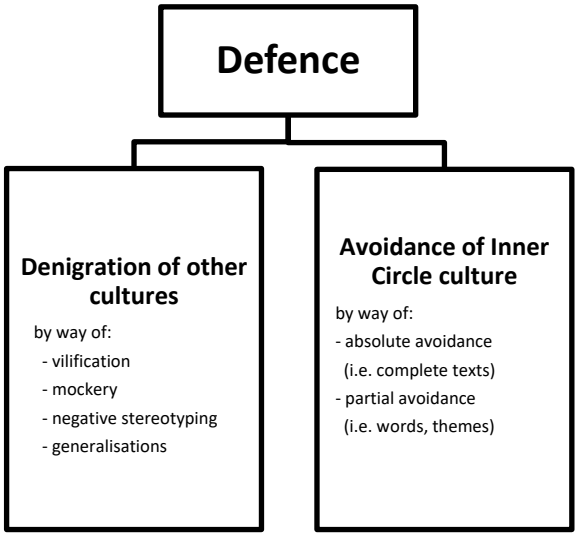

Figure 2. Indicators of a defensive intercultural sensitivity frame in this study

Based on the stage descriptions of the DMIS, these intercultural sensitivity indicators seen through the practices and statements of the teachers demonstrate that their three-fold intercultural sensitivity frames are firmly ethnocentric. At the same time, the intercultural sensitivity indicators show that some teachers were either not aware or conscious of, or were actively avoiding developing their students' ICC skills. As a result, one point becomes clear about the teachers' intercultural sensitivity frames – one of the five components of Byram's (1997) model of ICC, intercultural attitudes, was not being addressed through their classroom practices. Teachers with such defensive intercultural sensitivity frames were not seen to exhibit the basic intercultural attitudes of curiosity and openness, nor did they have the readiness to suspend disbeliefs about other cultures and their own. Such teachers – Saeed, for example, through his pedagogies of avoidance and choice of substitutions – evidently attributed little significance to teaching English for the purposes of ICC; a competence which has been identified by Byram (1997) and many others (such as Buttjes 1990) as crucial to language competence in our globalised world.

Such defensive intercultural sensitivity frames bring into question these participants' competency as language teachers for two reasons. The first is the apparent unconscious realisation of the extent to which their intercultural sensitivity frames influence their teaching. The second, which is a consequence of the first, is the apparent lack of intercultural skills development they are giving their students. Such development has been deemed an important and guiding part of language learning (Bennett, Bennett & Allen 2003; Byram, Gribkova & Starkey 2002; Kramsch 1993; Phillips 2001), a language standard in many of today's language curriculums (Bennett, Bennett & Allen 2003; Byram, Gribkova and Starkey 2002; Lange 2003; Phillips 2001), and crucial for communication in today's increased border-crossing world (Byram, Gribkova and Starkey 2002; Larzen-Ostermark 2008). Furthermore, a prerequisite for assisting the students intercultural skills is the 'teachers' own intercultural competence' (Larzen-Ostermark 2008, p. 528) which is seen to be scarce for the teachers who indicated dimensions of *defence*.

Such defensive intercultural sensitivity frames impinged on teachers' practices as well as on their students' ICC development and ultimately their language; indeed it can be concluded that a defensive intercultural sensitivity frame can in fact reduce the scope of English language development made available to students. Furthermore, and importantly, this finding clearly confirms the reality that many academics such as Kramsch (1993), Duff and Uchida (1997), Byram, Gribkova and Starkey (2002), and Liddicoat (2006) identify regarding how teachers' intercultural sensitivity indeed affects their teaching, and how teachers are quite often unaware of the cultural messages they transmit during their teaching. Equally important is that any attempt to develop students' language skills to include ICC skills cannot be achieved if the teachers themselves lack these skills. Therefore, the teachers' intercultural skills are considered a prerequisite for any teaching that aims to develop students' intercultural communication skills.

4.2 Minimisation

The last ethnocentric stage of the DMIS, *minimisation*, is described by Bennett, Bennett and Allen (2003) as a state where individuals minimise differences between cultures and acknowledge the universal similarities between all people. Instead of resorting to avoidance of cultural materials as did those teachers who had a defensive intercultural sensitivity frame, a number of teachers in this study made efforts to engage students actively with such foreign cultural materials. To do this, teachers displayed several forms of *minimisation*, the main one being normalising culture and simultaneously initiating contrasts between the students' culture and others. Teachers usually stressed the universality of cultural items and pointed out how they appeared differently across cultures. Some teachers also displayed another feature indicative of *minimisation* – the evaluation of Western culture in a non-negative way.

