University of New Mexico
UNM Digital Repository

Communication ETDs | Electronic Theses and Dissertations

2-9-2010

A History and Development of the Intercultural Communication Field in Japan (1950-Present)

Holly Siebert Kawakami

Follow this and additional works at: https://digitalrepository.unm.edu/cj_etds

Recommended Citation
Kawakami, Holly Siebert. "A History and Development of the Intercultural Communication Field in Japan (1950-Present)." (2010).
https://digitalrepository.unm.edu/cj_etds/10

This Dissertation is brought to you for free and open access by the Electronic Theses and Dissertations at UNM Digital Repository. It has been accepted for inclusion in Communication ETDs by an authorized administrator of UNM Digital Repository. For more information, please contact disc@unm.edu.

Holly Siebert Kawakami
Candidate

Communication and Journalism
Department

This dissertation is approved, and it is acceptable in quality and form for publication on microfilm:

Approved by the Dissertation Committee:

Glenda R Balas, Chairperson

[illegible] Condon

Jacqueline Wasilewski

[illegible]

A HISTORY AND DEVELOPMENT OF THE INTERCULTURAL COMMUNICATION FIELD IN JAPAN (1950 – PRESENT)

BY

HOLLY SIEBERT KAWAKAMI

B.A., Japanese & Asian Studies, University of Toronto, 1976
MBA-International, Thunderbird School of Global Management, 1981

DISSERTATION

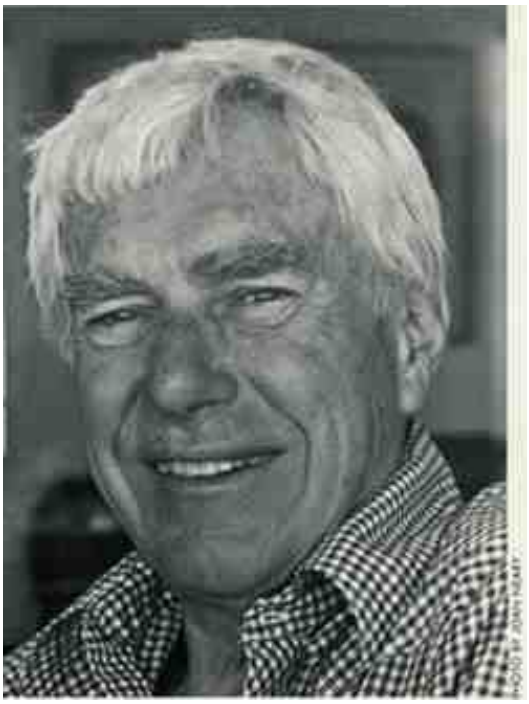
Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the
Requirements for the Degree of

Doctor of Philosophy
Communication

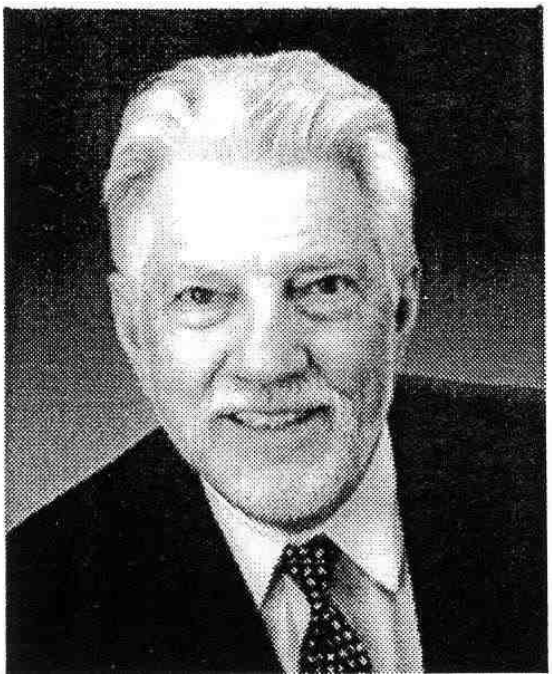
The University of New Mexico
Albuquerque, New Mexico

December, 2009

DEDICATION



To Ned -- Edward T. Hall (1914-2009). This year 2009 is the fiftieth anniversary of the publication of your groundbreaking book, *The Silent Language*, that launched a field. Your gift of observation and all of your pioneering work initiated the movement of Intercultural Communication in all its rainbow of specialties and growing. I am honored to have known you and grateful that I have many memories of our visits in Santa Fe. I cherish all your stories but I miss you. All of your concepts and ideas and ways of seeing have been handed on to many, many people and they, your concepts and the people, are making a difference everyday in the world. We all stand on your shoulders.



To Ev -- Everett M. Rogers (1931 -2004). All of this is because of you. First was your book on the history of communication studies, and then how much you liked my presentation and paper on the history of Intercultural Communication in Japan. It was my last course and one of several with you. You said, “You should make this your dissertation. You’re one of the few people who could do this.” You told me to find out about the invisible college and relate it to your life’s work on diffusion that I was so fortunate to study directly with you. Thank you for your initial encouragement. I have missed your guidance and confidence, but I hope you are pleased with what I produced. I modeled this on your study. I agree with you that we must know our roots, who we are indebted to, and how we came to be here in the present before we continue on into the future.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

Grateful thanks are due to the many people both inside and outside the academy who assisted me throughout this long process. The acknowledgement of each person here is short but heartfelt.

First to my committee, and especially the chair of the committee, Glenda Balas, who gracefully stepped in when Ev Rogers could no longer serve as chair. Thank you for staying with me through all the ups and downs. To Jack Condon, for sharing your many priceless memories and supporting this process with many ideas and comments. To Dirk Gibson, for your always positive suggestions and optimism that encouraged me to keep going. To Jackie Wasilewski, for all your on-going support and hands-on assistance. And a special thanks for the warm hospitality at your place at ICU in the middle of the quiet, ancient Jōmon forest. How I will miss that wonderful place.

Thank you to Tom Bruneau who assisted me by collecting and sending recent articles and supported my vision.

Many thanks for all the extra help to Doug Weintraub and Susan Pinter.

Going back in time, I acknowledge and thank Ron Hogue who always encouraged me to follow my interest and passion for studying Japanese language and culture. Way back when, I promised you that if I ever completed a doctorate degree I would include an acknowledgement to you for your belief in me. It's been a long time coming, but I can now fulfill that promise.

I remember and thank Marjorie Miller, my first professor of Japanese literature and culture who passed away in 2002. I was fascinated by her stories about postwar Japan, and her experiences of being the private English tutor to then Crown Princess Michiko.

She was scouted while teaching at Gakushuin; I taught at that same school many years later for several years. I remember the beautiful possessions she showed me and especially the lacquered box with inlaid mother of pearl designs that she received from Princess Michiko as a parting gift.

I lovingly remember and thank three strong women in my life, Grandmother (Julia), Mother (Lucy), and Godmother (Evy), for all you did for me and all the guidance you continue to give me as the angels surrounding me.

