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ABSTRACT

The research on the international and multicultural not-for-profit inter-organizational domain is examined to identify models for designing intercultural communication training to members of refugee camp populations, their host communities, and aid project participants. Three levels of training programs with the following objectives are described: (1) develop sufficient intercultural communication competence to prevent cross-cultural misunderstanding among specific groups involved in training; (2) develop intercultural communication competence for conflict resolution and mediation; and (3) develop intercultural communication competence for working within and across multicultural organizations and with semi-professionals and professionals from diverse, changing, and unpredictable cultural backgrounds. Each level of training includes the following components: (1) awareness raising; (2) attitude change; (3) skill development; and (4) stress coping. Together, the four sequential components of each program and three progressive program levels constitute an integral, holistic training program that uses a variety of training approaches, including the following: presentations; group discussions; storytelling; drawing; local dramas; role play; peer reactions and coaching; demonstrations; cooperative projects; stress-coping rituals; witness testimony; group and intergroup discussion; case study analysis; writing exercises; and mentoring. The training model is based on the premise that effective training for refugees and the individuals serving them requires extending the vision of organizational communication to encompass perimeter communities. There are 18 endnotes and 84 references. (MN)

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Organizational communication in refugee camp situations

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Introduction

The world's displaced population includes some 12 million refugees outside their country of origin, and a further 20-25 million internally displaced persons (IDPs) (United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), 2000: 2; Ogata, 2000: 41; Cohen and Deng, 1998:16-23, 29-30; Crossette 2000b). Countless others have been dislocated by deliberate alterations in land or water use (Cernea, 1990: 323, 331-333), mismanaged environmental impacts (Suhrke 1994), environmental warfare (Martin, 1997: 14) or by natural calamity. The human needs that result from the experience of forced and involuntary dislocation are of both an emergency and long-term nature.

The assistance context can be characterized by extreme cultural diversity, both in terms of the numbers of cultures drawn into contact as well as the cultural distance that separates them, and heightened "potential for miscommunication" (Cargile and Giles, 1996, p. 385). Even when the displaced are culturally homogeneous, the preferred approach to addressing needs in resource-scarce situations requires equal attention to their culturally different hosts.

The agencies responding to the needs of displaced persons including both international and local non-governmental organizations (NGOs), inter-governmental organizations (IGOs) and national ministries in countries of asylum, typically encompass multiple nationalities and emphasize linkages across organizational boundaries (Anderson, 1998: 317). In such settings, "intercultural communication constitutes the organizing process that permeates all levels of activity and interpretation" (Stohl, 1993, p. 381). The especially demanding and complex conditions faced when working with displaced and host populations challenge our imagination, highlight the importance of intercultural-communication training, and suggest that viable approaches must build upon insights from international relations and development management, refugee studies, inter-organizational studies, communication studies, and cross-cultural psychology.

This paper aims to extend and apply the open-systems perspective on organizational communication by drawing on the neglected international and multicultural not-for-profit interorganizational domain (Stohl, 1993, pp. 377-378; Hardy, 1994, p. 279). It will also suggest ways that intercultural-communication training can address this gap. The importance of shifting from the "metaphor of the organization as `container' of communication" to a more expansive perspective that treats "communication phenomena as central processes of organizing" have been reaffirmed by comprehensive critical reviews of recent research (Taylor, Flanagin, Cheney, and Seibold, 2001; Cheney, *et al.*, 1998, p. 38).

Intercultural-communication training for victims of dislocation

In this paper, we are interested in a critical dimension of training that tends to be overlooked in the wake of human displacement; that is, enhancing the intercultural-communication skills of the surviving victims of dislocation.[1] When communication is not viewed as a unidirectional process, then skill enhancements among all stakeholders, including impacted populations, are understood to exert an important

impact on intergroup and interorganizational relations as well as on assistance outcomes.

Specifically, the enhancement of intercultural-communication competence can be expected to expand the communicative effectiveness of organizational members and intended beneficiaries in the collaborative and culturally complex undertaking of providing appropriate crisis management, conflict resolution, emergency relief, and sustainable development assistance among displaced populations and the surrounding hosts (Koehn and Ngai, 2001: 740-761).

Nevertheless, communication training has not been available to perimeter stakeholder populations in development and relief situations. Perusal of the 'Humanitarian Assistance Training Inventory'[2], confirms an absence of communication-training programs for indigenous populations as well as programs explicitly focused on intercultural communication.

Indeed, although the opportunities are manifold (Sollis, 1994: 457), especially given the eager, idle, and largely unskilled audience, camp populations typically lack access to any organized forms of training. Most program funders focus on providing food, safe water, shelter, and rudimentary health care and fail to view education and training (particularly for women, female children, and the disabled) as a priority, even though this is likely to rekindle hope for the future among displaced persons.

Concern over the recurrence of missed opportunities to develop useful skills and abilities among the victims of forced dislocation led one of the authors to organize an international symposium, in collaboration with the Japan International Cooperation Agency (JICA), which focused on training refugees for voluntary repatriation and for effective participation in development activity.

The assembled experts, including representatives from UNHCR, the U.S. Department of State's Bureau of Refugee Affairs, the U.S. Agency for International Development, the U.S. Committee for Refugees, and NGOs adopted 18 priority recommendations that generally are refugee-empowering and suggest important advances in prevailing approaches to basic and health education and to practical, development-oriented training. However, none of the recommendations explicitly address the pervasive intercultural-communication challenges that increasingly confront transnational and domestic agencies involved in providing humanitarian assistance to dispossessed populations (Koehn, 1994a: 7-9, 91-95).

In contrast to the neglect of indigenous populations, the literature on preparing expatriate professionals for intercultural-communication situations is voluminous (see, for instance, Harrison, 1994; Kealey, 1990; Kealey and Protheroe, 1996; Summer/Fall 2000 issue of *Human Resource Management*). Some of the lessons and findings reported in this literature possess broad application; we draw upon them where appropriate. However, it is important to make explicit at the outset that our approach differs fundamentally from the prevailing perspective in both focus and direction.

Expatriate studies revolve around a peculiar type of organizational member and can be largely concerned with an actor's hierarchical communication linkages and with interactions with other organizations and/or "clients" in its environment. We start with

the organization's perimeter stakeholders and primarily have an interest in intergroup communication and stakeholder to formal organization interfaces. Our distinct approach, and the specific types of horizontal and outer-to-inner organizational interfaces we identify, are elaborated in the discussion that follows.

We proceed by first orienting the reader to the environmental context that frames our discussion of organizational communication; that is organized settlements ("camps") and their host communities. Then, we introduce the three components of a proposed "progressive" intercultural-communication training program - host community program, the intercultural-mediator program, and the aid-project-participant program. They are developed in terms of (1) the unique environmental constraints, resources, and interactions that affect each case; (2) the specific intercultural-communication skills required by each group of perimeter stakeholders; (3) insights from intercultural-communication training with organizational members that lend themselves to adaptation with perimeter participants; and, finally, (4) the specific, sequential dimensions of each training program – linked to appropriate and promising training approaches.

Organized settlements: a global phenomenon

Refugees and internally displaced persons generally can be distinguished according to the physical surroundings they find themselves in. Our principal interest here is with dislocated persons who reside in organized settlements, mainly camps, although the insights presented can be adapted to situations involving individuals and families who spontaneously settle among local populations.

While too numerous to enumerate illustrative situations include the one million Azerbaijanis from Nagorno-Karabakh scattered across 40 camps in Azerbaijan (Frantz, 2000); South Ossetians inhabiting squalid collective centers in their native Georgia (UNHCR, 1999: 14); Bosnians, Croatians, ethnic Serbs and Roma who fled from Kosovo in Serbia (UNHCR, 2000: 17); over 300,000 refugees from Rwanda, Burundi, and Democratic Republic of Congo occupying organized settlements in the Kagera and Kigoma regions of western Tanzania (Whitaker, 1999: 2); the 250,000 internally displaced Tamils living in 500 "welfare centers" in Sri Lanka (Cohen and Deng, 1998:61); and the 240,000 "stranded Pakistanis," referred to locally as Biharis, spread across 66 camps in Bangladesh (*New York Times*, 13 May 2000: A1). Camp populations are more likely to receive assistance from external sources than persons who settle among the local population.

