

3 Interdisciplinary History of Intercultural Communication Studies

From Roots to Research and Praxis

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Introduction and Overview: A Rationale for Re-examination

What is the use of a disciplinary and organizational history? ... history ... can illuminate the past as well as the present ... it often becomes possible to understand assumptions and patterns invisible to those who made the history. (Gehrke & Keith, 2014, p. 1)

Intercultural Communication (IC) refers to a broad range of complex, inter-related, academic and application-oriented streams (e.g., “murky waters,” Baldwin, 2016; Leeds-Hurwitz, 2010). While these streams or branches (González, 2010) have diverged, many intercultural scholars, educators, and practitioners, diversity consultants and facilitators, and cross-cultural researchers, trainers, mediators, and counselors still acknowledge origins based on these narratives:

(1) The intercultural focus and field is attributed to be an outgrowth of post-WWII contexts in the USA, e.g., academic consultants employed by the military to both understand the contexts of war and then “win the peace” after it ended, the large influx of international students to American universities, international volunteer work through agencies like the Peace Corps, the expansion of multinational corporations around the globe, and domestic progress toward inclusion and diversity in ethnic and race relations (cf. Martin &

Nakayama, 2010; Pusch, 2004; Rogers & Steinfatt, 1999; Sorrells, 2012).

- (2) Intercultural education largely arose out of the need to educate students from different cultural backgrounds in the same classroom in the USA (e.g., Hoopes, 1971, 1980; Renwick, 1994), whereas intercultural training mostly arose out of the need to train government officers who needed to be effective in other countries for short-term sojourns (e.g., Edward T. Hall and the Foreign Service Institute [FSI]).
- (3) Much of the content and methods for cultivating intercultural awareness grew from and relied on the contributions of cultural anthropologists (e.g., Benedict, 1934; C. Kluckhohn, 1954, 1962; F. Kluckhohn & Strodtbeck, 1961) and related approaches to cultural comparison (Parsons & Shils, 1951) later adding educational, cross-cultural psychology, communication studies, and international relations perspectives (Harman & Briggs, 1991; Hart, 1999; Landis & Wasilewski, 1999; Pusch, 2004, 2004).
- (4) Early conceptualizing, theorizing, and efforts toward systematic intercultural training was integrated through pioneering initiatives by Hall and FSI colleagues in the 1950s (Leeds-Hurwitz, 1990; Rogers & Steinfatt, 1999) and focused on communication between individuals from different national cultures (Croucher, Sommier, & Rhamani, 2015).

Additionally, the field's scope and content (Bhawuk, 2000, 2009a; Bhawuk & Brislin, 2000; Pusch, 2004) include and primarily focus on:

- (5) Comparing or contrasting cultures at macro levels associated with geopolitical nation-states and their socio-political-economic culture-level traits vs. individual-level data, where differences such as collectivism and individualism (e.g., Bhawuk, 2009a; Hofstede, 1980; Triandis, 1991) or high- and low-context cultures (Hall, 1959, 1966) are considered to have high explanatory value.
- (6) Highlighting the homogenous "national character" or observable mainstream traits and trends of national cultures (contrasting statistical means or generalized features of Culture A vs. Culture B), noting the cross-cultural differences of how peoples communicate, (M. S. Kim, 2010).
- (7) Developing and integrating universal cross-cultural theories for use by educational, business, government, or non-government organizations toward developing higher levels of competence or expertise (e.g., Bhawuk, 2009a; Leeds-Hurwitz, 1990; Pusch, 2004) for receiving or sending sojourners (Ady, 1995).
- (8) Providing insightful cognitive, affective, and behavioral information, via teaching or experience, on both culture-general universals (etics) and culture-specific patterns (emics).
- (9) Considering and refining culture learning models, processes, and methods that can be systematically applied to various education or training needs (Bhawuk, 2009a; Clarke, 2008; Clark & Takeshiro, 2014).
- (10) Taking learners through process-oriented sequences of describing, interpreting, and

evaluating concrete encounters with other cultures (e.g., the D-I-E tool, Bennett et al., 1977; or its D-A-E version, Nam & Condon, 2010; Nam, 2012) to expose attributions and learn from disconfirmed expectations (Bhawuk, 2009a).

Though Hall no doubt formulated and popularized "IC" as a term, analytical approach, and process (Hall, 1959, pp. ix, 10), recent research suggests that multiple sets of influences have shaped and perhaps still carry the intercultural field(s) forward (e.g., Martin, Nakayama, & Carbaugh, 2012; Prosser & Kulich, 2012, *IJIR Special Issue*). From today's vantage point, some of the previous assumptions inherent in the above "single-story" (Adiche, 2009) have come under critique.

Examples include Martin and Nakayama (1999) identifying leading paradigms and advocating a dialectic approach; Sorrells (2012) raising issues on how intercultural training can better enhance global engagement; Nam, Choi, and Lee (2013) noting similar issues for human resources and further advocating a "West meets East" perspective (Nam, Choi, & Lee, 2014); M. S. Kim (2010) suggesting, however, that over-generalized culture-level analyses tend to paint all "Asians" with the same collectivistic and high-context brush, perpetuate power relations between West and non-West, and oversimplify the complexity of the "rest of the world." Beyond these, Ogay and Edelmann (2016) addressed unclear and insufficiently complex conceptualizations of "culture" (cf. Moon, 1996) or context (Lefringhausen, Spencer-Oatey, & Debray, 2019). Ting-Toomey and Dorjee (2019) recently provided critiques of weaknesses in the above approaches, and also noted strengths to build on.

Critical IC scholarship challenges the "single story" (e.g., Piller, 2017), pointing out that the field's tendencies toward

essentialization, reification, and over-generalization are telling examples of power and privilege of the “mainstream” (cf. Moon, 1996, 2010) or just our “good intentions” (Gorski, 2008) to the point that some consider much of intercultural training to simply be a process of supplementing old stereotypes with new ones based on oversimplified binary constructs and dimensions (e.g., Houghton, 2009; Lebedko, 2010; Lehtonen, 1994; Scollon, Scollon, & Jones, 2012, p. 271). For example, authors in Asante, Miike, and Yin’s (2008) reader apply critical and non-Western approaches to global intercultural contexts. Authors in Nakayama and Halualani’s (2010) handbook advance varied critical and unequal power perspectives. Noteworthy is González’s (2010) call for “enlarging conceptual boundaries” beyond privileged Anglo-masculine analysis to feminist and gendered approaches, moving from communication “about” others to “with” them, and proposing new critical interdisciplinary work to address varying aspects of economic, class, ethnicity, gender, religion, or other aspects of diversity “interculturality” (cf. Dervin, 2016). Other scholars like Holliday (2011) argue for including power and ideology in the analysis of all intercultural interactions; Jebson (1999) considers how such practices affect professional practitioners in multiethnic societies, and Sorrells (2013) extends these to intercultural issues related to globalization, social justice, and agency (cf. Moon, 2010); and Croucher et al. (2015) review, assess, and reposition the field to address increasingly diverse conceptualizations and personal/cultural expressions of identity, varied needs for, contexts of, and approaches to intercultural competence, and increasingly challenging adaptation contexts, also urging increased IC applications to medicine/health care, social media, lesser studied cultures, and more communibiological, critical, and contextual approaches.

This chapter offers a response to these critiques by encouraging interculturalists to understand the diverse lines of our history in an intercultural way. Unreported or under-emphasized histories deserve to be considered, and the related interdisciplinary, interjective, and interactive sources of our work need to be noted, whether these are overlapping or conflicting. Therefore, the guiding, framing, and criterion question for this chapter is, “Outside of the mainstream narrative, what are the historical contexts, events, people, places, theories, concepts, processes, and impacts that we cannot afford to forget as a field?” This acknowledges that the “fields of inquiry, authors, and histories” drawn on have major implications on how one both approaches and applies the study of culture and communication (Baldwin, 2016, p. 20).

Continuing a Bordieuan “sociology of knowledge” approach (outlined in Bourdieu, 1998; Kulich & Zhang, 2012) and genealogical investigation (Foucault, 1972; cf. Moon, 1996, 2010; Piller, 2017), the following sections will introduce several of these “other” developmental trajectories and their contributions within three general periods:

1. Early historical thinking (pre-1900s, primarily European) on culture and social relations, which provided inspirations for comparative, universal/relativist, structural-functional and nuanced contextual considerations of cultural groups in interaction.
2. Early American initiatives (pre-Hall and pre-1970s), through which updated conceptualizations, operationalizations, and critiques of social and cultural theory laid the foundations for the emerging field(s).
3. Formalization of the IC and cross-cultural communication (CC) fields in the 1970s, wherein multiple disciplinary and paradigmatic approaches, associations, theories, and journals were developed that continue

to cross-fertilize and evolve to meet the realities and needs of cultural contexts faced today. An additional, but unrealized, goal was to comparatively profile the development of IC fields in different nations and divergent development histories. Though sizeable sections have already been written for Japan, Germany, and China (juxtaposing the parallel and contrasting trajectories in locations where intercultural studies are both developed and diverse), there proved to be inadequate space to map these important histories in this chapter. Until those notes can be published elsewhere, the best multinational and multi-perspective overview appears in Martin, Nakayama, and Carbaugh's history (2012, 2020).

Reflecting constructively on our past will not only help to explain our diversified roots, but also offer new ways to understand how our degrees of commonality or diversity can move us toward future development. This chapter does what interculturalists generally seek to do in research, teaching, training, or consulting: to check, compare, and contrast our unreflected assumptions about the tradition(s) and complex contexts of scholarship or applications from which we came, on which we build, and for which we move forward. It is important that we examine the history of intercultural studies and training in an intercultural manner.

Early European Applications and Conceptualizations (pre-1900s) of Interculture, Culture, and Cultural Comparison

Intercultural Awareness Is Not as New as We Think

To argue that mankind's ability to engage in "intercultural thinking" is a product of

intellectual evolution would overlook rich historical strands of comparative thought. There *was* a time where prevailing western assumptions concluded that societies advanced from primitive to modern through imperialistic, modernizing assistance (Boas, 1911; Tylor, 1871). However, ideas fostering intercultural thinking or practice existed much earlier than noted in most published accounts. Exploring these will allow us to see that Hall's work is best understood as an important catalyst for what became a set of formalized fields in the 1970s.

To begin, the term *intercultural* predates Hall. Among its early conceptualizations was Edmund Husserl's first German usage of *interkulturell* as an adjective (1931/1974, p. 234) in his work on intersubjectivity and phenomenology. Husserl's student William Ernest Hocking later investigated what he called "intercultural contacts" between different faiths in a special issue of *The Journal of Religion* (1934) and a chapter on "World-Religions and Intercultural Contacts" (in Haydon, 1934). When Y. P. Mei wrote comparatively on Zoroastrianism (cited in Elberfeld, 2008b, p. 11), Archibald Baker (1927) called it "another contribution toward *intercultural* appreciation," and in a later article asked: "How successfully do the ideals and the ethics of each [religion] measure up to the requirements of that newer idealism and world conscience which is actually in a process of formation as an inevitable result of the *intercultural* relationships of the modern world?" (Baker, 1929, both cited in Elberfeld, 2008b).

However, even long before the twentieth century, intercultural thinking was exhibited by thinkers concerned about localized thinking or limited perspectives. Socrates noted that "Humans must rise above the Earth . . . to the top of the atmosphere and beyond. For only thus will we understand the world in which we live" (Plato, 1925/1966, *Phaedo*). Though this

quote has been used to demonstrate the importance of gaining and viewing the world from new vantage points, Socrates himself or his approach to learning is rarely discussed in relation to intercultural concepts. The same can be said about historical quotes emphasizing the value of languages, such as Frankish Emperor Charlemagne's (c. 800) "To have another language is to possess a second soul," and German poet and playwright Goethe's (in *Maxims and Reflections*, c. 1833) "Those who know nothing of foreign languages know nothing of their own."

Many other itinerant medieval missionaries, poets, and thinkers across Europe also helped shape an awareness of how little country and culture borders matter, of whom we can only introduce a few. Ibn Khaldûn (1377/1968), the Arab historian whose works would influence the modern social sciences, challenged prevailing narratives of other peoples and noted varied reasons for cultural differences, including their mentality, education, social and political behavior, and architecture (Hofstede, 2001).

Whether based on academic assessments or traveler's observations (e.g., Marco Polo), philosopher Michel Eyquem de Montaigne addressed a need for understanding other cultures during the French Renaissance in the mid-sixteenth century (1533–1592). In his work *Essays* (1580), Montaigne argued that humans are naturally inclined toward the belief that one's own culture is superior (labeled much later by Sumner, 1906, as ethnocentrism). While skeptical of the benefits of simply knowing about other cultures, Montaigne did record customs foreign to Europe to allow people to compare and judge the "shortcomings" of their own culture. The danger of provincialism was also addressed in Pascal's (c. 1650) *Pensées (Thoughts)*: "There are truths on this side of the Pyrenees that are falsehoods on the other" (Hofstede translation, 2001, flyleaf).

Throughout the seventeenth century, efforts to understand languages in context were made by the "father of modern education," Czech Moravian John Comenius (Jan Amos Komenský). Comenius lived what we could call an intercultural life – after studying didactics and theology in Germany, he was persecuted in his Bohemian homeland and crisscrossed Europe like other itinerant teacher-thinkers of that period. Pointing to a need for age-appropriate logical thinking and wisdom-based teaching, he developed pictorial language and culture learning texts (1631/1636). He later formalized *The Great Didactic* (Comenius, 1633–1638), which provided a pattern for life-long learning (inspiring Piaget and other educators). His *Schola Pansophica* (1651) proposed educational opportunities for all classes, genders, and cultures (cf. Comenius, *Via lucis*, 1641/1668), which encouraged both universal education with regional variations and scientific knowledge aligned with theology.

These examples illustrate that across the ages some thinkers became aware of the value of relativizing one's own culture by seriously considering others. Further evidence can be found in diverse literary traditions. Already in the middle ages, *Le livre de Jean de Mandeville* (c. 1370) urged people not to look down on non-European cultures, but instead study them carefully; St. Thomas More (1516) fictitiously described a non-Christian country superior to Europe; and in the early eighteenth century, Jonathan Swift's (1726) satire *Gulliver's Travels* inverted all received perspectives on Europe and suggested that the world of horses far surpassed "enlightened" England. Beyond these comparative or counter-perspectival ideas in the humanities, the science of Copernicus, Galileo, and those who followed challenged assumptions of their time about the world itself.

Though most works highlighted in the next section illustrate Western thinking regarding

person or group in society or culture, there are ample examples of desired exposure to other cultures. Voltaire’s interest in Chinese culture is noted below, which was reflective of the mid-seventeenth-century European interest in Chinese decorative arts and ideas, like Catholic friar Domingo Fernández Navarrete’s *Tratados* (1676) providing representations of and adaptation to cultural others like the Chinese (Ellis, 2006), and also Leibniz’s *Letters from China* (*Novissima Sinica*, 1697). Such records of observations on, experiences in, and dialogues between other civilizations should be further explored to expand a global intercultural history. “Tradition is not simply a permanent precondition; rather we produce it ourselves inasmuch as we understand, participate in the evolution of tradition and hence further determine it ourselves” (Gadamer, 1960, p. 293). Though the thinkers selected here are limited by space, we encourage intercultural scholars and practitioners to reconsider differing versions of the past, with an eye for how these can contribute to understanding and working in today’s complex contexts.

The Enlightenment and the Path to Conceptualizing Culture

To understand *inter-cultural*, we must first understand culture and the manifold definitions and perspectives it perpetuates (e.g., Baldwin et al., 2006; Kroeber & Kluckhohn, 1952). We begin with several early representatives of the Enlightenment, for it was largely their contributions that formed the ideological underpinnings necessary for successive philosophers, sociologists, and anthropologists to identify and examine cultures (see Figure 3.1).

The Enlightenment was a period marked by intellectual pursuit and advancement. Though difficult to pinpoint an exact point of origin or complete cast of characters, it might be prudent to start with John Locke. In *An Essay Concerning Human Understanding* (1690), Locke maintained that the human mind, when born, is a blank slate (*tabula rasa*). As an empiricist, Locke (1690) argued that ideas are not innate, but instead are derived from experiences (either sensory or reflective), and

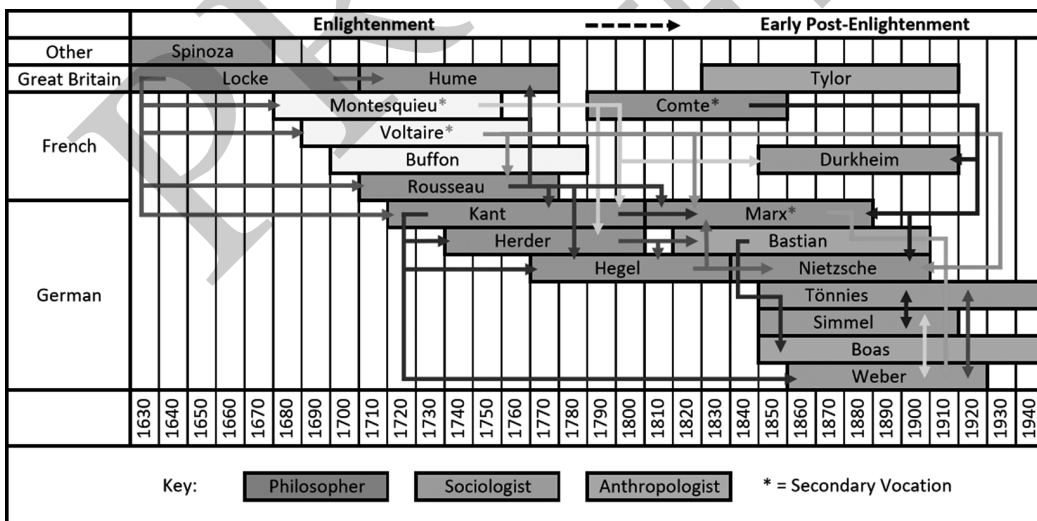


Figure 3.1 Intellectual history since the Enlightenment on culture, comparisons, and plurality of cultures (Arrows indicate lines of influence).

that all humans have the ability to freely receive and reflect on those experiences.

This significant divergence from nativism, which traces back to Plato and through Descartes, sought to repudiate the belief that some ideas are pre-ordained and therefore people are born “unequal.” Furthermore, Locke’s (1690) rejection of innate ideas led to his dismissal of universal agreement, whereby he argued people have different moral rules guided by a motivation of hedonism. This outlook had certain parallels with Jewish-Dutch philosopher Baruch Spinoza’s (1677) earlier claim on the subjectivity of good and evil, as well as Scottish philosopher David Hume’s (1751) later claim that morality is based on sentiment rather than reason. Moral and cultural relativism grew out of such streams.

In France, many Enlightenment (*Siècle des Lumières*) thinkers focused their attention on criticisms of government, religion, and society due to Roman Catholic dogmatism and monarchical despotism. In his seminal work *The Spirit of the Laws* (1748), judge Charles-Louis de Secondat, Baron de La Brède de Montesquieu examined societal unity through the lens of political systems (e.g., noting the requisite “principles” and motivations of citizens within different political systems), and in addition, proposed that geographic and climatic conditions impact people’s behavior (in line with contemporary acculturation studies).

Similarly, naturalist Georges-Louis Leclerc (Comte de Buffon) rejected the Linnaean taxonomic system in Volume I of his expansive encyclopedic work *Histoire naturelle* (1749–1804). He asserted that while “species” can be differentiated by anatomical structures, the division of species into categories based on those structures was artificial. Instead, individual beings are characterized by their interactions with nature (the roots of a constructivist approach).

Meanwhile, philosopher Jean-Jacques Rousseau expressed a more dystopic view in his book *Discourse on Inequality* (1755). Similar to the Earl of Shaftesbury’s earlier conceptualization of “noble savage” (1699), Rousseau suggests humans are born in a natural state (free, perfectible, savage), but become chained and restricted through contact with and competition in civil society. Furthermore, Rousseau believed that citizens should be able to choose the types of laws they abide by (1762) and that laws should be dictated by the “general will” (*volonté générale*) of the people (cf. Sieyès, Lafayette, & Jefferson, 1789).

The philosopher Voltaire used the phrase *esprit des nations* to refer to the characteristic quality of nations (though loosely defined) in his *Essay on the Manners and Spirit of Nations* (1756). In the same work, he praised aspects of Chinese and Indian cultures, specifically Confucianism and Hinduism (though denouncing Buddhism) and condemned Judaism as barbaric (and later Christianity for its intolerant stance towards heresy).

In the German Enlightenment (*Aufklärung*), Immanuel Kant (1781) would revolutionize philosophy in his attempt to reconcile rationalism (knowledge through reason) with empiricism (knowledge through senses) through transcendental idealism. While transcendental idealism was “criticized” by many, including his student Johann Gottfried von Herder, it was nevertheless the impetus for German idealism, which shaped epistemology, metaphysics, and research in the social sciences. Certain aspects of Kant’s philosophy run counter to the rising notion of moral relativism (see section on the Columbia University scholars in “From Stereotypes and Prejudice to Intergroup Contact Theory”) as Kantian ethics assumed that some maxims apply universally.

Furthermore, Kant racially categorized the human species through hereditary differences

resulting from migration or “crossbreeding,” and provided four orientations (White, Negro, Hunnish, and Hinduish), demarcated by physical features (Mikkelsen, 2013). Though Kant (1785/1793) treated such categorizations as speculative, he rejected a polygenic theory of race. In his later years he also denounced the “injustice” of European nations toward native Americans and the so-called “Negro” races, even suggesting that a union of peoples was intended by nature, though he remained opposed to crossbreeding. This reflects how some scholars in this formative period developed, reconceptualized or applied their ideas differentially, such as Kant’s later shift from races to nations.

