Definitions of Culture: Losing Sight of the Forest for the Splinters?
นิยามของคำว่าวัฒนธรรม : ความต่างที่ไม่แตกต่าง

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บทคัดย่อ

บทความนี้อภิปรายความสำคัญของการเข้าถึงสาระสำคัญของคำว่า "วัฒนธรรม" จากการตรวจสอบนิยามของคำว่าวัฒนธรรมซึ่งมีผู้ให้คำอธิบายไว้เป็นจำนวนมากเป็นเวลานับหลายศตวรรษที่ผ่านมาและจากหลายสาขา ทำให้สรุปได้ว่า นิยามของคำว่าวัฒนธรรมโดยส่วนใหญ่นั้นมีสาระที่สอดคล้องทำนองเดียวกัน มีแต่แนวคิดของกลุ่มรีดักชันนิสต์-สตรักเชอรัลลิสต์ซึ่ง มีความโดดเด่นต่อการศึกษาการสื่อสารข้ามวัฒนธรรม ที่ได้ให้คำนิยามแนวคิดและมุมมองของวัฒนธรรม ซึ่งมีความแตกต่างจากแนวคิดแบบเดิมอยู่บ้าง กล่าวโดยสรุปหลักการสำคัญของการเข้าถึงสาระของวัฒนธรรมนั้นต้องเกิดจากการประสมประสานแนวคิดเดิมเข้ากับวิธีการมองวัฒนธรรมในแนวใหม่เพื่อให้สามารถเข้าใจวัฒนธรรมได้อย่างคมชัดและลึกยิ่งขึ้น

Abstract

The importance of understanding what we mean when we refer to culture is discussed. A variety of definitions of culture over the last hundred years are examined, both from the historical and disciplinary perspective. It is concluded that the majority of definitions belong to a consistent tradition of thought, and that reductionist-structuralist thinking that has gained pre-eminence in the field of intercultural communication is out of step with this tradition. It is concluded that steps should be taken to reclaim this tradition and regain a broad and 'synthetic' view of culture.

1. Introduction

Cultural differences are extremely important in the age of globalization, and successful intercultural communication, particularly in the current volatile world climate, potentially critical. Culture is also an inevitable aspect of language teaching, whether conscious or not. Although we may have a 'feeling' for what we mean by 'culture', we may all, in fact mean slightly different things. Before we can approach intercultural communication and the problems created by cultural differences, we need to think about what we mean when we refer to 'culture'. This is the starting point that informs all future analysis. If this starting point is erroneous, our later analysis of inter*cultural* communication is likely to be erroneous too. If our analysis of

intercultural communication is erroneous, any deductions on the intercultural communicative aspects of language teaching and learning will be mistaken. This precise reason is partly why, as I shall later argue, the current school of thought on Intercultural Communication and Training, dominated to a large extent by Hofstede, is in error.

The approach I have decided to take in this task is to try and facilitate an overview of the variety of perspectives taken on culture over the last century. These perspectives are viewed firstly in the historical context, (Table 1, below) and then from the disciplinary approach that appears to underlie each definition (Table 2, below).

At the outset it is only right to state that this exercise is not intended nor pretends to be exhaustive. That is not necessary for my current purpose and I leave that task to others should they think it a productive area of research. What it is, however, intended to do, is to attempt to throw light on some of our current understanding in gaining an overview and hopefully some insight as to how we have arrived at our current *understandings* of culture. I use *understandings* advisedly, meaning that there is not one easy formula that can be followed, but as having a series of different appreciations of what different people mean when they refer to 'culture'.

Identifying a comprehensive definition of culture is a difficult, if not impossible task. It is interesting to note that the anthropologists Kroeber and Kluckhohn once reviewed several hundred definitions and still remained unsatisfied. (Damen, p.80). Perhaps it is the subtlety and complexity of culture itself that defies definition. This is perhaps best illustrated by Hall's extraordinary map of culture (Hall, 1959, Appendix 1). Hall contended that there were ten primary message systems which are universal, but their manifestations are not (Damen, p.89). Hall's map provides a useful benchmark against which to test cultural definitions.

As a starting point, then, perhaps Kramer's definition of culture is the most recent attempt at combining a historical and etymological approach to our current understanding of culture.