4.2.1 Normalising Differences and Contrasting

Even though the English curriculum was replete with taboo topics, some teachers chose to normalise such topics and engage their students in them. For example, despite Dania's students' display of 'shock' to the topic of 'courtship', she persisted in trying to explain it 'in Saudi terms'. In effect, she was able to minimise differences because she presented 'courtship' as a topic in which people 'all shared a common belief'; in other words, it was a topic that, although viewed differently across cultures, was fundamentally universal and part of every culture.

> As I mentioned, this was a topic on which we shared a common belief. However, I found that I had to explain 'courtship' in terms related to their own culture. I told them that while courtship in Saudi Arabia is vastly different from what we read, it does exist. So, they sat attentively while I tried to explain courtship in Saudi terms. I believe they appreciated that (Dania).

Therefore, how such elements are viewed in different cultures was a matter of interest rather than of concern as it was for those teachers who displayed a defensive intercultural sensitivity frame in regard to such topics. With a minimisation intercultural sensitivity frame, engaging students in these topics was not seen as problematic, but rather as important for ICC development.

Although Maheer did not detail what he meant by exploiting cultural materials 'in the best possible manner', he clearly did not see value in avoidance, but instead valued some form of engagement in such materials:

> we are not just simply ... teachers ... we are the[ir] guides. I have to tell them what's right or wrong. We have to exploit the particular text in the best possible manner. That's essential (Maheer).

Among the teachers in this study, Amir was at the forefront in terms of emphasising the importance of preparing students for the 'globalised world'. He spoke about the degrees of intercultural sensitivity teachers needed to have in order to deal with students who were predominately ethnocentric:

> they're happy to be ethnocentric, so be it. I think as ... teachers ... we know much better than that, because we know the world is a different place, so we really have to prepare them ... if they were in that situation, then how are they going to deal with it. Are they going to accept the other or not? ... It is ... incumbent [we] introduce ... and prepare them [for] the ... globalised ... world (Amir).

To him, such ethnocentrism was problematic as it would impinge on the students' intercultural skills, which he saw as importantly required in today's globalised world, as advocated by Byram (1994) and Larzen-Ostermark (2008). He explained that his method for developing the students' intercultural communication skills was by speaking about the universality of cultural elements. Amir believed that most cultural topics that were taboo in Saudi culture could be normalised by an explanation about their universality. In other words as mentioned by Smith, Paige and Steglitz (2003), normalisation through reconstructing reality involves constant negotiation and renegotiation of meaning (p. 97). In commenting about 'dating', Amir stressed that the key for intercultural development was exposure.

> dating happens here in [the] Moslem world as well ... the shape is different. I mean, it's still dating and they can engage and go out to eat, etc … besides, they ... know about the concept of dating quite well. So we're not going to have a smokescreen to try to cover everything that's there already. So exposure is key for them to understand and ... if they were to go to another country ... they're not going to feel like black sheep. So it's crucial to expose them to English [and] ... foreign culture for that matter (Amir).

Hence, even though dating in Inner Circle and Western cultures may seem offensive, he did not avoid it, but rather pointed out to students that there exists a Saudi form of dating (reconstructing another reality), even though its form is very different from the one that appears in the English curriculum, which is largely based on Inner Circle and Western cultures. In essence, his minimisation intercultural sensitivity frame was displayed through the importance he placed on engaging students in taboo topics because, according to him, most taboo topics existed in a different 'shape' in Saudi society. Such engagement entails not only retaining the topic as part of the curriculum, instead of avoiding it, but deliberately showing similarities and contrasts with the students' own culture and involving students in reflection on meaning.

How teachers behaved and responded to the antagonistic reactions of students to cultural materials on taboo topics also gave an indication of the intercultural sensitivity frames of teachers. Smith, Paige and Steglitz (2003) identify some of the risks teaching culture can have, one of which is the threat to the students' cultural identity (p. 117). One such example was an incident that Khan recalled about the erection of tombs:

> I was talking about people erecting tombs … and this was something which was rather unacceptable for the students here in Saudi Arabia. And some of them really … were very aggressive … they were asking… 'Do they read at night? Why do they write these things?' So I tried to calm them down and ... tried to convince them that [that was] a different culture. Whether Islamic or un-Islamic, that's another debate … this is something which doesn't exist here in this society … something which they just couldn't accept and digest (Khan).