In line with several earlier Enlightenment thinkers (e.g., Montesquieu), Kant also asserted that physical geography not only shaped physical differences, but customs and ways of thinking as well (Kant, 1775/1968). This theory was first presented in his anthropology lectures at Königsberg (1770s) and later adapted into *Anthropology from a Pragmatic Point of View* (1798). While not an anthropologist by modern standards, it should be noted Kant was one of the first to lecture on the subject (with an emphasis on biological anthropology, unlike Herder’s cultural anthropology).

Near the end of the Enlightenment, it was Herder (e.g., 1784–1791) who first applied the biological term culture (*Kultur*) to human societies. He noted that *culture* embodied a particular way of life, extending to and influenced by geographical characteristics (cf. Inglis, 2004). Herder posited that each culture (not “nation,” as the modern concept of geopolitical nation-states had not yet been established) possessed a *Geist des Volkes* (1784–1791) [ethnic/cultural spirit/mind]. This moved beyond Montesquieu’s *esprit générale* to emphasize the cultural aspects of a people rather than their collective political representation.

Herder’s concept of *Volk* (a people group) and *Völker* (different peoples, related, yet differentiated by the thought communities of their languages) further opened the door for the concept of “cultural relativity.” His critique of social evolutionist perspectives implied that all cultures deserve equal respect, providing a basis for understanding the cultural other, cultural hermeneutics, and valuing diversity, each of which are themes later emphasized in IC. Herder declared that we should not expect or require people of one culture adapt to the demands of a culture alien to them. While the National Socialists (Nazis) unfortunately later abused his ideas for their own ends, his original thoughts on culture(s) positively influenced several generations of scholars, including those who continued his legacy at the University of Berlin, like Adolf Bastian and Bastian’s student Franz Boas, who brought them to the USA.

Post-Enlightenment European Academic Contributions to Comparative Culture Explorations

While Herder conceptualized the phrase *Geist des Volkes*, it was Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel (1807) who later coined *Volksgeist* to define the “spirit of the people.” This concept (cf. Smith, 2019) led to a new focus on comparisons between cultures, such as the pioneering work of Wilhelm Wundt, father of experimental psychology, in developing *Völkerpsychologie* (1911–1920) (psychology of peoples), which aimed to examine psychological characteristics prevalent among members of a culture. This laid empirical foundations for the comparative psychological analysis of attitudes or behaviors in different cultural contexts (cf. Hofstede, 2001, pp. 13–15).

Hegel further noted the integral influence of the *Volksgeist* on the nation-state, and his

philosophy of history revolves around the *dialectical* relationship between the two – where contradictions lead to the unfolding of the *Absolute* and eventually, through transitions and transformations, to a unified *Weltgeist* (1837). Yet this *Weltgeist* is mobile – it will allow a particular people to fulfill its own potential perfectly only once, since any *Volksgeist* is always limited, whereupon the people must make way for the *Weltgeist* to empower a different people to fulfill its own concept. However, like most European intellectuals before and of his time, Hegel was Eurocentric in his purview of history (though Habib, 2017, argues his philosophy actually undermined his Eurocentric approaches). Hegel (1837) characterized oriental civilizations, especially Africa, as largely primitive and ahistorical, while simultaneously acknowledging, for instance, that Alexandria in Egypt became a point of union between East and West.

Borrowing from and critiquing Hegel's *dialectics*, Karl Marx (1843, 1859) developed the idea of *historical materialism*, that history is contingent both on production and control over the means of production, exemplified by recurring struggles between the ruling and subdued classes. Culture and religion were criticized as vehicles of control utilized by the bourgeoisie in capitalist society (Marx, 1843). The idea of *false consciousness*, (in later work with Engels, 1893) refers to ideology that is consciously enacted without knowledge of the driving forces behind it (foreshadowing later conceptualizations of "subjective culture"). While widely regarded for his philosophic, historical, and economic views, Marx also "founded" the conflict paradigm of sociology and critical cultural approaches (see section "From Stereotypes and Prejudice to Intergroup Contact Theory").

During this period, culture was commonly assumed to develop through stages (e.g., Hegel). Cultural historian Gustav Friedrich

Klemm (1843–1852) "traced human development from savagery through domestication to freedom" in his *General Cultural History of Mankind* (cf. Williams, 1983, p. 90). This tradition continued with French philosopher Auguste Comte (1853), who asserted that human societies evolved linearly through three cultural stages: theological (supernatural), metaphysical (abstract), and positive (scientific), a precursor to various development, modernization, and secularization theories. However, unlike Hegel, Comte believed objective knowledge is obtainable from observation, and formally founded positivism. He also believed human behavior followed axioms, just like the natural world. The modern social sciences, in particular *sociologie*, originate from this new trajectory.

Following Comte, early French sociologist Émile Durkheim sought to identify both "social facts" (social ways of acting, thinking or feeling that influence individuals) and "collective representations" (ideas, beliefs, and values held collectively as a kind of *völkergedanken* noted above). He examined social mechanisms for maintaining cohesiveness and posited a comparative frame between mechanical (traditional) and organic (modern) solidarity (Durkheim, 1893). Durkheim coined the term *collective consciousness* to define a set of public beliefs and sentiments shared by members of a society, typically manifested through religion, and noted its importance within mechanical solidarity. However, through simple division of labor, interdependence would allow for the rise of *individualism* and recession of the *collective consciousness*, resulting in organic solidarity (cf. Durkheim, 1894).

Shortly after Durkheim, William Sumner (1906/1940), used the term "*Folkways*" to refer to the unconscious habits and routines of individuals within a social group. He noted that "mores" are folkways that developed or

evolved into group level ethical standards (and coined the term “ethnocentrism”). Disobedience towards mores may lead to harsh penalties, whereas infractions against folkways have little to no repercussions.

In Germany, the three founders of the Deutsche Gesellschaft für Sociologie (DGS), Ferdinand Tönnies, Georg Simmel, and Max Weber, contributed extensively to the history of comparative cultural studies. Tönnies (1887/1957), sought to link philosophy with applied field studies, leading him to propose the *Gemeinschaft* vs. *Gesellschaft* (“community” vs. “association”) frame for comparing social structures (Tönnies, 1887). Though Tönnies’ work moved more toward societies than cultures, this dichotomy is later applied in Edmund Glenn’s early comparative language and “intercultural” studies (1957, 1966) and in Patricia Greenfield’s theory of culture change (2009).

Meanwhile, Simmel conceptualized the idea of the “Stranger” (1908) through his examinations of migration and ethnic mixing in growing major metropolitan centers such as Berlin. Simmel also highlighted differences in objective and subjective culture. Simmel’s writings influenced the research approach of the “Chicago school” of sociology, particularly Robert Park (1916) and his colleagues (who translated Simmel’s work, Park & Burgess, 1921). Adopting ethnographic participant-observer methods, they focused their research attention on studying ethnic communities and marginalized subcultures in urban contexts (Park, 1916, 1926), coining the phrase “marginal man” which in turn influenced intercultural scholars (see section on “Comparative Sociologists: Socio-Cultural and Intercultural Explorations [The 1920s on]”).

Lastly, Weber expanded on Marx’s ideas with his three-component theory of stratification (*Klassen, Stände, Partie*, 1922) and further noted the influence of culture on other facets of

society, such as economics. In his seminal work *The Protestant Ethic and Spirit of Capitalism*, Weber (1904/1976) argued that Calvinism, specifically the *proof of election*, drove capitalist society. Furthermore, with available descriptive summaries of contrasting cultures like Alfred Smith’s *Chinese Characteristics* (1890) or Ku Hung-Ming’s *Spirit of the Chinese People* (1915 first written German), Weber engaged in comparisons of Western Protestantism and Eastern Confucianism, noting Confucianism impeded China’s ability to become capitalistic. Through these observations, Weber concluded individuals act depending on their interpretation of society. Weber’s theories, alongside those of Simmel, eventually led to the formulation of the symbolic interactionism paradigm of sociology.

Roots for conceptualizing plurality might originate with Friedrich Nietzsche (about 1871). After attending Jacob Burckhardt’s lectures in 1868, he proposed *Kultur der Begegnung der Kulturen* (the culture of meeting/contact with “culture+s,” in the plural). Nietzsche promoted the potential for comparisons, interactions, and dialogic plurality (see Elberfeld, 2008a; cf. Kulich, 2017, pp. 38–39). In 1876–1877, Nietzsche suggested that a competent person gains maturity by experiencing a variety of cultures (“*verschiedene Culturen durchlebt*”), each of which must be comprehended (*Nachlass*). His philosophy of “perspectivism” advocated comparisons as a way to move toward a more objective plurality, “so that one knows how to make precisely the difference in perspectives and affective interpretations in the service of knowledge ... [T]he more affects we allow to speak about a matter, the more eyes, different eyes ... that much more complete will be our ‘concept’ of this thing, our ‘objectivity’ be” (Nietzsche, 1887).

Returning to the Herder stream above, Bastian followed the Herder-Humboldt tradition (Kulich, 2011, pp. 15–20) in addition to

Rudolf Virchow's "ethnology." Traveling as a ship doctor in the 1850s, Bastian took extensive notes on his journeys, produced an academic work (*Man in History*, 1860), published travel notes in 1866–1871 (six volumes on *The Peoples of East Asia*), and his field-founding ethnoanthropological textbook in 1884.

While Kenneth Pike (1966) is often credited with applying linguistic suffixes (from phonetics and phonemes) to coin terms for culture-general (*etic*) and cultural-specific (*emic*) approaches, Bastian had already postulated that a "psychic unity of mankind" links people across cultures (*Ethnische Elementargedanken*, 1895) yet each cultural group also has "ethnic ideas" in situated settings (*Der Völkergedanke*, folk idea, Bastian, 1881, cf. Kulich, 2011, pp. 20–23). His naturalistic empiricism and proposed "psychic unity" with regional variations influenced Carl Jung's formulation of "collective unconsciousness" and his theory of archetypes, in addition to strains of structuralism and comparatism (later seen in the work of Franz Boas and Joseph Campbell). Although Bastian's pioneering anthropological work and his influence on Boas are seldom noted, cross-cultural psychologist Rohmer (1984) has previously pointed out how Bastian clarified conceptions of culture.

The significant works of Bastian (1866, 1881, 1884) and Tönnies (1887/1957) shaped anthropological and sociological field work. Similar conceptualizations appear in the work of Edward Tylor (1871) and other British scholars, from Matthew Arnold's (1976) aristocratic views of primitive cultures to Bronislaw Malinowski's (1922) pioneering ethnological fieldwork, scientific theory of culture (Malinowski, 1944) and his influential students, including Chinese social observers Xiaotong Fei (1939, 1945) and Francis L. K. Hsu (e.g., 1953, *Americans and Chinese*). Eventually, the academic field of cultural anthropology was formalized by Boas and

collaborators at Columbia University, providing a base for comparative and intercultural studies (see Inglis, 2004; Leeds-Hurwitz, 2010a). A chronological overview of these formative intellectual developments from 1784–1919 is provided in Table 3.1 in Appendix A.

Early American Initiatives (Pre-Hall through the 1960s)

Cultural Anthropology and Comparative Studies (The 1920s–1940s)

Only a few narratives have traced the origins of the intercultural field to the first half of the twentieth century, when a variety of scholars were grappling with how to compare and contrast cultures meaningfully (Hart, 1999; Leeds-Hurwitz, 2010a). Table 3.2 (Appendix A) provides a chronological listing of the many initiatives focusing on cross- or intercultural thinking or praxis, suggesting that pre-World War II foundations may have been more important than is widely recognized for providing readiness to meet the conditions that allowed intercultural work to flourish after the war.

There is now ample evidence that the network of cultural anthropologists trained or influenced by Boas and colleagues at Columbia University continued to collaborate and influence a generation of culture-oriented scholars through various visionary initiatives. Boas' works on culture (1928, 1940), Margaret Mead's *Coming of Age in Samoa* (1928), Ruth Benedict's *Patterns of Culture* (1934) and *The Chrysanthemum and the Sword* (1946), Mead and Rhoda Metraux's *The Study of Culture from a Distance* (1953), and the works of others from this Columbia/New York network provided indelible inspirations for making sense of the cultural puzzle both before and during the war (e.g., Leeds-Hurwitz, 2010a).

Additionally, Neo-Freudian psychoanalysts including Erich Fromm (at Columbia at that time) and Harry Stack Sullivan (also in New York City, cf. Rogers, Hart, & Miike, 2002) provided contributions that strongly influenced Hall, especially regarding conscious and unconscious culture learning processes (harkening back to Marx's, Durkheim's, Jung's, and Sumner's works above).

Other comparative-culture studies focused on mapping value orientations and socio-cultural patterns, often in collaboration with scholars from other disciplines. The husband and wife Kluckhohn team designed and carried out the Harvard Values Project and also regularly collaborated with others on documentation or research projects (e.g., Kroeber & C. Kluckhohn, 1952; F. Kluckhohn & Strodtbeck, 1961). The cohort of scholars who served together in the Foreign Morale Analysis Division (FMAD) of the Office of War Information (OWI) during WWII (see Kulich, 2011, p. 91) also provided support for cultural engagement during war times.

After the war, several "national character" studies (Benedict, 1946; Gorer, 1948; Mead, 1942, 1951) were published, which are still referred to today for their emic, culture-specific insights. These lines of research focused on the process of making distinctions between "self" and "other" – i.e., ways of categorizing differences – which are still utilized in training programs today. Collectively, their work provided conceptualizations, constructs, and approaches (see Hart, 1999) which became fertile ground for the later emergence of an "IC" field and its formalized foundations in 1970 (see Kulich, 2012; Prosser, 2012, on Sitaram's "founding the field").

Scholars from language-related disciplines, including linguistics and later speech communication, rhetoric, and discourse studies, also began conducting comparative studies on the influence of culture. At the FSI, Ray

Birdwhistell (1954) focused on differences in non-verbal communication patterns between cultures, an area which remains strong in IC research, teaching, and training. Birdwhistell published extensively with the Columbia circle of anthropologists, coauthoring with Gregory Bateson, Margaret Mead, and later Irving Goffman and Dell Hymes, and adopted a relativistic culture-specific approach. This was later formalized as the "ethnographic approach" (Hymes, 1974), or the study of language in social interaction (LSI), on which Gerry Philipsen (1992) and his colleagues expanded (see end of section on "Initiating Cross-Cultural Language and Rhetoric Studies").

From Stereotypes and Prejudice to Intergroup Contact Theory: Awareness of Embedded Racial and Ethnic Biases

There are noted differences between European and US American approaches to issues of ethnicity, race, and social inequities. Both on the European continent and in Britain, philosophical approaches were applied to the study of power, social structure, media, and repressed groups (e.g., Foucault, 1972, 1980), resulting in sharp critiques on culture and intercultural relations, such as cultural hegemony (Bourdieu, 1993; Gramsci, 1992/2011), industrialized and mass culture, and media studies by members of the Frankfurt school (Adorno & Horkheimer, 1944/2007; Benjamin, 1936; Habermas, 1981; Marcuse, 1964).

Simultaneously, the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies at the University of Birmingham, founded in 1964 by Richard Hoggart, applied critical cultural identity and representation studies to social, media, and language issues. Rooted in neo-Marxist theories and Foucauldian critical cultural approaches, their analyses of literary and media treatment and language and policy

practices toward disenfranchised groups continue to provide stimulus for critical intercultural scholars today. Notable works include *The Uses of Literacy* (Hoggart, 1957), *Culture and Society* (Williams, 1958), “The Analysis of Culture” (Williams, 1961), “Encoding and Decoding in Televising Discourse” (S. Hall, 1973), *Subculture* (Hebdige, 1979), *Race, Culture, and Communications* (Hall, 1992), and their collected works in *The Empire Strikes Back* (Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, 1992).

In the USA, Gordon Allport is highly cited for his pioneering work, *The Nature of Prejudice* (1954). However, this was pre-dated by his research on the relationship of persons and groups in the 1920s. Allport opened the first course on personality at Harvard in 1924 and studied identity as a process of becoming and how distinct individual motivations are developed. Though Allport had met Freud, he rejected the reductionist approach of psychoanalysis in favor of empirical research. To understand personality, he explored traits, conscious preferences and values (genotypes = internal cognition), and personal influences on social behavior in context (phenotypes = external forces).

Allport’s interest in how identity is acted out among groups led to his decades-long focus on prejudice. His work synthesized many other scholars of his time. One of the first of these is W. E. B. DuBois, who began writing about the African-American experience as early as 1903. In *The Souls of Black Folk* (1903), DuBois puts forward the powerfully prescient concepts of a *veil* and *double-consciousness*. The symbolic *veil* refers to the struggle of black Americans to see, or understand, themselves outside of the discriminatory framework prescribed by white Americans. It is the awareness both of otherness and of the inferiority caused by otherness. The *veil* then creates the need for *double-consciousness*, which refers to African-

Americans’ toned to “code-switch” between their identities in white and black American contexts (reflected later in intercultural work by Blubaugh & Pennington, 1976; Kochman, 1983; Rich, 1974; Smith [Asante], 1973). These descriptive concepts are strikingly similar to recent attempts in acculturation research to explain the experience of sojourners’ identity as “other” in their host countries.

Walter Lippman (1922), a journalist, was the first to use the term “stereotype” to refer to descriptions of the “other” as psychological dispositions, rather than mere rational or cognitive categorizations, especially in international, geopolitical issues. Others like Daniel Katz and Kenneth Braly (1935) examined how stereotyping leads to inter-ethnic and racial prejudice when people link emotion, ascription, and evaluation to assumed characteristics (a work occasionally cited by interculturalists).

Bruno Lasker’s (1929) studies on racial attitudes in children exposed how parents and communities fostered prejudice through conscious/direct teaching or unconscious/attendant learning processes (applying Freud and Watson). Lasker’s work especially inspired school teachers who were concerned about intensifying inter-ethnic prejudice in urban American classrooms to develop ways to lead cultural groups into contact and dialogue with each other (e.g., Davis-DuBois, 1928, 1943). *Parents’ Magazine* (founded in 1926) sought to be a key vehicle for parent education and maintained a strong anti-prejudice message (Selig, 2008, p. 53), publishing reviews of Lasker and a “Tolerance Test” to help “teach your child tolerance” (Davis-Dubois, 1934, p. 15).

From 1942 to 1954, the Bureau for Intercultural Education (BIE, see the section on “Early Intercultural Education Initiatives [The 1920s–1940s]”) continued this line of research, publishing a ten-volume series entitled *Problems of Race and Culture in America* (edited by W. Vickery and S. Cole).

The first volume introduced intercultural education for schools (Vickery & Cole, 1943), the second probed prejudice (Powdermaker, 1944), and the third engaged students (*They See for Themselves*) through a documentary approach (S. Brown, 1945), followed by other volumes related to minority issues (Bramfeld, 1946) and race relations (I. Brown, 1949). The series continued to discuss methods for integrating prejudice reformation with citizenship education in the context of a democracy.

This inter-ethnic focus was pursued and published alongside parallel research projects which focused exclusively on African-American culture and identity. After Dollard (1939) studied ethnic frustration and aggression, the American Council of Education published a *Personality Series* especially dealing with “negro youth” in the “black belt” (e.g., Davis & Dollard, 1940, and three other titles).

General research on culture and racial identity was also pursued by anthropologists at Columbia (e.g., Benedict, *Race, Science, and Politics*, 1945; Boas, *Race, Language, and Culture*, 1940). Another Columbia-based scholar, social psychologist Otto Klineberg, began his career comparing psychological differences between Native and African-Americans (Klineberg, 1944). While deeply controversial, his findings established him as one of several pioneers, alongside Ashley Montagu (*Man's Most Dangerous Myth*, 1945; *The Concept of Race*, 1964; *UNESCO's Statement on Race*, 1972), arguing that there was no scientific basis for racial superiority.

Working with Boas, anthropologist Melville Herskovits pioneered acculturation studies and helped found the first program in African American studies in the 1940s. He also published *The Myth of the Negro Past* (1941), which treated African-Americans as a distinct, historically and geographically rooted culture. Among many scholars giving new attention to cultures in this period, Klineberg's (1940)

volume on *Social Psychology* was among those that advanced research on cross-cultural comparisons. Out of this growing focus came several international conferences, several journals (e.g. IJP, JCCP, CCP) and associations (IACCP, SCCR, etc.) (see the section “Expanding on the Contributions of E. T. Hall and his FSI colleagues”).

As ethnic awareness emerged, research on inter-group comparisons followed. World War II migrant Kurt Lewin focused on systematizing research on social-psychological differences between groups (Lewin, 1936) and the processes and practices of group dynamics (Lewin, 1947a, 1947b). He was particularly concerned with the “lifespaces” that affects behavior, the field of motivation and knowledge needed to understand why people do what they do (Schram, 1997, p. 69). He studied individuals with a variety of focuses, including children's development, changing food habits, and how/why people communicate, group processes or social networks, and the influence of group “gatekeepers.”

Lewin also examined authoritarian, democratic, and laissez-faire leadership styles with an eye towards resolving social conflicts (Lewin, 1948), and developed a predictive field theory (1951), both of which influenced later intercultural theorists such as William Gudykunst and Young Yun Kim. As his diverse research contributions grew and spread through time spent at the Universities of Berlin, Iowa, and Michigan, as well as Massachusetts Institute of Technology, practitioners sought to integrate Lewin's ideas and findings into educational designs (e.g. Davis-DuBois, see the section “Early Intercultural Education Initiatives [the 1920s–1940s]”), some of which still exist today in intercultural education and training praxis.

Lewin's investigative *Quasselstrippe* (theoretical drawing) sessions at each of the universities he taught influenced many, like Wilbur

Schramm, then at the University of Iowa, who helped found international communication as a field of study and established important research centers at Iowa, Stanford, and the University of Hawaii (the East–West Center), each of which promoted interdisciplinary national-level research on culture and communication.