'The modern concept of culture is composed of five different elements which came into existence sequentially but still inform our understanding-

1. In the context of cultivation of land, crops and animals
2. Cultivation of the mind
3. The meanings, values and ways of life of particular, highly regarded groups were seen as setting the cultural standard for society as a whole.
4. Cultures as ways of life within a particular society and between different societies-the anthropological culture.
5. The semiotic concept- the signs and meanings a particular group shares.'

(Kramer (my paraphrasing), based on Williams, in Byram, 2000)

Culture is thus seen to be a matrix made up of the ways of life and shared communicative understanding of a group, played out in a background of generally accepted standards, with an ancestry of collective history. It is as if culture is only partly something that exists in the 'now' but also concurrently exists in the past to inform our interpretations of events as members of a group. Culture would therefore seem, indeed to be multidimensional, but in time as well as space.

To begin our wider analysis, consider the various definitions in their historical progression.

2.The Historical (Table 1, below)

The early anthropologist, Tylor referred to 'Culture...taken in its wide ethnographic sense, is that complex whole which includes knowledge, belief, art, morals, law, custom, and any other capabilities or habits acquired by man as a member of society' (Tylor, 1871, p.1). Although Tylor does not refer to language and semiotics were not then inexistence, it is arguable at least, that his definition is broad enough to encompass these ideas. His idea of culture is based on *membership* of a society. That being a member entails possession of a complex baggage of beliefs and values, knowledge and behaviours. The breadth of his approach is readily apparent. What is additionally interesting and relevant in the context of communication is, of course, that the corollary of membership is non-membership. This raises a theme of 'otherness' that can be traced through several of the later definitions we look at, with interesting consequences that I shall discuss later. This theme is also relevant in relation to theories of inter-group and cross-cultural relations (Byram, (1987), Tajfel, Barth).

When we look at the range of definitions under consideration, we can see that this broad, multidimensional approach to culture is not new to Kramer, although he nicely highlights the different perspectives, but belongs to a rich and eminent tradition of thought emanating from anthropology and other social sciences throughout the last century.
To illustrate this point, if we take the most recent definition in my survey, from the Intercultural Studies Project in Minnesota, and combine it with Tylor's, we get the following result:

> 'Culture...taken in its wide ethnographic sense, is that complex whole which includes knowledge, belief, art, morals, law, custom, and any other capabilities or habits acquired by man as a member of society' (Tylor)
>
> 'the shared patterns of behaviours and interactions, cognitive constructs, and affective understanding that are learned through a process of socialization.' (Intercultural Studies Project, University of Minnesota, 2001)

Combining the two definitions in close comparison creates the following result:

> 'the shared patterns (*complex whole*) of behaviours and interactions, cognitive constructs, and affective understanding (*knowledge, belief, art, morals, law, custom, and any other capabilities or habits*) that are learned(*acquired*) through a process of socialization (*becoming a member of society*).' (2001) (Tylor inserted in italicised parenthesis)

Considering both definitions together it is quite clear that this broad tradition is very much alive and well. What is perhaps less implicit in the definition of the Intercultural Studies Project than in Tylor is the element of historical awareness. This is an essential component and also relates to definitions of ethnicity and ethnic groups. As can be seen in the working diagram of culture developed later in this paper (Table 3), history influences every aspect of culture.
Let us now consider, in contrast, perhaps one of the most well known definitions of the latter 20th Century, that of Hofstede:

> 'Culture is the collective programming of the mind which distinguishes the

members of one category of people from another.'
(Hofstede, 1984, p.51)

We see that quite opposite to the tradition spanning the century, at this stage culture is being viewed by computer analogy, as collective mental programming. Whilst viewing the brain as a computer, and learning as programming has a superficial attraction and may be a useful analogy at a certain level, I question its validity or usefulness as part of a profound definition of culture. Perhaps the analogy sprung from the fact that much of Hofstede's work and research at the time was with IBM. When viewed against the historical background of a rich tradition of thought however, this definition appears to me at least to be quite separate from this tradition, based on an analogy that breaks down on deeper analysis, and is ultimately misleading.

Hofstede's analogy is also inadequate because of its implications. Programming implies that there is someone who knows better 'the programmer' (the adult member of the culture) who 'programmes' the computer (the child). Learning culture, like all learning, is an interactive process. Learning culture cannot possibly now be compared to being programmed with culture.