Nevertheless, organized settlements require enormous resource-mobilization efforts[3] and complex logistical challenges (Sorenson, 1994: 183-185). One or more cultural groups can be receiving assistance within a single settlement; for instance, Qoriooley in Somalia "contained two ethnic groups, Oromo and Somali ..." (Waldron and Hasci, 1995: 46) and the refugee population of Qala en Nahal in Sudan included Muslims and Christians, sizeable numbers of people from five ethnic and language groups within Eritrea, and small clusters from seven other ethnic groups (Woodrow, 1998b, p. 262). At the cosmopolitan Kakuma camp in Kenya, "Sudanese form the majority but there are also large numbers of Somalis and smaller numbers of Ethiopians, Rwandans and Ugandans" (de Montclos and Kagwanja, 2000: 211).

Host community impact

Displaced persons on the move easily overwhelm settlement areas. They vastly outnumber subsistence local populations, overburden the existing infrastructure and divert resources intended for local development (Whitaker, 1999: 8), wrecking havoc with fragile natural resources by engaging in unsustainable use practices (Koehn, 1994b: 103; Whitaker, 1999: 2, 5; Sorenson, 1994:181; Cohen and Deng, 1998: 25; Waldron and Hasci, 1995: 45).[4] In order to minimize resentment and avoid animosity on the part of receiving societies, donors and international NGOs are encouraged to provide similar "impacted-area" assistance to host and well as dislocated communities (Koehn, 1991: 430-431; Harrell-Bond, 1989: 51; Sorenson, 1994: 181, 185).[5]

The impacted-area approach underscores the importance of intercultural communication since relations among affected groups and community-cohesion-rebuilding efforts can occur in a context of insecurity, fear, exploitation, competition over scarce resources (see Whitaker, 1999, p. 6), "guarded restraint" (Waldron and Hasci, 1995, pp. 46), destroyed trust, hatred, and sometimes violence.[6] In the post-Cold War era, population displacements most frequently result from brutal local "identity conflicts" that engulf noncombatants and produce extreme polarization and heightened animosity among neighbors with differing characteristics. Since "identity conflicts are fought at the community level and among former associates of all kinds, every citizen is a potential victim and a potential combatant" (Maynard, 1999, pp. 38, 6-7, 24-39).

Moreover, displaced persons frequently inhabit organized settlements for decades, and sometimes for lifetimes. In short, their relations with the members of surrounding host communities are critically important. Yet, the limited training programs that exist focus on NGO and agency personnel and neglect members of locally impacted communities – even individuals drawn from the latter who provide essential assistance to outside experts.[7] One intended contribution of this essay, therefore, is to set forth an approach to intercultural-communication competency building that is tailored to the members of perimeter dislocated populations and their hosts.

Progressive training

An initial impression is that the challenges of meeting the intercultural-communication needs of dislocated and host populations are nearly overwhelming. We intend to demonstrate, however, that by devoting careful attention to local conditions, involving all of the impacted populations that engage in daily encounters, learning from past intercultural-communication skill-building efforts, and making maximum use of available resources through innovative adaptations, it is possible to design and successfully implement feasible training programs in such situations.

The presence of large populations of needy strangers in the midst of impoverished community members who are deeply attached to the sheltering territory constitutes a recipe for tension, miscommunication, and potential conflict. The initial (camp population - host community) training program is directed toward facilitating

communication between all members of the displaced population and their culturally distinct hosts.

Whether the presence of the dislocated population be temporary or long-term, the leaders of both types of perimeter communities can perform their representative and peace-making roles far more effectively if they are trained in intercultural communication. Our label for this second component is the intercultural-mediator training program. The final component (the aid-project-participant training program) is designed to address the specific intercultural-communication needs of professional and semi-professional staff who are recruited locally for positions at all levels of transnational organization operations or, less frequently, within domestic government agencies, such as the model Refugee Health Unit of the former Government of Somalia, under which "expatriates as `advisors and trainers' worked side by side with the Somali doctors, health workers and refugees ..." (Waldron and Hasci, 1995, p. 47).

Hundreds of hosts and displaced persons fill these salaried positions in each impacted area – including the agency driver and guard, the translator who works alongside an expatriate medical doctor, the nurse and dispenser, the public-health educator, the community organizer, the supervisor of clerical and laboring staff, the individual hired to help an NGO liase with government officials, the accountant, the computer programmer, and the agent responsible for purchasing local supplies.

In 1990, for instance, the Eastern Sudan Refugee Program employed some 700 personnel – about one-third of whom were refugees (Sterkenburg, Kirkby, and O'Keefe, 1994, p. 197; Maynard, 1999, p. 167).[8] Even when the expatriate NGO and donor experts have received relevant training, locally hired staff need to develop their own skills in intercultural communication in order to interface effectively with the multicultural workplace that characterizes contemporary relief and sustainable-development efforts.

An effective training program is designed to take into account the prevailing opportunities and constraints that shape the communication context confronted by trainees. While many parallel conditions affect training needs for members of dislocated and host communities, important differences also exist. Thus, the next sections briefly identify the most relevant resources and challenges that trainers are likely to encounter among camp and host-community populations in developing countries, where the vast majority of displaced persons have resettled. Since the pertinent conditions vary both in terms of participants and objectives, they will be identified separately for each type of training program.

Camp population - host community training program

Most available reports on refugee-camp populations are not grounded in systematic research. Given the benefits that can be realized by inflating refugee counts, some governments have resisted or even undermined research intended to generate reliable census enumerations (Waldron and Hasci, 1995, pp. 26-28; Rogge, 1993, pp. 14, 17; Kibreab, 1994, p. 47). Furthermore, organized settlements vary in land area, population size and composition, available resources, organizational presence, and types of

conflicts. Nevertheless, based primarily on agency field reports and anthropological observations, it is possible to identify some common features.

Dislocated persons living in camp situations typically have lost or become separated from family members, have forfeited all personal possessions and assets and exhausted any resources of monetary value (Cohen and Deng, 1998, p. 25), and have been cut off from essential social- and economic-support networks (see Hansen, 1979, p. 369; Cernea, 1990, p. 325). Although one can find islands of strength and determination, many dislocated men, women, and children have been traumatized by the experiences of oppression, war, rape, torture, the murder of loved ones, homelessness, and flight, and suffer from serious illness, injury, malnutrition, continual fear of abuse, depression, and post-traumatic-stress disorder (Woodrow, 1998a, pp. 304-305; Maynard, 1999, pp. 12, 117-119). They often are without means of protecting and supporting themselves (Cohen and Deng, 1998, pp. 25-26; Maynard, 1999, pp. 118-119; Hansen, 1979, p. 369; Cuny, 1979, p. 339) and are prone to prolong cross-group distrust and hostility (Maynard, 1999, pp. 119, 189).

Malnutrition can be widespread and death rates in newly established organized settlements can be "up to 40 times higher than normal" (Waldron and Hasci, 1995, p. 25). The bulk of the adult population can be expected to possess some primary education; substantial minorities will be illiterate and have some secondary education (see IRC and SCF, 1981, p. 8). In summary, the required communication-training program will encompass large numbers of trainees who possess enormous and diverse short-term and long-term needs. Most likely, it will need to rely extensively on the limited availability of external funding.

In many camps, refugees and internally displaced persons must coexist with strangers of diverse ethnicity who speak an incomprehensible language or dialect. Encounters among people with different cultural backgrounds occur daily in a variety of expected (e.g., shared water source) and unpredictable (e.g., quarrels over petty theft) circumstances. Camp populations also interact with camp authorities and those who provide essential services (shelter, food, clothing, medical attention, education, etc.).
In addition, whenever they venture outside of camp boundaries (for instance, in search of firewood, water, trade, employment, or entertainment), they come in contact with other (frequently suspicious or even overtly hostile) strangers (Cernea, 1990, p. 325). Displaced and host community interactions can include socializing together, intermarriage, prostitution, and theft or other criminal acts (Whitaker, 1999, p. 10).

Table 1 highlight contacts with members of different cultures that each population in the impacted area are likely to experience on a weekly basis by the frequency of each encounter category. Among displaced persons, interactions with authorities and assistance providers occur less often than with other camp populations of different cultural backgrounds (if any) and with hosts. In sum, all refugees and displaced persons resettled in camps are likely to be involved in encounters with one or two different cultures that arise on an immediate basis.