It was in this climate that Allport expanded his early work on personality, drives, and attitudes to consider how values patterned motivation and social contact. His Study of Values (SOV) scale (Allport & Vernon, 1931) and updated test (Allport, Vernon, & Lindzey, 1960) provided one of the best early measures of basic interests and motivation patterns (1961), organized around six preference areas: theoretical, economic, aesthetic, social, political, and religious. These informed the later values lists developed by both Rokeach (1973) and Schwartz (1992).

Allport also examined how “normal” cognitive categorization and generalization can lead to stereotypes, influence perception, and ultimately become intergroup prejudice (1954). His “contact hypothesis” (e.g., Allport, 1955) proposed that under certain conditions, contact among groups could decrease stereotypes, prejudice, and discrimination. This provided motivation for a wide range of interventions used in intercultural, diversity, and integration training. Allport’s students played important roles in cross-cultural psychology (e.g., Jerome Brunner, the first President of IACCP; M. Brewster Smith on values). His student Thomas Pettigrew further identified “personality and sociocultural factors in intergroup attitudes” (1958), issues in ethnicity (1978), attribution errors (1979), “cognitive styles and social behavior” (1982) and then reconsidered the positive and negative conditions of the “intergroup contact hypothesis” (1986).

In more recent years, psychologists including Richard Brislin (1993/2000), Dan Landis

(e.g., Landis & Wasilewski, 1999), and others have built on Allport’s contact hypothesis to further explain how variables like nationality, ethnicity, personality, and gender factor affect communication outcomes, intergroup stereotyping (Stephan & Rosenfield, 1982), and societal mental structures (Foa & Foa, 1974). Ongoing work has outlined at least eight conditions needed to improve attitudes and facilitate or enhance intergroup interactions (see Martin & Nakayama, 2010, pp. 149–152; Stephan & Stephan, 1992), ways of dealing with anxiety based on perceptions of threat, and ways of improving intergroup relations (Stephan & Stephan, 1985, 1996).

Early Intercultural Education Initiatives (the 1920s–1940s)

Unlike Columbia’s well-recognized anthropological research hub, a similar seeding ground at New York University (NYU), focused on intercultural education, has gone almost entirely unrecognized. In a 1939 article, Francis J. Brown (1939), then editor of the *American Sociological Review* and Dean of NYU’s School of Education described programs started in his department. He notes a series of national radio broadcasts (*Americans All, Immigrants All*) on the cultures and contributions of specific ethnic groups in America, a set of courses (starting in 1935) on ethnic contributions and intercultural relations, an extensive compilation of teacher resource books (Brown & Roucek, 1937), and a campus club (started in 1932) with an annual student-led “Cultural Mosaics” program for cultural exposure. Unfortunately, his reports did not acknowledge the person primarily behind these programs, a doctoral graduate of Columbia’s Teacher’s College and instructor at NYU, Rachel Davis-DuBois.

Davis-DuBois began her career at a Woodbury, NJ high school in 1924, where she

developed a series of assignments directing students to conduct interviews with members of ethnic groups besides their own and then write, design, and perform dramatized presentations on the other group's roots, identities, and unique contributions to American life (published as *A Program for Education in World Mindedness*, Davis-DuBois, 1928). This program created a context for open, curious, and celebratory interactions between previously estranged groups. It was so successful at attitude re-formation that Davis-DuBois was later recruited to adapt her curriculum in several New York City schools. This method remained popular through World War II (Brown, 1945).

These efforts led to an invitation to develop courses in intercultural education for teachers in 1932 (applying the "*Woodbury Plan*," pp. 64–65), a course in the Department of Citizenship Education at Boston University in 1933, another at NYU from 1935–1941, and an Intercultural Education course at UC Berkeley the summer of 1935 (after which schools in San Francisco adopted the Woodbury plan). She first formally used the term "intercultural education" in 1935 in a presentation in Mexico City entitled "Problems on Intercultural Education in the United States" (published as Davis-DuBois, 1936; cf. Davis-DuBois & Okoradudu, 1984, p. 74).

In 1934, Davis-DuBois founded the "Service Bureau for Education in Human Relations," which was renamed the "Service Bureau for Intercultural Education" (SBIE) by 1938. Important inter- and cross-cultural pioneers served on her board, including Ruth Benedict, or as consultants (Boas, M. Mead, and Lewin). The SBIE functioned primarily as a resource center for high schools in the Tri-Borough area, specializing in teacher training and curriculum development for increasing intercultural understanding among youth. To benefit a larger national audience, the SBIE was commissioned by the Department of the

Interior, Office of Education, Works Progress Administration, and the Progressive Education Association to produce the aforementioned "*Americans All, Immigrants All*" radio broadcast program (Davis-DuBois, 1938–1939, the program Brown noted). The SBIE's guide, or manifesto, was finally published in 1939 under the title, *Out of the Many, One: A Plan for Intercultural Education*.

During her tenure as director of the SBIE (pre-1941), Davis-DuBois also began work on what later became known as the "Group Conversation Method" (Davis-DuBois, 1946, 1963). This shifted her focus from schools to neighborhoods, working with whole families living in ethnically diverse communities. Allport attended one of her group conversations, later praising its method and effectiveness, crediting her for inspirations on his work on prejudice and the contact hypothesis (1954), and writing the introduction to her manual *The Art of Group Conversation* (Davis-DuBois & Li, 1963).

As the US entered the war, a group of primarily male board members and donors departed from Davis-DuBois's affirmation of unique "cultural gifts" in a "cultural democracy" and asked her to resign from the SBIE (noting that a woman might not be best for leading the Bureau, though her Quaker pacifism, progressive orientation, and inter-racial marriage may have played a role). Despite being pushed out of the movement she started, she went on to:

- establish a second organization, the Intercultural Education Workshop (1941), later named the Workshop for Cultural Democracy in 1946 (Davis-DuBois, 1950),
- travel to Germany after the war, under the employ of the US State Department, to use the Group Conversation Method to help rehabilitate thousands of re-patriated Germans,

- work alongside W. E. B. DuBois (no relation) and Martin Luther King Jr. during the Civil Rights movement through 1958,
- and finally, use the Group Conversation Method with aboriginals in New Zealand and Australia who had undergone systemic, aggressive displacement.

Meanwhile, the SBIE was renamed the “Bureau for Intercultural Education” (BIE) and led by Stewart Cole (1940–1944) and Harry Giles (1944–1948), who shifted the vision and practice of the BIE to:

- Align with Dewey’s philosophy of education and society and refocus intercultural education on socializing immigrant youth as American citizens (Cole, 1943).
- Emphasize publications that both formulated approaches to intergroup relations and prejudice and then applied and systematically tested them to identify best practices (particularly in the primary and secondary school environment).

Interestingly, both Klineberg (Board of Directors) and Lewin (Committee of Educational Consultants, as under Davis-DuBois) continued in Cole’s BIE, but M. Mead, Benedict, and many women advisors also left. The BIE brought in Deweyist proponents, including William Kirkpatrick, Hilda Taba, and William Van Til, who went on to host workshops at key universities, develop and assess intercultural teacher training programs, and facilitate the expansion of high school curricula across America (Taba, 1953). Taba and Van Til also conducted a nation-wide survey in 1945 on all intercultural education high school curricula for National Council of Social Studies report (Taba & Van Til, 1945).

After ethnic rioting in Los Angeles in 1943, LA schools requested the BIE for assistance, and Cole was asked to spend a year trying to setup a program there. Cole stayed on (as a BIE

representative on the West Coast into the 1950s) and helped establish the Pacific Coast Council on Intercultural Education (PCCIE) in 1945 (cf. Johnson & Pak, 2019). He also worked closely with the Stanford University School of Education to research attitude formation in youth, lead teacher training workshops, and apply UNESCO peace-building ideals to create high school curricula focused on developing intercultural sensitivity and competence (Cole, 1946). The PCCIE’s pioneering programs were considered some of the best in the country (e.g., Pak, 2002, on San Diego’s program 1946–1949: “Is there a better intercultural plan in any school system?”) and became templates for other post–WWII urban intercultural programs (like those in Los Angeles and San Francisco) that increasingly focused on “intergroup” relations and integrative democracy/citizenship education. San Diego City Schools (SDCS) superintendent Will Crawford outlined a three-year (1946–1949), districtwide reform plan and funded teacher-training plan (Crawford, 1956) aimed at:

1. [gaining] a more adequate understanding of the diverse backgrounds of the pupils with whom we deal,
2. [assimilating] this understanding as a part of our personal emotional make-up,
3. [expressing] it in the kind of classroom and school atmosphere which we provide,
4. [ensuring] that all educational possibilities for promoting better intergroup relations are utilized. (SDCS, 1947, p. vi, cited in Pak, 2002)

Though differently implemented by Davis-Dubois and later BIE leaders, these goals anticipate the aims of many intercultural education and training programs today which seek to cultivate intercultural awareness and competence (e.g., Byram, 1997; Deardorff, 2008, 2009).

Even though Davis-DuBois’s name nearly disappeared after Cole took over, recent

historical assessments of multicultural education have rediscovered her. Banks (2006, 2012) assesses multicultural origins and treats Davis-DuBois's and Cole's groups as similar in fostering cultural awareness between various ethnic groups in the American public. However, others (Lal, 2004; Montalto, 1982; Selig, 2008) claim that Davis-DuBois held a unique but overlooked position in the "Intergroup Education Movement" (Banks, 2006) or "Intercultural Education Movement" (Montalto, 1982). Both Montalto (1982) and Olneck (1990) note that there was conflict between "cultural integrationists" (e.g., Davis-DuBois), who affirmed every aspect of cultural diversity, and "assimilationists" (those after Cole), who acknowledged diversity, but in practice muted its affirmation and consequences (Montalto, 1982, p. 148; DuBois, Potts, & Kulich, 2017). Elberfeld (2008b) further notes how education science extensively used the term "intercultural" in the 1930s (not multicultural) to deal with the "problem" of living together in democratic societies (debating "melting pot" vs. cultural pluralism perspectives).

While these differences should not be diminished, each group did consider and integrate new concepts of culture (at non-national levels), intergroup relations, and prejudice to create curricula for the development of intercultural awareness, sensitivity, and communicative competence – first in educative environments, and later (in Davis-DuBois's case) in multi-ethnic communities and race relations before the war in the 1930s and 40s. It is also instructive to realize that many noted critiques of our field – e.g., focusing on national-level cultural comparisons, reverting to simplistic generalizations of differences, describing mainstream trends instead of nuanced variations, overlooking "critical" power relations between or among groups, under-appreciating deeper issues in diversity or the sensitivities needed for meaningful

inclusion – were conceptualized, initiated, and part of Davis-DuBois's praxis thirty years before Hall's groundbreaking FSI work emerged.

Comparative Sociologists: Socio-Cultural and Intercultural Explorations (the 1920s on)

From the 1920s on, there is evidence of increasing interculturally related sociological research from the Chicago school and others. *The Polish Peasant in Europe and America* (Thomas & Znaniecki, 1918–1920) was a seminal study integrating the values, cultural identity, and interactions of a specific cultural group dealing with plural contexts. Sociologists in the 1930s were also studying aspects of intercultural relations, like the series of studies on "intercultural contacts" among world religions noted above starting from 1927 (cf. Elberfeld, 2008a). Educational sociologists like Brown (1939) were already referring to the study of "intercultural relations" and noted themes normally attributed to work *after* Hall:

The study of cultural differences has been one of the major areas of sociological research. In fact, social or cultural anthropology was one of the first fields of descriptive analysis [and discusses how] the major social processes emphasized in discussions of culture patterns were "isolation," "conflict" and "assimilation" . . . folkways, *mores*, and institutions as divisive factors which developed a sense of cultural ethnocentrism . . . [and] the study of causes and forms of conflict between these plurality patterns of behavior (p. 328) [and] intercultural differences [seen in] the recent emphasis upon "stereotypes." (p. 329) . . . [which] termed this newer emphasis "cultural pluralism." This implies both the perpetuation of the folk culture of the many racial and national groups in American life and the growing appreciation by every group of the contributions which each has made to the

kaleidoscopic culture of America (p. 330), ... a "Cultural Mosaic ..." and practical demonstration of the feasibility of "cultural pluralism" (p. 331).

George Herbert Mead, at the Chicago school, also developed a line of research focused on symbolic interactionism (1934), which has since been used to investigate connections between language, identity, and meaning in cultural encounters (Barnett Pearce, 2005; Erving Goffman, 1959; Gerry Philipson, 1992; Herbert Blumer, 1969). These and other extensions from Simmel later had great influence on the development of IC as a field, particularly on William Gudykunst and Young Yun Kim's seminal text *Communicating with Strangers* (1984 and all subsequent editions), on visible/overt and hidden/covert aspects of cultures in communication, and in the subjective communicative construction of meaning (e.g., Rogers, 1999).

In non-US contexts, the constructive study of meaning was being investigated by Lev Vygotsky (1934), who studied the language and culture learning patterns and the socio-cultural development of children. He theorized how individuals from childhood seek to make sense of their world and internalize the symbolic operations of culture, noting both inter- and intra-psychological categories. Serge Moscovici (1961) also discussed these dynamics whereby "social representations" (Bauer & Gaskell, 1999, 2008) serve two functions: to establish an orienting order by which individuals seek to understand and master their social world, and also provide socially constructed naming and classifying codes that enable communication, social exchange, and an understanding of one's group in historical and current context. Pierre Bourdieu (1977) in France developed conceptualizations of *Field* (imposing forces imposed on agents engaged in a field of struggles or confrontations) and *Habitus* (an acquired system of cognitive

structures, internalized preferences, and objectified vision that gives meaning and guides practices) in his theories related to social reality and social action.

Similar issues in the sociology of knowledge and communication were addressed by two Austrian-Americans, Peter Berger and Thomas Luckman with their theory on the social construction of reality (1966/1971). Milton Bennett (2013, p. 7) notes how interculturalists commonly apply this theory, distinguish between objective culture (what he calls Big-C culture) and subjective culture (little-c) (the deeper internalized social reality as in the iceberg model), the later often being the worldview of individuals in a specific group, embedded in a context. Berger and Luckman's work suggests that as cocreators of culture, we can also engage in seeking to compare and understand others.

Strategic Studies of Culture: Advancing Comparative Foundations (the 1940s and 1950s)

Though the above highlights other important origins, intercultural scholars and practitioners have more typically noted the field's roots in cultural anthropology (Hart, 1999; Kulich, 2012, pp. 48–52; Kulich, 2012, p. 750) and collaborations linked to Columbia University (Rogers, Hart, & Miike, 2002). In particular, the intercultural education and training contributions of M. Mead have been documented in IC field histories (e.g., Leeds-Hurwitz, 2010a). However, there is more to this story: In 1940, M. Mead, Metraux, Benedict, and others suggested the formation of a Council of Intercultural Relations and then established the Institute for Intercultural Studies (IIS) in 1941 (Leeds-Hurwitz, 2010a).

The prominence of this circle brought many members into government service, especially after the USA entered the war (1941).

Hall and Trager noted that, “The pressure for an increased knowledge of cultures was a concomitant of the global character of World War II, and it was at the time that anthropologists and linguists were employed to an unprecedented scale to equip us to better deal with cultures alien to our own . . . Lives depended on the degree to which they were able to interpret correctly the relationships between cultures (1953, p. 1). Alexander Leighton, director of the Office of War, Foreign Morale Analysis Division (FMAD), commissioned scholars including Clyde Kluckhohn, Dorothea Leighton, Morris Opler, Edward Spicer, and Elizabeth Colson (cf. Weaver 2001; Leighton, 2000) to devise ways to apply cultural understanding to the training of government staff and military officers on how to win the war and preserve the peace (further evidence of intercultural scholarship and engagement *before* the end of the war).

These researchers influenced both war- and peace-time strategies, and post-war training, counselling, and policy. Hall was also employed for a time to study attitudes toward an African-American corp. The monumental study “The American Soldier” (Stouffer et al., 1949) was one of the first to show that units could be racially mixed without any decrease in unit effectiveness. These studies played an important role in undergirding President Truman’s Executive Order (1948) that mandated racial integration in the United States Armed Forces.

Scholars like Leighton (1984) continued careers based on these experiences: He addressed the problem of intercultural variability in individual forms and responses. Based on a common core of human striving, he uniquely noted the specific cultural influences that affected intracultural or individual variability (p. 191). The US Government funded further projects for cross-cultural research on race relations and intercultural training (documented in Pusch, 2004).

The growing interest in cultural variability also fueled the interdisciplinary program that George P. Murdock developed, starting with his 1937 Cross-cultural Survey. This classified “the subject matter of culture” through compiling ethnographic materials from ninety cultures and was first published as an *Outline of Cultural Materials* (Murdock, 1938; Murdock & Whiting, 1945) by the Institute of Human Relations at Yale. The wartime cross-disciplinary efforts morphed into the non-profit Human Relations Area Files (HRAF) in 1949 (with a regularly updated *Outline*, Murdock, 1954, 1975). Founding member institutes included Yale, Harvard, and the Universities of Oklahoma and Washington, who were later joined by the Universities of North Carolina, Chicago, and Southern California.

The HRAF’s ever-expanding catalogue of cross-indexed ethnographic data continues to be a rich resource for cross-cultural studies and training. This has been a rich source for many publications in the Sage journal of *Cross-Cultural Research*, which was established in 1996, first as *Behavior Science Research*. It is now sponsored by the Society for Cross-Cultural Research (SCCR), an association formed in 1971–1972 of cross-cultural anthropologists inspired by Murdock.

Other US government-level initiatives (Pusch, 2004, pp. 14–15) included the Institute of International Education, established in 1932, which later managed the Fulbright program (established 1946). J. William Fulbright (1974) declared that, “the essence of intercultural education is the acquisition of empathy – the ability to see the world as others see it, and to allow for the possibility that others may see something we have failed to see, or may see it more accurately.”

The Experiment for International Living – now “World Learning” – also launched several international study-abroad programs in 1936.

In 1964, they founded the School for International Graduate Training Institute, now the SIT Graduate Institute, as the training center for Peace Corps volunteers (see Batchelder & Warner, 1977; Gochenour, 1995; Storti & Bennhold-Samaan, 1998, 1999; Wight & Hammons, 1970a, 1970b). The Peace Corps and the SIT Graduate Institute both continue to model intercultural training and provide materials for benefitting from intercultural experiences.

Initiating Cross-Cultural Language and Rhetoric Studies

As noted above, one stream of the early comparative work that led to intercultural explorations came through language scholars. This is still seen in contemporary international associations like the International Association for Language and Intercultural Communication (IALIC, founded in 2000, but came from conferences held at Leeds Metropolitan University in 1996–1999), the International Association for Intercultural Communication Studies (IAICS, founded 1991, continuing from a series of Asian-American conferences initiated by John Koo in Arizona, Alaska, and later Seoul, Korea, 1985), and the World Communication Association (WCA, history below).

Language has long been understood both as a vehicle and highway for culture. For example, Henry Lee Smith, Jr.'s (e.g., Smith, 1946) language studies and applications for language training was later adapted by Hall while they were colleagues at the FSI to develop language and culture training/learning approaches. Arthur Campa (1951) addressed "Language Barriers and Intercultural Relations" in the first volume of the *Journal of Communication (JOC)*.

Mass communication scholars grappled with "culture and communication" as Wilbur Schramm and others formed the International

Communication Division (ICD) in 1965 at an Association for Education in Journalism (AEJ, since 1982, AEJMC) meeting in Syracuse University and its newsletter/journal, *International Communication Bulletin, ICB* (1966). James Markham, John Merrill, and Ralph Lowenstein hosted the "Wingspread Conference" (1966) for this new field and Gerhard Maletzke organized the first scientific symposium on "International and Intercultural Communication between Developed and Developing Countries" (at the German Development Institute, Berlin, 1966). James Markham, John Merrill, and Ralph Lowenstein hosted the "Wingspread Conference" (1968) for this new field, and the volume of those proceedings was entitled *International Communication as a Field of Study* (Markham, 1969) and contained three chapters related to IC by Godwin Chu, Gerhard Maletzke, and Hamid Mowlana (Kulich, 2017). Working with Merrill, Heinz-Dietrich Fischer of the University of Bochum, Germany (Fischer & Merrill, 1976) published the second edition, adding IC to the volume name, *International & Intercultural Communication*, and including a dedicated IC section adding new contributions by Michael Prosser, John Martin, and a second chapter by Mowlana. From an international and mass communication perspective, Everett Rogers (1962) and his associates applied his innovation theory and examined effects in many cross-cultural contexts, analyzed the history and paradigms of the field, and supported a wide range of IC-related initiatives (see Hart, 2005).

Cross-Atlantic collaborations were also seen among speech communication scholars. At a 1967 Speech Association of America (SAA, later SCA then NCA) Committee for Cooperation with Foreign Universities meeting in Memphis, Fred Casmir and Prosser discussed the idea of a German-American symposium to be held at the Pepperdine Haus in Heidelberg

Germany. This was coorganized in 1968 with Helmut Geissner on “Issues of Speech and Culture” and led to an biennial conference series alternating between the USA and other overseas locations, beginning with 1976 in Tampa, Florida, which again specifically focused on “IC” and eventually became the ongoing “The International Colloquium on Communication” (cf. Kulich, 2012; Kulich & Zhang, 2012; Peterson, 2009) with regular IC topics or themes.