We shall return to Hofstede later. Kramsch, however, seeks to distinguish two strands in the approaches that have been taken to culture:

She refers firstly to the approach from the Humanities: 'The way a social group represents itself and others through its material productions, be they works of art...social institutions or artefacts of everyday life..' and then to the approach of the Social sciences typified by Nordstrand's 'ground of meaning' ' the attitudes and beliefs, ways of thinking, behaving and remembering shared by members of that community' (Kramsch,1995)

But when we survey the thinking about culture over the last hundred years, we can see that there is really no evidence to support the interpretation of these two separate strands of thinking. Perhaps Kramsch is meaning to refer to the 'high culture' notion as described in notion 2 and 3 of Kramer's account, omitting to say that the humanities/arts contribute to culture in this sense by the art of criticism. True, it could be argued that Tyler refers to 'art', but only in the context of 'capabilit(ies) or habit(s) acquired by man as a member of society' (my parenthesis) , and it seems clear that in fact, what Kramsch refers to as the Humanities view seems in reality to be part of the same tradition I have described, perhaps best illustrated by Banks:

'Most social scientists today view culture as consisting primarily of the symbolic, ideational, and intangible aspects of human societies. *The essence of culture is not its artefacts, tools or other tangible cultural elements but how the members of the group interpret, use and perceive them.* It is the values, symbols, interpretations, and perspectives that distinguish one people from another in modernized societies; it is not material objects and other tangible aspects of human societies. People within a culture usually interpret the meaning of symbols, artefacts and behaviours in the same or similar ways.' (my italics) (Banks, 1989)

It can be observed when considering this definition that in his attempt to distil 'the essence of culture', Banks, in his own definition, accepts himself that there are

tangible *cultural elements* such as artefacts, tools etc. My interpretation of the range of definitions under consideration is that no-one has ever suggested that these elements were in fact 'culture', but merely *evidence* of culture. In the same way a behaviour isn't culture, but merely evidence of culture. It is the meaning attached to the behaviour that is significant, just as the meaning derived from and attached to these other 'cultural elements' is also significant.

To argue that 'art' is not an essential element of culture, would be to deny, for example, that the works of Shakespeare were not significant in understanding 'British', or even 'Western' culture. This would seem to me to be absurd. The distinction Kramsch attempts to make becomes therefore a distinction without a difference, based on a misinterpretation of what is meant when things like art, tools and artefacts are referred to.

The final feature I would like to highlight and examine as a consistent theme throughout the last century is the concept of membership of a society or group, and its corollary of not being a member or 'otherness'. I have already pointed out that Tylor refers to being ' a member of society'. Linton refers to being 'members of a society'(1945, p.32). Stocking, paraphrasing Boas refers to 'each separate society' (Stocking, 1966, 867-70). Hofstede says culture 'distinguishes the members of one category of people from another (Hofstede, 1984, p.51). The Collins English Dictionary refers to 'members of the group' (Makins, 1994). Goodenough refers to 'a society's... member's' (Goodenough, in Byram, 1994) and so on. We can clearly see then that one of the primary concepts included in what we mean by culture is the concept of belonging to a group, or membership of a society. If we turn this approach on its head, then, different cultures are ones of which we are not a member. There is apparently no concept of shared culture, membership of different cultures or 'guest membership'. Each culture stops at the door of each club. It is as if the cultures of the world cover the world like frog-spawn, a separate culture jelly pressing against its neighbour, instead of a series of gradations and differences of perception, that may be characterised as much by their commonalities as by their differences. (See Kwasi, 1995)

Of course I exaggerate in order to make the point. Nevertheless the point is valid. If we begin our approach predicated on the notion of separateness of cultures, it seems that our task of improving intercultural communication becomes all the more difficult. Byram makes clear that the context of the definition is important (Byram, 139). My context is the intercultural aspects of language teaching. By highlighting the differences in order to bridge them, we may be also be minimizing what commonalities there may be that could be built on until they meet naturally somewhere in some middle ground of what might be described as 'interculture'. This is not to deny cultural differences in the least. I merely question their use as one of the starting points in cultural analysis.

My approach to culture therefore seeks to avoid concepts of membership, unless and until I am irresistibly driven to include them. As yet, I am not convinced that they need be part of our understanding of culture and may in fact create an unnecessary impediment in the context in which we are working.