Table 1: weekly contacts (by likely frequency of face-to-face interaction)

Extensive	Moderate	Occasional
(1) *Camp Population(s)*		
Other camp populations(s)	Camp authorities	
Host(s)	Assistance providers	
(2) *Host Population(s)*		
Camp population(s)	Assistance providers	Local govt authorities
Other host population(s)		
(3) *Camp Leaders*		
Other camp populations	Local govt authorities	
Leaders/other camp-populations		
Host population(s)		
Host-population leaders		
Camp authorities		
Assistance providers		
(4) *Host-community leaders*		
Camp population(s)	Camp authorities	
Camp-population(s) leaders		
Other host-community leaders		
Other host populations		
Assistance providers		
Local govt authorities		
(5) Indigenous Staff Drawn from Displaced & Host Populations		
Camp or host population(s)	Expatriate staff of other IOs, international NGOs, bilateral donors	
Expatriate staff/own agency	Culturally different members of indigenous NGOs	
Host govt agencies' staff		
Culturally different members of own agency		
Camp & local govt authorities		

Intercultural-communication training can be particularly useful if, as a result, camp populations manage to eliminate or reduce miscommunication and conflicts with their hosts. For instance, in western Tanzania, refugees "failed to respect the cultural importance of certain local trees which were used to mark gravesites and boundaries, for medicinal purposes, or as aphrodisiacs .... this further fuelled the struggle between refugees and villagers for control over natural resources" (Whitaker, 1999, p. 5). Minimizing such conflicts allows humanitarian-assistance organizations to concentrate their energy and resources on addressing urgent needs and providing development opportunities for the victims of dislocation and their hosts.

In most developing country contexts, host communities barely are distinguishable from the displaced populations found in their midst in terms of vulnerable economic status (marginal subsistence), nutritional status (undernourished and malnourished),[9] rudimentary level of educational attainment, and health status (widespread infectious disease, low-level of inoculations, low life expectancy). They differ, however, in that they may not have been directly exposed to the commitment of atrocities or other traumatic circumstances, they are familiar with local customs/practices and environmental conditions, and, most importantly, in their continued access to land, some personal possessions, and basic support systems. Again, any communication-training program would need to provide for large numbers of host community trainees and to rely on limited external funding.

The second part of Table 1 addresses the intercultural contacts that host-community members are likely to experience on a weekly basis. Interactions with local authorities and assistance providers tend to occur less frequently than with camp members. Again, while the former are important, it is not necessary to train the large populations involved for these types of communication situations since members can be assisted by community representatives and employees when interactions with authorities and assistance providers are required. Among hosts, therefore, vital communication-interaction situations are likely to involve one different cultural encounter - with camp members. The most useful cross-cultural communication training for the vast numbers involved would involve learning how to avoid or minimize miscommunication.

Intercultural - mediator training program

The second component of the overall training program focuses on the leaders of displaced and host populations. The critical conditions defining each group of intermediaries are basically similar, although slight differences exist. Among camp populations, community-selected representatives are likely to possess leadership qualities and conversational ability in at least one second language.

They are likely to have completed, at most, secondary school. They are expected to act as cultural mediators between the host and displaced populations by defusing tensions, resolving conflicts, negotiating agreements, and forging effective alliances. Their responsibilities include attempting to serve people whose material base for survival is threatened, people who have lost their support networks, people with serious health and nutrition problems, and people subject to continued life-threatening hostility from inside and outside the camp/community, as well as endeavouring to defuse potentially volatile confrontations and to promote collaborative relations among hosts and displaced persons.

Community leaders need intercultural-communication skills for roles that involve mediation and conflict-management interactions with the representatives of culturally different camp populations, with the leaders of host communities, and with the culturally diverse government authorities who are responsible for maintaining law and order and for overall decision making within the camp. They are likely to perceive the training opportunity as socially meaningful in terms of protecting and promoting the interests of their compatriots and to be motivated in personal terms by the enhanced

prospects provided for economic survival, family well-being, and improving one's future life through the acquisition of portable skills.

The third section of Table 1 deals with the intercultural-communication contacts that camp community leaders are likely to encounter on a weekly basis. In addition to the situations they experience as a camp-population member, these individuals frequently are called upon to interact with the leaders of other camp and host-community populations as well as with camp authorities and assistance providers. If only one culturally different population is resident in the organized settlement, camp mediators are likely to be involved in a minimum of three encounters with different cultures.

The representatives selected by host communities as mediators are likely to possess leadership qualities and conversational ability in at least one second language. They are likely to have completed, at most, primary school. Their responsibilities as leaders will include attempting to serve people whose material base for survival is threatened and people with serious health problems as well as endeavouring to defuse potentially volatile confrontations and to promote collaborative relations between hosts and displaced persons. They will be expected to act as cultural mediators between the host and displaced populations by defusing tensions, managing conflicts, negotiating agreements, and forging effective alliances. They will need intercultural-communication skills for roles that require mediation, interface, and coordination with camp populations and possibly with culturally different members of government agencies. They are likely to perceive the training opportunity as socially meaningful in terms of protecting and promoting the interests of their cultural group and to be motivated in personal terms by the enhanced prospects provided for economic survival, family well-being, and improving one's future life.

The fourth part of Table 1 highlights the likely intercultural-communication contacts of host-community representatives. In addition to the situations they encounter as a host-community-population member, these individuals frequently are called upon to interact with the leaders of camp populations as well as with local government authorities and assistance providers. If only two culturally different populations are resident in the organized settlement and camp and local government authorities are drawn from their cultural group, host community mediators are likely to be involved in a minimum of three encounters with different cultures.

Aid project participant training program

Participants in this training program are expected to be personnel recruited by agencies that are assisting refugees and displaced persons from the professional and semi-professional members of the camp population and from the better-educated ranks of rural host-community populations. Initially, in many cases, their economic, nutritional, health, and psychological status will not differ markedly from the wider populations they live among.

At most, the camp population and host community employees are likely to have completed secondary school and some additional technical, teacher training, or university level education. Most locally recruited employees are expected to possess conversational ability in at least one foreign language (the language used most often in

internal organizational communication) and to be fluent in at least one other indigenous language. Both groups are likely to perceive the opportunity to assist external agents in a paid semi-professional or professional capacity as socially meaningful in terms of providing vital services to their needy compatriots and to be motivated in personal terms by the enhanced prospects provided for economic survival, family well-being, and improving one's future life through the acquisition of portable skills.

Locally recruited staff often experience patronizing treatment at the hands of expatriates (Mazur, 1988:54, 59). In some situations, they are granted only limited access to resources and decision-making processes. Nevertheless, they are expected to act as cultural brokers between the external expert and the local population, to educate outsiders regarding indigenous cultural values and practices as well as local situations (Maynard, 1999, p. 162), and to participate in multicultural project teams. In practice, they become embedded in pivotal overlapping relationships inside and beyond the employing organization and provide much of the vital interface between the indigenous society they belong to and the exogenous humanitarian-assistance agencies. Locally recruited personnel also are called upon to facilitate communication and coordination with multiple domestic and foreign agencies operating in a turbulent interorganizational field (Zetter, 1995).

On behalf of their wider community, their primary responsibilities involve proposing, selecting, mobilizing resources for, facilitating and implementing, coordinating, and evaluating projects and strategies designed to benefit refugees and IDPs suffering from trauma and despair, people who have lost all their material belongings and their support networks, people with serious health problems and nutrition needs, and people subject to continued life-threatening hostility both inside and outside the camp. Projects will range from emergency food supply and housing to education and agricultural production. Their work environment is likely to be characterized by a lack of basic material resources, supplies, and equipment. Without appropriate training, problems of inter-staff and interorganizational communication are likely to command an inordinate amount of time and effort and to deflect an agency from pursuing its principal service objectives (Anderson, 1998, p. 327).

The final row of Table 1 reveals the extent of the intercultural-communication challenge that faces both groups of indigenous assistants. They will need additional intercultural-communication skills for roles that require intra-organizational interaction with resident expatriates and headquarters nationals from other countries and compatriots from other regions (Whitaker, 1999, p. 7; Woodrow, 1998a, p. 312) as well as for interface and coordination with a multiplicity of culturally diverse members of other organizations who can facilitate or constrain the completion of their assigned tasks.

Since transnational assistance agencies usually recruit local semi-professional staff from all displaced and host communities, intercultural-communication training also is important for interactions among the culturally diverse local recruits. Thus, for indigenous assistance personnel, communication-interaction situations are likely to involve a minimum of six different critical cultural encounters and could easily involve urgent and sustained communication with persons from many different cultural backgrounds. Cultural distance tends to be particularly vast between indigenous staff recruited in third world countries and the expatriate personnel of IGOs, external donors,

and transnational NGOs.

Required stakeholder skills

An effective intercultural-communication training program in refugee-camp settings necessitates that differential attention be devoted to six target groups of perimeter stakeholders. Unique programs need to be designed and implemented for camp and host-community populations as a whole, their representatives, and, finally, for the professional and semi-professional staff of assistance agencies drawn from each community. The emphasis and nature of each program should be based on assessments of the primary communication skills that each group of stakeholders require. Based on the preceding analysis of the conditions each group commonly confronts and the frequency of the interactions they engage in, the following sections outline these skill requirements.