Many people have been supporting me, each in their own special ways, on both sides of the Pacific

Words cannot express my thanks and appreciation to Linda, sister and best friend. You've always believed in me and supported me through thick and thin, all the twists and turns of this project. Your phone calls of encouragement came at just the right times. Thank you for all your thoughtfulness and happy surprises. I know I can count on you going forward.

And thanks to my nephew, Julian, who was a little boy when I started this project and is now a big boy with lots of homework and projects himself. I learn a lot from you. You always are so positive; you always bring a smile or laugh to my day.

I express special thanks and appreciation to Nishi-sama, Yoshimitsu Nishi, who has been advisor, guide, mentor, and friend for nearly 30 years. During this process, I have asked you countless times to help me clarify translations of words and terms, or for fact-finding in Japan. You have always encouraged and supported me in every way. My Japanese father.

A special thank you to Karin Hall for coming to the Defense and bringing Ned's support and spirit then and other times, and for arranging special visits with Ned. We will continue to remember Ned in the days ahead.

Friends and neighbors near and far have supported me in special ways. Thank you CJ for your logistical and emotional support with the Defense. I thank Pamela for your unlimited emotional and intuitive guidance, Diana for your precious friendship of 40 years, and Christian for helping me keep my finances straight. Kindnesses include grocery deliveries – thank you for that and your support, Nancy and Roger, Dennis, Marty.

In Japan, I thank Elizabeth & Atsunori Andoh, always supportive, good friends. You've given me a futon and delicious *gohan* during many trips. Always special times with you. I also thank Hiroko Yoshida and Hideyo Kobayashi and their families for ongoing support and a lovely place to stay on one of my research trips.

I am grateful to all the interviewees (informants) who graciously and generously gave me your time and told me your stories. I remember each and every wonderful story in the context of the surroundings of the interviews. Each story in full could not fit into this study, but I hope we can find a way to make them always available for others. Your stories are important and should endure. I have known almost all of you for decades and enjoyed years of collegial friendship and support. I am honored to know each one of you.

I remember and honor Mitsuko Saito, consummate teacher, businesswoman, and networker. Without her, this story would have been very different, or perhaps there would not have been a story. I am sorry we could not sit down for our interview, but glad she knew about and supported my plans. I treasure the memories of working with her.

And to all my wonderful friends in Japan, some friendships going back more than 30 years, I appreciate all of you so much. You've always helped me, supported me, and taught me patiently about every aspect of Japan. *Okagesama de*. I could not have done any of this or come as far as I have without you. I look forward to seeing you soon.

This research was supported by a RPT Grant (Research, Project, and Travel) and two grants from the SRAC (Student Research Allocations Committee). Thank you.

A HISTORY AND DEVELOPMENT OF THE INTERCULTURAL COMMUNICATION FIELD IN JAPAN (1950 – PRESENT)

BY

HOLLY SIEBERT KAWAKAMI

ABSTRACT OF DISSERTATION

Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the
Requirements for the Degree of

Doctor of Philosophy
Communication

The University of New Mexico
Albuquerque, New Mexico

December, 2009

A HISTORY AND DEVELOPMENT OF THE INTERCULTURAL COMMUNICATION FIELD IN JAPAN (1950 – PRESENT)

BY

HOLLY SIEBERT KAWAKAMI

B.A., Japanese & Asian Studies, University of Toronto, 1976
MBA-International, Thunderbird School of Global Management, 1981
Ph.D., Communication, The University of New Mexico, 2009

ABSTRACT

The history of the academic discipline of Intercultural Communication in Japan began at the end of the 1950s, in convergence with the historical context of Japan devastated by war and the social context of a population struggling to navigate a new identity and way forward. Both Japanese and American scholars contributed to the establishment and development of the Intercultural Communication field over the decades.

Three research questions were posed for this study: one, why did the Intercultural Communication discipline become established in Japan as the first place after the United States, two, what was it about Intercultural Communication that resonated with the Japanese and offered some solutions to current challenges, and three, how did an invisible college network of scholars form around the emerging field of Intercultural Communication and lead to its development and sustainable institutionalization.

In-depth interviewing of both Japanese and non-Japanese scholars was the primary method for collecting data. These Four Generations of scholars were the invisible college;

they actively taught, published, and established key institutions and academic associations. From these primary accounts, a coherent narrative emerged that tells the story of the discipline's development over fifty years all set against the backdrop of four historical periods and social contexts.

I identified key figures beginning with Mitsuko Saito who, as a newly returned Ph.D. from the United States, started teaching communication courses at a unique university, International Christian University (ICU), newly established after World War II, in Tokyo. Through her connections in the United States, she brought a line of American scholars to ICU starting in the mid-1960s that ended in 2008 when the last in that line retired. Intercultural Communication offered responses to crucial continuing questions of identity and international relations.

The invisible college was energized by events in each period: two pioneering conferences in the mid-1970s, in the 1980s a new university that required Intercultural Communication courses, a standardized Japanese term for the discipline by the early 1990s, an ambitious international conference in 1998, and recent graduate degree programs. All of these developments are evidence of the successful diffusion of this intellectual paradigm and its advancing institutionalization.

Even as the Intercultural discipline spread to many schools and became a recognizable field of study, the assumptions and methodologies were still largely based on American precedents. From the early 1990s, scholars imagined and proposed indigenization or Japanization of the discipline. The degree programs unify all the threads of the field and add a unique environmental aspect. The study concludes with these

reframing trends and new directions in research that are holistic, alternative, and include geopolitical aspects that offer responses to current challenges.

Fifty years after both the introduction of Intercultural Communication to Japan and the publication of *The Silent Language,* the classic that established the field, it appears that Intercultural Communication in Japan has diffused to a sustainable level and continues its dynamic growth. It is an optimum time to both document its history and reflect on its legacy.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF FIGURES ..... **XXI**