Linguist Edmund Glenn, Chief of the Interpretation Branch of the US Department of State in the 1950s, was already doing work on topics such as “semantic difficulties in international communication” (1954) and “languages and patterns of thought” (1956; cf. Pribham, 1949) over a decade before semantic research was quantified by scholars such as Osgood would quantify semantic research. He also organized the first journal special-issue (Glenn, 1957–1958) around the topic “interpretation and intercultural communication,” using the compound IC term *earlier* than Hall (1959). As a high-level interpreter fluent in French and German, Glenn also addressed cross-cultural issues related to meaning and behavior (Glenn, 1966) and proposed a model of how universalism, case-particulars, and relationals affect communication in contexts. He worked regularly with Edward Stewart in assisting various Pittsburgh circle initiatives; they taught together at the University of Delaware in the late 1960s and later at Rhode Island (they had met while working at the FSI, cf. Weaver, 2014).

Structural linguist George Trager (who predated Hall at the FSI, 1948–1953) applied his functional training toward the development of a universal “grammar” and structure of culture. Together with Hall they developed a complex 10x10-domain culture-general framework as an analysis grid for comparing cultures (see Hall & Trager, 1953 below). Trager also expanded his work to consider

cultural influences on paralinguistics (Trager, 1958; cf. Leeds-Hurwitz, 1990).

An increasing number of comparative scholars were also seeking to make sense of the language, thought, and patterns of civilizations. After Hajime Nakamura (1964) wrote his classic *Ways of Thinking of Eastern People*, Francis L. K. Hsu (1963) developed psychological anthropology to compare the patterns of China, India, and the USA in his *Clan, Caste and Club*. This was followed by *The Study of Literate Civilizations* (Hsu, 1969). Robert Oliver (1971) focused his comparisons on *Communication and Culture in Ancient India and China* (1971). Oliver’s approach to rhetoric studies, including his in-depth personal and political experience with communication between the US and Korea inspired a generation of speech communication scholars focused on comparing cultural patterns of discourse (cf. Berquist, 1990; Fritz, 2010; Shuter, 2011). Michael Prosser, Fred Casimir, and Wenshan Jia are among the many that were inspired by and have built on Oliver’s language and culture work.

Behavioral psychologist Osgood established the scientific study of meaning related to language and identified three universal domains that influence its perception and communication (e.g., Osgood, May, & Miron, 1975). This seminal work also developed one of the first widespread cross-cultural analysis methods still in use – the “semantic differential technique” (Osgood, 1964). Tzeng, Landis, and Tzeng (2012, pp. 822–823) document Osgood’s contributions in six significant areas: (1) theoretical foundations in human behavioral and communication processes, (2) semantic techniques and applications, (3) cross-cultural measurements of affective meanings, (4) psycholinguistic research in human verbal behaviors, (5) inter-ethnic and inter-national conflict resolution and peace, and (6) contributions to intercultural training.

Intercultural scholars from language education, speech communication, or those working with specific linguistic communities have continued to explore intersections of language and culture (e.g. Asuncion-Lande, 1983). The language and social interaction (LSI) approach focuses on how people communicate in specific cultural contexts (cf. Leeds-Hurwitz, 2010b). Building on Dell Hymes's ethnographic approach to linguistics, Gerald Philipsen's students and scholars at the University of Washington apply these approaches interculturally (including Charles Braithwaite, Donal Carbaugh, Tamar Katriel, Bradford "J" Hall, Michaela Winchatz, Mary Fong, Saskia Witteborn, and others). They have examined aspects of *Speaking Culturally* (Philipsen, 1992), *Cultures in Conversation* (Carbaugh, 2005) and functions related to identity, conflict, and facework (e.g., Ting-Toomey, 1988, 2005a, 2005b), silence (Braithwaite, 1990), and other components related to language use in "contexts" (e.g., Katriel, 1995; see a broader history in Martin, Nakayama, & Carbaugh, 2012; and IC linguistic/pragmatic approaches in Spencer-Oatey, 2000).

Toward the Formalization of Multiple Intercultural and Cross-Cultural Fields

Expanding on Contributions of E. T. Hall and His FSI Colleagues

Hall and his contemporaries framed the comparative study of culture in systematic, scientific, and theoretically applied ways, providing foundations for the emergence of a more academic and professional field. Though we now know he did *not* coin the term "intercultural" (credit Crider, 1922 on "intercultural practices" in biology, Baker, 1927 on "intercultural contacts/relations" among religions, Husserl in German, 1931/1974) or the combined

"IC" (credit Glenn, 1957–1958), Hall did note "intercultural tensions" and "intercultural problems" (Hall, 1950; see Leeds-Hurwitz 1990, p. 275 footnote 1) before his oft-noted usage of "IC" (1959, though only twice, on pp. iv, 10).

While Hall's skillset and motivation for linking culture and communication afforded him unique positions, opportunities, and visibility as one "founder of the field" (Bluedorn, 1998; Rogers, Hart, & Miike, 2002; Sorrells, 1998), we are equally indebted to the collaborative work of the stellar team assembled by FSI (Foreign Service Institute) director Frank Hopkins during those fruitful years (1951–1955) (Leeds-Hurwitz, 1990). These included scholars like Smith (1946, noted above for language studies and training), Edward Kennard (1948), whose area studies helped enhance the culture-specific approach to intercultural training (ICT), Birdwhistell (1952a, 1952b, 1954), who created *Kenesics*, the systematic study of body language, paralanguage, and non-verbal patterns, and Trager (1958), whose structural linguistic work helped Hall to develop a universal grammar of culture. These cultural patterns are noted in "The Anthropology of Manners," (Hall, 1955) but best articulated in *The Analysis of Culture* (Hall & Trager, 1953) where "the basic units or building blocks of culture" are identified and put into a frame of reference (pp. 1–2). Unknown to many, it was this draft that was expanded with anecdotes and explanations as the influential *Silent Language* (Hall, 1959).

Hall's framework for linking "culture and communication" in intercultural contexts was articulated in Hall and Whyte (1960). Though few have applied the complex biological communication systems framework (Hall, 1959), his later taxonomies for high and low context, chronemics (polychronic and monochronic time), proxemics (space relations) (Hall, 1976) provided both comparative tools by

which “behavior across culture boundaries could be equated” (Hall & Trager, 1953, p. 2) and training techniques to introduce learners to explanatory domains of cultural difference.

Who influenced whom is hard to establish, but others in related fields were also exploring inter- or cross-cultural issues at about the same time. In his “general theory of interaction,” Parsons (with Shils, 1951) suggested that there were five “pattern variables” across societies, each associated with different kinds of preferences and interactions (which provided a frame for Hofstede’s inquiry). Using mid-1950s data with ninety-four variables from eighty-two nations, Rummel (1966) identified dimensions affecting the foreign behavior of nations (in the macro-economic, political, and power position realms).

As noted above, Osgood (1964) isolated three domains for multi-national comparison of affective meaning (evaluation, potency, activity). About the same time that Clifford Geertz (1973) was developing his anthropological approach to the *Interpretation of Cultures*, Triandis was focusing on ways of identifying and analyzing psychological elements of culture in the 1960s (cf. Adamopolis & Kashima, 2000; Bhawuk, 2000; Triandis, 1995, 2008), culminating in his groundbreaking *Analysis of Subjective Culture* (Triandis, 1972). Hofstede (1980) later analyzed extensive multinational corporate data to identify his first four statistically confirmed cross-cultural dimensions affecting *Culture’s Consequences*. From these important foundations, salient cross-cultural constructs or dimensions continue to be identified, tested in cross-cultural research, and applied to IC education or training.

Though Hall never set out to “found” or “initiate” a field (Sorrells, personal correspondence, May 3, 2015), his work inspired many to pursue these concepts or applications. Hall should, however, not be accused of

equating nations as culture (though the FSI may have to train diplomats). Hall consistently viewed culture as based on smaller cultural units, whether in his ethnic/racial cultural group studies of Navajo/Pueblo/Anglo relations in the 1930s, Black/White racial issues in Denver in the 1940s, or military relations on the island of Truk (Hall, 1950).

Though this post-WWII period is often mentioned as a time of ferment for intercultural conceptualizing, Table 3.3 (Appendix A) presents a chronological overview of some of the burgeoning events and ideas. By the 1960s, new conceptions of culture in social psychology and opportunities in international education and initiatives in training allowed a host of “theory-into-practice” researchers to engage in and help form what became the intercultural and cross-cultural fields in the late 1960s and 1970s discussed in the next section.

Into the 1970s: The Parallel Founding of Intercultural Associations

Continuing the analysis begun in the *IJIR* coedited “Special Issue” on intercultural pioneers, this section highlights how important the 1970s were for founding and expanding the field (Kulich, 2012). Previous histories have only marginally noted some of the lines of intercultural work that not only coexisted but coalesced into several parallel and often inter-connected fields. These are represented by streams focused on: (1) “intercultural education, research, and training” (the ICW, SIETAR, *IJIR*, Summer Institute SIIC, ICI, and IAIR), (2) cross-cultural psychology (journals like *IJP* and *JCCP* and IACCP), (3) culture learning and training (primarily partners with the East-West Center CLI), (4) speech/mass communication associations/divisions that founded the IC field (See Table 3.4), and (5) other associations and journals (See Table 3.5).

Establishing IC Education: The University of Pittsburgh RCIE, ICW, SIETAR, *IJIR*, *SIIC*, and ICI

Not long after the closing of the BIE in the 1950s, other “intercultural education” programs began to be formed. However, these programs were initially intended to meet the needs of international students, rather than solve intergroup conflict among American citizens.

One of the first initiatives was begun in 1959 at the University of Pittsburgh when Shepherd Witman set up the International Regional Council for International Education (RCIE). David Hoopes established RCIE’s Center for International Students (an outcome of funding from the Ford Foundation for both the 1960 Morrill “Committee on the University and World Affairs” and 1962 Education and World Affairs projects) (Hoopes et al., 1971). He became RCIE Vice President in 1964 and invited the leaders of foreign student programs at over thirty-five colleges in several eastern states to collaborate.

These efforts were complemented and furthered by developing and implementing the IC Workshop (ICW) training program, which started in 1966 at the University of Pittsburgh, Cornell University, and the University of Cincinnati, and later continued in the Midwest at the University of Minnesota (Clifford Clarke with Paul Pederson, Robert Moran) and on the West Coast by LeRay Barna at the Portland University. The original goal of the ICW was to provide international students with adequate intercultural orientation for life in the USA. The ICW modules were compiled in 1970 and then published as a collection (Hoopes, 1971) by the Intercultural Network (Vol. 1) and republished for SIETAR in 1975. When funding for the ICW ended in 1976, Clarke (with Hoopes’ involvement) went on to establish the Stanford Institute for IC (SIIC), which continued for ten years with King Ming Young involving many leading IC

scholars. It later moved to Portland, Oregon, as part of the newly founded IC Institute (ICI), under the leadership of Janet Bennett and Milton Bennett, where the SIIC (now the Summer Institute) and other programs continue.

To link this growing group of intercultural scholar-practitioners, the first issue of *Communique* was launched in 1971, the first volumes of *Readings in ICs* (1970–1976) were published from 1970 to 1976, and the ICs Network (1972) was launched, eventually leading to the founding of Intercultural Press, with “Peggy” Pusch and Tobi Frank as long-term associates.

As the RCIE coordinator for the Intercultural Network, Hoopes later gathered thirteen academics and thirteen practitioners in Pittsburgh, PA (date unconfirmed, 1971–1973), with the goal of transforming Al Wight’s SITAR into the Society for Intercultural Education, Training, and Research (SIETAR), adding the “E” for Education to its mission. (Wight, 2008). At the first 1974 SIETAR Congress in Gaithersburg, Maryland, Molefi Asante became the first president. SIETAR inspired and involved many influential interculturalists over the years until the international organization closed doors in 1999 and international networks of regional SIETARs carried on the mission (meeting together occasionally like at the 2008 SIETAR Global Conference in Grenada, Spain). In and beyond SIETAR are a long list of scholar-trainer practitioners like L. Robert Kohls (see Zhang & Kulich, 2012), Clarke (2008), and many affiliated with the IC Workshop (ICW) and its more recent manifestations in other ICT applications (cf. Clarke & Takashiro, 2014).

Academically, Dan Landis began negotiating with Hoopes in 1976 to launch journal and in 1977 published the first issue of *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*. Access to *IJIR* was tied to SIETAR membership until 1997, when Landis met with scholars in Portland to launch a scholarly academy. *IJIR* then

was linked to the newly formed International Academy of Intercultural Research (IAIR, 1998) with its inaugural meeting in Fullerton, California. The IAIR has met biannually on odd-numbered years since.

Cross-cultural Psychology: launching the journals *IJP* and *JCCP* and founding IACCP

In the 1960s, social psychologists were increasingly concerned that western psychological studies were likely not addressing psychology across the range of cultures around the world. Some sought to address this by launching the *International Journal of Psychology (IJP)*, (1966), while others adjusted their research design to focus on cultural-psychological comparison. In 1967, John Berry surveyed 150 individuals involved in this endeavor and published the first “Directory of Cross-Cultural Psychological Research” in *IJP* (Berry, 1968, 1969). Concurrently, following a 1967 conference highlighting the study of culture in social psychology in Ibadan, Nigeria, Triandis (1968) published the first *Newsletter*, which today is known as the *Cross-Cultural Psychology Bulletin*.

Additionally, Walter Lonner helped establish the Western Washington University Center for Cross-Cultural Research, and in 1970 launched the *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology (JCCP)*. The previous lists of researchers and their research areas were updated and published (Berry & Lonner, 1970; Berry, Lonner, & Leroux, 1973). Another global conference in Istanbul, Turkey in 1971 provided an opportunity for many of these scholars interested in cross-cultural work to meet. Eventually this growing network formed the International Association for Cross-Cultural Psychology (IACCP) in 1972 at a conference organized by John Dawson in Hong Kong, where Jerry Bruner

became the first President. These origins, and developments in cross-cultural psychology are well documented periodically in *JCCP* (review articles by Lonner) and in the updated versions of “Online Readings in Psychology and Culture” on the IACCP website (see <https://scholarworks.gvsu.edu/orpc/>).

Psychology of Culture Learning/Training: East–West Center Culture Learning Institute, Hawaii

Previous histories (e.g., Pusch, 2004) have barely touched on an important line of research on culture learning at the East-West Center (EWC) and its important contributions to non-western perspectives. In cooperation with the University of Hawaii, the EWC and its Culture Learning Center were both established in 1960. In 1971, the culture mission was upgraded with the founding of the Culture Learning Institute (CLI) (guided over the years by Verner Bickley, Greg Trifonovitch, and Mary Bitterman). The Institute identified four areas of interest: (1) Cultures in Contact, (2) Language in Culture, (3) Cultural Identity, and (4) Thought and Expression in Culture Learning, each recruiting both scholars and students.

Richard Brislin was hired to help apply psychology to culture learning and training and published at least five annual issues of a new journal *Topics in Culture Learning*. This publication served as a source for many books, training guides, and handbooks, as well as designing a series of intercultural training programs led by Brislin and colleagues (e.g., with Landis in 1983; Cushner, 1983–1985; Petersen and Bhawuk, 1987, Gary Fontaine, Muneo Yoshikawa, Tomoko W. Yoshida and others), producing important guides for intercultural training (e.g., Brislin & Yoshida, 1994a), and applications to a wide variety of *Intercultural*

Interactions (Brislin & Cushner, 1997; Brislin & Yoshida, 1994b).

Through the EWC-based programs of the CLI, Brislin developed projects and pulled together leading cross-cultural psychologists focused on culture learning, training, and research. To move the field and its applications forward, Brislin, Lonner, and Thorndike's (1973) book *Cross-cultural Research Methods* was an important milestone, as well as his edited volume on how to approach *Translation* (1976) in careful cross-cultural research. Another EWC-CLI conference organized by Brislin in 1973 produced *Cross-cultural Perspectives on Learning* (Brislin, Bochner, & Lonner, 1975, an early volume in Bochner and Lonner's Sage "Cross-cultural Research and Methodology Series") and a later update on *Culture Learning* (Brislin, 1977).

These theoretical and scholarly volumes were constantly in a process of development and application through innovative training programs. Fiedler, Mitchell, and Triandis (1971) explained culture assimilators as a training tool and inspired further development in *Intercultural Interactions* (Brislin, Cushner, Cherrie, & Yong, 1986; Cushner & Brislin, 1996). *Cross-Cultural Orientation Programs* (Brislin & Pedersen, 1976) and a compilation of training modules (Weeks, Pedersen, & Brislin, 1977) provided helpful applications, as did Brislin's ongoing "Workshop for Developing Coursework at Colleges and Universities," which ran from 1987 to 1995 at the EWC, was directed by Bhawuk from 1997 to 2000, and moved to the University of Hawaii in 2000.

Brislin's programs at the EWC also secured funded support from the US Information Agency in Washington, DC. From 1972 to 1975, he was funded to develop three 4-month-long programs for educators from Asia, the Pacific, and the United States (administrators of bilingual education programs, principals of international schools,

etc.) to increase their skills in cross-cultural interaction. From 1976 to 1978, he received a grant to advance "Cross-cultural Research for Behavioral and Social Scientists" and run three years of programs (also four months each) for about fifteen scholars to increase their orientation and skills in cross-cultural research. Brislin and his network also collaborated on several other solid foundational academic milestones, namely his contribution to Vol. 5 of the *Handbook of Cross-cultural Psychology* (Triandis & Brislin, 1980), and the edited volume on *Research in Culture Learning* (Hamnett & Brislin, 1980).

A hallmark that the field had come of age was the seminal publication of the three-volume *Handbook of Intercultural Training* (Landis & Brislin, 1983). The specific volumes focused on "Issues in theory and design" (Vol. 1), "Issues in training methodology" (Vol. 2), and "Area studies and international education" (Vol. 3). This volume marks the fourth edition of this benchmark resource. Many of those who have contributed to these handbooks have also been active in the many programs of the Intercultural Communication Institute (ICI) in Portland and with its annual programs of culture learning through the Summer Institute in Intercultural Communication (SIIC), which now marks forty years since it began at Stanford.

In later years, both Brislin and Bhawuk moved to The Shidler College of Business, University of Hawaii and adapted their cross-cultural training (CCT) approaches for MBA, EMBA and business students (e.g., *Working with Cultural Differences: Dealing Effectively with Diversity in the Workplace*, Brislin, 2008). Bhawuk has particularly addressed individualism and collectivism in the field related to diversity (2012), how self-concept affects leading across cultural groups (Bhawuk & Munusamy, 2010), and using cultural standards in the preparation of managers in

countries at different development levels (Bhawuk, 2009b). His research also focuses on globalization vs. indigenous cultures (Bhawuk, 2008) as well as addressing cultural roots and practice of spirituality and the implication of local values on intercultural interactions.

Founding IC: Academic Associations and Their Journals

Intercultural and Development Communication Division, International Communication Association (ICA)

Three organizations were formed in the 1970s related to inter- or cross-cultural aspects of communication. The first of these, the ICA, began with a proposal submitted by Sitaram submitted a proposal to establish a 5th Division (Intercultural and Development Communication) within the International Communication Association (ICA), which was approved on May 6, 1970, in Minneapolis. He became its first Chair (Prosser, 2012, p. 860). Many in the new Division focused on university teaching, textbook development, and cross-cultural mass communication applications.

International and Intercultural Division, National Communication Association (NCA)

The second organization, NCA, began in 1971 when Prosser organized a consultation with US (Howell, SCA) and Canadian Speech Communication Association (Lyman, CSCA) counterparts in Indiana to discuss proposals for developing a formal field of IC studies. He then applied to become one of the early Commissions of the Speech Communication Association. However, by the late 1970s and early 1980s, the (inter)related field(s) of ICs were thriving, such that in SCA/NCA, “rising areas and changing interests in communication studies led to the development of two new

divisions: Organizational Communication in 1983 and International and Intercultural Communication in 1984” (Gehrke & Keith, 2014, p. 17). Many trainers were operative in both, applying their intercultural learning to both business and educational contexts. Also, there was strong collaboration in scholarship, conferences, and training between US and Japanese pioneers as they respectively compared their cultures and worked together to launch the field, which should be more fully researched and reported beyond the confines of this chapter (cf. Clarke, 2008; Kawakami, 2009; Kulich, 2012).

The field was also maturing in its growing publication history. For the SCA/NCA, Casmir (1974–1976) edited the first three *International and IC Annuals*, followed by Jain (1977–1982) and then Gudykunst (1983–1985), who shifted the focus to key topic volumes, starting with *IC Theory*. Other editors continued the *International and IC Annual* for over thirty years before becoming the *NCA Journal of International and IC (JIIC)* in 2008.

Communication Association of the Pacific (CAP) and World Communication Association (WCA)

Donald Klopff and some of his Speech Communication colleagues (like Stanley Harms, Jeffrey Auer) at the University of Hawaii, Honolulu developed links with Asian colleagues including Takahide Kawashima, Satoshi Ishii, and Tsukasa Nishida to establish the Communication Association of the Pacific (CAP) in 1971, declaring it as the first truly international organization in communication. CAP scholars carried out and published research on a broad range of comparative and intercultural interests. From 1972 on, they hosted various gatherings in Japan (which were forerunners to the 1983 World Communication Association) and launched their

official journal *Communication*, which was edited first by Wayne Oxford (1972) then Auer, and which was later renamed *World Communication* (1985–2001, edited by Ron Applebaum). In 1985–1994, another focused journal named *Communication Research Reports* was also published. Since 2002, the official journal of WCA has been called the *Journal of IC Research* (JICR).

Publishing the Expanding IC Field

The focus on publication addressing IC issues continues to receive attention across the disciplines. Almost annually, a new journal is launched that focuses on a cross- or intercultural topic. Table 3.5 (Appendix A) highlights over thirty such journals, illustrating the range of topic areas now affected by this endeavor. It should be noted, however, that journals with “multicultural” in their title, of which there are now over fifteen, are not included partly due to space but also due to noting the scope of such journals. Though they could be considered IC-related for foci on the comparing and mixing of cultures, they extend to an even wider range of topics dealing with policy, citizen education, social studies, or broader societal issues and applications.