Khan found his students displaying defensive mindsets by not only expressing their rejection of such a concept despite it being part of many cultures, but being 'aggressive' as well, since it was against their beliefs. When his students went further and began mocking, Khan responded by explaining that it was the culture of the people that allowed them to see the concept differently from the students and it was their way of revering their dead. For him, the universality of burying and showing respect for the dead was the appropriate way of viewing the topic, while the question of whether such ways were Islamic or not he saw as a separate issue. This approach of calming

down his students, and opening their minds to different cultural ways of showing respect for the dead, indicated a minimisation intercultural sensitivity frame towards the topic. This is in contrast to his defensive intercultural sensitivity frame in regard to other aspects of how he perceived the politics of the English language:

> … indoctrination of those cultural values which are not our own … Being … English teacher[s] … we have accepted ... the culture … coming through [the] language and we are teaching it (Khan).

Teachers such as those already referred to in this section saw cultural materials as viable curriculum components, since engaging students in taboo topics was viewed as an important pedagogical tool for developing language and intercultural skills. While defensive minded teachers engaged in various types of censorship or substitution in order to avoid offending students (or the threat to their own worldview), these teachers saw such pedagogy as problematic in that it failed to confront students' ethnocentrism. Maher, for example, questioned the legitimacy of avoiding offensive material, instancing the word 'alcohol':

> And if you're going to skip each and everything, how will the students come to know about reality because they will never come to know what alcohol is (Maheer).

He, like Amjad and Amir, did not view it as sound pedagogy to avoid such materials. They considered their classes were not the only places where students were exposed to such materials, and therefore, not only was there no reason to feel guilty about exposing students to them, but students actually needed to be taught how to think about them. Their views saw culture not as mere information but as a process; as academics advocate (Bendassolli 2016; Crawford & McLaren 2003; Damon 2003). Thus, these teachers saw the whole topic of culture in English teaching as central to their teaching. As Safia emphasised, 'culture should never be an issue in language teaching,' but an 'opportunity' instead:

> So a culture should never be an issue in language teaching. It should be an opportunity; a resource that you can practice the skills with. You can turn to the culture, use it for discussions in speaking classes (Safia)

Such views demonstrate a distinct contrast with the defensive intercultural sensitivity frames, where defensive minded teachers saw the legitimacy and soundness of what could be called 'an avoidance pedagogy'. Teachers such as Safia saw no value in avoidance, but instead saw value and opportunity in discussing cultural issues for the purpose of developing their students' language and intercultural skills. They saw legitimacy in what I would call 'an engagement pedagogy', similar to what Larzen-Ostermark (2008) terms 'pedagogy of encounter', and their pedagogical choices and preferences for dealing with culture in English teaching thus indicate aspects of minimisation.

4.2.2 Non-negative Evaluations of Culture

A number of teachers and students demonstrated intercultural sensitivity frame differences in their evaluations of the same cultural aspect. These differences were distinctive for Moslem teachers who shared their students' religion. For example, Saeed recalled an incident where a student 'walked out' of a class because of some background music that was being played in a video about the 'human brain':

> But automatically he heard that soundtrack music; no voice, no singing; nothing. Just the usual soundtrack music that you would hear in any documentary when you just see the pictures and there is no narrative. And he just walked out (Saeed).

Despite being a Moslem like the student, Saeed did not view the background music as forbidden. Although he admitted trying to normalise the exercise by directing the student to focus on listening to the vocabulary that was being used as the background music was not the objective of the video, the student did not waver in his view and left the class:

> I [said], 'it's not the music, I want you to listen and watch so you can actually remember some vocabulary and then we'll discuss it later.' He said, 'No, there is music in it, I can't, it's *haram*', and he just walked out (Saeed).

This incident demonstrated that differences in mindsets existed and that there were 'personal schemas at play' in the classroom (Guest 2002, p. 157).