LIST OF TABLES ..... **XXII**

AUTHOR NOTES ..... **XXIV**

GLOSSARY OF JAPANESE VOCABULARY ..... **XXVIII**

PREFACE ..... **XXXIII**

CHAPTER ONE – INTRODUCTION **1**

The Importance of Intellectual History 4

Beginning of the Intercultural Communication Field 5

Introduction and Taking Root in Japan 7

An Emic Approach to the Research 10

Organization of the Study 11

Personal Involvement and Positioning 14

A Model for Inquiry 19

Establishment and Growth 20

Summary 22

CHAPTER TWO – LITERATURE REVIEW **26**

Narrative Paradigm 26

Defining the Narrative Paradigm 26

Four Questions 27

Four Assumptions 27

Coherence and Fidelity 28

Criticism of Fisher's Paradigm 29

Controversy and Confusion 29

Use of the Narrative Paradigm Across Cultures....31

Universality of the Narrative Paradigm 32

Japanese Scholarship 34

Japan's Narrative Tradition....35

Validity of the Narrative Paradigm for the Historical Nature of This Study .37

Dilemma of Competing Narratives....39

Summary 40

CHAPTER THREE – THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVES....42

Network Theory 43

Invisible Colleges....44

Six Determinants of the Social Organization of Invisible Colleges....46

Paradigm Shift and Invisible Colleges 48

Socialization and Norms....49

Groupthink 50

Marginalization and Critical Voices 50

Examples of Invisible Colleges 51

Rockefeller Communication Seminar....52

World War II Years in Washington D.C. 52

Emergence of Intercultural Communication as a Discipline 53

Diffusion Theory....55

Interpersonal Channels 56

Opinion Leaders....57

Peers and Colleagues 58
Two Attributes and Their Effects 59
Re-invention 60
Summary 61
CHAPTER FOUR – METHODOLOGY AND DESIGN OF THE STUDY 63
Design of the Study 63
Narrative Interviewing 66
Informant Definition and Details 67
40 Informants 69
Learning More About Mitsuko Saito 70
Varied Backgrounds of the Informants 71
Language Considerations for the Interviews 72
Regional Inclusion 74
Informant Careers Outside the Parameters of This Study 75
Informants in the Training Area 77
International Careers 78
Interview Questions, Decisions, and Results 79
Interviewing Phases and Protocol 82
Four Phases 85
Interviewing Protocol for Japan 87
Challenges 89
Interviews with Scholars in the United States 92
Observations of Cultural Factors 94

Generational Differences 95

Silence and Pauses 98

Some Japanese Concepts in Communication 99

My Positioning as a Participant Observer 100

Insider/Outsider Roles 101

Researcher and Listener 103

Preserving and Respecting Meaning 104

Critical Issues 105

Ideas for Additional Research 108

Summary 110

CHAPTER FIVE – FINDINGS 114

Research Question I – Why Japan? 116

Research Question II – What Resonated with Japanese? 118

Historical and Social Contexts 119

Macro and Micro-levels of the Context 121

Historical Periods and Generational Categories Used for This Study 123

Essential Challenges for the Japanese – Four Critical Questions 131

Highlights of Historical Periods and Relevant Developments of the Intercultural Communication Field 135

Postwar Period 1945 – 1976 135

Historical Events Timeline 135

Historical Patterns of Japan 138

Sociological and Psychological Contexts 139

The Japan-United States Relationship 143
Educational Context.....145
The Business and Economic Context 154
Introduction and Early Developments in the Intercultural Communication Field 157
Edward T. Hall's Concepts Resonate with Japanese.....158
Early Years of Introduction to Japan 161
Saito's Career and Contributions.....167
Line of American Scholars Invited to ICU 177
First Intercultural Communication Conference at ICU in 1972 183
Intercultural Communication Workshop at Nihonmatsu in 1974.....185
Second Conference in 1976 188
Summary of the Postwar Period and the Pioneer Generation 189
The Japan, Inc. Period 1977 – 1989 190
Japan and the World.....194
Domestic Effects of *Kokusai-ka* 196
Educational Context.....199
Intercultural Communication Relevance – Inheritors Generation 1977 – 1988.....201
Summary of Japan, Inc. Period – Has Something Been Lost?.....211
Summary of Development of the Intercultural Communication Field – Inheritors Generation 211
The Lost Decade Period 1989 – 1999 212

Sociological and Psychological Contexts 215
Business Context.....232
Intercultural Communication Development: Heisei Generation 1989 – 1999 234
Summary of Development of the Intercultural Communication Field – Heisei Generation 254
Dawn of the 21st Century – Global Soft Power 255
Sociological and Psychological Context.....259
Intercultural Communication Field: Millennials Generation 2000 – 2006 265
Summary of Global Soft Power Period and Millennials Generation..292
Research Question III -- The Invisible College in Japan 294
Characteristics of the Invisible College.....299
Mitsuko Saito and the Line of American Scholars Invited to ICU 299
Saito was Maven, Connector, and Persuader.....300
Japanese Study for Higher Degrees in the United States.....308
Venues for Exchange 312
Channels of Exchange.....325
Conditions for an Invisible College Fulfilled 327
Four Necessary Factors.....328
Six Characteristics 329
Conditions for Diffusion Fulfilled.....336
Relative Advantage.....337

Compatibility 338

Re-invention....340

Critical Question of Inclusion 341

Summary of Invisible College Section 343

Chapter Summary 347

CHAPTER SIX – CONCLUSIONS....370

Reframing the Paradigm – Trends in Scholarship 370

Japanization and Pan-Asian Perspective 371

Reinvention Points....373

Shifting of Japan-U.S. Relationship 375

Implications and Applications 376

Unity Continues with No Split in Sight....377

Synergy of Two Academic Associations....378

Cultural Studies....380

Rikkyo University's Indigenous Degrees 381

Holistic Trend: Whole Person and Globalism 382

Two Major Directions 383

The Four Tracks Includes Environmental Communication....383

The Whole Person....384

Conclusions for Diffusion Theory 387

Conclusions About the Invisible College....389

Limitations and Future Research 390

Rikkyo University Graduates 392

Female Majority 392

Differences in Development in Japan and the United States 393

Other Conclusions.....393

The Intercultural Communication Field in Japan 395

APPENDICES.....400

APPENDIX A LIST OF INFORMANTS.....401

APPENDIX B CONSENT FORMS 406

APPENDIX C MAP OF JAPAN SHOWING REGIONS.....413

APPENDIX D THE SIMUL PRESS IDEAL 415

APPENDIX E MITSUKO SAITO, LEARNING TO COMMUNICATE ARTICLE 417

APPENDIX F MITSUKO SAITO, GENERAL SEMANTICS AND INTERCULTURAL COMMUNICATION ARTICLE 423

APPENDIX G SIETAR JAPAN MISSION STATEMENT 427

APPENDIX H INTERCULTURAL COMMUNICATION STUDIES FOR A SUSTAINABLE FUTURE BY KEN-ICHI NODA 430

APPENDIX I INTERCULTURAL COMMUNICATION AS A BRIDGE BETWEEN JAPAN AND THE WORLD BY KUMIKO TORIKAI 434

APPENDIX J HISTORY OF ICC IN THE U.S. 1945-2005.....438

APPENDIX K EARLY AND CONTEMPORARY PHOTOS OF ICU GROUNDS, BUILDINGS, PEOPLE, AND CAMPUS 444

REFERENCES 451

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1. The Hōshū no Tama by Mitsuko Saito..... xxiii

Figure 2. Places Where Educated Outside Japan.....202

Figure 3. The Postwar Period Timeline, 1945 – 1976.....137

Figure 4. Mitsuko Saito's Extensive Professional Networks ..... **Error! Bookmark not defined.**

Figure 5. Line of American Scholars Invited to Teach at ICU.....178

Figure 6. The Japan, Inc. Timeline, 1977 – 1989 193

Figure 7. The Lost Decade Timeline, 1989 – 1999 214

Figure 8. Global Soft Power Timeline, 2000 – (2006) 258

Figure 9. The Invisible College Depicting Central Figures and Generations (Invisible College – Generations).....298

Figure 10. Universities by Region in the Invisible College.....314

Figure 11. University Venues in Metropolitan Tokyo for Intercultural Communication Exchange 317

Figure 12. Three Important Academic Associations – Gakkai.....322

LIST OF TABLES

Table 1. Central Figures of the Four Generations. 126

Table 2. Four Historical Periods and Related Generation Categories 124

Table 3. Major Events in the Development of Intercultural Communication in Japan ..163

Table 4. Textbook Series Authored by Japanese Scholars 210

Figure 1. **The Hōshū no Tama by Mitsuko Saito**

AUTHOR NOTES

Japanese Names and Words

All Japanese names are being written with the given name first and the family name last. This is in the American custom rather than the Japanese custom where family names come first; however, Japanese tend to use the reverse order when publishing or presenting in English so I followed their choice on this matter. Japanese typically do not have middle names.