Table 1: Classification of definitions by date

Ref No.	Date	***Definition***
1.	1871	'Culture...taken in its wide ethnographic sense, is that complex whole which includes knowledge, belief, art, morals, law, custom, and any other capabilities or habits acquired by man as a member of society.' (Tylor, 1871, p.1)
2.	1945	'By culture we mean all those historically created designs for living, explicit and implicit, rational, irrational, and non-rational, which exist at any given time as potential guides for the behaviour of men.' (Kluckhohn and Kelly, 1945, in Linton)
3.	1945	'A culture is a configuration of learned behaviours and results of behaviour whose competent elements are shared and transmitted by the members of a particular society.' (Linton, 1945, p.32)
4.	1949	' Culture... consists in those patterns relative to behaviour and the products of human action which may be inherited, that is, passed on from generation to generation independently of the biological genes' (Parson, 1949, p.8)
5.	1952	'Culture consists of patterns, explicit and implicit, of and for behaviour acquired and transmitted by symbols, constituting the distinctive achievements of human groups, including their embodiments in artefacts; the essential core of culture consists of traditional (i.e. historically derived and selected) ideas and especially their attached values; culture systems may, on the one hand, be considered as products of action, and on the other as conditioning elements of further action.' (Kroeber and Kluckhohn, 1952)
6.	1963	'the learned and shared behaviour of a community of interacting human beings' (Useem and Useem, 1963, p.169)
7.	1966	'The anthropological view, Boas - Culture refers to the distinctive body of customs, beliefs and social institutions that seems to characterise each separate society.' (Stocking, 1966, 867-70)
8.	1984	'Culture is the collective programming of the mind *which distinguishes the members of one category of people from another*.' (my italics) (Hofstede, 1984, p.51)
9.	1984	'Culture neither has an autonomous existence apart from the lives of the individuals nor is it merely a collection of individual experiences. It is only on the basis of a system of meaning existing as a culture that the individual can have subjective experience. The underlying lines of signification in meaning structures ground individual experience and make it understandable to others' (Deetz, 1984, p.216)
10.	1987	'Culture: learned and shared human patterns or models for living; day to day living patterns. These patterns and models pervade all aspects of human social interaction. Culture is mankind's primary adaptive mechanism.' (Damen, 1987, p.367)
11.	1989	'Most social scientists today view culture as consisting primarily of the symbolic, ideational, and intangible aspects of human societies. The essence of culture is not its artefacts, tools or other tangible cultural elements but how the members of the group interpret, use and perceive them. *It is the values, symbols, interpretations, and perspectives that distinguish one people from another in modernized societies*; it is not material objects and other tangible aspects of human societies. People within a culture usually interpret the meaning of symbols, artefacts and behaviours in the same or similar ways.' (my italics- this is similar to my end idea- culture as otherness) (Banks,1989)

12.	1990	'A culture is a way of seeing, a way of perceiving, and a way of behaving on the basis of that perception. In order to perceive the world, we must select certain features and order them, thereby constructing a reality that corresponds to the reality 'out there'.' (McOmie, 1990, p.178)
13.	1990	Brislin : 'widely shared ideals, values, formation and uses of categories, assumptions about life, and goal-directed activities that become unconsciously or subconsciously accepted as 'right' and 'correct' by people who identify themselves as members of a society.' (Brislin, 1990 p.11)
14.	1994	'a society's culture consists of whatever it is one has to know or believe in order to operate in a manner acceptable to it's members.' (Goodenough, in Byram, 1994, 139)
15.	1994	Collins English Dictionary: 1. the total of the inherited ideas, beliefs, values and knowledge which constitute the shared bases of social action. 2. the total range of activities and ideas of a group of people with shared traditions, which are transmitted and reinforced by members of the group.
16.	1995	'Culture is the shared knowledge and schemes created by a set of people for perceiving, interpreting, expressing, and responding to the social realities around them' (Lederach, 1995, p.9)
17.	1995	Kramsch – Humanities: 'The way a social group represents itself and others through its material productions, be they works of art social institutions or artefacts of everyday life..' Social sciences: Nordstrand's 'ground of meaning' ' the attitudes and beliefs, ways of thinking, behaving and remembering shared by members of that community' (1995)
18.	2000	Kramer : (my paraphrasing) The modern concept of culture is composed of five different elements which came into existence sequentially but still inform our understanding- 1. In the context of cultivation of land, crops and animals 2. Cultivation of the mind 3. The meanings, values and ways of life of particular, highly regarded groups were seen as setting the cultural standard for society as a whole. 4. Cultures as ways of life within a particular society and between different societies- the anthropological culture. 5. The semiotic concept- the signs and meanings a particular group shares.
19.	2001	Intercultural Studies Project, University of Minnesota : 'the shared patterns of behaviours and interactions, cognitive constructs, and affective understanding that are learned through a process of socialization.' (2001)