4.2.3 Summary: Indicators of a Minimisation Intercultural Sensitivity Frame

This section has detailed the teachers' practices that indicated various dimensions of a *minimisation* stage of intercultural sensitivity as described in the DMIS, and hence what I shall here call a minimisation intercultural sensitivity frame, as summarised in Figure 3 below.

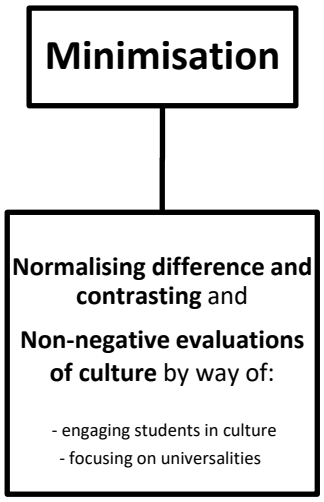

Figure 3. Indicators of a minimisation intercultural sensitivity frame in this study

These indicators, seen through the practices and statements of the teachers, demonstrate that *minimisation* was a characteristic stage of intercultural sensitivity for many of the teachers in the sample. For one teacher it was also shown to occur alongside a more defensive intercultural sensitivity frame. Some of these teachers showed consciousness of developing their students' ICC skills as it was seen to be crucial for today's globalised world. Based on the five components of Byram's (1997) model of ICC, it can be said these teachers displayed positive attitudes towards ICC. Normalising culture, by minimising differences and initiating contrasts, demonstrates what Byram, Gribkova and Starkey (2002) describe as a 'willingness to relativise one's own values, beliefs and behaviours' which they also called the 'ability to decentre' (p. 7); meaning that teachers understand that there are other perspectives besides their own. Such intercultural attitudes, according to Byram, Gribkova and Starkey (2002), are the foundations of intercultural competence, and hence the teachers whose practices indicated a minimisation intercultural sensitivity frame showed they had the foundations of intercultural competence themselves which could be passed on to their students.

4.3 Acceptance

Acceptance is the first of the ethnorelative stages in the DMIS, and Bennett, Bennett & Allen (2003) describe it as the stage where individuals begin to understand that their view of the world is just one of a complex many. Without necessarily endorsing others, individuals both accept and respect the behaviours and values of others. Teachers in this study indicated their acceptance of other cultures through various understandings of other cultures and statements about the pedagogies for intercultural communication skills development. Distinctively, these teachers displayed more developed intercultural sensitivity frames than seen. These included judging culture by its own context which included an understanding of the normalcy for people of other cultures to have their own unique worldviews, and the importance context plays in understanding and making sense of people's behaviours and values. Teachers also showed how important they believed exposing students to different cultures was, as well as promoting an understanding of how cultural knowing differences operate.

4.3.1 Judging Culture by Its Own Context

In discussions about censorship, some teachers in this study saw contrasting cultures as an important pedagogical tool for dealing with taboo topics. At a micro-level, these teachers in fact viewed the legitimacy of describing words based on the understanding of hyponyms. Unlike defensive minded teachers, who engaged in various types of substitution in order to avoid offending students, some teachers' choices for substitution were for the opposite reason; for confronting students' ethnocentrism. For example, Amir emphasised the pedagogical legitimacy of engaging students in cultural materials which they may have found offensive, like the fact that a 'beer' may be served instead of the traditional 'coke' at a McDonalds' store because that was the cultural beverage particular to a certain country:

> I mean talking about alcohol, for instance, it is mentioned in the Koran. And there is no problem if in one of the units, say for instance, McDonald's in one place, they serve beer with the meal instead of a coke (Amir).

In other words, teachers should be encouraged to teach students about judging cultures based on the actual contexts of them and not the Saudi ELT context, which Bennett, Bennett and Allen (2003) call behavioural and value relativism. Although Amir does not mean that students should accept the legitimacy of 'beer', as it is prohibited in Islam, but rather that they should accept the fact that it be seen as a legitimate and normal beverage in other cultures. This point is also emphasised by Hammer, Bennett and Wiseman (2003) who explain that acceptance of a culture does not mean agreement with it, but that it is not judged in a way that strips away equal humanity, in this case, the freedom to drink any beverage (p. 425). Thus, some of the micro-level pedagogies teachers used to engage students in culture, where the aims centred on judging cultures within their own contexts, were indications of *acceptance*.

