CHAPTER 3

The Genealogy of Intercultural Communication

3.1 CHAPTER OBJECTIVES

Generations of Latin students have had to memorise the beginning of Caesar's account of the Gallic wars (59–51 BC):

> *Gallia est omnis divisa in partes tres, quarum unam incolunt Belgae, aliam Aquitani, tertiam qui ipsorum lingua Celtae, nostra Galli appellantur. Hi omnes lingua, institutis, legibus inter se differunt.*
>
> English translation: All Gaul is divided into three parts, one of which the Belgae inhabit, the Aquitani another, those who in their own language are called Celts, in our Gauls, the third. All these differ from each other in language, customs and laws.[1]

Compare Caesar's account of the Belgae, Aquitani and Gauls with the beginning of this contemporary text about the Kurds:

> A largely Sunni Muslim people with their own language and culture, most Kurds live in the generally contiguous areas of Turkey, Iraq, Iran, Armenia and Syria – a mountainous region of southwest Asia generally known as Kurdistan.[2]

What Caesar sees as important in describing a people or a tribe – or, to put it in more contemporary terms, an ethnic group – are *lingua*, *institutis* and *legibus*. There is no mention of culture where the contemporary text has 'language and culture' – a ubiquitous collocation in contemporary writing about ethnic groups. Conversely, reference to customs and laws is typically absent from contemporary accounts of ethnic groups. This is

even more striking when one considers that 'customs' – which sometimes does appear in contemporary writing – may not be the most fortunate translation of *institutis*. The website from which I am quoting the original and the English translation has *istituzioni* in the Italian translation and *Einrichtungen* in the German translation, both of which are closer to English 'institutions' rather than 'customs'.

I want to use this example as a springboard for two observations: first, something that Caesar regarded as of prime importance in describing an 'exotic' ethnic group to his fellow Romans, namely institutions and laws, is no longer salient in the genre *description of an exotic/foreign ethnic group*. Second, culture – which is so ubiquitous today that it can be considered an English keyword (Bennett et al. 2005; R. Williams 1983) – was not even part of Caesar's vocabulary. While contemporary English *culture* does etymologically derive from Latin *cultura*, that Latin word was used to refer to human intervention in agriculture, the tending of natural growth, cultivation and husbandry (Kramsch 1998: 4).

How then did this way of talking about ethnic groups, specifically other ethnic groups, that is, excluding our own, in terms of culture arise? When and why did culture emerge as a central aspect of the social life of a group, and when did institutions disappear as a central aspect? How did we arrive at a situation, where everyone from academics to business people to journalists to politicians seems to have something to say about cultural differences and intercultural communication? This enquiry into the history of *culture* is instructive because '[t]he history of the idea of culture is a record of our reactions, in thought and feeling, to the changed conditions of our common life. [. . .] Its basic element is its effort at total qualitative assessment' (R. Williams 1982: 295).

The key argument I will be putting forward here is that the discourses of culture, cultural difference and intercultural communication arose in the historical context of the nineteenth and twentieth century as part of the processes of colonialism. The salience of intercultural communication in the present period is both a form of globalisation and a response to globalisation: that is, the discourse of intercultural communication is itself an aspect of globalisation, and, at the same time, it is a response to globalisation. Furthermore, discourses of culture, cultural difference and intercultural communication are an essential aspect of global inequality and they often serve to obscure power relationships and material differences. I will now briefly trace the history of intercultural communication by focusing on three interrelated terms: culture, multiculturalism and intercultural communication.

This chapter will thus enable you to:

- Gain an overview of the historical and socio-economic contexts in which the contemporary concern with cultural difference, multiculturalism and intercultural communication is embedded.
- Critically engage with the ideologies and material interests informing specific understandings of culture, multiculturalism and intercultural communication.