3. The Disciplinary Perspective (Table 2, below)

Examining the definitions from their apparent disciplinary approach, we can see immediately from the table that, as I have mentioned above, Kramsch's claims do not appear to be borne out by analysis. There in fact appear to be four broad groups- The narrow social science view, (column 2); the broad social science, or interdisciplinary view (column 3); the interpretation that highlights difference in defining culture (column 4), and what I have chosen to call 'others' (column 5). Obviously, there is a degree of overlap between the groups, and some definitions could be included in more than one column. For example, Hofstede

takes the narrow social scientists view *and* focuses on difference. Nevertheless, the exercise is helpful in highlighting a difference in the tendency of the approach, rather than an absolute distinction between approaches. The definitions I have included in the 'other' category are those which either do not appear to fit easily into one of the existing categories or seem to me to offer an interesting difference in perspective.

Take Deetz as an example:

> 'Culture neither has an autonomous existence apart from the lives of the individuals nor is it merely a collection of individual experiences. It is only on the basis of a system of meaning existing as a culture that the individual can have subjective experience. The underlying lines of signification in meaning structures ground individual experience and make it understandable to others' (Deetz, 1984, p.216)

It is interesting how similar Deetz's 'system of meaning' is to Nordstrand's 'ground of meaning' (Kramsch, 1995). Deetz, however sees culture as a continuum spanning individual and collective experience. Nordstrand, like Hofstede, however, apparently sees it as an entirely collective entity. Deetz, in particular, is highly critical of what he calls the treatment of culture as a 'unified set of consensually shared subjective interpretations'. Deetz is more interested in what he calls 'human meaning' as opposed to 'human behavioural', and is heavily critical of what he refers to as the 'limited and sometimes sterile results of the dominant functionalist, normative research in the area' (Deetz, 1984, p. 215). He sees metaphor analysis as a tool for understanding culture in the context of communication, an interesting perspective.

Deetz's observations are paralleled by those of Geertz in his 'web of meaning' and by Berger and Luckmann, that culture is neither 'subjective' nor 'objective' in the usual senses of these words, but that it is 'intersubjective'- being constantly under negotiation it cannot be fixed in time.

McOmie too offers a different perspective, although his definition appears to be entirely subjective, based on the reality the individual must construct in order 'perceive the world' (McOmie, 1990, p.178).

The harshness of Deetz's attack on what I have described above as the narrow social science perspective has been echoed more recently by Lowe. He refers to the imbalance created by an obsession with structuralism 'the unconscious application of scientific rationalism to the study of culture. (This) results in bivalent reductionism to simplified schemas of enormously complex cultural phenomena' (Lowe, 2001, p. 6).

Whilst I do not agree with Lowe's attribution of linguistic imperialistic-like (Phillipson; Byram 2000) motives to the structuralist oversimplification of culture which has perhaps reached it's peak in Hofstede's 'cultural dimensions', I nevertheless agree that when looked at from the perspective of a broad range of definitions over the last century, this approach is fundamentally out of step with a rich tradition of thought in relation to culture, and needs to be corrected.

What is revealed therefore by my rudimentary attempt at classification of definitions by apparent disciplinary perspective, is that Kramsch's so called 'Humanities' approach to culture is non-existent. That the approach of Social

Scientists in fact covers a wide range from reductionist, structuralist approaches to broader perspectives belonging to the rich tradition to which I have referred. That a frequent theme, which may well be questionable, or at least be a dubious starting point in the context of *inter*cultural communication (a term I shall later discuss and question) is that culture is frequently defined by difference. And that additionally, there are other voices adding an even wider and potentially interesting perspective to this broad approach.