4.3.2 Exposure to Different Cultures

Mindsets in the *minimisation* stage of intercultural sensitivity expect similarities when looking into other cultures, while those in the *acceptance* stage actually look for differences; these differences are seen as normal and desirable (Paige et al. 2003a, p. 471). In speaking about ways in which ICC can be addressed by a revised English curriculum, many teachers shared visions that indicated *acceptance* dimensions. For example, the idea of broadening English language lessons by using various media content from *National Geographic* was shared by a number of teachers as a way of expanding the students' knowledge of the world and its people:

> the thing that is shown on *National Geographic* about animals, about nature, even about laws in different countries. Some of these laws are very interesting, so they can compare these things with the ones in their own country (Khan).

Khan noted the potential for a source like *National Geographic* of not only broadening students' knowledge base about animals and nature, but about other people around the world and their 'laws' which students may find 'very interesting' and make contrasts with their own. The advantage of such sources, as Safia also shared, was that there existed students who were in genuine need of exposure to our 'world of culture' because they came to university with narrow minds, having had limited media exposure to one or two government TV channels:

> And you can open up a world of information to your students in the class; a world of culture. You could have (the) *National Geographic* website … *CNN* … Some of the students in the college, their family only has channel 1 and channel 2 on their TV. They do not even have cable. So they come with these very narrow ideas. Open up the world to them. (Safia).

Furthermore, with regard to ELT pedagogy in Saudi Arabia, Zarina supported the view about the importance of exposing students 'to different cultures and systems'. These visions indicated a belief that English language content about the world and its diverse communities was indeed beneficial to English learners. Because the world is a diverse place, they viewed it as incumbent on teachers to give students exposure to diverse cultures. This was not for the sake of showing how similar other cultures actually were to Saudi culture, but as Safia noted, 'to open up the world' to students by engaging them in other cultures to experience differences; to see how others viewed the world rather than what their own 'narrow minds' permitted. Effectively as noted by Curran and Stelluto (2005), an understanding of language to them meant more than just the acquisition of the 'linguistic forms' (p. 783). Their curriculum visions spoke of teachers' acceptance intercultural sensitivity frames where the actual engagement of students in culture was maintained to be a normal and desirable component of any English teaching pedagogy. It showed an understanding of the normalcy of difference and, as Khan noted, interest in difference as well.

Teachers considered that exposure to different cultures could be achieved through various sources. Zarina noted newspapers were an ideal source, while Safia believed access to various websites through the internet in class was ideal. Amir recommended a summer camp in a foreign country, because students needed to be taken 'out of their shells' and encouraged to experience a culture different to their own:

> Role-play, for instance ... where they can be exposed to different cultures and different way[s] of thinking and even accents … get them out of their shell ... and just put them in the midst of the culture ... and if I were to be ambitious, we could get the summer programs, for instance, we're going to send them overseas to interact with other people, other cultures (Amir).

He claimed that such a camp would be more beneficial because it would allow better exposure to 'different cultures and different ways of thinking', a view shared by Sowden (2007, p. 307). A call to get students 'out of their shell', which would technically allow the experience of their own culture in a different context, indicates an intercultural sensitivity frame that accepts and sees such contextual cultural experience as normal. The idea of putting students in such a position intended to encourage judgement of experienced differences within those contexts rather than within their own Saudi culture also indicates an appreciation of difference and cultural relativism which both are dimensions of the *acceptance* stage.

4.3.3 Promoting an Understanding of How Cultural Differences Operate

In speaking about some of the pedagogies that could be used to develop students' ICC, a number of teachers (Amir above) proposed that role-playing was an effective method. This view is also shared by Peck (1998) who describes it as a 'hands on' activity used to engage students in cultural exchanges. Safia in particular, gave details of what an effective way of utilising the potential the role-playing pedagogy had to offer language students; to her it would ideally be at the conclusion of what she termed 'a culture week'. She gave the example of students taking the roles of Chinese and Swedish speakers and asking them to respond, based on their new knowledge of these cultures, to certain situations; situations that would evidence knowledge of each culture's worldview and display behaviours and values relative to their contexts:

> You could have a culture week in the class if it is related to one of the topics in the book or you could just do it the first week of the semester where you spend one week just studying different cultures and then at the end of the week do some role-plays. Give them some courage and let two students work together in pairs in a situation. Say you are both Chinese now or one is Chinese and one is Swedish or something like this. You give them a situation and knowing what you know about that culture, how would that person react in that situation and let them do some role-plays in class (Safia).