Names of individuals and places are spelled according to their practice, which may vary from usual spelling. Keep in mind that there are various ways to spell Japanese names and words, including hyphenation, as it is does not use the alphabet and there have been several transliteration standards.

Japanese Pronunciation

Pronunciation of Japanese follows the vowel sounds of romance languages: a, i, u, e, o including vowels at the ends of words. There are some long, drawn out vowel sounds as well as consonants. I followed the most prevalent transliteration system so that for long vowels, I entered vowels showing straight lines, macrons, above them for indication, such as *ō*. For long consonants there is a doubling of the consonant such as *kk*.

The macrons over vowels were used if the word is not found in an American English dictionary. The macron was used for a place name that requires it unless the place itself does not use the macron on their website or in publications.

Japanese Words Italicized

Japanese words unfamiliar outside of Japan are italicized and continue to be italicized throughout the text. A glossary of frequently used Japanese vocabulary is provided.

Any Japanese words that are commonly found in an American English dictionary are written as found there and without italics.

No Use of Japanese Script

I chose not to write Japanese terms or titles in the Japanese language. The Japanese words and terms were always written according to Japanese pronunciation in the alphabet. I did not insert Japanese because 1) this study is being published in English, in the United States, 2) any Japanese readers are also able to read the alphabetized versions, 3) I was not sure if the Japanese writing system would appear correctly, and 4) additional text would take up a lot of space that that most people would skip because they cannot read it.

The one exception was when I wrote the term *ibunka komyunikeishon* (the standard term for Intercultural Communication) as it would be written in Japanese in a footnote to show it in case a reader were interested to see it.

Gender Indication

In the interest of indicating gender, which would not be readily apparent to an American reader, Appendix A List of Informants includes that information.

Capitalization of Intercultural Communication

When referring to the field or discipline, Intercultural Communication is capitalized. When referring to everyday interaction, it is not capitalized. The same is true

for the discipline's name in Japanese. Ibunka Komyunikeishon is capitalized and not italicized.

Reference to Foreigners as Non-Japanese

I chose to use the term *non-Japanese* when referring to those who are not Japanese but are, or have been, residents of Japan. I chose to use the term *foreigners* when referring to people who are not Japanese and come to or relate to Japan from outside or visit Japan for a short time.

Use of *American(s*)

Any reference to *Americans* in the text is to be understood as *United States Americans*, *Americans from the United States* or *U.S. Americans*. At one point in the text, I talked about Latin American soccer players.

Rock in front of ICU Tea Hut Taizanso. Photo by D.W. Rackham, 2005.

GLOSSARY OF JAPANESE VOCABULARY

Here are basic meanings of words and terms frequently used in this study. Within the text, the definition is given at the first time of usage. This glossary may be used for quick reference. The definitions here are generally without additional cultural or historical explanations, or literal translation. Some concepts in Japanese culture and communication were defined and discussed in the text at one point only; they are not listed here.

anime shortened from animation, a particular Japanese style of animation film now well known around the world, probably included in current English dictionaries

daigaku college or university

endaka means *high yen* and refers to the era of the high value of the yen against the dollar that started in 1986 and continues

furītā refers to people, especially younger people, who work freelance or part-time at various jobs as they need to work. Similar to the idea of *freelance* in English. Companies do not give benefits to them, and can add to and subtract from the work force as needed. As *furītā* get older, they usually cannot find full-time jobs with benefits. It is also hard, if not impossible, to plan to have a family, purchase a house, and even to move out of their parents' home.

gairai-go words originally from foreign languages, usually English, and used in Japanese usually for the same or similar meaning, sometimes for a related or unique meaning. Written in the *katakana* script.

gakkai an officially recognized academic association

gaku meaning of field or discipline of study, sometimes used for a university department or division name, sometimes refers to an entire school or university

Heisei the reign name of the current Emperor. Written with two *kanji* and means "peace everywhere." Used to count the years of the year. Heisei 1 was 1989. 2009 is Heisei 21. This way of referring to time and eras is used for traditional purposes and sometimes interchangeably with the Western calendar years.

Ibunka Komyunikeishon the term decided on for Intercultural Communication, the discipline and paradigm. Created by Gyo Furuta in the mid-1980s based on previously used terms and communicability. Capitalized to indicate the field and discipline within the text.

kanji one of the three ways of writing within the writing system. Usually called *characters* in English. Borrowed from Chinese starting in the 7th century and incorporated into the Japanese writing system, despite the fact that the two languages are in completely different families of language. Each *kanji* has at least two pronunciations in Japanese, one is derived from Chinese and one is the Japanese word. A high school graduate should know 1,945 *kanji*, the list that was decided in 1981. It had a slight increase in number and some revisions from the list of the Postwar Period. However, in 2009, another revision is in process that will add more kanji and make other revisions. Newspapers may use the approved *kanji*. *Kanji* outside that list must be accompanied by a pronunciation guide called *furigana*.

karō-shi refers to phenomenon of sudden death, usually heart attack, from over work. This is a word that began to be used in recent years when families began to sue corporations for ordering and expecting too many continuous hours of work that led to

the death of husbands/fathers.

katakana one of the three ways of writing within the writing system. Katakana is a syllabary system, with 45 basic symbols and additional variations for each symbol to represent different sounds. Each symbol has a sound but no inherent meaning, similar to the alphabet symbols. Katakana is used particularly (not exclusively) to write foreign names and foreign words borrowed for use in Japanese (*gairai-go*).

kikoku shijo in English is *returnees*, the children who grew up and were educated at least partially outside of Japan, especially those who attended international or local schools. Therefore, they have been less socialized in Japanese behavior and are less fluent in Japanese, especially verbal skills. Although the term refers to both boys and girls, it has come to be thought of as referring to girls as they are the majority of returnees. They have faced many difficulties back in Japan ranging from teasing to bullying. However, some have used their international education to their advantage. Some universities, ICU was one of the first, have accommodated them.