Table 2: Classification of definitions by disciplinary approach

Humanities	Social Sciences	Interdisciplinary	Difference	Other
(17) Kramsch – Humanities: 'The way a social group represents itself and others through its material productions, be they works of art…social institutions or artefacts of everyday life..'	(6) 'the learned and shared behaviour of a community of interacting human beings' (Useem and Useem, 1963, p.169)	(1)'Culture…taken in its wide ethnographic sense, is that complex whole which includes knowledge, belief, art, morals, law, custom, and any other capabilities or habits acquired by man as a member of society' (1) (Tylor, 1871, p.1)	(8) 'Culture is the collective programming of the mind *which distinguishes the members of one category of people from another.*' (my italics) (Hofstede, 1984, p.51)	(9) 'Culture neither has an autonomous existence apart from the lives of the individuals nor is it merely a collection of individual experiences. It is only on the basis of a system of meaning existing as a culture that the individual can have subjective experience. The underlying lines of signification in meaning structures ground individual experience and make it understandable to others' (Deetz, 1984, p.216)

	(7) The anthropological view, Boas - Culture refers to the distinctive body of customs, beliefs and social institutions that seems to characterise each separate society (Stocking, 1966, 867-70)	(2) 'By culture we mean all those historically created designs for living, explicit and implicit, rational, irrational, and non-rational, which exist at any given time as potential guides for the behaviour of men.' (Kluckhohn and Kelly, 1945, in Linton)	(11) 'Most social scientists today view culture as consisting primarily of the symbolic, ideational, and intangible aspects of human societies. The essence of culture is not its artefacts, tools or other tangible cultural elements but how the members of the group interpret, use and perceive them. *It is the values, symbols, interpretations, and perspectives that distinguish one people from another in modernized societies*; it is not material objects and other tangible aspects of human societies. People within a culture usually interpret the meaning of symbols, artefacts and behaviours in the same or similar ways.' (my italics- this is similar to my end idea- culture as otherness) (Banks, 1989)	(12) 'A culture is a way of seeing, a way of perceiving, and a way of behaving on the basis of that perception. In order to perceive the world, we must select certain features and order them, thereby constructing a reality that corresponds to the reality 'out there'.' (McOmie, 1990, p.178)

	(10) 'Culture: learned and shared human patterns or models for living; day to day living patterns. These patterns and models pervade all aspects of human social interaction. Culture is mankind's primary adaptive mechanism.' (Damen, 1987, p.367)	(3) 'A culture is a configuration of learned behaviours and results of behaviour whose competent elements are shared and transmitted by the members of a particular society.' (Linton, 1945, p.32)		
		(4)' Culture… consists in those patterns relative to behaviour and the products of human action which may be inherited, that is, passed on from generation to generation independently of the biological genes' (Parson, 1949, p.8)		

		(5) Culture consists of patterns, explicit and implicit, of and for behaviour acquired and transmitted by symbols, constituting the distinctive achievements of human groups, including their embodiments in artefacts; the essential core of culture consists of traditional (i.e. historically derived and selected) ideas and especially their attached values; culture systems may, on the one hand, be considered as products of action, and on the other as conditioning elements of further action.' (Kroeber and Kluckhohn, 1952)		
		(15) 2. the total range of activities and ideas of a group of people with shared traditions, which are transmitted and reinforced by members of the group.		
		(18) Kramer : (my paraphrasing) The modern concept of culture is composed of five different elements which came into existence sequentially but still inform our understanding-In the context of cultivation of land, crops and animals; Cultivation of the mind; The meanings, values and ways of life of particular, highly regarded groups were seen as setting the cultural standard for society as a whole; Cultures as ways of life within a particular society and between different societies-the anthropological culture; The semiotic concept- the signs and meanings a particular group shares.		