From this example, Safia showed an understanding that differences individuals have with other cultures should be examined by the cultural standards within those groups and not the students' own culture.

4.3.4 Summary: Indicators of an Acceptance Intercultural Sensitivity Frame

This section has detailed the teachers' visions and practices that indicated the various dimensions of an acceptance intercultural sensitivity frame. These are summarised in Figure 4 below.

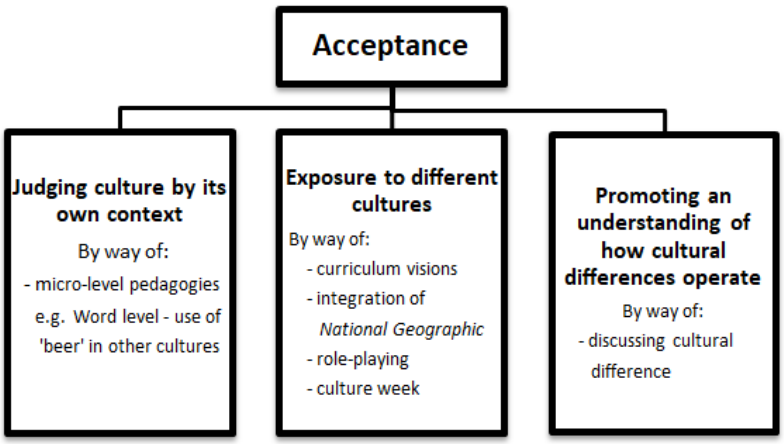

Figure 4. Indicators of an acceptance intercultural sensitivity frame in this study

These indicators seen through the curriculum visions and statements of the teachers demonstrate intercultural sensitivity frames reflecting the first ethnorelative stage of the DMIS. Such intercultural sensitivity frames value not only engaging students in culture by normalisation, but also building an understanding that culture be judged according to its context. Based on the five components of Byram's (1997) model of ICC, the skills of interpreting and relating are clearly apparent in teachers who indicated an acceptance intercultural sensitivity frame. According to Byram, Gribkova and Starkey (2002), these abilities relate to having an ability to judge cultures by their own contexts, and this was an ability teachers notably demonstrated in their visions, as well as some of their statements. As a result, it can be said that these teachers' intercultural sensitivity indicators showed developing students' ICC was integral for students in their own teaching practices.

4.4 Adaptation

The majority of the indicators of intercultural sensitivity in this study fall between the DMIS's descriptions of *defence* and *acceptance*. There are a few examples in the data, however, that show some practice of higher intercultural sensitivity stages, although these were limited to the dimension of empathy in the stage of *adaptation*.

4.4.1 Empathy

It is important to remember here that, according to Bennett (1993), it is not necessary that a person's intercultural sensitivity development progress in a one-way manner through the stages of the DMIS (pp. 26–27) as some individuals may skip stages and display aspects indicating higher intercultural sensitivity stages. Although some teachers had many indicators pointing to an intercultural sensitivity frame that floated around one particular stage of the DMIS, some did indicate aspects indicative of various intercultural sensitivity stages; Safia is one such example. In Safia's example about the role-playing proposal (see above Section 2.3.3), the pedagogical aim was not just about students demonstrating knowledge and understanding of different cultures, but about demonstrating intercultural ability and competence as well. In effect, her pedagogy, similar to Goldstein's (2007) 'performed ethnographies', was about encouraging students to empathise with people of other cultures and develop an ability through that to identify conflicts. This goes further than students accepting a culture's behaviours and values in relation to contexts, to shifting their mental perspective to that of an insider of a particular culture. This indicates Safia understood that to really understand and display cultural competence, empathy was integral. It would be difficult to conclude that Safia had the ability to shift her own intercultural sensitivity frame, but two points are worth noting about her. The first is that she did propose pedagogies that could help in high level intercultural sensitivity development through empathy. The second point is she is the only teacher who had specifically taken a class in 'intercultural teaching', 'I took a class in intercultural teaching' (Safia), and the data she provided quite possibly could partly be attributed to the benefits she obtained from that course. She demonstrated throughout this research, as seen in her statements and practices that appeared in the *acceptance* indicators (Section 4.3.2), a consistent ethnorelative intercultural sensitivity frame, unlike other teachers such as Saeed (Section 4.1.1), whose statements and practices consistently indicated a relatively ethnocentric intercultural sensitivity frame. This can be said to support Crawford and McLaren's (2003) point that a lack in basic training about teaching culture is one of the reasons why culture has been problematic for language teachers (p. 153).