As noted in the organizational histories above, some of these long-established journals have now become highly respected flagships for their association and key peer-reviewed publication outlets for the field. It is also apparent how this list keeps growing, either through the formation of new associations or to specific institutions with IC-related specialties. This reflects how well-established and broadly applied the cross- and intercultural approach to research has now become.

However, not all journals listed have attained broad circulation or standing, nor have all that maintained their viability. For example, from 2004 to 2008, the *African*

Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology and Sport Facilitation sought to publish empirical studies, theoretical propositions, and case studies for community-based and inter/intra-cultural effects on human behavior and relationships in the family, workplace, schools, organizations (www.ajol.info/index.php/ajcpsf) but was discontinued. The *Journal of Multicultural and Cross-Cultural Research in Art Education* advanced the work of the United States Society for Education Through Art from 1981 to 1990 (<https://eric.ed.gov/?id=ED365566>). And yet, new areas emerge: the *Journal of Cross-Cultural Family Studies* was just launched in 2017 (<https://digitalcommons.acu.edu/jccfs/about.html>). Extending intercultural and cross-cultural research to new domains continues.

Intercultural Theorizing (from the 1970s to 2005)

One early emphasis of field founders in the early 1970s was “invading” other disciplines with the intercultural ideal as well as borrowing concepts from the broader academy to promote action (Smith, 1977). But as the academic field grew, the need for original theory and field development grew more urgent (see Table 3.6, in Appendix A).

As early as 1971, Prosser organized a consultation at Indiana University/Brown County State Park. Identifying relevant theories was a key item on the agenda. Theory was also among the topics at Prosser’s University of Virginia/Massenetta Springs “Syllabus Construction Conference on IC and Communication and Social Change” in 1973. Casmir (1973) constructed the first annotated bibliography for this emerging branch of communication studies. Edward C. Stewart’s (1973/1978) “Outline of IC” provided concept and theory categorizations, which became the

central foci of the 1974 combined SCA/ICA/ SIETAR 1974 Chicago Conference (Jain, Prosser, & Miller, 1974). Molefi Asante and Eileen Newmark (1976) followed suit producing their first small monograph *IC: Theory into Practice*. From this, they recruited authors to produce the first *Handbook of IC* (Asante, Newmark, & Blake, 1979).

The first IC theory summaries began under Brent Rubin's founding editorship of the ICA *Communication Yearbook* (1977–1979) which provided “state of the art” on specific sub-fields. From Tulsī Saral's (1977) opening overview, to Michael Prosser's (1978a) discussion of major constructs, to Saral's (1979) “Challenges and Opportunities,” this framing of the field continued under the new editor, Dan Nimmo (Asante, 1980).

The first compilations began with a theory volume (Hoopes, Pedersen, & Renwick, 1979) as Vol. 1 in SIETAR's *Overview of Intercultural Education, Training and Research* series. William G. Davey, with Shiela van Derck, who was also present at Prosser's Indiana meeting, produced SIETAR's *IC Theory and Practice* volume (1979, Vol. 2). William Howell (also present at the Indiana meeting) wrote a chapter updating the state of IC theory (1979) in Asante et al.'s *Handbook*, while developing the illustrious IC doctoral program at the University of Minnesota, where many leading IC scholars were trained (cf. Hasslet, 2017).

At the 1980 SCA Convention in New York City, Larry Sarbaugh and Nobleza Asuncion-Lande held an “Action Caucus and Seminar on Theory in IC,” which became “Bill” Gudykunst's (1983) first theme volume as editor of SCA's *International and IC Annual (IICA) IC Theory, Vol. 7*. This tradition continued with regular updates (Kim & Gudykunst, *IICA*, Vol. 12, 1988; Wiseman, *IICA*, Vol. 19, 1995).

Gudykunst was particularly active in and also committed to the practical application of theories (Gudykunst's 1998 *Bridging*

Differences), and explained in the extensively documented multi-edition text *Communicating with Strangers* (Gudykunst & Kim, 1984/1991/1996/2002). His *tour-de-force* IC theory compilation (Gudykunst, 2005) was completed just before his death.

Across these articles and volumes, at least eight key theoretical themes have consistently been addressed by IC scholars: attributions (what we associate with or expect of cultural others), identity, perceptual bias or issues of prejudice, language interrelationships (linguistic rules, speech codes, meaning management), values or beliefs systems, culture learning toward personal adjustment and system- or schema-based adaptation, effectiveness or competence, and conflict (see Table 3.7, in Appendix A). These also continue to be some of the topics typically covered or applied in intercultural education and training design (e.g., Bhawuk, 2009a; Milhouse, 1996).

But theorizing is dynamic in any field, and historical software needs to keep being updated to meet new contexts or realities. Many of the cited theories represent the social science paradigm of IC and inadequately cover the range of interpretative or critical approaches that are proving increasingly relevant for dealing with the nuanced array of complex problems faced in our times. Kim (2017, pp. xlii), as chief-editor of a six-volume IC encyclopedia, recruited twenty-two leading IC scholars, who then compiled 256 key word entries, reflecting the main topics currently focused on by IC scholars and practitioners. Table 3.8 (Appendix A) provides the details. According to Kim's analysis, these six focus areas are robust, their theories mature, and areas of analysis broad and expanding.

Concluding Remarks

Overall, this chapter has offered a response to critiques of our field that call for clearer and

yet more nuanced thinking about the complex issues and dialectics of culture (e.g., Croucher et al., 2015; Martin & Nakayama, 1999; Moon, 2010; Ogay & Edelmann, 2016). Even with seeking to be selective, provide highlights, and attempt to draw links to later expressions for some of these streams of thinking and praxis, the content covered is admittedly vast, yet some topics have been inadequately addressed. This chapter is a limited first attempt at broadening our understanding of the rich roots, diverse dimensions, and broad applications of branches of study and practices that have helped formulate a robust family of cross- and intercultural fields and approaches to interculturality in interactions. As in C. Wright Mills' (1959) *Sociological Imagination*, we have sought to review the historical legacies of particular thinkers at particular times to reflect on how they affected the relations of people in their social-cultural contexts, as well as to "think ourselves away" from the familiar history of our field to reexamine it with critical eyes and fresh perspectives. This chapter expands, updates, and supplements received narratives, seeking to locate historical precedents or inspirations for new challenges facing the field today.

"Mainstream" Narrative and "Unnoticed" Streams: Summative Comparison

Based on the authors and narratives presented in this chapter, three comparative conclusions can be drawn. First and foremost, "IC," though often considered a relatively young field (formalized in the 1970s), is rooted in rich intellectual traditions of thinking about and comparing ourselves to others.

Influential thinkers have been engaging in social or cultural criticisms and grappling with ways to describe human society in terms of "culture" for centuries. Yet we note that

1. a clear concept of culture or theories on interactions between cultures did NOT exist for, as far as we know, most pre-Enlightenment and Enlightenment thinkers;
2. yet, some thinkers were clearly striving to understand many of the same concepts and issues that we still struggle with today; and therefore,
3. some of their thinking is important and allows us to rethink how we can understand and relate with cultural groups different from our own.

While "IC" as an academic field may have begun in the latter half of the twentieth century, thinking about human culture is ancient and rich in content and implications. To recover what might have been forgotten, this chapter has revisited reflections on the relationship between culture, power, perceived reality/truth, morality that might help address critiques that call for more nuanced thinking about the complex issues, contexts, and diversities within and across culture(s) (e.g., Asante et al., 2008; Holliday, 2011; Moon, 2010; Nakayama & Halualani, 2010; Ogay & Edelmann, 2016; Starosta, 2011).

Second, this coverage notes the limitation of identifying a few field founders, books, or grand theories, and the richness of acknowledging the plurality and diversity of scholars and practitioners over many years who have proffered perspectives on culture and human relations in anthropology, sociology, social/group psychology, linguistics, education, and other fields. Each contributed to the collective understanding we now have of how different groups are formed, how distinct characteristics can be best understood relative to one another, and how interactive processes between members of different groups work.

Spheres of inspiration, collaboration, and crossover between the fields can be observed

between the scholars pioneering at the University of Berlin, the Frankfurt school, the Birmingham institute, the many programs at Columbia University, New York University, University of Chicago, and those not yet adequately covered in this space like the University of Minnesota, University of Pittsburgh, Northwestern University, Indiana University, Pepperdine University, Howard University, and other institutions (cf. Kulich & Zhang, 2012). Equally noted is the interdisciplinary collaboration on important themes like ways to identify attitudes, attributions, and prejudice, methods or designs to foster intercultural training, learning, and counselling, approaches to cultivate intercultural awareness, sensitivity, and competence and the inseparable links between theory and practice. A case in point is the intertwined efforts between Benedict, M. Mead, Lasker, Katz, W.E.B. DuBois, Kleinberg, Lewin, Allport, and Davis-DuBois within the early Intercultural Education movement. Such individual and shared efforts both crystallize some earlier philosophical ideals, as well as inspire later developments in this ongoing process of intercultural inquiry, application, and agency. The field(s) of IC is/are shown to be international, interested in inter-ethnic/interracial/intergroup issues, and also dealing with differential responses to the challenges of mixing and hybridity occurring in new ways in global contexts (starting to address critiques posed by Sorrells, 2012; Szkudlarek, 2009; Ting-Toomey & Dorjee, 2019).

Third, the ferment that culminated in the 1970s shows that while the formalization of the field followed similar steps (conferences/collaborations, organizations, publications, and theorizing), it occurred concurrently, within and across several parallel tracks. The prevailing three-paradigm model (González, 2010; Kurylo, 2012; Martin & Nakayama, 1999) might still describe epistemologies and approaches to research, but trying to show

linear progression in the development of “the field” would not conform to the broad range of “intercultural” initiatives that this chapter shows *have coexisted* and at times challenged each other over the last ninety years. As Blommaert (1998) notes, the broad field of IC remains multi-paradigmatic and contested in many ways. An intercultural approach to research, education, and social application has now spread beyond the confines of “a field” or even “parent” disciplines to increasingly reflect the cognitive complexity that each generation of uniquely positioned interculturalists seek to embody or develop in others *in their context*.

Implications for the Field(s) of Intercultural Studies, Education, and Training Today

Overall, the value of this chapter is in its attempt to allow intercultural scholars and practitioners to (re)consider their own assumptions about what IC is; when, where, and how it started; where it is going (or rather, what its inherent purposes/trajectories are); and what it faces or needs to more clearly address (acknowledging Croucher et al.’s 2015 questions). It may be the nature of modernized, progressive societies to reify our histories into mono-linear, phase-by-phase, progressive narratives which cast recent developments in the most favorable light as the latest and greatest step towards what Fukuyama (1992) once geopolitically called the “end of history.” Some tend to imply that by telling our history “right” we can direct our societies, our field, or our students/clients toward a better and brighter future. Others question such grand assumptions.

The people and contributions presented in this chapter issue a sharp challenge to intellectual malaise or myopic and simplistic views of intercultural concepts and practice. These

concur with two recent assessments made by several scholars who are similarly attempting to define, describe, and clarify what exactly intercultural study is.

First, context matters. The metaphorical “murky waters” that flow through the history of IC studies (Baldwin, 2016) have made it increasingly context- and area-focused. For example, Rabi Bhagat and Kristin Prier (1996) focused on functional organizational contexts and methods in CCT. Daniel Kealey and David Protheroe (1996) specifically reviewed training designs for “expatriates” who are “going across.” Jan Selmer (2005) examined CCT as related to expatriate adjustments in China, and Robert Bean (2006, 2007) evaluated the need and acceptance of CCT in Australian contexts. Early training pioneer Clarke (2008) provided a scholar-practitioner review with helpful reference to the Japanese context. Dorian Brown and Trey Martindale (2012) conducted a review of ICT as applied to the workplace, focusing especially on Cultural Intelligence (CQ) applications in business.

These preferences for a context-driven approach in reviewing the foci, key concepts, theories, best practices, and goals take us beyond clear-cut categories or field boundaries. Since intercultural studies rose out of a multiplicity of fields, borrowing key concepts from each, it behooves us to readopt a “context-based” approach to the field (e.g., Wang & Kulich, 2015), whether based on place (Australia, China, Japan, etc.), purpose (training, education, or research), or past influences (anthropological, psychological, linguistic, etc.).

Second, the mainline “intercultural” conception has been limited or contained – both for research and training applications. A large body of research generated mainly by cross-cultural psychologists or communication

scholars since the 1970s has focused on empirical or binary-dimension cultural comparisons at the national level, leaving others working on different cultural levels or with other complex domains sensing either mis-fit or irrelevance of established theories to their context or their scholarship. Additionally, both Kathryn Sorrells (2012) and Barbara Szkudlarek (2009) lament the lack of training methods particularly designed for use in critical contexts, such as addressing majority/minority relations and social justice issues. It can be both inspiring and sobering to realize that some of the work being done in the early twentieth century in intercultural education and social psychology was already seeking to address related issues.

Given that the field of IC embodies multiple and at times contested paradigms, histories, goals, focuses, theories, etc., it thus has the potential to be more flexibly and fairly understood, defined, and applied. Context, domain, or specific group can and should play a significant role in determining the selection and application of the most relevant constructs/theory, or foster the developing of a new one. Reviewing the multiple perspectives, varied approaches, and range of cultural levels involved when groups interact, models may be needed that incorporate these levels and provide conceptual maps of what types of training might address the types of inter-, culture, and communication, and intersubjective representations at hand (Wan, 2015; or proposals of different levels, modes, or praxis, cf. Wang & Kulich 2015). Dynamic, dialectic, or dialogic approaches (Doron, 2009; Ganesh & Holmes, 2011; Holmes, 2014; Martin & Nakayama, 1999) not only broaden our understanding of IC history and past intercultural training applications, but help the development of context-specific models, methods, and techniques for facing new circumstances and gaps noted in emerging categories.

Looking Back to Look Forward: Future Directions

... the horizon of the present is continually in the process of being formed because we are continually having to test all our prejudices. An important part of this testing occurs in encountering the past and in understanding the tradition from which we come. Hence the horizon of the present cannot be formed without the past ... *Understanding is always the fusion of these horizons supposedly existing by themselves.* (italics his, Gadamer, 1960, p. 305)

This chapter provides only the beginnings of an attempt to holistically explore our multi-perspectival IC history. Inclusion of other influential pioneers beyond those biographed in the *IJIR* Special Issue (Prosser & Kulich, 2012) was only partially and briefly accomplished. Space did not permit inclusion of an important part of this project on documenting intercultural developments in specific national contexts like Germany, Japan, China, and other countries. Deeper analysis of the intercultural topic range (as historically published in handbooks or key journals), theory analysis, broader application areas, or best practices in education and training are not yet included.

Two directions for future efforts are recommended. First, further detailed analysis of early documents and lines of publication is needed to clarify the strength, emergent foci, and breadth of each IC studies or education category and its related training approaches (examples like Ho, Holmes, & Cooper, 2004; Martin, Nakayama, & Carbaugh, 2012). Second, historical consciousness must truly become intercultural by “leaving home” and “going abroad.” Baldwin’s (2016, p. 19) chapter notes three basic truths about current representations of intercultural history with which the authors agree: (1) there are histories in communication and culture that precede Hall (many outlined here); (2) there are domains

outside the mainstream; and (3) there is an over-emphasis on US and English-speaking histories. In dealing with historic centrisms, Szkudlarek (2009; Szkudlarek & Romani, 2017) similarly notes that the intercultural story has been typically told “through Western eyes” or from ideologically mainstream positions and assumptions (e.g., Dervin, 2016; Gorski, 2008). Consequently, important developments in or perspectives from other countries, regions, or social milieus may only be known to insiders. Without them what can the global intercultural community learn about how they came into being or what issues they are addressing? Like the ongoing enterprise of indigenous psychology, where each emic has value in checking the assumptions of prevailing etics, efforts must be made to compare and integrate localized expressions of our field in spite of language and/or cultural barriers. Both multilingual and multidisciplinary approaches (Spencer-Oatey & Franklin, 2009) are needed to begin to make sense of the multilayered complexity of all that we call “intercultural.”

As this chapter has illustrated, despite some simplified narratives from this rich intercultural heritage, today’s intercultural field(s) is/are more diverse and nuanced than “we” might think:

The central fact of our history is the ambiguity of “we” ... it can also refer to a multiplicity of voices, sometimes in harmony, but not necessarily unified ... Our field and association have never had a stable identity ... the unique strengths and weaknesses of the field flow from a dynamic scholarly identity, always in flux, never at rest. (Gehrke & Keith, 2014, p. 1)

It may behoove us to view our history as a pendulum, emerging painting, or unfolding tapestry, rather than an energizer bunny of progress. Considering diverse contexts and contending dialectics have fostered fermentation in the field and can continue to push us

toward greater depth, (re)definition, and innovative praxis of the field's intellectual legacy to address the challenging realities we each face. The points of emphasis may sway back and forth with the times, but we can remix the colors on our pallet or strands in our loom so that neither historical amnesia nor irrelevance are inevitable.

It is hoped that when we as scholar/practitioners (re)discover some of the forgotten or bypassed lines of thinking and praxis presented here, our (re)defined and revived understanding of IC can help us to pursue, foster, and forge a wider range of applications and agency in complex contexts around the globe. It takes a renewed vision of the past to more meaningfully, realistically, and successfully face the complex intercultural challenges of our shared future.

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initiative for a special issue helped launch this project in 2010, appeared as biographical essays in 2012, *IJIR* 36(6), and led to six symposium sessions at the IAIR 2013 Conference in Reno, Nevada. Thanks also goes to the research fellows and assistants of the SISU Intercultural Institute and doctoral course participants Gefei Suo, Yi'an Wang, Jiaojiao Meng, Aili Guo, Xuan Wang, Ying Ren, and to MA students Yan'ni Meng, Xueke Sun, Anthony Yuchi Chen, and others for extensive sourcing and thesis documentation, to Janet Bennett's IC Institute (ICI) in Portland, Oregon and librarian Sandra Garrison for scans and copies of early works, and to intercultural pioneers for reviewing sections of this manuscript: John "Jack" Condon, Clifford Clarke, Fred Casmir, and contributions from Jacqueline Wasilewski, Juergen Henze, Wendy Leeds-Hurwitz, Michael Steppat, Kathryn Sorrells, Valery Chirkov, and John Baldwin. The lead author takes responsibility for any omissions or errors and is committed to correcting them in future updates on this complex history.

Appendix A

Tables

Table 3.1 1784–1919: Milestones in the early formative history of intercultural communications

Year	Academic Concepts/Theories published	Person(s)	Institutions/Organizations founded	Applied initiatives launched	Location
1784	<i>Outlines of a Philosophy of the History of Man</i> (“Kultur” coined as “way of life”)	Johann Gottfried von Herder (1784)			U of Berlin
1839–1850	Initial ideas of preparing to enter a new culture			Early “shipboard education” for migrants to colonial New Zealand	England
1874–1891	“ <i>Geist des Volkes</i> ” (“Volk” as a ethnic people group, “Völker” as different peoples)	Johann Gottfried von Herder			U of Berlin
1853	Observation, positivism, field of sociology	Auguste Comte		Scientific approach to social theory	Paris, France
1866–1871	<i>The Peoples of East Asia</i>	Adolf Bastian (1866)			U of Berlin
1869	Journal <i>Zeitschrift für Ethnologie</i> (ZIE)	Launching Editors: Robert Hartmann, Adolph Bastian	Berlin Society for Anthropology, Ethnology, and Prehistory		Berlin
1870–1871	Conceptualizing <i>Kultur der Beggnung der Kulturen</i> (the culture of meeting other Cultures)	Jacob Burekhardt, Friedrich Nietzsche		(Culture+s as plural: Perspectivism: maturity by experiencing several cultures, comprehending others via “objectivity”)	U Basel
1872	<i>Origin of Species</i> 6th ed. (the importance of “facial expressions” first noted, precursor to non-verbals)	Charles Darwin (1872)			England, HMS Beagle
1877	Learning through Traveling abroad	James O. Woodruff		Vision articulated for shipboard education, students to sail and learn around the world	Indianapolis, IN

Table 3.1 (cont.)