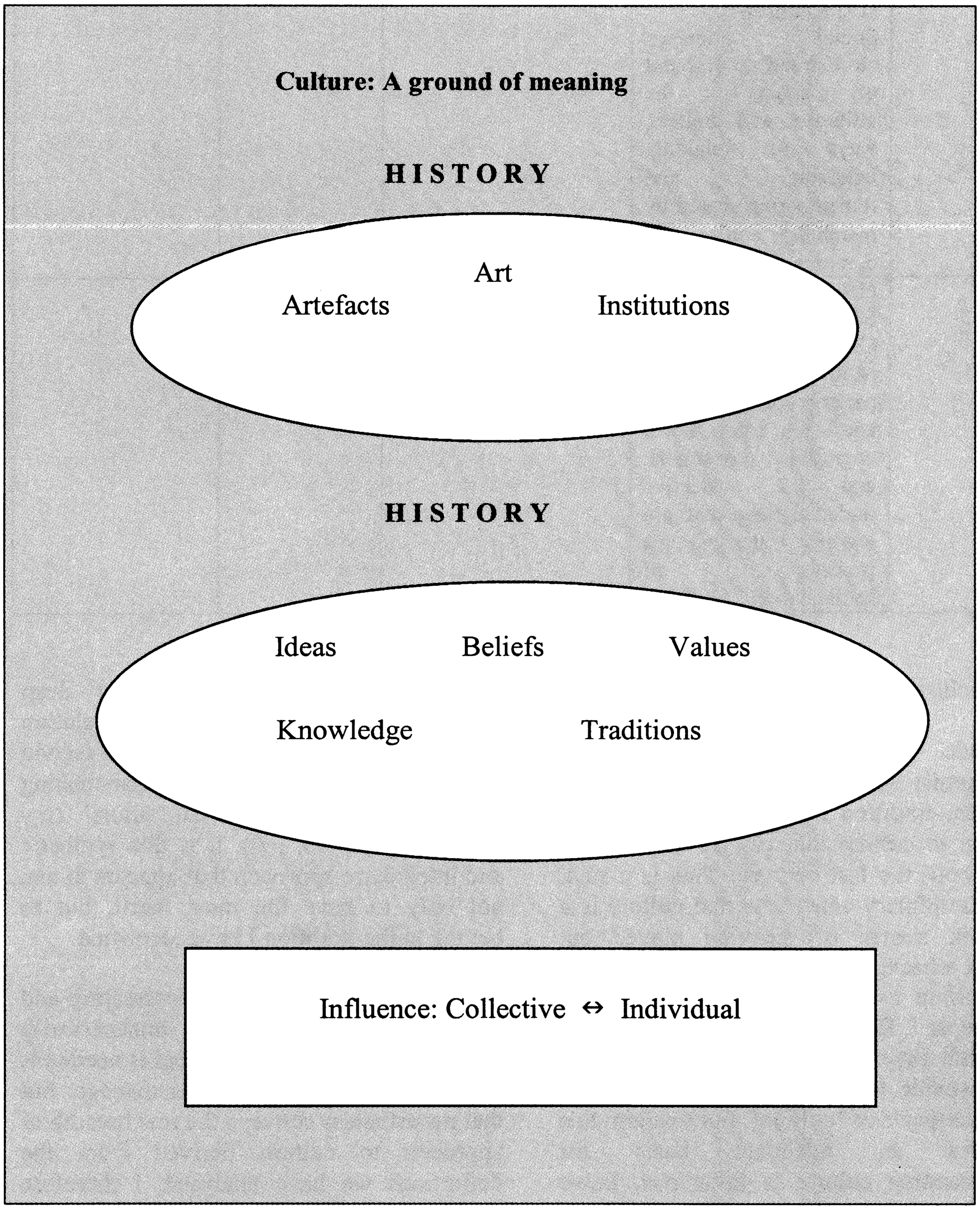
	(13) Brislin: 'widely shared ideals, values, formation and uses of categories, assumptions about life, and goal-directed activities that become unconsciously or subconsciously accepted as 'right' and 'correct' by people who identify themselves as members of a society'(Brislin, 1990 p.11)			
	(14) ' a society's culture consists of whatever it is one has to know or believe in order to operate in a manner acceptable to it's members.' (Goodenough, in Byram, 1994, 139)ssss			
	(15)Collins English Dictionary: 1. the total of the inherited ideas, beliefs, values and knowledge which constitute the shared bases of social action.			
	(16) 'Culture is the shared knowledge and schemes created by a set of people for perceiving, interpreting, expressing, and responding to the social realities around them' (Lederach, 1995, p.9)			

	(17) Kramsch- Social sciences: Nordstrand's 'ground of meaning' ' the attitudes and beliefs, ways of thinking, behaving and remembering shared by members of that community' (1995)			
	(19) Intercultural Studies Project, University of Minnesota: 'the shared patterns of behaviours and interactions, cognitive constructs, and affective understanding that are learned through a process of socialization.' (2001)			

4. Conclusions

Hofstede and others who take the reductionist approach are out of step with the clear tradition of academic thinking in relation to culture that can be traced back throughout the last century. This is a rich, interdisciplinary consensus that culture is a complex matrix of meaning played out against a background of history, influencing both group and individual behaviour and experience. The reductionist- structuralist approach may well be attractive and may well provide an interesting perspective on certain aspects of 'culture', but to claim this provides an adequate basis for understanding culture is fallacious. Lowe calls for what he describes as a 'synthetic and integrative approach' based on an integration of structuralism and phenomenology' emphasizing that deep structures of culture are primary in relation to the subjects they produce with the second (approach) emphasizing the sense-making interpretations of individual actors' (my parenthesis, Lowe, p.6). It is this synthetic and integrative approach that appears to me, not only to have the most merit, but to belong to the tradition I have identified.