3.2   CULTURE

I will start by providing a brief history of the English word *culture* to explain its current ascendancy – my account is based on R. Williams (1983) and Bennett (2005). *Culture* was adopted into English from French and Latin in the fifteenth century in the agricultural meaning mentioned above ('husbandry and tending to natural growth'). From the early sixteenth century onwards this meaning was metaphorically extended to human growth, specifically aesthetic, spiritual and intellectual development, as in 'she neglected the culture of her understanding' (Johnson 1759, quoted in R. Williams 1983: 87). In the late nineteenth and early twentieth century a more abstract meaning developed from this one, referring to the works and practices of intellectual and artistic activity. However, the meaning most important for our purposes developed in the nineteenth century through influences from German. The equivalent German word, *Kultur*, had in the eighteenth century developed the meaning of 'historical self-development of humanity', which was seen as a unilinear process culminating in eighteenth-century European culture. As a countermovement, Herder and the European Romantic movement more generally began to emphasise folk cultures or popular cultures. Herder was the first one to argue for using *Kulturen* in the plural: 'the specific and variable cultures of different nations and periods, but also the specific and variable cultures of social and economic groups within a nation' (R. Williams 1983: 89). It is thus against the background of European Romanticism that this new meaning of *culture* emerged in English, and became the central category in the new discipline of anthropology. It was a key assumption of early anthropology that cultures formed a cline and that each culture was located somewhere on a specific point on a general path of human development from savagery to civilisation. The comparative study of cultures served the purpose to illustrate various points on this cline. *Primitive Culture* (1871) by Edward B. Tylor, one of the first professors of anthropology at Oxford University, is an oft-quoted example of the early days of this new meaning of *culture* in English:

In taking up the problem of the development of culture as a branch of ethnological research, a first proceeding is to obtain a means of measurement. Seeking something like a definite line along which to reckon progression and retrogression in civilization, we may apparently find it best in the classification of real tribes and nations, past and present. Civilization actually existing among mankind in different grades, we are enabled to estimate and compare it by positive examples. The educated world of Europe and America practically sets a standard by simply placing its own nations at one end of the social series and savage tribes at the other, arranging the rest of mankind between those limits according as they correspond more closely to savage or to cultured life. The principal criteria of classification are the absence or presence, high or low development, of the industrial arts, especially metal-working, manufacture of implements and vessels, agriculture, architecture, etc., the extent of scientific knowledge, the definiteness of moral principles, the condition of religious belief and ceremony, the degree of social and political organization, and so forth. Thus, on the definite basis of compared facts, ethnographers are able to set up at least a rough scale of civilization. Few would dispute that the following races are arranged rightly in order of culture: — Australian, Tahitian, Aztec, Chinese, Italian. (Tylor 1920: 26f.)

The emergence of anthropology as an academic discipline and the spread of a new central meaning of culture as 'a particular way of life, whether of a people, a period, a group, or humanity in general' (R. Williams 1983: 90) occurred in the context of the development of the modern nation state, the industrial revolution, nineteenth-century colonialism and its twentieth-century extension, globalisation. The academic concerns of Tylor need to be read in the context of a period where increased travel led to an increased awareness of different peoples and where the subjugation and exploitation of those peoples needed to be morally justified: their assumed cultural inferiority together with the assumption of a developmental path from savagery to civilisation provided the moral justification for colonialism. The new meaning of culture was not only part of the justification of colonialism, it made colonialism as a civilising effort a moral obligation, the 'White man's burden'. Rudyard Kipling's poem of this title was published in a popular magazine in 1899 during the early phase of the Philippine-American war, when the USA tried to gain colonial control over the Philippines after having successfully deposed the Spanish. In this context, the poem was widely read as a justification of US colonialism in the Philippines.

Rudyard Kipling, 1899, *The White Man's Burden: The United States and the Philippine Islands*[3]

Send forth the best ye breed—
Go bind your sons to exile
To serve your captives' need;
To wait in heavy harness,
On fluttered folk and wild—
Your new-caught, sullen peoples,
Half-devil and half-child.

Take up the White Man's burden—
In patience to abide,
To veil the threat of terror
And check the show of pride;
By open speech and simple,
An hundred times made plain
To seek another's profit,
And work another's gain.

Take up the White Man's burden—
The savage wars of peace—
Fill full the mouth of Famine
And bid the sickness cease;
And when your goal is nearest
The end for others sought,
Watch sloth and heathen Folly
Bring all your hopes to nought.

Take up the White Man's burden—
No tawdry rule of kings,
But toil of serf and sweeper—
The tale of common things.
The ports ye shall not enter,
The roads ye shall not tread,
Go mark them with your living,
And mark them with your dead.