The principal intercultural-communication skills required of the leaders or representatives of camp and host-community populations relate to their responsibilities for managing conflicts and intervening on behalf of individual and group needs. Tensions always are present in camp-community relations and conflicts inevitably arise over such issues as land use, forest depletion, access to safe water, allegations of theft, employment, and terms of trade. Camp populations of different ethnic or religious backgrounds might be at odds over perceived inequities in access to scarce resources or over cultural practices that clash. Conflicts arise with camp authorities over such matters as the failure of inhabitants to adhere to health and safety regulations or due to violations of basic human rights by abusive "security" forces.

The daily occurrence of these and other disputes necessitates that community representatives possess intercultural-conflict-resolution skills. In addition, the extent to which government agencies and external assistance providers respond to the needs of host and camp communities will depend on the ability of their interorganizational entrepreneurs to articulate interests and to negotiate effectively across cultural boundaries. Developing competency in intercultural-conflict resolution and negotiation will serve these representatives well in long term settlement situations, upon repatriation or third country resettlement, in terms of personal survival, employment prospects, and future leadership roles.

Intercultural-communication competency will be useful to staff members in performing virtually all of their job responsibilities, in teamwork and social interaction with co-workers from diverse cultural backgrounds, and in terms of advancement prospects (Bell & Harrison, 1996, p. 53). The primary culture-broker functions (Shaffer, 1998, p. 24) of these indigenous employees are to transfer information and insights between assistance providers and the local (displaced or host) community members and to assist in participatory needs and vulnerabilities assessment, resource identification and mobilization, and project selection, monitoring, and evaluation.

Also, they frequently are called upon to serve as cultural interpreters between their agency's expatriate personnel and administrators (some foreign, some from diverse domestic cultures) employed by various agencies. Their interpretations, which involve

policy issues, security matters, resource allocations, coordination, logistical arrangements (Koehn and Ngai, 2001, pp. 741-743), and human-resource matters (Harvey, *et al.*, 1999, p. 41) often enrich a mangcr's portfolio of strategic choices and are of crucial importance for the success of the assistance effort. For this reason, the intercultural-communication training approaches set forth below should be an integral part of the specific job-related training programs offered to newly recruited refugees and hosts.

The progressive design of the overall program envisioned here calls for locally recruited staff to participate in all three programs and for community leaders to be involved in the first two programs. In addition, the program provides for competence building among all parties participating in intercultural encounters. Intercultural communication is presented as a basic skill, mastery of which provides an important personal, organizational, and community asset in circumstances involving involuntary population dislocation. Now that the participants and their special training needs have been identified, it is appropriate to consider how to construct an effective intercultural-communication training program for the context selected here.

In the interest of promoting effectiveness in program delivery, we seek to present a comprehensive design. Nevertheless, we caution readers to recognize that limited resources typically require the selective application of training approaches based upon locally determined priorities and that the model developed here still requires considerable adaptation given the diversity that characterizes camp conditions around the world and the vastly different environment-organization interfaces that occur among refugees and internally displaced persons who spontaneously settle among local populations.

Adaptable insights from intercultural communication training experience

On the one hand, the complex situation faced by perimeter populations requires tailored-made training programs that accommodate their unique emergency and long-term needs. On the other hand, many of the cultural and intergroup conditions they confront resemble those encountered by other types of intercultural-communication trainees. Thus, a review of training theories, methodologies, and outcomes can provide valuable insights for designing appropriate and effective intercultural-communication programs for the populations of concern in this paper.

The conditions that characterize perimeter-community members are similar in certain important ways to those encountered by most intercultural-communication trainees. The most relevant of these comparable conditions are:

- social support is scarce since friends and family may not be in close proximity;
- many problems encountered are beyond one's own ability to solve and, hence, frequently produce low self-confidence;
- conflicts that spring from ingroup-outgroup relationships lower the productivity of the parties involved;
- intercultural interactions frequently occur at the intergroup level; and,

- the long-term effectiveness of training will be mediated by intergroup dynamics, especially interactions with hosts (Brislin, Landis, & Brandt, 1983; Cargile & Giles, 1996, pp. 404, 413).

These comparable training conditions, together with the specific considerations concerning displaced populations and their host communities described above, set the context for the training programs designed and presented in this essay.

Cargile and Giles (1996, p. 391) offer a helpful menu for designing intercultural-communication training programs. On the basis of Gudykunst and Hammer's (1983) categorization of training approaches, they identify immediate training outcomes and subsequent intercultural-interaction outcomes. The four currently practised training approaches include: experiential - culture general, experiential - culture specific, didactic - culture general, and didactic - culture specific. This model clarifies that the choice for training content is between a culture-general and a culture-specific approach; the choice for instructional technique is between an experiential and a didactic approach.

While both the experiential/culture-general and the experiential/culture-specific approaches involve the use of simulation games and role plays (Gudykunst & Hammer, 1983, pp. 133-136), the former aims to help trainees come to the realization that people from different cultures operate differently and the latter aims to assist trainees in developing the verbal and non-verbal communication skills required for specific intercultural situations.

While both the didactic/culture-general and the didactic/culture-specific approaches rely on traditional lecture format and culture assimilators (Brislin, Cushner, Cherrie, & Yong, 1986; Gudykunst & Hammer, 1983), the former aims to provide trainees with "an understanding of the general interactional and attributional dynamics involved in cross-cultural communication" (Cargile & Giles, 1996, p. 390) and the latter aims to inform trainees of "'facts' about particular cultural groups and their behaviors" (Cargile & Giles, 1996, p. 130). All four approaches ultimately aim to bring about communication competence, adjustment, and task effectiveness.

Gudykunst & Hammer and Brislin & Yoshida address the question of what techniques should be used in combination, and in what order. The three-stage training model proposed by Gudykunst and Hammer flows from culture-general training to culture-specific training (1983, pp. 147-148). Brislin and Yoshida (1994, p. 134) recommend a similar progression, from training in general intercultural behavior to training in behavior appropriate in specific cultural contexts, for a program that runs longer than three days.

This training design is appropriate for beneficiaries who can afford the time and the ensuing costs. In emergency humanitarian-assistance settings, where time and money are in short supply, training programs need to focus on the skills each set of participants requires for fulfilling their paramount roles. Thus, we suggest that training with displaced populations and host communities start out as culture-specific and move on to culture-general approaches for trainees employed in multicultural assistance contexts.

In order to design an effective intercultural-training program for the populations of

concern in this essay, moreover, five important "intergroup" and "interaction" factors also must be taken into consideration: trainee attitudes toward and beliefs or stereotypes about the cultural group in question; the larger socio-structural and historical context and the immediate social situation; interpersonal or intergroup identities or self-concepts in cross-cultural encounters; well-learned, automatic, unintentional responses; and interaction processes (Cargile & Giles, 1996, pp. 398-399, 404, 407).

To develop in trainees the ability to communicate effectively with people from other cultures is the ultimate goal of an intercultural-communication training program (Seidel, 1981). This general goal has been approached through three common training strategies: awareness raising, attitude change, and new-skill development (Gudykunst & Hammer, 1983; Milhouse, 1996, p. 74; Seidel, 1981). The training programs proposed here operationalize these three strategies in distinct and sequential stages. In addition, we introduce a fourth strategy, stress coping, designed to address the emotional state encountered by the intended beneficiaries of training.

During the awareness raising stage, trainees are introduced to the subject of culture; the key historical experiences and values of the group(s) they are interacting with (see Maynard, 1999, p. 136); problems of communication that have occurred in interactions among the local groups involved and, in general, when members of diverse cultures interact; the extent to which individual behavior is culturally determined (Gudykunst & Hammer, 1983, p. 128; Gallois and Callan, 1997, pp. 149-151); and the individual uniqueness that is encountered among members of other cultural groups that they interact with on a daily basis (Cargile and Giles, 1996, pp. 408, 410).

Understanding how attitudes, education, and the process of socialization affect actions and patterns of behavior (Seidel, 1981; Paige & Martin, 1983) constitutes a key component of overall intercultural-communication competency (Baxter, 1983, p. 311). A positive attitude toward diversity and multiculturalism is the second key element required for effective intercultural communication. The challenges here are to "change trainees' stereotypes about the target host group" (Cargile & Giles, 1996, p. 403) and to rebuild trust across identity lines (Maynard, 1999, pp. 136-137). In some cases, the task is complicated by fixed adversarial perceptions rooted in an historical context of extreme intergroup conflict that continues to be played out in global, regional, or local political events and power applications that induce extensive human suffering and deprivation (Maynard, 1999, p. 137; Erlanger, 2000).