Although Hall's diagram is interesting and illuminative, it is perhaps unnecessarily complex for practical use. What is needed is something which is easier to manage, but that nevertheless conveys the real breadth of approach to culture derived from the definitions we have analysed. I therefore tentatively suggest the use of the following simple scheme to inform our thinking about culture.


Culture: A ground of meaning
HISTORY
Art
Artefacts
Institutions
HISTORY
Ideas
Beliefs
Values
Knowledge
Traditions
Influence: Collective ↔ Individual

Appendix 1 (to be read across both pages)

Primary Message Systems	**Interactional** 0	**Organizational** 1	**Economic** 2	**Sexual** 3
Interaction 0	Communication Vocal qualifiers Kinesics Language 00	Status and Role 01	Exchange 02	How the sexes Interact 03
Association 1	Community 10	Society Class Caste Government 11	Economic roles 12	Sexual roles 13
Subsistence 2	Ecological Community 20	Occupational groupings 21	Work Formal work Maintenance Occupations 22	Sexual division of Labour 23
Bisexuality 3	Sex, Community (clans, sibs) 30	Marriage groupings 31	Family 32	The sexes Masc.vs.Fem Sex (biological) Sex (technical) 33
Territoriality 4	Community Territory 40	Group territory 41	Economic Areas 42	Men's and Women's territories 43
Temporality 5	Community Cycles 50	Group cycles 51	Economic cycles 52	Men's and Women's cyclical activities 53
Learning 6	Community lore- What gets taught and learned 60	Learning groups- Educational institutions 61	Reward for teaching and learning 62	What the sexes are taught 63
Play 7	Community play- the arts and sports 70	Play groups- Teams and troupes 71	Professional sports and entertainment 72	Men's and Women's Play, fun and Games 73
Defense 8	Community defences- structured defence systems 80	Defence groups- Armies, police, public health, Organised religion81	Economic patterns of defense 82	What the sexes defend (home, honour, etc.) 83
Exploitation 9	Communication Networks 90	Organizational networks (cities, Building groups,etc) 91	Food, resources, and industrial equipment 92	What men and women are concerned with and own 93

Territorial 4	**Temporal** 5	**Instructional** 6	**Recreational** 7	**Protective** 8	**Exploitational** 9
Places of interaction 04	Times of interaction 05	Teaching and learning 06	Participation in the arts and sports (active and passive) 07	Protecting and being protected 08	Use telephones, signals, writing, etc. 09
Local group roles 14	Age group roles 15	Teachers and learners 16	Entertainers and Athletes 17	Protectors (doctors, clergy, soldiers, police, etc.) 18	Use of group property 19
Where the individual cooks, eats, etc. 24	When the individual cooks, eats, etc. 25	Learning from working 26	Pleasure from working 27	Care of health, protection of livelihood 28	Use of foods, resources and equipment 29
Areas assigned to individuals by virtue of sex 34	Periods assigned to individuals by virtue of sex 35	Teaching and learning sex roles 36	Participation in recreation by sex 37	Protection of sex and fertility 38	Use of sex-differentiating decoration and adornment 39
Space, formal space, informal space boundaries 44	Scheduling of space 45	Teaching and learning individual space assignments 46	Fun, playing games, etc., in terms of space 47	Privacy 48	Use of fences and markers 49
Territorially determined cycles 54	Time, sequence, cycles, calendar 55	When the individual learns 56	When the individual plays 57	Rest, vacations, holidays 58	Use of time-telling devices 59
Places for learning 64	Scheduling of learning (group) 65	Enculturation, Rearing, Informal learning, Education 66	Making learning fun 67	Learning self-defence and to stay healthy 68	Use of training aids 69
Recreational areas 74	Play seasons 75	Instructional play 76	Recreation, Fun, Playing, Games 77	Exercise 78	Use of recreational materials (playthings) 79
What places are defended 84	The When of defence 85	Scientific, religious, and military training 86	Mass exercises and military games 87	Protection, formal defences, Informal defences, technical defences 88	Use of materials for protection 89
Property- what is enclosed, counted and measured 94	What periods are measured and recorded 95	School buildings, training aids, etc, 96	Amusement and sporting goods and their industries 97	Fortifications, armaments, medical equipment, safety devices 98	Material Systems contact with environments Motor habits Technology 99

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