Take up the White Man's burden—
And reap his old reward:
The blame of those ye better,
The hate of those ye guard—
The cry of hosts ye humour

(Ah, slowly!) toward the light:—
'Why brought he us from bondage,
Our loved Egyptian night?'

Take up the White Man's burden—
Ye dare not stoop to less—
Nor call too loud on Freedom
To cloke your weariness;
By all ye cry or whisper,
By all ye leave or do,
The silent, sullen peoples
Shall weigh your gods and you.

Take up the White Man's burden—
Have done with childish days—
The lightly proferred laurel,
The easy, ungrudged praise.
Comes now, to search your manhood
Through all the thankless years
Cold, edged with dear-bought wisdom,
The judgment of your peers!

It is important to note that this new view of culture that emerged in the nineteenth century – of different peoples having different cultures and these cultures being unequal with European culture the most superior – was not restricted to academia, specifically the emerging discipline of anthropology, or poetry (McClintock 1995). Cultural difference and cultural superiority became a central aspect of European and North American discourse about the wider world. Rudyard Kipling's poem was published in a popular magazine and English poetry was much more widely read then and had a much higher status than it has today (McWhorter 2003). Indeed, the idea of the 'White man's burden' became so popular that it was even used in advertising. An ad for 'Pears' Soap' from around 1900, for instance, shows a white ship's captain in a crisp white uniform washing his hands, surrounded by images of ships on the high seas, at port being loaded with containers, and a naked submissive black person cowering before a white colonial official.[4] The impetus to better inferior cultures is the key positive association for the soap that is being marketed as the soap of choice of 'the cultured of all nations'. The body copy of the ad reads:

The first step towards lightening / The White Man's Burden / is through teaching the virtues of cleanliness. Pears' Soap / is a potent

factor in brightening the dark corners of the earth as / civilization advances while amongst the cultured of all nations / it holds the highest place – it is the ideal toilet soap.

So far, I have outlined the origin of the broad meaning of culture that intercultural communication studies are based on: 'the specific and variable cultures of different nations and periods'. When this meaning first emerged in the nineteenth century and early twentieth century these cultures were most frequently seen as positioned at various points on a scale from savagery to civilisation. This evaluation of cultures as better or worse continues to this very day, and I will explore contemporary connections between discourses of cultural difference and racism in detail in Chapter 9. However, at the same time, another discourse has emerged that is also based on the conception of different cultures and cultural difference but that does not consider some cultures inferior or superior to each other. In this view, which is most commonly known as multiculturalism, cultural difference is seen as diversity that is enriching and that is a cause for celebration.

3.3 MULTICULTURALISM

The non-evolutionary view of cultural difference also has its roots in anthropology, and is usually traced back to the work of Franz Boas (1858–1942). Like Tylor, Boas is one of the pioneers of anthropology and he is often described as 'the father of American anthropology'. Boas' work became an important foundation for 'criticisms of American society as a melting pot in which differences were to be extinguished' (Bennett 2005: 67). This celebration of cultural diversity is most commonly termed multiculturalism. In the following, I will first provide a brief history of the term 'multiculturalism' before situating multiculturalism in the context of a case study, which will focus on Indian immigrants to a Southern US state, North Carolina.

According to the *Oxford English Dictionary* (*OED*) the adjective 'multicultural' predates the noun 'multiculturalism'. The *OED* has this definition of 'multicultural': 'Of or relating to a society consisting of a number of cultural groups, especially in which the distinctive cultural identity of each group is maintained.' The *OED*'s first citation of the adjective dates from 1935 in an academic paper in *The American Journal of Sociology*, where it had a distinctly negative flavour: 'The marginal man arises in a bi-cultural or multi-cultural situation.' The *OED*'s first citation for the noun 'multiculturalism' dates from 1957 in a reference to Switzerland, also in an academic journal, and is highly positive in its connotations: 'The key

to successful living here, as it is in Switzerland, is multilingualism, which can carry with it rich multiculturalism.' Both the adjective and the noun became widely used outside academia only from the 1970s onwards, in the beginning mostly in references to Australian and Canadian society where it referred to 'a social doctrine that distinguishes itself as a positive alternative for policies of assimilation, connoting a politics of recognition of the citizenship rights and cultural identities of ethnic minority groups' (Ang 2005: 226). The ascendancy of multiculturalism in the final decades of the twentieth century is also documented by the fact that it does not have an entry in a collection of cultural and societal keywords from the early 1980s (R. Williams 1983) but it does in a similar collection of such keywords published twenty-two years later (Bennett et al. 2005).