There are two keys to bringing about the requisite attitude change in such challenging circumstances. First, emphasis should be placed on interactions across cultures that occur between individuals and families (rather than an intergroup) basis (Cargile and Giles, 1996, pp. 409-410). Most importantly, attitude change needs to be linked explicitly to personal skill development and to asset building on an individual and community basis. This linkage provides the crucial motivational basis for trainee willingness to accept attitudinal change (Cargile and Giles, 1996, pp. 401, 403).

When developing or enhancing culture-general skills is at stake, trainers also need to help trainees "to accept and to be tolerant of values, beliefs, attitudes, and behavior patterns that might be quite different from their own" (Seidel, 1981, p. 190). In addition, this level of training should aim at developing "the ability to tolerate ambiguity, empathy, the ability to withhold judgement, reduction of ethnocentrism, a culturally

relativistic world view, an appreciation of other values and belief systems, personal flexibility, [and] a willingness to acquire new patterns of behavior and belief" (Paige & Martin, 1983, p. 44; Baxter, 1983, pp. 308-309).

Skill-building constitutes the third, and most time consuming, stage of the proposed training program. The type and number of intercultural-communication skills of relevance for organizational communication can vary, examples include:

- interpreting and using non-verbal cues;
- interacting effectively with members of diverse cultures;
- accessing the multicultural organizational communication network;
- reaching agreements in intercultural contexts;
- managing intercultural conflicts (Ngai & Koehn, 2001);
- mastering techniques that facilitate learning during cross-cultural encounters; and,
- developing observational skills that allow learning from the subtleties of the new culture (Seidel, 1981).

In general, stress-induced anxiety constrains "the type of processing needed in intercultural encounters," encourages "reliance on well-learned stereotypes" (Cargile and Giles, 1996, p. 408), and impairs intercultural functioning by magnifying "the severity of possible threats and worry about things that rarely happen" (Bandura, 1995, p. 8). Thus, the last stage of the proposed training is especially relevant for the humanitarian-assistance organizations and perimeter populations at issue in this essay.

The debilitating stress faced by the dislocated and their disrupted hosts is rooted in multiple sources (e.g., starvation, death of loved ones, economic destitution, the psychological consequences of rape and torture, multiple illnesses and injuries, lost property, threats to physical security and identity, and intercultural uncertainty and conflict). Addressing all sources of stress is beyond the scope of an intercultural-communication training program. We suggest that the proposed program focus on helping trainees deal with anxiety-induced stress caused by intercultural-communication failure.

Woven together, the four stages of awareness raising, attitude change, new-skill development and stress coping encompass cognitive, affective, behavioural (Milhouse, 1996), and emotional learning. By incorporating all four dimensions, the three training programs elaborated below are able to integrate common training objectives and strategies with specific content derived from the unique conditions faced by each displaced population and its host community(ies). An essential first step, however, is to undertake a thorough pre-program assessment that will provide vital information for tailoring each stage of training to local conditions.

A comprehensive analysis of the trainees' specific living conditions, their immediate and future needs, and the intergroup communicative context constitutes an essential component of the pre-program assessment process required for tailored programming. All participants should be invited to take part in a needs identification exercise in

advance of training.[10] This survey should emphasize encounters with previous intercultural-communication problems and approaches to cross-cultural adaptability as well as participant awareness, knowledge, stereotypes, concerns, expertise, experience, and desired skills (Pedersen, 1994, pp. 28-30). It also should identify "cultural-based learning strategies" (Gudykunst & Hammer, 1983, p. 146; Harvey, et al., 1999, p. 43). Based on the results of this exercise, trainers prepare an inventory that will guide them in tailoring the complete program to the specific backgrounds and needs of each group of trainees. In preparation for program sessions, trainers should integrate trainee doubts and questions (Bond, 1992, p. 402) into anonymous and hypothetical incidents and situations for analysis and small-group discussion. Trainers should aim at addressing trainee concerns and interests by offering practical advice throughout the training program.

Moreover, program coordinators should use the survey results to identify trainees whose practical experiences, knowledge, and adaptability skills will enable them to serve as valuable resource persons; those who can provide external trainers with valuable information regarding local communicative practices; and the group leaders and aid-project participants who will be invited to participate in further training (Anderson and Woodrow, 1989, pp. 318-319).

Program framework

Level 1 of our proposed intercultural-communication training program for perimeter displaced populations and host communities targets the organized-settlement population and local residents. Community leaders, indigenous peacemakers (Maynard, 1999, p. 165), and aid-project staff members drawn from the camp and the host community move on to the next level of training. At this second level of training, the program introduces one additional culture (that of the local authorities) and will address expected local situations, issues, and problems. The emphasis here is on enabling trainees to develop sufficient intercultural-communication competence to act as effective community mediators through interorganizational networks consisting of camp-resident and host-community representatives, national and local government authorities, and NGO personnel (Forrest, 2000, pp. 328-330).

The next level of training involves only the aid-project participants who work with people from diverse, multiple, unpredictable, and changing cultural backgrounds. At this third level, therefore, trainers will introduce general differences across communication cultures. Level 3, the most extensive training program, will emphasize developing participants' multicultural organizational communication competency. With progression from one level of training to the next, the range of trainees narrows and the number of trainees decreases while the scope of training expands.

The rationale for this integrated design and progressive arrangement is to maximize the limited amount of time and resources available in emergency humanitarian-assistance situations. In such situations, effective training results from adherence to the following program-design principles: be culture-specific and focus on basic and preventative skills with the broader population; introduce additional content and skills progressively and only as needed in light of the principal roles performed by each group of intended beneficiaries; and reserve cultural-general training for beneficiaries

who engage extensively in interaction with persons from an unpredictable multiplicity of cultures. Therefore each level of training consists of four sequential components: awareness raising, attitude change, skill development, and stress coping (see Tables 2, 3, & 4).

Since pre-existing training materials concerning specific cultures are not likely to be available on short notice, the appropriate approaches to use in emergency situations should be flexible and open-ended enough to allow for the spontaneous integration of cultural specifics elicited through pre-assessment and provided by trainees during participatory training activities. Moreover, all training activities adopted should require minimal reliance upon printed materials, which are likely to be in short supply, and should be based on simple instructions in order to minimize confusion among trainees.[11]

The level-3 program should be incorporated as an integral part of wider agency-initiated training for locally recruited staff (e.g., basic health-worker training), or a single interorganizational program can be designed and delivered for all qualified humanitarian-assistance-project personnel in the region. Delivering the level-2 and level-3 programs in several sessions separated by substantial intervals of time would "allow for practice in real life social situations" and "provide repeated opportunities for corrective feedback and consolidation of learning" (Mak, et al., 1999, p. 87).

Members of the host community(ies) and the dislocated population are expected to speak different languages. Given the language differences and the pre-program tensions that are likely to exist among the intended beneficiaries, training should be conducted separately for each group at levels 1 and 2. At level 2, trainers can bring both groups together for joint activities and interactive exercises that facilitate practice with newly learned mediation and negotiation skills across two or more cultures (Schoenhaus, 2000, pp. 15-16). Furthermore, joint programming facilitates the organization of sessions in which "members of each cultural group teach skills to the other. Because the skills are useful to participants, resistance is undercut" (Bond, 1992, p. 405).

At level 3, training will be conducted in the *lingua franca* in the region. In this case, project staff hired from both the host community and the camp population can participate in a common training program. In level-3 training, moreover, "it is particularly important that the subordinate cultural group [locally recruited staff] be given an opportunity to teach the dominant cultural group [expatriate personnel]. Such teaching reverses the normal organizational pattern of top-down technical instruction, a pattern that reinforces the tendency of the dominant group to consider itself right on non-technical issues in the organizations" (Bond, 1992, p. 405).

Level 1 program: camp population - host community training

The first-level training program (see Table 2) primarily aims to increase understanding about specific differences and similarities in beliefs, value systems, customs, life styles, and communication styles, and to remove stereotypes with regard to the host-community and camp populations, in order to prevent (further) intercultural misunderstanding and conflict.[12] It proceeds through presentations, actual cases, storytelling, structured discussion, locally created and performed dramas,[13] and/or drawings (Pedersen, 1994, pp. 82-83; Melkote, 1991, pp. 250-251), and can usefully involve intercultural

sensitizers who concentrate on critical problems and key differences between the two relevant cultures (Albert, 1983, p. 189). This program presents sensitizing background on the displaced/host populations, including the factors responsible for, and consequences associated with, dislocation/resettlement. The specific content conveyed through the level-1 training program should include references to particular cultural sensitivities that need to be respected in order to avoid conflicts with members of the other group(s).