Year	Academic Concepts/Theories published	Person(s)	Institutions/Organizations founded	Applied initiatives launched	Location
1881	<i>Der Völkergedanken in Aufbau einer Wissenschaft</i> (building a science based on ethnic peoples thinking, precursor of “emics”)	Adolf Bastian (1881)			U of Berlin
1884	<i>Die allgemeinen Grundzüge der Ethnologie (Foundations of Ethnologie)</i>	Adolf Bastian (1884)			U of Berlin
1887	<i>Gemeinschaft und Gesellschaft</i> (Community and Association)	Ferdinand Tönnies (1887)			Kiel U, Germany
1893	“Social facts” as comparative frame of mechanical (traditional) and organic (modern) solidarity	Emile Durkheim (1893)			U of Bordeaux, France
1894	Collective conscientiousness vs. Individualism (towards organic solidarity)	Emile Durkheim (1894)			U of Bordeaux, France
1881	Applied sociology (as social + personal exchanges)	Georg Simmel (awarded PhD in Sociology)		Simmel continued teaching at the U of Berlin for 29 years (Albion Small worked as a fellow)	U of Berlin
1892	Adopting European models, US field of sociology begins	Albion Small	1st US Department of Sociology		U of Chicago
1895	<i>Der ethnische Elementargedanken in der Lehre vom Menschen</i> (the “psychic unity” of mankind across ethnic groups)	Adolf Bastian (1895)		Postulating local cultural group thinking, precursor of “etics”	U of Berlin

1900	<i>Philosophy of Money</i> (interaction & social formation, dual relations)	Georg Simmel (1900)	R. E. Park took Simmel's Sociology course and earned his PhD in Berlin	U of Berlin
1903	Concepts of "homophily" and "heterophily"	Gabriel Tarde (also used by Simmel)	Critique of Durkheim, established the "French school" of criminology, emphasizing group mind and psychology (a critique of Durkheim)	Collège de France
1904	<i>The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism</i>	Max Weber (1904)	Contrasting American, Western, and Asian values and economic orientations	U Heidelberg
1906	<i>Folkways</i> (ingroup, outgroup, ethnocentrism)	William Graham Sumner (1906)		Yale U
1908	Concept of the "Stranger"	Georg Simmel (1908)		U of Berlin
1909	NAACP magazine, <i>The Crisis</i>	Founding Editors: W. E. B. DuBois, Mary White Ovington, and others	National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP)	New York City
1911	<i>Völkerpsychologie</i> (The Psychology of Peoples)	Wilhelm Wundt (1911–1920, 1916)		U of Leipzig
1915	Gender awareness and global peace initiatives	Jane Addams and others	Women's International League for Peace and Freedom (WILPF)	Philadelphia, PA
1915	"Women and Internationalism," <i>Women at the Hague</i>	Jane Addams, Emily Greene Balch, Alice Hamilton (1915)	(thereafter triannual world congresses, with regional conferences in between)	The Hague, Netherlands
1915–1925	Concept of the marginal man proposed	Robert E. Park, Booker T. Washington	R. E. Park worked for Booker T. Washington in the Congo Reform Association	Tuskegee Institute., Alabama

Table 3.1 (cont.)

Year	Academic Concepts/Theories published	Person(s)	Institutions/Organizations founded	Applied initiatives launched	Location
1915–1935	Research model of scientific objectivity (distance of outsider/stranger)	George Herbert Mead, Robert E. Park		Dominance of Chicago Sociology (Park began teaching there)	U of Chicago
1916	Study of ethnic communities in urban contexts	Robert E. Park (1916)		Approach of “the Chicago School”	U of Chicago
1918	Advances in women’s roles in society	Jane Addams and others	2nd WILPF International Congress		Zurich, Switzerland
1919	First efforts at uniting nations to prevent war, though with colonial compromises	National leaders like Woodrow Wilson, Georges Clemenceau, and David Lloyd George		Post–WWI Treaty of Versailles	Versailles, France
1919	Initiatives toward cross-racial understanding	Will W. Alexander	Commission on Interracial Cooperation (CIC) (for the US South)	(to curtail racial violence, investigate race relations, housing, sanitation)	Atlanta

Table 3.2 1920–1945: Milestones in the formative history of intercultural communications

Year	Academic Concepts/ Theories published	Person(s)	Institutions/Organizations founded	Applied launched	initiatives	Location
1918–1920	<i>The Polish Peasant In Europe and America</i>	William Thomas and Florian Znaniecki (1921)		(study of the values, cultural identity, and interactions of a cultural group in plural contexts)		U of Chicago
1920s–1940s	Concept of Linguistic Relativity (Sapir-Whorf hypothesis)	Edward Sapir (1921, 1949) and Benjamin Whorf				Columbia U
1920s	Cultural relativism proposed	Franz Boas and students				Columbia U
1921		Jane Addams and others	3rd WILPF International Congress	(Rachel DuBois attended a 1922 Hague "conference" after Versailles)		Vienna, Austria
1922	<i>Conflict and the Web of Group-Affiliations</i> (modern society: examine reciprocal interactions =person and others)	Georg Simmel (1922)				U of Berlin
1922	<i>Klassen, Stände, Partie</i> (3-Component theory of social stratification)	Max Weber (1922)				U Heidelberg
1922–1923	Concept of "stereotype"	Walter Lippman				
1922–1923	Cross-national speech collaboration	A. Craig Baird			First US–UK debate team exchanges (both ways)	Bates College/ Oxford
1924		Jane Addams and others	4th WILPF International Congress			Washington, DC
1924	Concept of "social distance"	Robert E. Park				U of Chicago

Table 3.2 (cont.)

Year	Academic Concepts/ Theories published	Person(s)	Institutions/Organizations founded	Applied launched	initiatives	Location
1924	Negative attitudes and policies toward immigrants			The US Immigration Act (the Johnson-Reed Act, including the Asian Exclusion Act and National Origins [quotas] Act)		Washington, DC
1924–1926	“Social distance scale”	Emory S. Bogardus (1926)	PhD graduate of the U of Chicago School of sociology 1911, he established an early independent Sociology Dept at the U of Southern Cal. in 1915	Sociological study of psychological attitudes and early scale		U of Chicago/ USC
1924–1928	<i>A Program for Education in World Mindedness</i>	Rachel Davis-DuBois (1928)		The “Woodbury Plan” for engaging students in inter-ethnic/inter-religious School Assemblies		Woodbury, NJ
1926	<i>Children, The Magazine for Parents</i> (name changed to <i>Parent’s Magazine</i> in 1929)	George C. Hecht		Vehicle for parent education including reviews of Lasker’s work on prejudice, a “Tolerance Test” etc.		US
1926	Initiating shipboard education	James E. Lough, Holland America Line	University World Cruise (outgrowth of study abroad trips 1923–1926)	One-time voyage seeking to provide study-abroad education at sea (Holland American Lines)		New York U Extramural Division

1927	Formalizing shipboard education		International University Cruise (IUC) and University Travel Association (UTA)	Multiple shipboard education programs instituted, programs in 1928, first sail of IUC 1928, UTA 1929	Columbia U
1928	<i>Anthropology and Modern Life</i>	Franz Boas (1928)			New York City
1929	<i>Race Attitudes in Children</i>	Bruno Lasker (1929)	<i>Survey Magazine</i> (Associate Editor)	Noting effects of communal/parental conscious and unconscious fostering of prejudice	US-UK exchange
1929				NATC (later became SCA/NCA) formed Int'l Debating committee	Yale U
1929-1933		Clark L. Hull, with John Dollard, John Whiting, etc.	Yale Institute of Human Relations	Interdisciplinary work-group among social scientists	U of Chicago
1929/1937	Concept of "marginal man" formalized ("sojourner," Sui, 1952)	Robert E. Park in collaboration with Everett V. Stonequist (1929)			
1930		Editors: Franz Boas, Lucien Levy-Bruhl, Bertrand Russell, Edward Sapir	<i>Journal of Social Psychology: Political, Racial, and Differential Psychology</i>		
1930s	Critical media studies (The Frankfurt School)	Benjamin, Marcuse, Adorno, Horkheimer, From, Löwenthal, etc.		Neo-Marxist, anti-authoritarian analysis	Frankfurt U Center
1931	<i>Phenomenology of Intersubjectivity</i>	Edmund Husserl (1931)		Likely first use of "interkultural" as adjective in German	Göttingen U, Freiburg U

Table 3.2 (cont.)

Year	Academic Concepts/ Theories published	Person(s)	Institutions/Organizations founded	Applied launched	initiatives	Location
1931	<i>Study of Values (SOV)</i>	Gordon Allport and Philip Vernon (1931)	Institute of Int'l Education (IIE)	Institutionalizing a national focus on international education		Harvard U Washington, DC
1932	Institutionalizing a national focus on international education			Created and administered "semester abroad" (first group with French + Germans) then 1933 "homestay"		Brattleboro, VT
1932	Fostering peace through understanding, communication, and cooperation by living together	Donald Watt	Experiment in International Living (EIL)			
1932	Developing awareness of cultural differences on a university campus		"Cultural Mosaics" campus club program			New York U
1932-1935		Rachel Davis-DuBois		Courses designed with intercultural education contents		Boston U, UC Berkeley
1934	<i>Thinking and Speech</i> (Vygotsky's socio-cultural studies of children's development)	Lev Vygotsky (1934)				Moscow, Russia
1934	Study on prejudice/ discrimination	Richard LaPiere (1934)	As Stanford Professor, he drove through the US with a Chinese couple, documenting responses then measured attitudes	(replication by Kutner, Wilkins, & Yarrow 1952)		Stanford U
1934	<i>Patterns of Culture</i>	Ruth Benedict (1934)				Columbia U

1934	<p>Launching the first clearing house for human and later intercultural relations education via school social studies or extracurricular programs</p> <p>“Intercultural contacts” focus of <i>Journal of Religion</i></p> <p><i>Modern Trends in World Religions</i> (comparative study of “intercultural contacts”)</p> <p><i>Mind, Self, and Society: From the Standpoint of a Social Behaviorist</i> (social interactionism)</p> <p>Inter-ethnic stereotypes and prejudice</p> <p>Idea of “intercultural education” coined/developed</p>	<p>Rachel Davis DuBois</p> <p>William Ernest Hocking and Archibald Baker</p> <p>A. Eustace Haydon (1934)</p> <p>George Herbert Mead (1934)</p> <p>Daniel Katz and Kenneth Braly (1935)</p> <p>Rachel Davis-DuBois</p> <p>1st National Director: Rachel Davis-DuBois</p> <p>Kurt Lewin</p>	<p>The Service Bureau for Education in Human Relations</p> <p>(renamed Service Bureau for Intercultural Education, 1938–1941)</p> <p>Articles on inter-faith intercultural religious contact</p> <p>Through a lecture series in Mexico, DuBois’ educational practices were given a name and focus</p> <p>Progressive Education Association’s (PEA) Commission on Intercultural Education</p>	<p>New York City</p> <p>Harvard U</p> <p>U of Chicago</p> <p>U of Chicago</p> <p>U of Michigan</p> <p>New York City</p> <p>New York City</p> <p>U of Berlin, Cornell, Iowa</p>
1934				
1934				
1934				
1935				
1935				
1935				
1936				

Table 3.2 (cont.)

Year	Academic Concepts/Theories published	Person(s)	Institutions/Organizations founded	Applied initiatives launched	Location
1936	Development of international exchange and exposure programs		International study-abroad programs	Launched by the Experiment for International Living	Brattelsburo, VT
1936	Funding for international worldminded learning	De Witt and Edna Baldwin	Lisle Fellowship	Experiential off-campus summer program for international understanding and “world-mindedness”	New York, Happy Valley Center
1937	Beginning of Area Studies as a research focus		American Studies programs	Started from a course on History of American Civilization	Harvard U
1937	Classifying the subject matter of culture with the Cross-cultural Survey	George P. Murdock		Project of the Yale Institute of Human Relations	Yale U
1938	<i>Outline of Cultural Materials</i> (Murdock, 1938)	George P. Murdock (rev with Whiting, 1945)		Materials from 90 cultures first published	Yale U
1938–1939	National Radio Broadcast (CBS) “ <i>Americans All - Immigrants All</i> ”	Lead Consultant: Rachel Davis-DuBois	Service Bureau for Intercultural Education	sponsored by the Dept. of the Interior, Office of Education, WPA, PEA	SBIE, NYU
1939	<i>Out of the Many, One: A Plan for Intercultural Education</i>	Rachel Davis-DuBois (1939)			SBIE
1939	<i>Intercultural Education News (Vol. 1)</i>	Launched by Rachel Davis-Dubois and team		SBIE newsletter for school teachers and affiliates	SBIE/NYU
1940	Concepts of <i>Gemeinschaft</i> (community) and <i>Gesellschaft</i> (society) (appear in English)	Translation/use of Tönnies’ concepts in articles (later books: Merton, 1949; Tönnies, 1957)			Kiel U, Germany

1940	Margaret Mead, Rhoda Metraux, Ruth Benedict	Council of Intercultural Relations	This later became the Institute for intercultural Studies, 1941	New York City
1940	Otto Kleinberg (1940)			Columbia U
1940	<i>Social Psychology, Race, Language, and Culture</i> Franz Boas (1940)			New York U
1940	First intercultural doctoral degree Rachel Davis-DuBois	PhD dissertation title: “ <i>Adventures in Intercultural Education</i> ”	Early attempts to use IC processes of inter-group contact and dialogue to overcome prejudice and racism	
1940s	Prejudice studies (Lewin) Kurt Lewin		Kurt Lewin (as a Jew fleeing Nazi Germany) migrated to US	Columbia U
1940s/1941	<i>Myth of the Negro Past</i> Melville Herskovits (1941)	Program on African American Studies		Columbia U
1940s	National Character studies started Boas’ students: Benedict, Gorer, Mead			SBIE, New York City
1941	“Intercultural Education: Outlines” + “Cultural Diversity” Stewart G. Cole (1941a, 1941b)		The new leader of the SBIE clarified his vision for applying IC to schools, departing from Davis-DuBois’ focus	
1941	Intercultural/intergroup teacher training Rachel Davis-DuBois	Workshop for Cultural Democracy	Teacher training by intercultural educators for IC awareness through intergroup contact for US secondary schools	From New York City to other locations
1941	First institute focusing on intercultural studies Margaret Mead, Rhoda Metraux, Ruth Benedict, other anthropologists	Institute for Intercultural Studies (IIS) (connecting leading anthropologists)		New York City

Table 3.2 (cont.)

Year	Academic Concepts/ Theories published	Person(s)	Institutions/Organizations founded	Applied launched	initiatives	Location
1941	Employing culture-focused scholars to address international relations/diplomatic issues	Alexander Leighton, Director	US Office of War, Foreign Morale Analysis Division (FMAD)	Commissioned anthropologists to apply research to cultural understanding		Washington, DC
1942		Edward T. Hall (earned PhD in Anthropology)		(doctoral program taught by Benedict, Mead, and Linton)		Columbia U
1942–1954	Shifting school social studies focus toward intergroup and multicultural education	Stewart C. Cole, William Vickery	Bureau for Intercultural Education (redirected what was the SBIE shifting the focus first to intergroup then later multicultural education)	(later H.H. Giles, Hilda Taba, William Van Til)		BIE, New York City
1944	<i>A Scientific Theory of Culture</i>	Bronislaw Malinowski (1944)		(OED's first noted English use: "the comparative method ... gathering extensive cross-cultural documentations")		
1945			End of World War II			

Table 3.3 1945–1972: Post-WWII milestones leading up to founding the field of intercultural communications*

Year	Academic Concepts/Theories published	Person(s)	Institutions/Organizations founded	Applied initiatives launched	Location
1945		Hilda Taba and William van Til	National Council of Social Studies Report	(nation-wide survey on intercultural education in high school curricula)	Washington, DC
1945–1954		Stewart C. Cole	The Pacific Coast Council on Intercultural Communication (PCCIC)	Noteworthy programs in San Diego City Schools (1946–1949, Will Crawford)	West Coast USA, especially in CA Columbia U
1946	<i>Chrysanthemum and the Sword</i>	Ruth Benedict (1946)			New York City
1946	Formalizing the face-to-face <i>Group Conversation Method</i>	Rachel Davis-DuBois (1946)			
1946	Intergroup education		Intergroup Education Workshop	American Council on Education	Washington, DC
1946	Training for foreign service begun	Linguists (US Army language training program) and later anthropologists	Foreign Service Act (US Congress passed)	Foreign Service Institute (FSI)	Washington, DC
1946	Scholarly exchange initiatives	William Fulbright	Fulbright Program (managed by the IIE)		Washington, DC
1946			Council for Int'l Education Exchange (CIEE)		Washington, DC
1946			American Institute of Foreign Trade		US
1946			Thunderbird College (Graduate School)	(American Graduate School of International Management)	Thunderbird, AZ

Table 3.3 (cont.)

Year	Academic Concepts/ Theories published	Person(s)	Institutions/Organizations founded	Applied initiatives launched	Location
1947			Founding of the United Nations and UNESCO	United Nations	New York City
1947	<i>From Sea to Shining Sea: Administrators Handbook for Intergroup Education.</i>	American Ass'n of School Administrators (1947)	Commission on Intergroup Education	American Association of School Administrators	Washington, DC
1947			American Field Service (AFS) Exchange Program		US
1978	Human rights		Universal Declaration of Human Rights	United Nations	New York City
1947			NAFSA (Nat'l Assn of Foreign Student Advisors)		Washington, DC
1948			4-H International (youth exchange)		US
1948		Harry Truman	Presidential Executive Order mandating racial integration in the US Armed Forces		Washington, DC
1949			Human Relations Area Files (HRAF) (Dept of Army)		US
1949	Formalizing the concept of "cosmopolitanism" (from Simmel)	Robert K. Merton (1949)			Columbia U
1949	Effective racial integration shown in "The American Soldier" study	Stouffer, et al. (1949)			US Army

1949	<i>Conflicting Patterns of Thought (promoting "nominalism")</i>	Karl Pribram (1949)		Washington, DC
1949–1955		Clyde Kluckhohn, Florence Kluckhohn, Fred Strodtbeck and others	Harvard Comparative Values Project	Harvard U
1950s			Start of Civil Rights Movement	US
1950			National Society for the Study of Communication (NSSC)	Austin, TX (initially a subsidiary of SSA/SCA/NCA founded in Austin Texas, but separated 1967 to become ICA in 1969)
1950	Cultural awareness training	L. Robert Kohls (served as VP from 1983 on)	Washington International Center (WIC) (first training)	Washington, DC USIA exchange programs located in Meridian House)
1950	<i>Authoritarian Personality</i> , prejudice, fascist F scale, ethnocentrism scale	Theodor Adorno (et al., 1950)		UC Berkeley
1951	<i>Journal of Communication (ICA)</i>	Thomas R. Lewis (founding Editor)	Flagship journal for basic communication studies, initially of NCCS which became ICA by 1969	US
1951	Language and culture training	E. T. Hall with Raymond Birdwhistell, and George L. Trager	Foreign Service Institute (FSI)	FSI, Washington, DC US
1951			Youth for Understanding (YFU)	US

Table 3.3 (cont.)

Year	Academic Concepts/ Theories published	Person(s)	Institutions/Organizations founded	Applied initiatives launched	Location
1953	<i>The Study of Culture at a Distance</i>	Margaret Mead and Rhoda Metraux (1953)			Columbia U
1953	<i>The Analysis of Culture</i> (structural categories)	Edward T. Hall & George Traeger (1953)		(proposal for a structural analysis of elements of culture, academic framing of what became <i>The Silent Language</i> , but not yet proposing “Intercultural +communication”)	FSI, Washington, DC
1954	Analysis of non-verbal patterns and coming of kinesics	Ray Birdwhistell			FSI, Washington, DC
1954	<i>Nature of Prejudice</i> (contact hypothesis)	Gordon Allport (1954)			US
1954	<i>Outline of World Cultures</i>	George Murdock (1954)	Area Studies Program (American Univ) Human Relations Area Files (HRAF) (Dept of Army)	Formalizing the catalogue of cross-indexed ethnographic data at Yale (then at American U) Standard Vacuum Oil Company established the first documented in-house training program	American U Yale U/ American U for Indonesian personnel
1954	Critical cultural studies (Birmingham School)	Richard Hoggart, Raymond Williams, Stuart Hall	Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies		Birmingham University

Table 3.3 (cont.)

Year	Academic Concepts/ Theories published	Person(s)	Institutions/Organizations founded	Applied initiatives launched	Location
1960	<i>The Overseas Americans</i>	Harlan Cleveland, Gerald Mangone, and John Clarke Adams (1960)		Maxwell School of Citizenship and Public Affairs	Syracuse U
1960	Concept of Culture Shock formalized	Kalvero Oberg (1960)	Building on Cora Dubois' IIE speech in 1951 who credited Ruth Benedict's work	Anthropological studies on adjustment	US
1961			Berlin Wall was Built	Cold War	Europe
1961	<i>Variations of Value Orientations</i>	Florence Kluckhohn and Fred Strodtbeck (1961)			Harvard U
1961		Pres. John F. Kennedy	Peace Corps	Peace Corps Area Studies approach to training	US
1961	<i>Psychoanalysis: Its Image and Its Public</i> (theory of socially constructed social representations)	Serge Moscovici (1961)			Paris, France
1962	<i>The Structure of Scientific Revolutions</i> (paradigms)	Thomas Kuhn (1962)		Inspiration for the "culture turn" in many fields	
1962	<i>Culture and Communication: The Problem of Penetrating National and Cultural Boundaries</i>	Robert T. Oliver (1962)		Linking the study of culture in speech to area studies	Penn State U
1962-1966	"Contrast American" training approach	Alfred J. Kramer and Edward Stewart	Human Resources Research Organization (HumRRO) research project	HumRRO sponsored training initiatives	Washington, DC

1963	1963	Univ. of the Seven Seas (re-conceptualized by Whittier 1961, launched in 1963)	Accredited/managed by Chapman Univ, 1965, later "World Campus Afloat"+Institute for Shipboard Education (with C. Y. Tung), 1970, then "Semester at Sea" since 1977)	US
1963	1963	Concept of "proxemics" formalized	E. T. Hall	St. Louis, MO
1963	1963	"W-curve" of cultural (re) adjustment	John T. and Jeanne E. Gullahorn (Gullahorn & Gullahorn, 1963)	American Psychological Association meeting symposium
1963	1963	<i>Men in the Middle of the Third Culture</i>	John Useem, John Donaghy, and Ruth Hill Useem (1963)	Michigan State U
1963	1963	Earliest doctoral dissertations on cultural training	PhD advisors John and Ruth Useem, Eugene Jacobson, David Berlo	Michigan State U (Dept. of Communication, MSU from 1963 on)
1964	1964		Nelson Mandela sentenced to life imprisonment	Washington, DC
1964	1964	Further experiential training approaches	Donald Batchelder, Elisabeth Warner, Alvino Fantini, others	South Africa
1964	1964	Institutionalizing HRAF data collection and management	George Murdock	Brattelsbuo, Vermont
			HRAF Special Operations Research Office (SORO)	Yale U

Table 3.3 (cont.)