Positive connotations of cultural difference thus became widespread in the new climate of political decolonisation, the civil rights movement, and other reform and protest movements of the 1960s. During that period ethnic diversity resulting from migration also became increasingly visible to the mainstream in the destination countries of the labour migrations from the 1950s onwards (mostly Japan, North America and Western Europe). In many of these contexts 'multicultural' became a euphemism for 'multiethnic' or 'multiracial', 'indicating the extent to which debates on multiculturalism are predominantly concerned with the presence of non-white migrant communities in white, Western societies' (Ang 2005: 226). The fact that culture in multiculturalism and also intercultural communication often simply replaced ethnicity or race is one to which I will repeatedly return, particularly in Chapter 9.

Culture has been used as a euphemism for ethnicity and race both by majority groups in multiethnic societies as well as some minority groups. Many of the groups seeking recognition from the 1960s onwards – groups marginalised on the basis of race, ethnicity, gender or sexuality – turned to their 'culture' as a rallying point for their interests, in a move that came to be known as identity politics.

> Rather than organizing solely around ideology or party affiliation, identity politics typically concerns the liberation of a specific constituency marginalized within its larger context. Members of that constituency assert or reclaim ways of understanding their distinctiveness that challenge dominant oppressive characterizations, with the goal of greater self-determination. (Heyes 2002)

In order to put some meat on the bones of these terms, I will now exemplify them with a case study of Indians in North Carolina (Subramanian

2000). I will first describe the historical and socio-economic background to Indian migration to North Carolina, before discussing how 'culture' has been deployed in this context and exploring the implications and consequences for multiculturalism.

North Carolina is inter alia known for Research Triangle Park (RTP), one of the largest centres of high-tech research and development in the world. RTP was founded in 1959 in the so-called triangle of Duke University, North Carolina State University and the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill. In 2009, the year of its 50th anniversary, RTP was home to over 170 companies employing around 39,000 workers in research- and development-related jobs. Of these, 83 per cent worked for multinational companies such as IBM, GlaxoSmithKline, Cisco or Nortel in the fields of biotechnology, computing, chemicals, environmental sciences, IT, instrumentation, materials science, microelectronics, pharmaceuticals, public health, telecommunications and statistics.[5] RTP was founded at the height of the Cold War, two years after the Soviet launch of Sputnik had thrown the USA into a technological and scientific panic. In order to staff RTP and similar research initiatives around the country, the US government chose to rely to a great degree upon immigrants and to a much lesser degree on local training. India became one of the major source countries of US researchers. Between 1966 and 1977 roughly 20,000 scientists, 40,000 engineers and 25,000 doctors from India migrated to the USA. This changed after immigration laws were tightened in 1976. The high numbers of Indian scientists that became part of this brain drain are a direct product of Indian state developmental planning in the post-independence period, which aimed at increasing the number of scientists in the country and expanding the number of technical institutions in order to achieve economic self-sufficiency and poverty alleviation. Most of the students at technical institutions were drawn from the highest castes of Indian society. This background is essential to understanding Indian-American 'culture' because a 'key attribute [of Indian-American culture in North Carolina], one that has buttressed their claim to first-class citizenship, is professional class status' (Subramanian 2000: 106).