kokusai-ka means *internationalization.*

manga refers to Japanese style comics. There are many genres and artists, and themes. Not only are they popular around the world, American and other artists also produce Japanese style *manga*. This word may now be in English dictionaries.

otaku recent meaning for a traditional word with a different meaning. The recent meaning refers to young men who are totally absorbed by video games and their computers and therefore stay at home. There is concern that such young men do not have social skills.

ron means *essay* or *topic*, singular or plural. When used for the term Nihonjin-ron, refers to essays and books about Japanese character, culture, and identity, usually with emphasis on unique qualities and by foreigners. There was a boom in interest starting in the mid-1970s and has never stopped although not quite the boom it was. The other importance for this study is the difference in the terms *gaku* and *ron* for evidence of recognition of the Intercultural Communication field. Courses and the field were always referred to as *ron* until there are some examples of a change to *gaku* around 2004. That means a recognition that Intercultural Communication is not only about some topics, but also a real field of study.

salariman derived from *salaried man* in English. Refers to all men working for a salary at a company.

shin-jinrui started to be used in the 1980s to refer to the younger generation as literally *a new type of human being.* Expressed the generation gap.

Shōwa The reign and era name of the years under the previous emperor, father of the current emperor, also his posthumous name. He was known as Emperor Hirohito in the West. He ascended the throne in 1925 and died on January 7, 1989. His reign was the longest in Japanese history. The meaning of Shōwa, Enlightened Peace, did not describe the militarist and war years. Hirohito denounced his divinity at the order of the American Occupation; General MacArthur allowed him to stay on the throne and continue the royal family line although the aristocracy was abolished.

ICU is famous as a *sakura* (cherry blossom) viewing *hanami* spot.

PREFACE

This story is also my story. I began to talk about Intercultural Communication in Japan probably in 1980. No one knew what I was talking about. There was no term in Japanese.

No one had heard of Intercultural Communication and each time I met someone I had to explain that no, I am not an English teacher and attempt to explain what I was teaching about. Many people gave me the benefit of the doubt. In those earlier days, during the 1980s, almost no one differentiated between language and culture. There was no exact term in Japanese; there were many terms that were floating around which fit with the interest in internationalization, *kokusai-ka*, of the times.

Around 1991, I happened to see a Japanese business magazine at a hotel where I also worked as a consultant; there was an article in it talking about several people, not in the Intercultural Communication discipline academically or in training, but some people involved in international relations. There, in the article was the first time I saw in print Ibunka Komyunikeishon 異文化コミュニケイション. I thought that was a momentous moment. The field had somehow arrived. Somehow all the possible choices for a Japanese term had jelled into that one. And that has been used ever since. I learned the entire story of this term's origins and it is in this text.

I appreciate the Japanese who created this field because of their curiosity and willingness to study in English in the United States. I appreciate that they worked hard for many years to convince administrators to add courses in Intercultural Communication to the curriculum, that they worked such long hours, that some lost their health. Their students and their students' students are the ones who are expanding and specializing and

indigenizing this discipline. They entered this field also with idealism, with hope for better relations and understanding.

I had already taught a couple of years in a university's exchange program to both newly arrived Americans and Japanese about to leave when I was recruited to teach at a women's junior college in Osaka in 1985. At that college, they had the freedom and flexibility not possible at four-year universities to start up a new department focusing on international relations and exchange, completely separate from the English language department. It was a sign of the times.

The new department was called Bunka Koryū Gakka, literally the Cultural Exchange Department. That was one of the possible terms floating around for the term, Intercultural Communication. I was the first and only non-Japanese recruited to teach in the new department. We were in a new building; I had a big office. No one really knew what I would be teaching but they left it up to me within the confines of the course titles they assigned. The students, all young women from that region, expected an English class. I would repeat the explanations and course content at other universities in the 1990s, including Kanda University of International Studies (KUIS) that figures prominently in this text.

The 1980s were a time when Japan was feeling strong and successful. It was a time when the concept of *kokusai-ka* was in the air, maybe especially in Osaka where I lived, taught, and worked. Japan was opening to the world – once again and on their terms. People around the world looked to Japan as an example of successful industrialization, modernization, management, and how to have an economy based on

capitalism but also with a safe and overwhelmingly middle-class society where innovation led the way.

Japanese products were being exported globally; Japanese were everywhere doing business, setting up factories, even throwing their weight around on the political scene (although I thought not enough). And there was a tsunami of Japanese traveling abroad for the first time ever. In large groups, small groups, then gradually individually. *Endaka* made it possible for Japanese to think nothing about price and just go to Hawaii or California or Venice. Farmers traveled in the winter; young women traveled in the summer.

And businessmen by the thousands were also being sent near and far to start-up and run subsidiaries. They then had to hire local people and figure out how to manage them. In many places there were parallel companies under one roof – the Japanese who stayed late and went out together finally returning home on that location's "Oriental Express" or if in another location with their driver. The other side of the parallel company was the locals who kept their own reasonable hours and had no idea what the Japanese were doing seemingly 24 hours a day; they tried to get along but often found it too strange.

And there was the backlash – fresh Japanese tourists were no better than others before them; managers did not know what they were doing so the phenomenon of the 'ugly Japanese' was well known. I wrote about that. The backlash came --- too many Japanese products and maybe dumping or other sneaky acts of trade. Scenes on TV of smashing a Japanese product or car. In the 1950s and into the 1960s, Japanese goods were known to be cheap, shoddy, good enough for toys and other small items, but by the

late 1970s there was a sea change happening so that Japanese products transformed into how they are known today – high quality, good design, with extras, good customer service for cars and other expensive products.

The needs for Intercultural Communication were all around. A lot of work came my way. The needs and opportunities expanded into different directions into the 1990s. I started to experiment with alternative methods such as kinetic communication to bridge the differences of language and high and low context perspectives.

The government started up programs for the reverse direction. One was the JET program where English speakers were brought to Japan and spread out all over the country to middle and high schools, and local government offices in an effort to bring English language skills for real communication to the widest swath of the population ever. Another was a program to bring in foreign opinion leaders and I played a part in that.

There is a lot more to this story. Much of it is here. I hope others will fill in more of the story. My sense of responsibility to the interviewees kept me going. That responsibility came from our long-term relationships within the Japanese context where everything is done through relationships. Listening to those stories was the best part of this research. I appreciate the trust shown in me.

I hope we all find a way to keep the transcriptions as an archive so that these stories and memories are always safe and anyone can access them. To learn how Intercultural Communication began in Japan, matured, and brought us to this point in time is important for anyone in the field. What is fascinating is how often what was old has become new again. We all need to know our roots before looking to the future.