Table 2: Level 1 training program

Target beneficiaries: Camp population(s) and host community(ies)			
Main Objective: Develop sufficient intercultural-communication competence to prevent cross-cultural misunderstanding among the specific groups involved in training.			
Sequence	Component	Focus	Training Approaches
1	Awareness raising	Specific cultures of camp population & host community.	-Presentations -Group discussion -Storytelling -Drawing -Local dramas -Role play -Peer reactions & coaching -Demonstrations and modelling/practice -Participatory video -Cooperative projects -Stress-coping rituals -Witness testimony
2	Attitude change	Removing stereotypes that camp population and host community members have of each other.	
3	Skill development	Verbal and non-verbal intercultural- communication skills that promote cross-cultural understanding and prevent conflicts and human-rights abuses. Conflict avoidance by selecting the appropriate communication channels.	
4	Stress coping	Relieve stress caused by living side-by –side with members of another group.	

An emphasis on daily-life incidents is likely to be particularly effective in this connection (Kealey & Protteroe, 1996, p. 153). Since the groups involved speak different languages, non-verbal communication constitutes an important intercultural-communication channel. As Pedersen (1994, p. 91) points out, "persons from another culture may grossly misinterpret a simple gesture, expression, or implied attitude owing to a different cultural viewpoint. Role playing, demonstrations, modelling of effective cross-cultural communication, together with peer and trainer reactions (see Kealey & Protteroe, 1996, p. 157) and coaching, can be used to sensitize trainees to their own and others' cultural non-verbal cues and to help them adjust their communication approaches for intercultural encounters. These approaches will work best by arranging the trainees in small groups.

Regarding the verbal aspect, teaching each group important greeting expressions in the

language spoken by the other community(ies) would allow program graduates to express goodwill and friendliness during intercultural encounters. Demonstrations and practice in linguistic initiation and response for daily encounters and in the effective use of non-threatening questions would help trainees develop pro-active intercultural-communication skills.

Beyond this, trainers should emphasize the importance of avoiding premature and inadequately informed attributions of unexpected behavior and incidents involving members of the other community. Instead, given the language barriers that impede direct communication, they should be encouraged to seek out explanations from their group's cultural mediators. This communicative approach can be reinforced by modelling of "proper" intercultural conflict avoidance behavior when confronting possible incidents involving displaced-community members and hosts, and through the use of participatory video (Stuart and Bery, 1996).

Finally, the program would demonstrate that stress caused by living side-by-side with a culturally different community can be reduced by lowering or removing hostility, uncertainty, and lack of cooperation. While working through conflicts satisfactorily constitutes the most effective strategy for reducing stress in the long run, it would introduce unacceptable risks if applied to untrained populations in volatile circumstances. Thus, we suggest that conflict avoidance and minimizing offensive behavior provide the principal framework for dealing with intercultural suspicion and hostility among total populations until the trust-building process has advanced (Maynard, 1999, p. 138).

Through small-group training, therefore, participants would be shown how taking the initiative to communicate a friendly and culturally sensitive attitude toward another group avoids intercultural clashes and, thereby, reduces stress in one's daily encounters. They also would practice using conflict-avoiding discourse and labels along with culturally sensitive nonverbal cues, and would learn to turn to their trained intercultural mediators for the resolution of any conflicts that do arise.[14]

Over the long term, level-1 training can fruitfully involve continuous intercultural interaction on small-scale cooperative projects and in areas (such as trade) deemed appropriate for cross-identity contact. Experience in collaboratively addressing problems that threaten each group and in advancing shared interests is likely to overcome fear and prevailing stereotypes, to generate or rebuild mutual trust (Maynard, 1999, pp. 137-138, 157-158, 174-177; Hurdle, 1991, pp. 60-61, 67), and to build or reinforce confidence in the effectiveness of collective action in uncertain and challenging situations (Bandura, 1995, pp. 8, 35). Intercultural-communication training is particularly relevant and vital in cases involving trauma stemming from the experience and consequences of forced dislocation.

Training for individual and community psychological rehabilitation "generally covers the causes of psychological disturbance, ... the typical symptoms and nature of the disorder, ... the role of specific individuals in the care process" (Maynard, 1999, p. 190), and the importance of resuming, even if in somewhat altered form, disrupted culturally specific practices and rituals that traditionally are activated in order to cope with stress, extreme hardship, or threatening circumstances (e.g., being able to mourn the death of a loved one properly). An essential part of the initial healing process involves "sharing

traumatic experiences, perceptions, resulting emotions, and responses" through "storytelling in an atmosphere of compassion, encouragement, and support" (Maynard, 1999, pp. 134-135). In addition, witness testimony, guided by trained mental-health professionals who possess "skills of nuanced interviewing and listening," facilitates civic dialogue, genuine reconciliation, (re)building inter-community trust, and the fashioning of a sound multi-ethnic community (Weine, 1996, pp. 28, 30-31, 34; Maynard, 1999, pp. 136, 189-191).[15]

The second-level training program (see Table 3) emphasizes cultivating empathy for camp populations (for one's own group as well as all others) and for the host community(ies) and aims to develop competence in intercultural conflict resolution. It focuses on intercultural mediators drawn from the camp population(s) and host community(ies) and introduces one additional culture, that of the local authorities.

Table 3: Level 2 training program

Target beneficiaries: Representatives from camp population(s) and host community			
Main Objective: Develop intercultural-communication competence for conflict resolution and mediation.			
Sequence	Component	Focus	Training Approaches
1	Awareness raising	Specific cultures of camp population & host community; plus one additional culture - local authorities.	-Elicit problems through: Trainee presentations Storytelling Case-study analysis -Application of human-rights principles -Group & intergroup discussion -Modelling of effective conflict management & mediation techniques -Role play with feedback from trainers and collective reflection among trainees -Ample time to practice
2	Attitude change	Developing empathy for camp population(s) and host community.	
3	Skill development	Negotiation, conflict management /mediation skills, local capacity building, information gathering and sharing skills, promoting collaborative relations among community members.	
4	Stress coping	Relieve stress caused by being involved in resolving serious conflicts and crises among members of two/three cultures.	

Storytelling, the presentation of contentious issues from various points of view (Maynard, 1999, p. 183), and small-group discussion can be especially effective in

cultivating among community representatives the empathy required to succeed in the role of mediator for the host or the camp population. Elaine Yarbrough and William Wilmot (1995, p. 8) point out that:

> a mediator must have a full spectrum of 'soft,' receptive skills and 'hard,' directive skills. The mediation process begins with a soft, receptive approach, characterized by listening, exploration, and empathy. As people are heard and understood, as problems are analyzed, and as negotiation begins, the mediator moves ... to ... using ... more directive approaches.

To serve in an effective intercultural-mediator capacity, trainees need to develop and rehearse listening, empathizing, trust-building, problem-solving, negotiating, conflict-managing, and persuading skills (Hocker & Wilmot, 1995; Yarbrough & Wilmot, 1996) through case-study analysis, modeling, and local-situation-specific role playing with feedback from trainers and trainees.[16] In this connection, Mak, *et al.* (1999, p. 83) point out that "observing successful ... performances by others similar to oneself ... enhances the trainees perceived self-efficacy ... which in turn increases the chance of attempting and mastering that task ...".

Another potentially useful approach is to suggest alternative negotiation/mediation frameworks and elicit opinions on which would be more and less culturally appropriate and effective (Schoenhaus, 2001, pp. 16-17). In order to perform effectively in mediating roles, the representatives of dislocated populations and host communities also need to be able to gather and share information among themselves and with the broader membership of their group. Presentations on networking techniques; case-study analysis regarding appropriate intercultural information delivering and receiving strategies; relevant applications of human-rights principles; and training on techniques for locating and consulting sources of current information regarding the other contact culture(s) can be helpful in this part of the program (Maynard, 1999, pp. 163, 165).