> Indians are currently one of the most affluent U.S. minority populations. They have emerged as a 'model minority' whose public profile fits neatly into the logic of American multiculturalism. They are 'hard-working,' they have their community institutions and practices, and they subscribe to a political conservatism that supports their material interests. Most importantly, they have attempted to define themselves in cultural terms that avoid any obvious racial referent. The coincidence of Indian professional

> migration to the U.S. and civil rights legislation that instituted a formal equality has permitted the ascendance of a politics of culture. The discrediting of racial ideology after World War II and the Civil Rights movement [. . .] has further contributed to this formulation of Indian identity. Now, 'culture,' with its constituent elements of region, language, and religion, has superseded race as the definitive characteristic of Indian immigrant identity.
> (Subramanian 2000: 107)

So class – both in the country of origin and the country of residence – is an important factor in the experience of North Carolina's Indian professionals. The second important factor is race. In the US context race is a key aspect of social structure and Reyes (2007) explains the positioning of Asian Americans with reference to three identity discourses: Asian Americans may be positioned vis-à-vis African and European Americans as 'not real Americans', that is, as perpetual foreigners. Asian Americans may also be positioned as either a problem minority or a model minority – in the former case they are associated with African Americans, and in the latter with European Americans, that is, they are seen as honorary whites.

In these complex racial positionings, North Carolina's Indian professionals have successfully avoided being racially framed. In particular, this has meant that they have been able to avoid the problem minority discourse of being associated with African Americans or with Hispanic immigrants. In order to dissociate themselves from these and other more recent and less successful immigrant groups, they have wielded their unique 'cultural identity' through building a range of cultural institutions: these include religious institutions (for example, Hindu temples, Sikh gurdwaras, Muslim mosques), national organisations (for example, India Heritage Society, Indian American Forum for Political Education, The Indus Entrepreneurs), regional language associations (at the time of her fieldwork in the late 1990s, Subramanian encountered twelve such language associations), and film and music festivals.

What does this case study tell us about multiculturalism and identity politics? To begin with, there is the obvious point that cultures meet and mingle in a specific historical, social and economic context. In the example, this context includes, for instance, the development aspirations of post-independence India, the Cold War, the race politics of the USA and particularly the American South, and the boom in scientific research and development over the past decades. Thus, multiculturalism per se does not exist; it exists in a specific context. Second, there is the less obvious point that 'culture' does not precede context but is created by various socio-economic contexts, that is, there are no essential American and

Indian 'cultures' that get mixed up to become 'multi-culture'. Instead a very specific version of Indian-American 'culture' is being created.

This invocation of culture has a number of consequences. First, the appeal to 'culture' is one way for Indians to gain acceptance as non-white persons in a society characterised by white privilege. Second, 'culture' also provides a means to stake a claim for a share of the pie of global capitalism: these Indians, like other non-European societies and minority populations within the West, 'make their own claims on the history of capitalism by finding capitalist ethics within their own "cultural traditions." [. . .] they wield cultural difference as a necessary vehicle of social mobility and capitalist success' (Subramanian 2000: 113). Third, the mobilisation of 'culture', while partly enabled by the Civil Rights movement, also obscures the persistence of racial and class inequality, and the appeal to 'culture' includes a distancing from ethnic and class solidarity. Multiculturalism thus becomes a new way to secure class privilege:

> [. . .] far from class-neutral, multiculturalism is a new hegemonic discourse [. . .]. The post-Civil Rights shift from a racial to a cultural model of citizenship has allowed for a rearticulation of minority identity in cultural terms that secures class privilege. When we consider that this adopted professional politics dovetails with the state's own efforts at managing diversity, it appears that multiculturalism is a new kind of class politics, although one that is fragmented by multiple histories of migration and that is peculiarly blind to its own elitism. (Subramanian 2000: 113)

The discourse of intercultural communication articulates to a significant degree with that of multiculturalism: they share a similar understanding of culture and they emerged at around the same time. However, while multiculturalism is mostly concerned with intra-national 'cultural diversity', the thrust of intercultural communication tends to be towards dealing with international 'cultural diversity', and it is towards the specific genealogy of intercultural communication that I will now turn.

3.4 INTERCULTURAL COMMUNICATION

In English, people started to talk about intercultural communication at around the same time that multiculturalism appeared. The *OED* has the first entry for 'intercultural contacts' in a 1937 article in the journal *Theology*, and a second one from 1955 from the *Scientific American*. The first occurrence of the term in the *Historic Australian Newspapers, 1803–1954*

corpus at the National Library of Australia[6] is slightly earlier from a 1934 article in *The Argus*, with a report about a visiting missionary arguing for the 'need for promoting intercultural relationships with the Orient'.