CHAPTER ONE – INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this research study is to document the beginnings of the Intercultural Communication[1] discipline as a field of study in Japan and its subsequent development and trends, including continuity and disjunctures, against a backdrop of historical events important to Japanese society starting from the end of World War II to recent years.[2] The field's development in Japan was roughly parallel, though later, to the field's development in the United States. The history of the academic discipline of Intercultural Communication in Japan began in the Postwar Period, the later 1950s, first emerging from the historical context of Japan as a devastated nation in convergence with the social context of a population struggling to find a new way forward. Both Japanese and American scholars contributed to the establishment and development of the Intercultural Communication field over the decades.

Three research questions were posed for this study, all three asking why and how the Intercultural Communication field could become established in Japan. The first questions sought possible answers from an examination of the historical and socio-psychological contexts, the meta-level and personal level respectively, starting in the Postwar Period and continuing through the decades as challenges continued the same and new challenges arrived. The first question was to ask why the field of Intercultural Communication, with its particular assumptions, definitions, and concepts became established in Japan as the first place after the United States. Japan was so vastly different from the United States, recently vanquished and occupied by the United States. What would have been the context of Japan that welcomed and accepted this new discipline that was imported from the United States? The second question of interest was to ask

what it was about the approaches and concepts of Intercultural Communication that resonated with the Japanese on a psychological and personal level and seemed to offer some solutions to the urgent challenges of the day. As the decades passed after the initial introduction of Intercultural Communication, both persistent and emerging challenges demanded more sophisticated responses and solutions.

The third question for research was to ask how a network of scholars, known as an invisible college, formed around the emerging field of Intercultural Communication and led to its development, institutionalization, and sustainability. To document the role of the invisible college, I conducted biographical interviews for narrative inquiry and collected archival materials. Through analysis and synthesis of the data, I identified network linkage and discovered patterns of association among Japanese scholars and certain American scholars, and documented their affiliations with institutions and academic associations. Clearly, there was cohesion around a coherent invisible college network of scholars at the heart of the development of the discipline. These scholars acted to promote and advance the Intercultural Communication field through teaching, publishing, establishment of new academic associations, institutions, and support of various venues for exchange.

I further categorized the generations of scholars into four generations based on the transitioning context of the times and the events within the development of Intercultural Communication. The four generations coincided with the historical periods. Characteristics of these scholars were that the generations spanned the decades starting in the late 1950s, were from various regions of Japan, extended into the United States as they sought higher educational opportunities, and included Americans in Japan.

Five decades after the introduction of a new intellectual paradigm, Intercultural Communication, to Japan, and upon the fiftieth anniversary of the publication of *The Silent Language* (Hall, 1959), the classic text that is credited with launching the field, it is possible to affirm that the discipline of Intercultural Communication has been institutionally sustainably established. To mark the turning point of the maturation of this field in Japan, an analysis of current trends and future directions ends the study.

Intercultural Communication as a field of study took root and developed in Japan shortly after it was first identified as an emerging discipline[3] in the United States (Leeds-Hurwitz, 1990; Hart, 2001, 2005; Rogers, Hart, & Miike, 2002). Its start in Japan is owed not only to a central figure who promoted it and initiated scholarly exchanges at the individual level, but also to the meta-level societal, economic, and cultural backdrop of historical events that coincided to provide optimal timing and a welcoming context that has continued to the present time. Therefore, in addition to documenting the individual narratives of scholars central to this story, I situated the establishment of this discipline within the larger context of Japanese historical events and traced the development of this discipline against the backdrop of societal trends. While the use of the qualitative methods of narrative analysis and analysis of network data situates this study squarely in the discipline of communication, this study also serves as an historical reference for a maturing discipline that is drawing more students to it. At this stage in its development, the field is evolving to reframe the basic paradigm and expanding into new directions of complexity.

In addition, this study may be viewed as a bridge of knowledge between Japanese and American scholarship, between older and younger generations of scholars, and as an

invitation for further American and Japanese scholarly collaboration within the discipline of Intercultural Communication. Among American scholars in the Intercultural Communication discipline, there is growing interest in non-American perspectives and theories of Intercultural Communication. Recent interest in Asian perspectives of Intercultural Communication has arisen in both Japan and the United States academies.

This is a story, one of many possible interpretations, as discovered and told by me, with the assistance of many key scholars through their narratives, of how the field of Intercultural Communication came to be established in Japan, its development through the decades since the 1950s, and its continuing evolution. It will be left to others in the field to fill in what is missing here and to provide other perspectives; however, this study may serve as a starting point.

The Importance of Intellectual History

Rogers stated in the updated preface to his *A History of Communication Study* (1994, 1997) that "anyone who plunges into a new river wants to understand where the water comes from and why it flows as it does" (p. vii). When he was a student, he had wondered about the roots of the communication discipline; he later observed that his many students wondered as well. I agree with Rogers that documentation and knowledge of history are important, even while realizing that many interpretations are possible.

Nothing arrives spontaneously full-blown on the scene. There were always antecedents; there were mentors; there were events – all of which converged at a point in time to permit something of distinguishable difference to emerge that seemed to be just right for the times. A field of study is no different from other emergent histories; it is made up of people intent on finding solutions to contemporary problems.

Kiyoko Takeda, who wrote the history of the International Christian University (known both within Japan and abroad as ICU) in Tokyo at the point of its 50th anniversary (2003), talked about her decisions for writing an intellectual history of that institution by recalling the remarks of Masao Maruyama, a well known Japanese intellectual and political historian who compared the writing of intellectual history with a musician playing notes of music. She quoted Maruyama as saying that although bound by historical facts, one must engage with those facts to breathe creativity into the interpretation of history (p. 5).

Although the field of Intercultural Communication is young, and even younger in Japan, we in the field have not yet thoroughly documented its antecedents, its pioneers, or its development anywhere. Indeed, Rogers observed that the historical perspective appeared to be left out of coursework. Rogers believed in the explicit transfer of knowledge from one generation to the next and built in the history of the communication field, including specializations such as Intercultural Communication, into his courses and program of study. This narrative of the development of the Intercultural Communication field in Japan, at this point in time, is meaningful in connecting current and upcoming scholars to the history of their discipline as they proceed into the future.

Beginning of the Intercultural Communication Field

The Intercultural Communication discipline is a relatively new field of study in the American academy that has nevertheless largely matured. The discipline was introduced into Japan with little delay and is now maturing at its half-century point. This discipline emerged from the anthropology field with influences from psychology and

linguistics, in order to meet new challenges rather than by intention. Intercultural Communication was first definitively named by Edward T. Hall in the 1950s.[4]

The year of this study's completion, 2009, happens to be on the 50th anniversary of the publication of Hall's *The Silent Language*, the publication that, now with hindsight, people in the discipline designate as the inaugural point. That book and Hall's other books, now considered classics, are always in print and continue to sell well (see all of Hall's books at www.edwardthall.com). In his book that launched the field, Hall spoke about a particular way of looking at culture, the importance of culture, and the interaction of individuals of differing cultural backgrounds.