In addition to responding to conflicts that occur among members of their own and another culture (Koehn, 1994a, p. 82), cultural group leaders can be pro-active in building sustainable local capacity for conflict management among the camp population and the host community. For instance, they can be encouraged to create or revitalize valued participatory linkages, such as peace committees and sustained dialogues, that span cultures (Philips, 1993, pp. 107-108; Maynard, 1999, pp. 180-183), to expand intercultural rapport and acculturation skills (Bemak, *et al.*, 1996, pp. 249-251, 259), and to arrange public forums that consider differences, contentious issues, common interests, and cooperative arrangements in a safe and constructive setting for cross-identity interaction (Maynard, 1999, p. 182). Training programs that emphasize building self-esteem and stakeholder empowerment through, for instance, participatory rural appraisal (Chambers, 1994; Eade & Williams, 1995, p. 879), enhance the voice of perimeter communities and expand democratic forms of participation in dealing with assistance organizations and camp authorities.

The challenges involved in intercultural mediation, along with the heavy burden of responsibilities this group of trainees must assume in terms of the potential seriousness of conflicts, emotional attachment to those involved, and the urgency that often

accompanies the need to defuse crisis situations, combine to produce exceptionally high levels of stress. Level-2 training, therefore, should include building skills in setting attainable goals when dealing with troublesome situations in order to instill a resilient sense of efficacy (Bandura, 1995, p. 28) and in recognizing the need for support systems and developing them among counterparts from their own and other cultural backgrounds. Furthermore, continuous pro-active efforts to sharpen the conflict-management skills of community members will enable cultural mediators to reduce their case load and, in the long run, will promote community-wide involvement in conflict-resolution approaches that require sophisticated and creative intercultural understanding (Hurdle, 1991, p. 67).

The third (culture-general) level of training (see Table 4) covers differences in communicative styles and organizational approaches across a range of cross-cultural dimensions including field office-headquarters, leader-member, technical-nontechnical, and power-differential relations (Brislin, Landis, & Brandt, 1983, p. 25). Such awareness raising is intended to develop in aid-project participants the communicative flexibility that will enable them to adapt to and to make effective connections in the multicultural and non-standardized workplace (Edwards, 1997, pp. 236-237). This training includes mastery of cultural-continuum identification and placement, socio-cultural map construction, opening and revising culturally specific communication data files in one's mind, and cultural-adjustment action planning (Ngai & Koehn, 2001, p. 27).

Table 4: Level 3 training program

Target beneficiaries: Aid-project participants			
Main Objective: Develop intercultural-communication competence for working within and across multicultural organizations and with semi-professionals and professionals from diverse, changing, and unpredictable cultural backgrounds.			
Sequence	Component	Focus	Training Approaches
1	Awareness raising	Full range of cultural dimensions.	-Cultural-continuum-placement exercise -Presentations -Role plays -Writing exercises -Discussion and sharing -Action plans -Mentoring
2	Attitude change	Develop appreciation for working with people of diverse cultural backgrounds.	
3	Skill development	Multicultural communication skills such as team building and teamwork, partnering, problem resolution, making meetings work, networking, negotiation, cross-cultural logistics, participatory appraisals and evaluations, business correspondence, and functioning as an effective voice in mobilizing resources.	
4	Stress coping	Relieve stress caused by working with multiple organizational and cultural systems in an emergency situation	

The cultural-continuums-placement exercise serves as a useful tool for comparing various cultures. Along each continuum, the cultures at issue are at a par with one another in the sense that no culture is superior or more central than the other. This perspective allows trainees to see how diverse cultures complement one another and, hence, to develop respect and appreciation for all cultures and diversity in general. Such attitudes facilitate the generation of cross-cultural synergy in the multicultural workplace. In identifying issues of relevance to intercultural communication in multicultural organizations, Bond's (1992, p. 398) experience suggests that process is a "powerful illustrator of context .... " For purposes of awareness building and attitude unfreezing, he focuses on the "resistance to the potential for change" that the training process itself tends to activate. The skill-development part of level-3 training aims:

- to provide trainees with a range of multicultural organizational-communication skills;
- to equip locally recruited staff for participation as a partner in inter-culturally sensitive planning and for reaching agreements that are shaped by the unique cultures and customs of the involved displaced and host communities; and,
- to ensure that graduates come away with a life-long capacity to learn how to learn (Kealey and Protheroe, 1996, p. 154).

Trainees develop skills in assessing organizational cultures, trust-building (Bennett, Aston, and Colquhoun, 2000, p. 241), and communicating across and within multicultural intra-organizational groups and teams. In addition, trainers introduce the importance of intercultural competency when one is engaged in processes of network construction and maintenance, joint exchanges and decision making, shared risk taking, interest articulation, and the identification of major stakeholder groups and their interests, power bases, and limitations (Siegel, 1985, p. 116; Kealey and Protheroe, 1996, p. 155).

As the expatriates they work with increasingly adopt participative management styles, locally recruited staff will need to be prepared with corresponding partnership skills (Kealey and Protheroe, 1996, p. 155; Kealey, 1990:48). Training also needs to be provided in communication strategies for effective leadership in multicultural and multiorganizational relief and development settings, including participatory rural appraisals and evaluation, project identification and selection (Hyden, Koehn, and Saleh, 1996, pp. 44-45), team building and teamwork, logistical-problem resolution, making meetings work, networking, negotiation, functioning as an effective voice in mobilizing resources from community, government, and donor sources, and integrating diverse constituents into a common organizational culture (Harrison, 1994, p.28).

Appropriate training approaches include case study analysis and small group discussion of organizational communication problems in the multicultural workplace, presentations on effective strategies, action training using actual or simulated policy dilemmas and intercultural-communication barriers, and role playing intercultural negotiations and multicultural meetings. This training session also emphasizes mastery of effective

business-writing skills in the *lingua franca*. Finally, participants should be encouraged to prepare action plans that will serve as guidelines for implementation in their multicultural work environment.

The skill-development component of level-3 training requires receptiveness and commitment on the part of participants to on-going learning through practice. Trainer follow-up usually is effective in reinforcing such commitment.[17] At periodic intervals over the course of several years, therefore, trainers should visit program graduates at their work sites to answer questions, offer insights, and suggest approaches to handling specific intercultural-communication challenges and promising adaptations in light of observed workplace conditions and practices (Xiao, 1996, pp. 57-60, 69-70). These visits also can be used to review participants' progress in implementing the action plans they prepared during the level-3 program, to provide assistance with the further implementation of their action plans, to reinforce efficacy building experiences, and to develop and sustain an effective mentor system (Ptak, *et al.*, 1995, p. 426).

Emergency and crisis situations ensure that humanitarian-assistance personnel operate in a stressful and rest-deprived work environment. Local staff may witness immense suffering and experience feelings of "helplessness, guilt, or anger ..." (Eade & Williams, 1995, p. 973). Service in a multicultural work environment with minimal headquarters and government support and protection (Minear and Guillot, 1996, p. 65; Crossette, 2000a) adds to the extreme and prolonged level of emotional stress that aid-project participants encounter in the field.

One important dimension of the level-3 program, therefore, should be to help trainees develop skills and the confidence to manage adverse life conditions and events (Bandura, 1995, p. 26) and to cope with the tensions, interpersonal and identity conflicts, disproportionate-influence perceptions, and "other surprises" that will arise (Salk, 1997, p.49). It is likely to prove valuable in this training context to include experienced field personnel when demonstrating the stress-coping utility of group discussions and sharing sessions as well as individual efficacy-building techniques that support perseverance in the face of difficulties (Bandura, 1995, pp. 8, 11, 28).

The four sequential components embedded within each program and the three progressive program levels together constitute an integral, holistic training model. Each component provides the foundation for the next one in the sequence; each program level is built upon the previous level in progression. Thus, any omission would greatly diminish the effectiveness of the proposed training model. Moreover, the more community members who participate at each level, the greater the prospects for improved intercultural-communication outcomes in an impacted area (Maynard, 1999, p. 131). However, if resources for training purposes are scarce and it is impossible to deliver a complete training program to every involved constituent, we suggest that trainers limit the number of perimeter participants rather than compromise the integrity of the program by cutting an entire part. In other words, priority should be placed on quality over quantity.

Conclusion

In refugee-camp situations, approaches to organizational communication are required that address the paramount needs of dislocated and disrupted populations in a timely and resource-efficient manner. Improvements in the intercultural-communication skills of perimeter stakeholders promise to enhance a wide range of vital communicative processes. This outcome requires a training framework that differs in important ways from conventional models while building upon proven strategies and approaches. In particular, intercultural-communication training needs to incorporate the participatory energy and synergy of indigenous beneficiaries (Stohl, 1993, p. 379). The proposed progressive three-fold framework is designed to meet the pressing communicative challenges that confront humanitarian-assistance agencies in transnational and multicultural settings.