The *OED*'s 1955 quotation points to an early applied focus of interest in intercultural communication: 'In the interest of intercultural understanding various U.S. Government agencies have hired anthropologists.' The first documented use of 'cross-cultural' according to the *OED* is in the 1944 book *A Scientific Theory of Culture* by the famous anthropologist Bronislaw Malinowski: 'There is the comparative method, in which the student is primarily interested in gathering extensive cross-cultural documentations' and, also in the 1940s, another famous anthropologist, Margaret Mead, is cited by the *OED* as writing 'All people who have had the good fortune to learn several languages in childhood have a precious degree of cross-cultural understanding.' We can see that the partial overlapping of the two terms started early: while the Malinowski quote is in line with the comparative definition of 'cross-cultural' introduced in Chapter 2, the usage in the Mead quote aligns with the definition of 'intercultural' there.

Like multiculturalism, intercultural communication seems to have spread from academic publications into general discourse. A keyword search in the catalogue of the Library of Congress[7] for 'cross-cultural communication' and 'intercultural communication' documents that books that are relevant to these keywords first started to appear in the 1940s. A search in August 2010 yielded 3,071 entries. More than half of these (52.6 per cent; n = 1,614) have been published since 2000; 31.6 per cent (n = 969) were published in the 1990s; and another 10.5 per cent (n = 323) in the 1980s. That means that holdings filed under the keywords 'intercultural communication' or 'cross-cultural communication' have grown exponentially since they first started to appear in the 1940s (see Figure 3.1).

Not considering ten undated entries, the first book on intercultural communication held by the Library of Congress is a 1944 Argentinean publication (Romero 1944), followed by 1947 conference proceedings in religious studies (Bryson et al. 1947). The next holdings on intercultural communication date from 1959 (Bunker and Adair 1959; Hall 1959; World Confederation of Organizations of the Teaching Profession 1959), and after that date publications slowly start to take off. The early publications fall into a number of clearly identifiable strands:

- military (for example, Geldard and Bouman 1965; Gerver and Sinaiko 1978; Kraemer 1969)
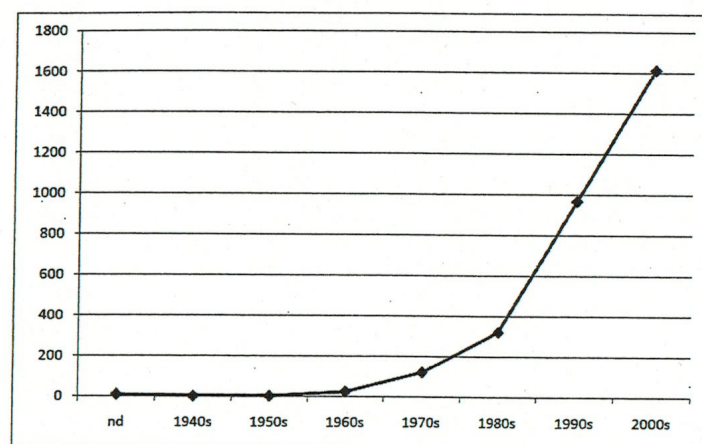- corporate business, particularly Japan–US (for example, Barnlund 1989; Carlisle 1967; Hall and Hall 1987)

Figure 3.1: Publication dates of Library of Congress holdings on the topic of intercultural communication

- missionary and religious studies (for example, Cooke 1962; Jurji 1969; Mayers 1974).

These strands continue to be central to publications in intercultural communication today (for example, Bosrock 2006; Lowe 2004; Timmerman and Segaert 2005), but, as more and more publications have appeared, these have obviously become diversified.

What are the historical socio-economic contexts in which the exponentially growing interest in intercultural communication, particularly in the three key strands of activity, is situated? As in the case study of multiculturalism I introduced above, the Cold War undoubtedly goes a long way to explain military interest in intercultural communication and many of the early developments in the field were associated with the US military. For instance, William B. Gudykunst, a key figure in intercultural communication studies and author and editor of numerous widely read publications in the field (for example, Asante and Gudykunst 1989; Gudykunst 1983, 1986, 1988a, 1988b, 1994, 2003, 2004, 2005; Gudykunst and Kim 1984, 2002; Gudykunst and Mody 2001; Gudykunst et al. 1985; Gudykunst et al. 1996; Kim and Gudykunst 1988) started his career in the US Navy, where he once served as an intercultural relations specialist in Japan.[8]