It is important to recognize that *The Silent Language* was not written quickly from superficial inquiries. As Hall struggled to make sense of his considerable data[5] (1992) that was largely based on his precise observations extending over many years of experiences, he found that synthesis proved to be difficult. He readily pointed out that being with other scholars from his own anthropology field, as well as from the fields of linguistics and psychology, while working for the Foreign Service Institute (FSI) in Washington D.C. in the 1950s (Leeds-Hurwitz, 1990), considerably assisted the process of synthesis. We see now that he stood on the shoulders of earlier anthropologists (Hart, 2001) such as Ruth Benedict and Franz Boas (Hart, 2005).

Hall did not set out to plan a new field of study,[6] but the needs of the Post World War II period in the United States and subsequent societal needs and questions prompted the evolution of a new sub-study that later settled into the communication discipline away from anthropology (see Hall; Leeds-Hurwitz, 1987,1990).

Introduction and Taking Root in Japan

One of the major questions of interest surrounding the documentation within this study is to ask why a field of study born out of the challenge of training American diplomats after World War II when the world order had so dramatically shifted to American hegemony, would find a secure place to root, geminate, and grow in the culturally and historically different place of Japan. In the 50th year since the publication of *The Silent Language*, when the Intercultural Communication discipline in Japan has developed and become established, this was an optimal time to initiate the examination of the history of the growth of this field of study. Although some of the pioneering scholars have passed from the scene, many others were still available as eye witnesses to be interviewed for this study, and the succeeding generations were also available.

Development over the years was a complex, organic process that was fostered first and foremost through the efforts and research of gifted central figures and their associates. They in turn were affiliated with institutions and organizations. There were some false starts. There were some dead ends. There were branches that did not grow. There were occasions that dampened efforts or stifled progress. But along the way, there was adequate momentum with enough people, institutions, and organizations involved. Owing to their determination and enthusiasm there is a complex and multifaceted story to be found.

Why the discipline of Intercultural Communication became strongly rooted and firmly established in Japan cannot be understood without the inclusion of the historical context that included the sociological, political, and economic aspects. Because of that historical context, Japanese society was primed for the introduction of Intercultural

Communication, but there were also interests and needs different from those found in the American context. In tracing the history of this field in Japan, although the contours of its development demonstrated some similarities to that in the United States there were some differences of objectives, focus, and research interests. As the decades passed after World War II, changing societal and international challenges presented new issues for Intercultural scholars to research.

In fact, Japan is the only nation, Western or non-Western, to embrace the official discipline of Intercultural Communication so soon after its introduction in the United States. Part of the reason was that the timing of the introduction of Intercultural Communication concepts coincided with the search for an answer to Japan's pressing needs to construct a positive post-World War II relationship with the United States, to become a full-fledged, respected member of the international community, and to find a new footing in the world economy. Over a period of time, Japanese who had some knowledge of Intercultural Communication concepts were able to assess and choose what made sense to them and then pass that learning on to others.

It must be pointed out, however, that within the awareness of the general population and the march of events of Postwar[7] Japan, Intercultural Communication as a set of concepts, let alone a field of study, represented the narrowest of scholarly interests and would rate barely a mention within the meta-history of Japan. For the purposes of this study, the introduction and development of Intercultural Communication as a discipline takes center stage in inflated proportion to the larger backdrop of history. It is also true that at this point in time, Intercultural Communication as a discipline has

achieved firm footing and expanded to the point of being noticeable and well known in Japanese society as a whole.

The question remains, therefore, of how this remarkable development to the point of general recognition and sustainability occurred, and within that story the questions of how the discipline came to Japan, from where, who the players were, and what they did. Excepting scholars in Western countries, it has been stated that the greatest number of individuals who have contributed to research and academic organizations within the Intercultural Communication discipline is found within the Japanese academy. That is evidence of the remarkable development that will be documented in this study. Not only the number, but also the sustained dedication and innovation of the scholars involved in this emerging history suggests a coherent narrative that is worth detailing.

The development of the Intercultural Communication field in Japan was not planned; nor was it linear or formally initiated by anyone at any institution. The initial development occurred as a result of informal interpersonal relationships among scholars with similar interests. That kind of development arising out of interpersonal exchange continued and will be discussed at length in the section on the invisible college in Chapter Five. As the field proceeded towards institutionalization, the generation of institutes, programs, and academic associations was more formally planned. At the beginning, through a coincidence of converging societal needs and questions in the Postwar Period that coincided with the right elements of a new and innovative university (ICU) and a freshly minted Ph.D. in speech communication who returned to Japan from the United States to teach at that new university, the environment was readied.

An Emic Approach to the Research

My approach to researching the development of the Intercultural Communication field in Japan was largely *emic*, meaning to trace and map the development from within the cultural context by asking the individuals involved to explain its establishment and development from their perspectives and memory. The emic approach to research is fundamentally important for any kind of intercultural research and for any research that focuses on a particular culture and time as this study does. My own experience in Japan allowed me to access key Japanese individuals because I knew almost all of them. And as someone involved in the Intercultural field since 1981 in Japan, although I am not Japanese, I had at least a partially emic viewpoint of the development since that time.

In order to carry out an emic approach, I interviewed a number of key individuals. More about the interviewing questions and protocol is explained in the methodology chapter, Chapter Four. Part of the interviewing process and collection of materials for compiling first-hand accounts involved researching the establishment of key institutions, academic associations, and to a certain extent, other organizations such as publishing houses and training consultancies. All of these first-hand accounts and primary sources were woven together into a narrative that tells a coherent story of the discipline's development through the years beginning in the late 1950s, continuing in detail until 2006, in Chapter Five – Findings, and ending with commentary about trends and projected directions for the future in Chapter Six -- Conclusions.

To do justice to the emic viewpoint, due consideration regarding how the Intercultural field became situated within the larger Japanese historical and social context of the times was imperative; otherwise, the resulting narrative would have no connection

to the times or to society, and would have no meaning as an historical narrative. The historical context is therefore included as a continuous backdrop to the findings throughout Chapter Five – Findings. More will be explained about the threads of connection that flow between the larger historical context and the data gathered about the discipline's development.

Organization of the Study

In view of the complexity of this study, owing to the many individuals and their activities that it encompasses, I decided to refer to the technique used by Schramm in his role as editor of the *International Encyclopedia of Communication* (1988) and by Rogers in his *History of Communication Study* (1994, 1997, pp. 465-467). Following these scholars, I sought to reveal and trace historical linkages in both the metaphorical and practical meanings of *palimpsest*.[8]

Rather than attempting to fit all the complexities of multiple time periods into one graphic, as was done for the preliminary study (Kawakami, 2004), my solution was to focus on different parts of the story of development, such as central figures, linkages among scholars, institutions, changes over time periods, and so on. Chapter Five -- Findings includes graphic figures that illustrate various networks and the links within the networks, as well as tables listing significant activities relating to the main topics.

I attempted to view the complexity of this development narrative from both organic and mechanical, and both analog and digital, approaches. That meant viewing the combination of many networks in the way of a traffic grid, or discussing the complexity of the networks and events akin to what might be discovered in a quilt of many patches where each square has a unique design.