In emergency situations involving externally and internally displaced populations, the top communication-training priorities involve addressing the immediate needs of the victims and their hosts and the avoidance of further conflict. For this reason, the three-tier progressive training framework set forth here starts off with community-based programs that deal with the specific and immediate cultural environment. In this way, camp populations and their host community(ies) can be equipped with applicable basic and preventative intercultural-communication skills within days or a few weeks in a cost-effective manner. In addition, the first level of training forms the basis for further skill development among community leaders and aid-project participants.

As a result, many basics have already been covered when selected leaders and assistance workers move on to the level-2 program, which focuses on intercultural-mediation and conflict-resolution skills.[18] The comparatively time-consuming and costly level-3 training, which deals with general cross-cultural differences and relatively sophisticated multicultural organization communication skills, can be restricted to participants who have found employment with transnational aid agencies and can be incorporated and supported as a fundamental part of any existing staff-training efforts.

By placing the oft-neglected victims of population displacement at the center of attention, this paper's enlarged and multidisciplinary perspective on organizational communication suggests important implications for theory, methodology, and practice. First, frameworks for analyzing organizational communication need to treat diversity inclusively by incorporating the point of view of perimeter stakeholders. In this connection, it is fruitful to extend the concept of participation to encompass the involvement of impacted populations in processes of conflict-management, human-service provision, and education/training. The conditions and objectives that prevail in large-scale refugee camp situations also challenge the prevailing wisdom, based on social-learning theory (Harrison, 1994), that training should move from the culture-general to the culture-specific (Brislin and Yoshida, 1994; Gudykunst and Hammer, 1983).

Progressive intercultural-communication training methodologies that begin with mass-based preventative approaches promise to yield important payoffs in terms of reducing the demands and stresses placed on participants in programs designed to facilitate conflict resolution and service provision. The key to success in this regard is involving

all perimeter communities that are party to intercultural encounters in similar and simultaneous level-1 training so that the communicative skills they have learned will be reinforced by subsequent intergroup interactions and reactions (Cargile and Giles, 1996, pp. 404, 408, 413). The refugee and IDP context also reveals the utility of incorporating stress-coping strategies into the standard methodology for intercultural-communication training.

In terms of practice, a major implication of the program elaborated in this essay is that transnational organizations no longer can use cost considerations as justification for ignoring the potential benefits that accrue from intercultural-communication training for impacted persons, communities, and multicultural assistance agencies. The enhanced competence, mediation approaches, and local networking and capacity-building skills acquired through intercultural-communication training offer the victims of dislocation and their new neighbors the prospect of living in harmonious and mutually productive relationship with one another. Furthermore, multicultural organization communication competency allows selected individuals who are members of the impacted populations to provide effective community assistance in the relief and development work conducted by transnational organizations, to acquire valuable and portable professional skills, and to assume powerful cultural-broker and partner roles.

Through complex networks of interorganizational linkages and activities, transnational and indigenous organizations possess the potential capacity for cooperation and problem resolution when confronted with challenging humanitarian-assistance situations. The case of refugees and other displaced persons suggests that extending the vision of organizational communication to encompass perimeter communities constitutes a prerequisite for realizing this potential.

ENDNOTES

[1] Elsewhere, in a complementary essay (see Ngai and Koehn, 2001), the authors discuss an intercultural-communication training program that principally is focused on the expatriate managers of refugee-assistance programs. See also Maynard, 1999, p. 205.

[2] At http://www.reliefweb.int/training

[3] Refugees in Azerbaijan, for instance, "live without running water, electricity or medical care in railroad cars, tents, temporary prefabricated houses and holes in the ground, surviving on a few dollars a month, on handouts and heartache" (Frantz, 2000, pp. A1, 4). In contrast, the Kakuma and Dadaab camps gradually emerged as city-like enclaves in sparsely populated and underdeveloped northern Kenya (see de Montclos and Kagwanja, 2000, pp. 206, 210, 214).

[4] Population influxes exert a differential impact on various segments of local society. For some hosts, particularly the wealthy, new arrivals can be assets "because of their labour power and skills, and because they provide a broader market and generate demands for certain goods" (Sorenson, 1994, p. 180; also see Whitaker, 1999, pp. 3-6; Chambers, 1993, pp. 32-39). Others, especially women, the elderly, and those already disadvantaged in terms of access to wealth and power, suffer further marginalization (see Whitaker, 1999, pp. 10-14). Thus, Robert Chambers (1993, p. 43) concludes that "the deprivations, needs, and capabilities of the weaker hosts as well as those of the refugees deserve to be taken into account."

[5] In western Tanzania, donors and international and indigenous NGOs "initiated development projects for host communities in water, health, education, natural resources, and infrastructure." For details, see Whitaker (1999, p. 9).

[6] In Djibouti, for instance, "an influx of Issa refugees exacerbated existing ethnic tensions and provoked increased violence from the rival Afar group" (Sorenson, 1994, pp. 181-182).

[7] In an exceptional situation, the Nansen Group offers conflict-management training to Kosovo citizens (see Maynard, 1999, p. 184).

[8] In the Dadaab complex of camps in Northern Kenya, CARE employs more than 1,000 refugees. Staff drawn from the local host population comprise one-fifth of CARE's full-time employees. High-level jobs that offer superior wages typically are filled by "expatriates or by Kenyans who are not from the province." In Kakuma, NGOs prefer to hire refugees because they work for less – sometimes as little as one-tenth of a Kenyan's salary. Thus, clinics employ "ten refugees to assist one Kenyan" and the camp hospital's staff includes 78 refugees and 21 Kenyans (de Montclos and Kagwanja, 2000, p. 218).

[9] In Ngara District of western Tanzania, for instance, malnutrition rates were up to five times higher in villages surveyed in 1996 than in a refugee camp (see Whitaker, 1999, p. 4).

[10] This exercise could be carried out in a participatory manner by "spending time with people under their conditions, talking with them, and listening to them" (Waldron & Hasci, 1995, p. 28). The importance of refugee participation and consultation in all stages of decision making regarding their training constituted a recurring emphasis among participants at a 1994 International Symposium dedicated to refugee training. The experienced practitioners and other experts in attendance agreed that refugee needs, identified through careful assessments that involve refugees themselves

(specifically including women and the elderly), should drive the implementation of training programs (Koehn, 1994a, pp. 6, 64). Specific recommendations included (1) "training should be a community-based process of learning, empowerment, and enhancing self-esteem which takes place within a planning/learning/change spiral where all are teachers and learners" (*ibid.*, p. 70); (2) "in order to be sustainable, training in administration and management should be future-oriented and participatory, accommodating people-oriented planning with involvement of all players at all stages..." (*ibid.*, pp. 69-70); (3) training needs should "reflect the socio-economic, cultural, as well as human-resource needs of the country of origin and the refugees themselves" (*ibid.*, p. 72); and (4) appropriate training should include the incorporation and modification of traditional practices (*ibid.*, p. 68).

[11] Also see the important practical suggestions set forth in Bond (1992, pp. 403-404).

[12] Cargile and Giles (1996, p. 414) recommend that "if it is found that most trainees have intense negative feelings about the target host group, those feelings should be addressed and not glossed over."

[13] For instance, "in Croatia and Bosnia, CARE uses theater and dance to help schoolchildren integrate emotional and conceptual understanding of the regional conflict. By acting out a hypothetical dispute and eventually transforming it to a state of peace, the children experience both the emotions of conflict and the process and satisfaction of resolution" (Maynard, 1999, pp. 184-185).

[14] These recommendations are consistent with the primary goal of third-party nonviolent intervention (TPNI); i.e., "a general lowering of hostilities that will create a breathing space for further change to occur safely" (Schoenhaus, 2001, p. 27).

[15] In spite of the benefits that accrue to refugee populations from such proactive intercultural-communication training approaches, projects such as Filmaid International's projections of Tom & Jerry cartoons and "hopeful" feature films intended to distract children and adults who are bored by the tedium of camp life and to dull the psychological impact of armed conflict and dislocation receive substantially greater donor financial support. See McKinley (2000, p. B1).

[16] On the advantages of role playing as a tool for developing intercultural competency, see Mak, *et al.* (1999, pp. 84, 85, 87); Thomas (1998, p. 76); Hurdle (1991, p. 67).

[17] Michael Bond's (1992, pp. 408-409) experience indicates that "knowing that postmeasures will be taken, participants pay better attention during the seminar and are motivated to connect the seminar experience and content to their work situation."

[18] Kimberly Maynard (1999, p. 183) notes that "conflict management skills training usually spans no more than several days and may be repeated or continued in several sessions."

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