A related source for intercultural communication studies is the Foreign Service Institute (FSI) of the US Department of State, which Leeds-

Hurwitz (1990) identifies as the origin of intercultural communication studies, and which also appears in the 1955 *OED* quote cited above. Leeds-Hurwitz (1990) shows how the specific context of the FSI, which prepares US diplomats for their missions abroad, influenced the foundational assumptions of the fledgling discipline in the 1940s and 1950s. The FSI grew out of various language training programmes for military personnel during World War II. One of the anthropologists hired by the FSI, Edward T. Hall, whose books *The Silent Language* and *The Hidden Dimension* (1959, 1966) are widely considered to be classics in the field, became particularly influential. His approach to intercultural communication in turn was shaped by the practical concerns of his students:

> [T]he students in the FSI classes had no interest in generalizations or specific examples that applied to countries other than the ones to which they were assigned; they wanted concrete, immediately useful, details provided to them before they left the US [. . .] they would tolerate only a few theoretical statements, although they paid attention to concrete details of real occurrences and were able to learn from them by drawing their own generalizations. (Leeds-Hurwitz 1990: 263, 269)

Consequently, Hall, an anthropologist by training, began to emphasise micro-cultural details over a more holistic view of culture. Specifically, he identified proxemics, time, paralanguage and kinesics as key aspects in need of attention in intercultural communication situations, and these continue to be cornerstones of many texts in the field. The basic idea is that people from different cultures – and cultures are usually equated with nations in this paradigm for obvious reasons – differ in their use of space, their conceptions of time, their ways of using paralinguistic phenomena such as intonation and pitch, and in the ways they move their bodies. In order to make these easily amenable to the needs of their students, Hall and his colleagues attempted to describe proxemics, time, paralanguage and kinesics in the same systematic way that descriptive structural linguists had developed for describing language, and particularly pronunciation:

> A microcultural investigation and analysis properly conducted can provide material which can be compared in the same way that phonetic and phonemic material from different languages can be compared. The results of such studies are quite specific and can therefore be taught in much the same way that language can be taught. (Hall 1960: 272)

Linguistics has long since moved away from structuralism with its emphasis on discrete units that contrast and combine to form the structure of a language but the influence of structural linguistics continues to be felt in intercultural communication studies. Thus, it is not only the field itself that developed in US military and diplomatic institutions of the mid-twentieth century, but also a very specific theoretical and methodological approach to intercultural communication.

However, while we can observe clear institutional links between early intercultural communication scholarship and the US military and diplomacy, the Cold War itself was not played out on the territory of culture but on the territory of ideology, with capitalism pitted against communism. The key international conflict that has followed the Cold War – the War on Terror, as it is called from a Western perspective – is much more obviously based on a view of the enemy in terms of culture and is widely understood as a 'clash of civilizations' (Huntington 1993), particularly between 'the West' and 'Islam'. A Canberra Paper on Strategy and Defense, for instance, identifies 'culture' as a key challenge in contemporary military strategy:

> In the 21st Century, the real 'Revolution in Military Affairs' will be the ability to transcend one's own cultural paradigms and to view the adversary through his own cultural norms and assumptions.
> (Lowe 2004, back cover)

The applied impetus behind intercultural communication studies is also apparent in other strands of intercultural communication: while the military and diplomatic strand alternatively seems to aspire to bringing world peace through intercultural communication on the one hand, and gaining a military advantage through intercultural communication on the other, literature in the business strand tends to be more unequivocal about the use of intercultural communication knowledge for the purposes of gaining a business edge. The period when intercultural communication studies started to take off in business studies in the early 1970s coincides with the rapid increase in Japanese exports and a perception, particularly in the USA, that Japanese imports, particularly in key sectors such as automobile manufacturing (Smitka 1999), presented a threat to the national economy. Political economists usually identify the reasons for this surplus in the quota and tariff barriers Japan was subsequently pressured into dismantling. However, business studies and business commentators in the media widely held a view that the Japanese economic miracle, and particularly the Japanese export surplus, was a result of Japanese culture and character. Consequently, there emerged a strong desire to understand that culture

in order to be able to meet 'the Japanese challenge' (Keegan 1984), and, incidentally, Edward T. Hall also made an important contribution in this context with his book *Hidden Differences: Doing Business with the Japanese* (Hall and Hall 1987).