Year	Academic Concepts/ Theories published	Person(s)	Institutions/Organizations founded	Applied initiatives launched	Location
1964	Formalizing interdisciplinary research on cultures	George Murdock's network	Center for Research in Social Systems (CRESS)		Yale U
1964	Semantic differential technique	Charles Osgood (1964)			U of Illinois
1964	Concept of "heterophily" (formalizing Simmel's concept)	Paul Lazarsfeld and Robert Merton (1954)			
1964	Starting cross-national links for studying communication	George Gurganus, Robert Oliver, others	Committee on Cooperation with Foreign Universities (SAA)	Became the Commission on Int'l and IC Speech Communication in 1971 (under SSA/1971 SCA/ later NCA)	Harding College, Memphis (Dept of Religion)
1965	Forming "international communication" as a field	Wilbur Schramm and others	International Communication Division (ICD of AEJ)	Association for Education in Journalism (now AEJMC since 1982)	
1965	Intercultural Systems Approach (ISD) to training	Malcome Knowles			
1965	Experiential Training approaches	Al Wight, Michael Tucker, others LaRay Barna		Peace Corps volunteer training Intercultural exploration in university ESL classes Association for Education in Journalism (AEJ) International Communication Division (ICD)	Utah State/W Texas State Portland State Univ by U of Iowa and U of Maryland, College of Journalism
1965-1970					
1966	International Communication Bulletin (ICB)	Initiated by Wilbur Schramm, others.			

1966	First global conference with IC named	Gerhard Maletzke	Conference on Int'l and Intercultural Communication between Developed and Developing Countries	German Development Institute, Berlin
1966	<i>The Social Construction of Reality</i> (differentiating objective and subjective culture)	Peter Berger and Thomas Luckman (1966)		
1966	Developing academic CC coursework		1st university level course (s) for cross-cultural communication	U of Pittsburgh, Michigan State Univ, and others
1966	Developing IC as a focused workshop (the ICW)	David Hoopes, Stephen Rhinesmith (then Clifford Clarke, others)	1st Intercultural Communication Workshop (ICW)	U of Pittsburgh
1966	<i>The Hidden Dimension</i> (formalized time and space studies: poly-, mono-chronic orientations and proxemics)	E. T. Hall (1966)		Received NAFSA +Bureau or Ed and Cultural Affairs US Dept State funding for 10 year project
1966	<i>Culture and Communication</i> (textbook)	Alfred G. Smith (1966)		US
1966				US Navy
				US Navy under Admiral Zumwalt starts the Personal Response Project for Navy personnel in Vietnam

Table 3.3 (cont.)

Year	Academic Concepts/ Theories published	Person(s)	Institutions/Organizations founded	Applied initiatives launched	Location
1967	Instrumented training approach adopted	Robert R. Blake and Jane S. Mouton (1962) (method used by Al Wight, others)		“Training” becomes an alternative to the university lecture model of learning	U Texas, National Training Laboratories
1967	Start of in-country/culture-specific training		Peace Corps begins in-country training (country of service)		
1967	Specific country cultural awareness <i>Updates</i> began	Alison R. Lanier	Overseas Briefing Associates		
1967		Initiated by Fred Casmir, Michael Prosser, Helmut Geissner (President of the German Speech Association)	Meeting of SCA/CCFU planning biennial German/European meetings/cooperation (the Heidelberg Conference)	CCFU meeting organized by Gurganus (Dept. of Religion, Harding)	Harding College, Memphis
1968	Bi-national communication conferences	Helmut Geissner, Fred Casmir	Bi-annual US-German Speech Association Conferences began		U of Heidelberg, Pepperdine Haus
1968	Collaboration of cross-cultural and intercultural specialists to address training	Albert Wight, Stephen Rhinesmith	Center for Research and Education (CRE) plans forming the Society of Intercultural Training and Research (SITAR)	First major conference of intercultural and training experts at Estes Park, CO (with Harry Triandis, David Kolb, Ed Stewart, Richard Hopkins, others)	Denver, Colorado
1968		James Markham, John Merrill, and Ralph Lowenstein		Establishing the International Communication field at the Wingspread Conference	Racine, Wisconsin

1969	<i>Int'l Communication as a Field of Study</i>	James Markham (1969)		U of Iowa
1969		Edward Stewart, Edmund Glenn	2nd University Course in Intercultural Communication	U of Delaware
1969	<i>Guidelines for Peace Corps Cross-cultural Training</i>	Albert Wight, Mary Anne Hammons, and W. I. Wight (1969)	Center for Research and Education (CRE)	Estes Park/ Denver, CO
mid-1960s	Development of cultural assimilator training approach	Fred Fielder, Terrance Mitchell, and Harry Triandis (1971)		U of Illinois
1969	Adult self-directed learning theory (androgogy) approach to training, and an Intercultural Systems Approach (ISD) to training	Malcome Knowles (1969, 1970)		Boston U
1969-1972		Jeffrey Auer (with Michael Prosser)		Indiana U
1970	<i>Kinesics</i>	Ray Birdwhistell (1970)		Indiana intercultural indicatives (and first PhDs: Starosta, Monfils, Gonzales)
1970	<i>International Studies of National Speech Education Systems</i>	Fred Casmir and Stan Harms (1970)	Pacific Speech Association	Pepperdine U and U of Hawaii
1972	Cultural relativism (as anthropological theory) formalized	Melville Herskovits (1972)		Columbia U
1973	<i>The Interpretation of Culture</i> (structural linguistic/cultural approach)	Clifford Geertz (1973)		

Table 3.3 (cont.)

Year	Academic Concepts/ Theories published	Person(s)	Institutions/Organizations founded	Applied initiatives launched	Location
1973	The Bafá, Bafá training technique	Gary Shirts			US Navy
1974	<i>Foundations of Sociolinguistics: An Ethnographic Approach</i>	Dell Hymes (1974)			
1974	Joining IC-related associations and scholars	John Condon, Dean Barnlund, William Howell, Fred Casmir, Clifford Clarke, Michael Prosser, others		1st bicultural IC conference (64 leading interculturalists, 8-bicultural groups) at International Christian University (ICU)	Nihonmatsu, Tokyo, Japan
1975	Founding global CC centers	Jean Phillips-Martinsson	Cross-Cultural Relations Center	"Communicating with Confidence" seminars	UK- Stockholm, Sweden
1975	Concept of "uncertainty reduction" formalized	Charles Berger and William Calabrese (1975)			
1976	<i>Beyond Culture</i> (formalized analysis of High-, Low-context HC/ LC cultures)	E. T. Hall (1976)			
1976-1980	<i>Introduction to Intercultural Studies: Outline of a Project for Elucidating and Promoting Communication between Cultures</i>	UNESCO - Introduction to Intercultural Studies		UNESCO	Paris, France

1977	<i>Outline of a Theory of Practice</i> (conceptualized Field, Habitus, social theory and social action) Corporate IC training initiatives	Pierre Bourdieu (1972/77)	Paris, France
late 70s		Neesa Lowenthal	
1979	<i>Managing Cultural Differences</i>	Philip Harris and Robert T. Moran (1979)	Thunderbird, AZ
1979	<i>Survival Kit for Overseas Living</i>	L. Robert Coles (1979)	Chicago, IL/ Yarmouth, ME
1980		Geert Hofstede	
1980	Official conceptual separating of cultural and power issues (paradigm divide)	Institute for Research on Intercultural Cooperation (IRIC) (existed until 2004)	The Netherlands (1998–2004 at Tilburg U) USIA, Washington, DC
			USIA conceptually splits field into Intercultural Communication (social and cultural concerns) and International Communication (political and technological concerns)

*Credits: chronological listing inspired by, referenced to, and expanded from George Renwick's timelines presented in Wasilewski (1999)

Table 3.4 *Parallel chronological history of the founding of IC associations*

Year	IC Communication (Speech and Mass Comm)	IC Education (International Students)	CC Learning and Training	CC Psychology
1956	(primarily SCANCA, ICA, CAP/WCA, PACA)	(primarily Pittsburgh, RCIE, ICWs, NAFSA, SIETAR)	(primarily FSI and Peace Corps, Washington, DC, EIL Vermont, EWC Hawaii, BYU, Salt Lake City)	(primarily social psychologists, IACCP, SCCP, SPA)
1957–1958	First use of “intercultural communication” by Glenn in <i>Etc. Special Issue on Intl and IC</i>			<i>Transcultural Psychiatric Research Review</i> began publication by the World Psychiatric Association UNESCO hosted the 1958 “Expert Meeting on Cross-Cultural Research in Child Psychology” in Bangkok, Thailand, headed by E. E. Boesch. At Yale, the HRAF Collection on Ethnography was first distributed on microfiche
1959		Founding of Regional Council for International Education (RCIE, at University of Pittsburgh, Whitman) for inter-institutional cooperation, Hoopes’s initiatives to organize leaders of foreign student programs	Popularization of the concept of “intercultural communication” (with Hall’s <i>Silent Language</i> , 1959) and inspiration of the FSI training model	
1960			East–West Centre founded (University of Hawaii)	

- 1961 Francis L. K. Hsu (1961/1972) published his first edition of *Psychological Anthropology: Approaches to Culture and Personality* (re-emphasizing in 1972 that this should be the field name for studies that link these two areas)
- 1963 Hoopes work with the Regional Council for International Education (RCIE) involved Rhinesmith, Althen, others.
- 1964 Formation of Committee on Cooperation with Foreign Universities (CCFU) of SAA later SCA/NCA. Oliver member, led by Gurganus, Harding College, Memphis)

- First PhD dissertations on cross-cultural training (1963, 65, 66), based on projects and seminars with AID (Agency for International Development) (directed by Useem, Jacobson Berlo, Michigan State U) Experiment in International Learning (EIL) started School for International Training (SIT) (EIL now called World Learning), Brattelsbuuro, Vermont (Batchelder, Warner, Gochenor, Fantini, others) Peace Corps volunteer effectiveness research project, Al Wight and Michael Tucker, University of Utah (under Calvin Taylor)
- Regional Council Centre for International Students office opened (support from Ford Foundation, NAFSA, at University of Pittsburgh)
- Department of Speech Communication under William Howell at Univ of Minnesota recruited a strong IC faculty, visiting scholars and doctoral cohort (first PhD graduates 1967, 1971, peak years in the 1970s graduating a Who's Who for IC)
- Opening of HRAF Special Operations Research Office (SORO), Center for Research in Social Systems (CRESS) (George Murdock with Anthropologists, Social Psychologists, at Yale University) Triandis (1964) postulated "cultural influences upon cognitive processes

Table 3.4 (cont.)

Year	IC Communication (Speech and Mass Comm)	IC Education (International Students)	CC Learning and Training	CC Psychology
1965	<p>Founding of International Communication Division (ICD) of Association for Education in Journalism, AEJ, at Syracuse U (Schramm and others)</p> <p>Conference on "Int'l and Intercultural Communication between Developed and Developing Countries" (Maletzke, German Development Institute, Berlin)</p>	<p>1st intercultural exploration components in university ESL courses (Barna at Portland State U, though Davis-DuBois had IC courses from 1932 on at NYU, Boston U, UC Berkeley)</p> <p>Intercultural Communication Workshop (ICW) at Pittsburgh U, Cornell, U Cincinnati, Portland State U. (Hoopes, Rhinesmith, Clarke with NAFSA + Bureau on Ed and Cultural Affairs US Dept State funding)</p> <p>1st university level course(s) for cross-cultural communication (at Pittsburgh U, Michigan State U, and components at other universities)</p>	<p>Peace Corps expands training locations to Hawaii, Puerto Rico, Escondido, CA, and the Virgin Islands</p> <p>Experiential training approaches (for Peace Corps) developed by Wight, others at Utah State, W. Texas State U</p>	
1965				<p>Cultural assimilator training approach, funded by Office of Naval Research, Fielder, Mitchell, Triandis, U of Illinois</p> <p>Murdock's HRAAF started <i>Behavioral Science Notes</i> (in 1993 became <i>Cross-cultural Research</i>); Dobb, as Editor of <i>Journal of Social Psychology</i>, established a special section on "Cross-cultural Notes"</p>
1966	<p>Publication of <i>International Communication Bulletin (ICB)</i> launched</p>			<p><i>International Journal of Psychology</i> founded by the International Union of Psychological Science (supported by UNESCO) published early cross-cultural articles giving visibility to the emerging field; Frida and Johada (1967) outline prospects of CC research.</p>

- 1967
- Memphis meeting of SCA's members Casmir, Prosser suggesting biennial German-European cooperation with Geissner, President of the German Speech Association)
- Vidya* launched (academic journal of RCIE)
- "Training" becomes an alternative to the university Peace Corps begins in-country training (country of service)
- Culture and Psychology Conference (initiated by Kellman and Tajfel, attended by Triandis, Drenth, others) (Ibadan, Nigeria), and Berry's survey (N=150) of research on scholars doing cross-cultural applications, which led to his "Directory"
- 1968
- Bi-annual US-German Speech Association Conferences began (Pepperdine Haus, Heidelberg U, organized by Geissner, Casmir)
- The Intercultural Network (published by Margaret Pusch and David Hoopes from Chicago) published *A Manual of Structured Experiences for Cross-cultural Learning* (Weeks, 1968)
- Center for Research and Education (CRE) hosts first major conference on intercultural training of experts, Estes Park, CO and call for Peace Corps Cross-Cultural Training Guidelines and an Assessment Manual
- US Office of Naval Research had Berrien organize a EWC's Institute of Advanced Projects conference on "Psychological Problems in Changing Societies" (linking disciplines)
- Berry published the first "Directory of Cross-cultural Psychological Research" (Berry, 1968 in *IJP*) and Triandis published *Cross-cultural Social Psychology Newsletter* (today *CCP Bulletin*, 1968)
- Vassilou and Triandis organized "analysis of subjective culture" conference, Lagonissi, Greece. Early comparative universals were proposed, like tight and loose cultures by Finnish anthropologist Peltto (1968)
- 2nd Directory of CCP Research published (Berry, 1969 in *IJP*); Lonner established first CCP unit: Centre for Cross-Cultural Research (Western Washington University)
- 1969
- U of Indiana early IC-related doctoral candidates e.g., Starosta, Monfils, Gonzales (directed by Jeffrey Auer, with credits to Michael Prosser) +B20
- First intercultural training manual, *Draft Handbook for Cross-Cultural and Community Involvement Training* (Wight, Hammons, Bing, 1969)
- 2nd university courses in Intercultural Communication (Stewart and Glenn, U of Delaware, followed by U of Minnesota)

Table 3.4 (cont.)

Year	IC Communication (Speech and Mass Comm)	IC Education (International Students)	CC Learning and Training	CC Psychology
1970	Sitaram founded Division V (Intercultural and Development Communication) of the International Communication Association (ICA)	Fred Casmir and Stan Harms developed the first textbook on Speech Communication for other countries (Casmir & Harms, 1970)	<i>Guidelines for Peace Corps Cross-Cultural Training</i> (Wight, Hammons, & Wight, 1970)	Lonner launched <i>Journal of Cross-cultural Psychology (JCCP)</i> and published expanded (600+) Directory of Cross-cultural Psychologists (Berry & Lonner, 1970)
1971	Consultation of US and Canadian Speech Communication leaders, scholars, and students to develop a formal field of IC study (Prosser invited Assn Presidents Howell, Layman, other IC key influencers, Brown County, Indiana)	First Issue of <i>Communique</i> (Univ of Pittsburgh, for the Intercultural Network, after 1974–1999 for SIETAR)		Cronbach and Drenth (1972) organized Conference on the cross-cultural use of mental tests in Istanbul, Turkey (funded by NATO Advisory Panel on Human Factors)
1971	Prosser founded Commission on International and Intercultural Communication (later the IIC Division in 1984) of Speech Communication Association (SCA) now “National” (NCA)			
1971	Klopf, Kawashima, Ishii, Nicshida, Harms founded the Communication Association of the Pacific (CAP) which became the World Communication Association in 1983			

- 1972 Oxford served as first editor of *Intercultural Communications*
Communication (Journal of
CAP) which became *World*
Communication (Applebaum,
1985–2001), adding
Communication Research
Reports (1985–1994), and since
2002 *Journal of Intercultural*
Communication Research
(*JICR*)
- 1972 Team-taught course on
Communication and Culture
(1st IC course taught there in
1974) (Casmir and others,
Pepperdine U)
SiTAR leaders met to consider
adding the "E" (Hoopes,
Wight, Stewart, etc.)
- 1973 After the Indiana consultation,
early compilations come out:
Intercultural Communication:
A Reader (Samovar & Porter,
1973) and *Intercommunication*
between Nations and Peoples
(Prosser, 1973a)
- 1973 1st national intercultural
communication conference
(sponsored by Univ of
Virginia) (Prosser)
- International Association for
Cross-cultural Psychology
(IACCP) launched by Dawson,
Jehoda, Segall, etc. at Hong
Kong University Conference.
Bruner elected President.
- Publication of *The Analysis of*
Subjective Culture (Triandis
et al., 1972)
- Peace Corps begins developing
"behavioral objectives" for
cross-cultural training
- Updated directory for the new
IACCP published (Berry,
Lonner, & Leroux, 1973 in
IJP) containing the names,
addresses, and fields of interest
of 1,125 cross-cultural
psychologists
- Founding of EWC's Culture
Learning Institute (CLI)
(University of Hawaii) (led by
Bickley, then Trifonovitch, and
later Bitterman). Brislin edited
annual issues of *Topics in*
Intercultural Learning (Brislin,
1973–1977) and *Cross-cultural*
Research Methods (Brislin,
Lonner, & Thorndike, 1973)
- Pedersen, Lonner and Draguns
(1976) developed the first text
for counseling across cultures,
which became multicultural
counseling
- Peace Corps teams in Naples
and Athens begin training
incoming personnel; teams in
San Diego Norfolk and Pearl
Harbor begin preparing ship
crews for overseas deployment

Table 3.4 (cont.)

Year	IC Communication (Speech and Mass Comm)	IC Education (International Students)	CC Learning and Training	CC Psychology
1974	Casmir edited the first three <i>International and Intercultural Communication Annals</i> (1974–1976) (sponsored by the SCA Commission on International and Intercultural Communication (became a Division in 1974))	SIETAR founded (Univ of Pittsburgh) and holds first conference in Gaithersburg, MD (Asante named first president)	The EWC's CLI continued to produce <i>Topics in Intercultural Learning</i> (Brislin, 1974)	The first edited Proceedings of an IACCP conference (1972 in Hong Kong) <i>Readings in Cross-Cultural Psychology</i> were published (Dawson & Lonner, 1974)
1974	SCA's Int'l and Intercultural Communication Division (IICD) holds 2nd national intercultural communication focused conference (with ICA and SIETAR in Chicago, Prosser as Division Chair 1974–1976) and <i>Syllabi in Intercultural Communication and Social Change</i> (SIETAR published models from Prosser's U of Virginia symposium)	1st large scale bicultural IC conference bridging these tracks at International Christian University (ICU) hosted by John Condon, Dean Barnlund (organized by Howell, Casmir, Clarke, Prosser others, with 64 individuals from Japan and the US in Nihonmatsu, 8 bi-cultural groups, 6 hours per day, with many leading interculturalists)	An EWC CLI project produced <i>Cross-cultural Perspectives on Learning</i> (Brislin, Bochner, & Lonner, 1975)	Psychological anthropologists at Harvard's Department of Social Relations, Beatrix and John Whiting (1975), produced the holistic and wide-ranging "Six Cultures" study of variations in child and human development (concept of "culture learning environment")
1975		Bridge Magazine (by CRE located in Denver, then SYSTRAN, published from 1975–1983)		

- 1976 *International and Intercultural Communication* (Fisher & Merrill, 1976) revised edition of the late Markham
- Stanford Institute for Intercultural Communication (SIIC) summer sessions began (Clarke, K. M. Young organized these for 10 years before they were moved to Portland's Intercultural Communication Institute in 1986)
- EWC development and assessment of training, published *Cross-Cultural Orientation Programs* (Brislin & Pedersen, 1976) and a volume on cross-cultural issues of *Translation* (Brislin, 1976)
- 1977* USIA (Washington, DC) offers first intercultural course (Prosser, 1977)
- USIA initiated in 1976, Landis founded the *Int'l Journal of Intercultural Relations (IJIR)* and a year later linked it to SIETAR (1978–1998, then to the founding of IAIR, 1998) Intercultural Press (formed out of the IC Network and SIETAR publications) (Hoopers, Pusch, Renwick, Frank and others)
- BYU Language and Intercultural Communication Resource Centre (changed to Language and Humanities Research Centre in 1981) (Taylor Director with Tyler) BYU published *Intercultural Communication Resources* (Seelye & Tyler, 1977) and *EIL/SIT Beyond Experience* (Batchelder & Warner, 1977)
- Society for Psychological Anthropology (SPA) of the American Anthropological Association was founded and adopted *Ethos* as its flagship publication
- 1977 *The Cultural Dialogue: An introduction to Intercultural Communication* (Prosser, 1978b) highlighting key field topics and a report on the 1972 ICU Japan Nihonmatsu consultation
- Key theme volume, *Intercultural and International Communication* (Casmir, 1978) (Pepperdine U); the first *Handbook of Intercultural Communication* was published (Asante, Blake, Newmark, 1979)
- 1979 Publication of *Intercultural Press's* perennial best-seller *Survival Kit for Overseas Living* (Kohls, 1979)

Table 3.4 (cont.)