Corey also practised empathy. For example, he refused to elaborate on a topic about kissing (Section 4.1.2) because it was 'not appropriate' in the students' culture and he did not 'want to tempt' them. Although he felt that the topic was a threat to his students' culture and hence avoided it, he analysed the issue through Saudi lenses. Being a non-Moslem, he displayed an ability to understand and judge culture through a perspective different from his own, showing an intercultural sensitivity frame that had empathy characteristics.

4.4.2 Summary: Indicators of an Adaptation Intercultural Sensitivity Frame

This section has detailed the teachers' visions and practices that indicated a dimension of an adaptation intercultural sensitivity frame as described in the DMIS. This is summarised in Figure 5 below.

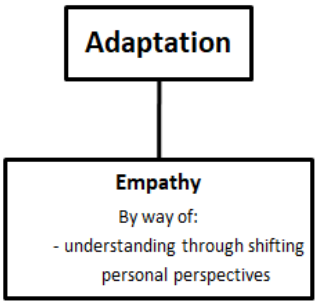

Figure 5. Indicators of an adaptation intercultural sensitivity frame in this study

Although the dimensions of *adaptation* in the DMIS are empathy and pluralism, the data show evidence only of empathy. It was also the highest stage of intercultural sensitivity indicated by teachers in this study. The intercultural sensitivity frame of these teachers indicated an ability to shift and understand different perspectives. It can also be said that such intercultural sensitivity frames generally support developing students' ICC skills during English instruction as teachers were seen to display competence in Byram's (1997) critical cultural awareness component of his model of ICC.

5. Synopsis

This paper has been about identifying the intercultural sensitivity indicators teachers' displayed through their behaviours, actions, and statements during the course of their teaching throughout the year of data generation. The data show that most of the actions and behaviours of teachers indicate intercultural sensitivity frames that reflect descriptions of the DMIS stages of *defence* and *minimisation*. By contrast, with the exception of a small number of cases, many of the stated views teachers put forward about pedagogy and ICC development in ELT indicate higher stages of intercultural sensitivity that reflect some of the dimensions of *acceptance* and *adaptation*. These indicators are summarised below in Table 1.

Table 1. Summary of intercultural sensitivity frame indicators and position of intercultural communicative competence in practices

IS	IS frames	IS indicators	Details of indicators	Position of ICC in practices
ETHNOCENTRISM	**Defence**	**Denigration of other cultures** **Avoidance of Inner Circle culture**	By way of: - vilification - mockery - negative stereotyping - generalisations By way of: - Absolute avoidance (i.e. complete texts) - Partial avoidance (i.e. words, themes)	No position indicated Showed no skills in ICC
	Minimisation	**Normalising difference and contrasting** and **Non-negative evaluations of culture**	By way of: - engaging students in culture - focusing on universalities positively - student defensive/teacher minimises	Somewhat positive position indicated Showed skills in • intercultural attitudes
ETHNORELATIVISM	**Acceptance**	**Judging culture by its own context** **Exposure to different cultures** **Promoting an understanding of how cultural differences operate**	By way of: - micro-level pedagogies By way of: - curriculum visions - integration of *National Geographic* - role-playing - culture week By way of: - discussing cultural difference	Positive position indicated Showed added skills in • knowledge • skills of interpreting and relating
	Adaptation	**Empathy**	By way of: - understanding through shifting personal perspectives	Positive position indicated Showed added skills in • critical cultural awareness

It should be noted that identifying the relationship between the teachers' intercultural sensitivity indicators and their position with regard to ICC in their practices is not about demonstrating how Byram's (1997) ICC model fits with the DMIS. Rather, it is about demonstrating how

some of the intercultural sensitivity indicators evidenced through the behaviours, statements and actions of teachers potentially show the positions teachers hold about ICC and its manifestation in their practices. From this summary, it can be seen that the more teachers demonstrated intercultural sensitivity through their behaviours, statements and practices, the more knowledge and skill they showed in regard to ICC in teaching.

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