Interest in and concern for intercultural communication thus first became widespread at a time when there was an increasing awareness of international relationships but – unlike in the nineteenth century – that international world was no longer self-evidently inferior: there were the technological and scientific successes of the Soviet Union, the military and civil disobedience successes of former colonies that led to decolonisation, and the economic successes of Germany, Japan and other Asian nations. So the rise of the discourse of intercultural communication coincides with the rise of a US perception of the world in terms of international competition and threat. This is also the period when globalisation first became a widely used term, and it is to the interconnections between intercultural communication and globalisation that I will turn to in Chapter 7.

3.5 KEY POINTS

This chapter made the following key points:

- If 'culture' does not self-evidently exist (as discussed in Chapter 2), it is instructive to ask in which contexts it first came to be noticed and talked about. Somewhat provocatively, in which contexts were culture and cultural differences talked into existence? In English, this was in the nineteenth century at a time of rapid colonial and imperial expansion of both the UK and the USA.
- In the nineteenth century, cultural differences were conceived in terms of an evolutionary hierarchy but when the idea of European superiority was called into question through various socio-economic and political developments in the second half of the twentieth century, intercultural communication started to be seen as a means to overcome cultural difference – be it cooperatively ('good intercultural communication leads to greater understanding') or competitively ('good intercultural communication helps to beat the other at their own tricks').

3.6 FURTHER READING

Raymond Williams' (1983) review of the keyword 'culture' continues to be a profitable read and is nicely supplemented by Bennett (2005).

Leeds-Hurwitz's (1990) account of the foundation of intercultural communication studies in the Foreign Service Institute continues to be the most authoritative account of the early days of the field. If you want to read some intercultural communication classics, Hall (for example, Hall 1959, 1960, 1966; Hall and Hall 1987) makes for enjoyable reading.

3.7 ACTIVITIES

The discipline-specific socio-historical contexts of intercultural communication

Consult a discipline-specific bibliographic database (e.g. *Business Source Premier* for business studies, *LLBA* for linguistics, *PsycINFO* for psychology) and document when publications that had 'cross-cultural communication' or 'intercultural communication' as a keyword or as part of the title started to appear. Make sure to also consult the hard copies of the database before the records of the electronic version begin. Document the quantitative and qualitative development of intercultural communication for the discipline. In order to document the quantitative development, plot the number of publications against time in a diagram like the one in Figure 3.1. In order to document the qualitative development, identify whether 'strands' or topical concerns stand out on the basis of the titles and abstracts (if available).

The language-specific socio-historical contexts of intercultural communication

Alternatively, if you have access to bibliographic resources in a language other than English, consult a national equivalent of the catalogue of the Library of Congress, if such an equivalent exists, and document the quantitative and qualitative development of the translation equivalent of 'intercultural communication' (for example, Chinese 跨文化交际; German *Interkulturelle Kommunikation*; Japanese 異文化コミュニケーション) for that language. If you want to write a more extensive research paper, you could also try to research the personal and institutional links, if any, between intercultural communication studies in the English-speaking world and its translation equivalent in your language.

NOTES

1. I am quoting both the Latin original and the English translation from http://digilander.iol.it/jackdanielspl/Cesare/bellogallico.html. Last accessed 7 September 2006.

2. http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-srv/inatl/daily/feb99/kurdprofile.htm. Last accessed 15 October 2010.
3. Quoted from: http://www.fordham.edu/halsall/mod/Kipling.html. Last accessed 15 October 2010.
4. http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Image:1890sc_Pears_Soap_Ad.jpg. Last accessed 12 October 2010.
5. http://www.rtp.org/. Last accessed 2 September 2010.
6. http://newspapers.nla.gov.au/. Last accessed 12 August 2010.
7. http://catalog.loc.gov/. Last accessed 12 August 2010.
8. http://campusapps.fullerton.edu/news/2005/116_gudykunst.html. Last accessed 15 October 2010.