Year	IC Communication (Speech and Mass Comm)	IC Education (International Students)	CC Learning and Training	CC Psychology
1979	Action Caucus formed (1979) SCA San Antonio, Texas, (Bob Shuter past chair) Larry Sarbaugh, incoming chair of the Commission on Int'l and IC Comm coordinated	Intercultural Press' <i>Multicultural Education: A Cross-Cultural Training Approach</i> (Pusch, 1979)		The first volumes of the <i>Handbook of Cross-Cultural Psychology</i> (Triandis, & Lambert, 1979; Triandis & Berry, 1979; Triandis & Lonner, 1980) appeared (eventually six volumes), establishing cross-cultural psychology as a distinct branch of psychology The <i>Handbook of Cross-Cultural Psychology</i> – final six volumes continued to be published (Vol 6. completed in 1981)
1980	SCA (NYC) Action Caucus and Seminar on Theory in Intercultural Communication (Asuncion Lande, Sarbaugh), spawned work on the Intercultural and Int'l Communication Annual's first <i>Theory</i> volume	<i>Cross-cultural Training for Peace Corps Volunteers</i> (first work identifying skills necessary for cross-cultural training and attempt to train those specific skills) (Edwards & McCaffery, 1980)	Brislin and his network contributed to Vol. 5 of the <i>Handbook of Cross-cultural Psychology</i> (Triandis & Brislin, 1980), and Research in Culture Learning (Hamnett & Brislin 1980)	
1981		Kolb and Fry (1981) published the <i>Learning Styles Inventory/ Experiential Learning</i> , providing a further framework for training approaches		Hofstede established the Netherlands' NGO Institute for Research on Intercultural Communication (IRIC) and published <i>Culture's Consequences</i> (Hofstede, 1980)
1983	The 1980 Action Caucus Seminar contributions were published as SCA's Intercultural and Int'l Communication Annual's first thematic volume on <i>Intercultural Theory</i> (Gudykunst, 1983)		Collaboration with scholars in Hawaii and the linking of EWC and CCP networks led to the groundbreaking 3 volumes of <i>Handbook of Intercultural Training</i> (Landsis & Brislin, 1983)	

*Credits: chronological listing inspired by, referenced to, and expanded from George Renwick's timelines presented in Wasilewski (1999)

Table 3.5 Chronological history for establishing cross- and intercultural journals

Start year	Journal name	Website URL	Current publisher	Affiliation(s)	Related field(s) and topics
1968	<i>Cross-Cultural Psychology Bulletin (CCPB)</i>	https://journals.sagepub.com/home/jcc	Sage Publications	International Association for Cross-Cultural Psychology (IACCP)	psychology, sociology, cultural studies
1970	<i>Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology (JCCP)</i>	https://journals.sagepub.com/home/jcc	SAGE Publications	International Association for Cross-Cultural Psychology (IACCP)	psychology, sociology, and interdisciplinary studies
1972	<i>Cross-Cultural Research (The Journal for Comparative Social Science) (CCR)</i>	JCC https://uk.sagepub.com/en-gb/asi/journal/cross-cultural-research	Sage Publications	Human Relations Area Files, Inc. (HRAF), Society for Cross-Cultural Research (SCCR)	anthropology, sociology, psychology, political science, economics, human ecology, and evolutionary biology
1972	<i>Journal of Intercultural Communication Research (JICR)</i>	www.tandfonline.com/toc/jjic20/current	Taylor & Francis	World Communication Association (WCA)	interrelationships between culture and communication
1974	<i>Journal of Intercultural Studies (JIS)</i>	www.tandfonline.com/toc/cjis20/current	Taylor & Francis	Intercultural Research Institute, Kansai University of Foreign Studies, now sponsored by the Alfred Deakin Institute for Citizenship and Globalization	cultural studies, sociology, migration studies, literary studies, gender studies, anthropology, cultural geography, urban studies, race and ethnic studies
1974	<i>International & Intercultural Communication Annuals</i> (in 2008 became <i>IJIC</i> below)			Speech Communication Association (SCA), now National Communication Association (NCA)	intercultural communication topics, then annual volume themes on key IC field areas

Table 3.5 (cont.)

Start year	Journal name	Website URL	Current publisher	Affiliation(s)	Related field(s) and topics
1977	<i>International Journal of Intercultural Relations (IJIR)</i>	www.journals.elsevier.com/international-journal-of-intercultural-relations/	Elsevier	founded by Dan Landis, linked first with SIETAR, then International Academy of Intercultural Research partners with Language on the Move (ISSN 2203-5001)	social psychology and sociology
1982	<i>Journal of Cross-Cultural and Interlanguage Communication (Multilingua)</i>	www.degruyter.com/view/j/mult?tab=call_for_papers	De Gruyter		bi- and multilingualism; language education, learning, and policy; Inter- and cross-cultural communication; translation and interpreting in social contexts; critical sociolinguistic studies of language and communication in globalization, transnationalism, migration, and mobility across time and space
1982	<i>FLEKS – Scandinavian Journal of Intercultural Theory and Practice</i>	https://journals.hioa.no/index.php/fleks	Oslo Metropolitan University Library	Oslo Metropolitan University	intercultural pedagogy, psychology and philosophy; professions in diverse societies; language, interpreting and translation; development studies; migration health; diversity management

- 1985 *World Cultures Journal of Comparative and Cross-cultural Research* (now *World Cultures eJournal*)
www.worldcultures.org/
https://escholarship.org/uc/wc_worldcultures
Institute for Mathematics and Behavioral Sciences, Social Dynamics and Complexity, UC Irvine
data, and comparative research on human behavior, comparative database, regional or worldwide, programs and teaching materials, communications on research, coding, sources, comparative materials
history, anthropology, sociology, political science, psychology, population studies
- 1986 *Journal of Cross-Cultural Gerontology (JCCG)*
https://link.springer.com/journal/10823
Springer US
terminological issues, education and multicultural society today, intercultural communication, human rights and anti-racist education, pluralism and diversity in a democratic frame work, pluralism in post-communist and in post-colonial countries, migration and indigenous minority issues, refugee issues, language policy issues, curriculum and classroom organization, and school development
- 1990 *Journal of Intercultural Education (JIE)*
www.tandfonline.com/toc/ceji20/current
Taylor & Francis
International Association for Intercultural Education (IAIE); renamed in 2000; formerly European Journal of Intercultural Studies, 1990–1999
cross- and intercultural communication, culture and language, teaching, translation
- 1991 *Intercultural Communication Studies (ICS)*
https://web.uri.edu/iaics/iaics-journal/
International Assn of Intercultural Communication Studies
- 1994
Emerald Publishing

Table 3.5 (cont.)

Start year	Journal name	Website URL	Current publisher	Affiliation(s)	Related field(s) and topics
	<i>Cross Cultural & Strategic Management (CCSM)</i>	www.emeraldinsight.com/loi/ccsm?fullsc=1		formerly <i>Cross Cultural Management: An International Journal</i> (CCM) (till 2015)	business, management & strategy, anthropology, economics, political science, psychology, and sociology
1999	<i>Journal of Intercultural Communication (JIC)</i>	www.immi.se/intercultural/	Immigrant Institute, Sweden	Nordic Network for Intercultural Communication	research, education, and training in the area of intercultural communication
1999	<i>Cross-Cultural Management Journal (CCM)</i>	http://cmj.seaopenresearch.eu/index	Editorial Dept FRIA	SEA Open Research Academic Platform	multi-, cross-, and inter-cultural issues and applications for business, organizations, and management
2001	<i>International Journal of Cross Cultural Management (JCCM)</i>	http://ccm.sagepub.com/	SAGE Publications		organizational behavior, HRM, organizational psychology, international and comparative management, and international industrial relations
2001	<i>Journal of Language and Intercultural Communication (JLIC)</i>	www.tandfonline.com/doi/10.1080/15257510208839200	Taylor & Francis	International Association for Languages and Intercultural Communication (IALIC)	intercultural communication, language, the learning of foreign languages, education, especially higher education, and for language learning and teaching

- 2003 *Journal of Intercultural and Interdisciplinary Archaeology (JIIA)* <https://journals.uu.uni-heidelberg.de/index.php/jiia/> Antonella D'Ascoli, University of Heidelberg, Germany interdisciplinary archaeology, antiquity sciences and sciences applied to archaeology, problems of interculturality in the ancient world pragmatics, intercultural communication, language acquisition and use, multilingualism, semantics social science
- 2004 *Intercultural Pragmatics* www.degruyter.com/view/j/iprg De Gruyter Mouton
- 2005 *Cross-Cultural Communication* www.cscanada.net/index.php/ccc/ Canadian Academy of Oriental and Occidental Culture (CAOOC)
- 2006 *Intercultural Communication and Literature* <https://revistacil.wordpress.com/2016/02/21/despre-noi-2/> Intercultural Communication and Literature Research Center co-sponsored by Yonsei University culture, identity, multiculturalism, literature
- 2008 *Journal of International and Intercultural Communication* www.tandfonline.com/doi/tjii20/current Taylor & Francis culture, communication, mass media
- 2008 *Cultus: the Journal of intercultural Mediation and Communication* www.cultusjournal.com/ Iconesoft Edizioni culture in constructing, perceiving and translating reality; language, languages, cultural models, conflict, mediation and interculturality
- 2008 *Journal of Linguistic and Intercultural Education (JoLIE)* <http://jolie.uab.ro/> Centre for Research and Innovation in Linguistic Education (CIEL). current debates in language education policies, instruments and end products, bi- and plurilingualism, language learning/teaching and teacher education, intercultural and cross-cultural awareness

Table 3.5 (cont.)

Start year	Journal name	Website URL	Current publisher	Affiliation(s)	Related field(s) and topics
2009	<i>European Journal of Cross-Cultural Competence and Management (EJCCM)</i>	www.inderscience.com/jhome.php?jcode=ejccm	Inderscience, SIETAR Europa +Austria	International Association of Cross-Cultural Management and Competence (IACCM).	cultural differences and diversity on the management of organizations; how culture affects both managers and decision-makers in situations involving the cross-cultural transfer of knowledge, values and experiences
2010	<i>Alterstice – Revue Internationale de la Recherche Interculturelle</i>	www.alterstice.org		Association internationale pour la Recherche InterCulturelle (ARIC); Centre de recherche Cultures-Arts-Sociétés (CELAT)	psychology, communication, intercultural, culture
2011	<i>International Journal of Cross-Cultural Studies (IJCCS)</i>	www.brownwalker.com/journal-info/09743480	Brown Walker Press, Irvine, California	Current Editor at Asian School of Management and Technology	anthropology, sociology, psychology, economics, and political science multi-society data to examine and test hypotheses about human behavior and culture
2012	<i>The International Journal of Cross-Cultural Studies and Environmental Communication (IJCCSEC)</i>	https://crosscultureenvironment.wordpress.com/	Editura Universitară & ADI Publications	Editura Universitară and Asociația pentru Dezvoltare Interculturală	cultural otherness and cultural identity, history of ideas, humanities and science, arts and culture, media anthropology,

transnational anthropology,
gender studies, linguistics
(socio/psycho-linguistics,
ethno-linguistics, cognitive
linguistics), communication
sciences, discourse theory
and political analysis,
environmental
communication, media
studies
intercultural
communication, cross-
cultural studies,
multicultural studies,
intercultural pedagogy,
psychology and philosophy,
professions in diverse
societies, language,
interpreting and translation,
development studies,
migration health, diversity
management
literature, linguistics,
history, art, media and
communications, cultural
studies, political science,
international relations,
sociology and anthropology
that focuses on translation
and culture

2014

*FLEKS – Scandinavian
Journal of Intercultural
Theory and Practice*

<https://journals.hioa.no/index.php/fleks>

Oslo Met University
Library

Oslo Metropolitan
University

2014

*Asia Pacific Translation
and Intercultural Studies
(APTIS)*

www.tandfonline.com/loi/rtis20

Taylor & Francis

Table 3.5 (cont.)

Start year	Journal name	Website URL	Current publisher	Affiliation(s)	Related field(s) and topics
2017	<i>Journal of Philology and Intercultural Communication (JPIC)</i> <i>Revue de Philologie et de Communication interculturelle</i>	http://les.journal.mta.ro/en_US/home/	Military Technical Academy Pub. House	Department of Foreign Languages and Intercultural Communication, Military Technical Academy, Bucharest, Romania (French & English)	literature, comparative literature, literature and civilization, intercultural communication, cultural studies, linguistics, applied linguistics, second language acquisition, foreign language teaching methodologies, translation studies
2018	<i>InterCultural Philosophy</i>	http://interculturalphilosophy.com/	University of Heideberg	Ruprecht-Karls-Universität Heidelberg	comparative philosophy

Table 3.6 Chronological development of published IC theory summaries

Year	Author(s)	In whose volume (or series, institution)	Publication title
1976	Asante and Newmark (1976) (Eds.)	Speech Communication Association (SCA)	<i>IC: Theory into Practice</i>
1977	Saral (1977) (chapter)	In <i>ICA Communication Yearbook 1</i> (Rubin, Ed.)	“IC Theory and Research: An Overview”
1978	Prosser (1978a) (chapter)	In <i>ICA Communication Yearbook 3</i> (Rubin, Ed.)	“IC Theory and Research: An Overview of Major Constructs”
1979	Saral (1979) (chapter)	In <i>ICA Communication Yearbook 3</i> (Rubin, Ed.)	“IC Theory and Research: An Overview of Challenges and Opportunities”
1979	Hoopes, Pedersen, and Renwick (1979) (Eds.)	Intercultural Network/SIETAR: Overview of IC Education, Training, and Research	<i>Vol. 1: Theory</i>
1979	Davey and van Derck (1979) (Eds.)	Intercultural Network/SIETAR (Nimmo, Ed.)	<i>Vol. 2: IC Theory and Practice</i>
1979	Howell (1979) (chapter)	In Asante, Newmark, Blake (1979) (Eds.) <i>Handbook of IC</i>	“Theoretical Foundations for IC”
1980	Asante (1980) (chapter)	In <i>ICA Communication Yearbook 4</i> (Nimmo, Ed.)	“IC: An Inquiry into Research Directions”
1983	Gudykunst (1983) (Ed.)	<i>ICCA, Vol. 7, Sage/SCA</i>	<i>IC Theory</i>
1988	Kim and Gudykunst (1988) (Eds.)	<i>ICCA, Vol. 12, Sage/SCA</i>	<i>Theories in IC</i>
1989	Gudykunst and Nishida (1989) (Chapter)	In Asante and Gudykunst (1989) (Eds.), <i>Handbook of Int'l and IC</i>	“Theoretical Perspectives for Studying IC”
1995	Wiseman (1995) (Ed.)	<i>ICCA, Vol. 19, Sage/SCA</i>	<i>IC Theory</i>
2002	Gudykunst and Lee (2002) (Chapter)	In Gudykunst & Mody (2002) (Eds.), <i>Handbook of Int'l and IC</i> (2nd ed.)	“Cross-Cultural Communication Theories”
2002	Gudykunst (2002) (Chapter)	Also in <i>Handbook of Int'l and IC</i> (2nd ed.)	“IC Theories”
2005	Klyukanov (2005)	Pearson textbook	<i>Principles of IC</i>
2005	Gudykunst (2005) (Ed.)	Sage	<i>Theorizing about IC</i>
2007	Kotthoff and Spencer-Oatey (2007).	de Gruyter	Handbook of IC

Source: updated adaptation of Kulich and Zhang (2012, p. 892, Table 1)

Table 3.7 Historical sequence and themes noted in specified intercultural theory volumes

Intercultural theory domains	Attributions/Expectations	Identity	Perception (prejudice, intolerance)	Language/Speech Codes/Meaning	Values/Beliefs	Systems theory and adaptation	CC Effectiveness/IC Competence	Conflict
Volume, year								
(Hoopes, Pedersen, & Renwick, 1977)		Perception in International Affairs and Note on Identity (Singer)*	(Singer)*	The Function of Language in CC Interactions (DePietro)	Values and Beliefs (Strodbeck)	Adaptation to New Cultural Environments (Klein)	CC Effectiveness (Ruben)	Conflict in CC Interaction (Milburn)
(Gudykunst, 1983)	Culture and the Attribution Process (Ehrenhaus)		2. Codes and Contexts (Cooley) 3. Rules Theories (Pearce & Wiseman)	1. Language Theory and Linguistic Principles (Asuncion-Lande)	Cultural Assumptions of East and West (Okabe)	1. Adaptive IC (Ellingsworth) 2. Convergence Theory (Barnett & Kincaid)**	3. System Theoretic View (Ruben)	The Roots of Conflict (Tafaya)
(Kim & Gudykunst, 1988)		Cultural Identity: An Interpretive Perspective (Collier & Thomas)		Coordinated Management of Meaning (Cronen, Chen, & Pearce)**	4. Network Theory (Yum) 5. Adaptation in Intercultural Dyads (Ellingsworth)	1. Intercultural Transformation (Kim, Y.Y. & Ruben) 2. (Barnett & Kincaid)** 3. Anxiety & Uncertainty (Gudykunst)***	Communication Accommodation Theory (Gallois et al.)**	Face-Negotiation Theory (Ting-Toomey)**

(Wiseman, 1995)	Expectancy Violations Theory (Burgoon)**	Layered Perspective of Cultural (In) Tolerance(s) (Baldwin & Hecht)	1. From "Context" to "Contexts" (Katriel) 2. Conversational Constraints Theory (Kim, M.)**	1. Integrative Communication Theory (Kim, Y. Y.)** 2. Differential Demand Model of Sojourner Adjustment (Ady) 3. (Gudykunst)*** 1. (Kim, Y. Y.)** 2. Cultural Schema Theory (Nishida) 3. Co-Cultural Theory (Orbe & Spellers) 4. (Gudykunst)***	1. (Gallois et al.)** 2. Effective Intercultural Decision-Making Theory (Oetzel)**
(Gudykunst, 2005)	(Hubbard & Burgoon)**	3. Identity Management Theory (Imahori & Cupach) 4. Communication Theory of Identity (Hecht et al.)	1. (Pearce & Cronen)** 2. (Kim, M.)** 3. Speech Codes Theory (Philipsen, Coutt, & Covarrubias)	1. (Gallois et al.)** 2. (Oetzel)** 3. (Gudykunst)***	(Ting-Toomey)**
	Key:	* = Theory shares multiple domains (Only one includes name of theory)	** = Theory is updated in later text(s) (Only original includes name of theory)	*** = Theory is applicable to multiple domains and updated in later text(s) (Only original includes name of theory)	
	CC = Cross-Cultural				
	IC = Intercultural Communication				

Table 3.8 Main topics currently focused on by IC scholars and practitioners (Kim, 2017)

Area of focus (percentage of entries)	IC theories and theorized dimensions/domains	IC areas of study or application
<p>Intercultural Communication Core (36%) (Kim, 2017, pp. xxxix)</p>	<p>Acculturation Strategies; Anxiety/Uncertainty Management (AUM) Theory; Communication Theory of Identity; Identity Negotiation; Contextual Theory of Interethnic Communication; Cosmopolitanism; Cultural Identifications Theory; Identity Management Theory</p>	<p>Cultural Diversity in Organizations; Cultural Humility; Cultural Intelligence; Culture Shock and Reentry Shock; Identity, Intercultural; IC Apprehension; IC in the Classroom; IC Competence; IC in Healthcare; IC in International Negotiation; Intercultural Conflict and Conflict Management; Intercultural Empathy; Intercultural Ethics; Intercultural Friendship; Intercultural Intimate Relationships; Intercultural Peacebuilding; Synchrony in IC; Third-Culture Individuals; Tourism and IC; and Worldview in IC</p>
<p>Cross-cultural Communication (16%) (Kim, 2017, pp. xl)</p>	<p>High- and Low-Context Cultures; Individualism and Collectivism; Monochronic and Polychronic Time; Research findings on communication-related variables across cultures such as Cognitive Styles; Conflict Management Styles; Conversational Norms; Emotions and Expressions; Nonverbal Communication; Personal Space; Shame and Guilt; Virtues and Vices</p>	<p>Methodological issues such as Cross-Cultural Experimental Research; Emic and Etic Research; Interviews, Qualitative; Interviews, Standardized; Survey Research and Sampling Equivalence; and Translation: Communication Styles in English and German; and Pedagogy across Cultures</p>
<p>Cultural Communication (15%) (Kim, 2017, pp. xl)</p>	<p>Speech Codes Theory (ethnographic field studies), and theory-guided research approaches like Phenomenology of Cultural Communication; Semiotics of Cultural Communication</p>	<p>Methodology-related approaches such as Culture in Conversation; Discourse of Difference; Ethnography of Cultural Communication; and descriptions and interpretations of various cultural communication modes around the world</p>

Intergroup Communication
(9%)

(Kim, 2017, pp. xli)

Key social psychological theories of intergroup communication such as Communication Accommodation Theory; Intergroup Contact Theory; Intergroup Threat Theory; Self-Categorization Theory; Social Identity Theory; and Uncertainty-Identity Theory
Developmental Model of Intercultural Sensitivity;
Intercultural Competence Development

Salient concepts and issues such as Bi- and Multilingualism; Ethnophaulism; Hate Speech; Intergroup Conflict and Reconciliation Language Attitudes; Power in Intergroup Communication; Prejudice and Discrimination; and Stereotypes
Core ICT issues and concepts such as Cultural Diversity Training in Organizations; Culture Assimilator; Intercultural Competence Development; Intercultural Experiential Learning; Intercultural Games and Simulations; Intercultural and Multicultural Education; Intercultural Training for Educators; Intercultural Training in the Peace Corps; Training for Expatriates; and Training for Study Abroad Programs

Intercultural Training & Education (6%)
(Kim, 2017, pp. xli)

Critical Intercultural Communication (18%)

(Kim, 2017, pp. xli-xlii)

Co-Cultural Theory; Critical Theory; Cultural Contracts Theory; Cultural Imperialism Theories; Intersectionality; Muted Group Theory; Orientalism; and Standpoint Theory

Key critical concepts such as Afrocentricity; Asiaticity; Borderlands
Analytic methods such as Critical Discourse Analysis; Cultural Studies; Diaspora and Diasporic Identity; English Hegemony

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