There are multiple ways that such a story with so many networks and connecting historical facts could be sub-divided and explained. I chose to focus on a time continuum component, to illustrate how, over time, for example, the movement of individuals back and forth to the United States and Japan as well as within Japan promoted and developed the Intercultural field. Other points of focus were inclusion of regional institutions and scholars outside of Tokyo, attention to early and continuing connections to other fields of study in Japan, and tracking the affiliations and publications of central figures.

The Intercultural Communication field in Japan had imprecise boundaries from the beginning of its introduction. Almost from the beginning, and certainly more clearly since 1980, Intercultural training and business consulting was a significant endeavor in Japan that engaged many people, including many who shifted back and forth between the academy and the corporate world.[9] Although the training and consulting part of the story of the development of the Intercultural field in Japan was important, I judged that adding in the entire story of training and consulting would prove unwieldy. I made the decision to construct parameters for this study so that focus was on the academy, although there is mention of important contributors and contributions from the training realm. Many of those individuals in training participated in both the academic and corporate worlds; one of the academic organizations in particular invited researchers, educators, and trainers to membership. To add that part of the historical narrative, I invite someone to document the establishment and development of the Intercultural Communication training and consulting area in Japan.

As I stated above, the historical backdrop was also an important and essential feature of this story. The historical context, including sociological, economic, educational,

and psychological aspects folded into the Findings Chapter. As I proceeded chronologically through time after World War II, I first provided a meta-view of the historical context relating to Japan in the Postwar Period, and then for the first decades when the roots for the establishment of the Intercultural Communication discipline in Japan were established. This meta-view of history made it possible to better understand the context that made the establishment of the Intercultural Communication field in Japan possible, relevant to the first research question. Unlike any other country, introduction of the field in Japan was almost parallel to that in the United States.

I applied four historical periods to the contextual backdrop for this study and proceeded to outline events and trends for the decades after the Postwar Period. I continued to identify significant events and trends in the historical and social context at the meta-level that impacted Japanese society and psyche through the decades. Details and trends of the sociological and psychological levels were included in order to seek answers to the second research question that asked how well the tenets of Intercultural Communication resonated with Japanese cultural perspective and how its concepts offered solutions to the challenging societal questions of the day.

The specific history of the Intercultural field in Japan began in the Postwar Period and continued through the decades. After outlining aspects of the historical context for each of the historical periods as the backdrop, I explained and detailed the relevant developments of the Intercultural Communication field. I divided the history of the Intercultural field into four generations, each with their own characteristics, with almost the same dates as the historical periods. Important milestones marked its growth through the decades. Many of these events are catalogued specifically in several tables in Chapter

Five. As the specific history of the Intercultural Communication field was documented and discussed, I then connected those developments to the historical context's events and trends.

As I began this study, one of the pioneering scholars died and others were rapidly approaching retirement. Although a study conducted earlier might have produced the optimum report, this study was not too late to encompass eyewitness chronicles of earlier decades and primary information. One of the individuals, Mitsuko Saito, whom I identified as a key early figure, passed away in February 2004 so it was not possible to interview her for this study. Although not one of Saito's students, I did personally know her[10]and worked with her on some of her business projects of her later years. I also had access to many of her contemporary colleagues and some of her students.

In planning the interviewing process, I ensured input from a wide spectrum of scholars in the discipline in order to compose the best possible historical representation of the evolution of Intercultural Communication studies in Japan. The entire process yielded information and insights, pointed me to parallel connections of the development of the field in the United States, and brought forth some surprises.

Personal Involvement and Positioning

Starting in 1981, I have played an active part in the development of this field of Intercultural Communication study in Japan. I was originally from the Midwestern part of the United States and hold an American passport. During my adult life, I have lived outside the United States for thirty years, in addition to Japan, in Canada and the United Kingdom, and traveled extensively. This study was feasible owing to my lengthy

residence in Japan of over twenty years[11] and my international, interdisciplinary background that spans the Pacific Ocean.

My first stay in Japan was the summer of 1977, which was after finishing an undergraduate degree in Japanese & Asian Studies and working for a large Japanese corporation in Canada. I resided in Japan in several locations starting in 1979 with a few short periods outside Japan in other localities. I was granted permanent status in 1997.[12] Since mid-2000, I have resided in New Mexico, USA for most of the year, spending about ten weeks of the year in Japan. Owing to my years of involvement with the spectrum of Intercultural Communication activities in Japan, I was and remain personally curious about this story of the discipline's establishment in Japan and therefore interested in how to bring clarity to it.

My long involvement with the spectrum of Intercultural Communication in Japan included education, career, and personal life; my career straddled different sectors of the field that spanned academia, business, and government. In addition to Intercultural Communication, my multidisciplinary background included other communication sectors (media studies, broadcasting, public relations, writing), business administration, managing across cultural boundaries, marketing, and negotiation.

My career included teaching Intercultural Communication at Japanese universities in the large urban areas, teaching Intercultural management for two MBA programs of American schools in Japan, corporate Intercultural and communication training, corporate, government and third sector consulting, and leadership positions for several academic and professional organizations. I gave many presentations and workshops for both the academy and public, published in both academic and business outlets, and

belonged to networks of Intercultural Communication scholars and practitioners in Japan. Personal experience included intensive study of Japanese traditional arts and belonging to a Japanese family. I was fluent enough[13] in Japanese that I was often asked to be a keynote speaker, or panelist, or the only non-Japanese member on a number of councils and think tank committees, especially in the Osaka region where I lived in the 1980s.

This extensive outline of my past experience is included here to make the point, in addition to some demonstration of credibility, that my everyday life was lived deeply among Japanese requiring cultural and lingual knowledge for every kind of day to day situation in the academy, business world, governmental level, community, and family. In other words, I was not employed by an American corporation or the American military. I received no sponsorship from any American entity and whatever employment I found was the result of my own application and the assistance of well-placed Japanese in my expanding network of personal contacts.

I have been a part of the growth of the Intercultural field in Japan for over 25 years, from a time when the field was basically unknown and when no decision had been made as to what to call this discipline in Japanese, to the present, when numerous colleges offer coursework and the first doctoral program has been established. I believe in the importance of documenting how the discipline evolved through the method of talking to as many of the pioneering and succeeding scholars as possible just as Rogers did in his history (1994, 1997).

It was Rogers who, in our early discussions about this project, postulated that being an American with many years of residence in Japan who had been a part of the Intercultural Communication field and network in Japan, and had personally participated

in many of the major events within the Intercultural Communication discipline, I would be uniquely qualified to write on the development of the Intercultural Communication discipline in Japan. He surmised that I would be able to gain access and conduct research that very few others could.[14] Indeed, that turned out to be the case overall. Only one individual, previously not in my circle of contacts, declined to be interviewed. Owing to scheduling difficulties I was unable to interview three Japanese scholars whom it would have been advantageous to include although I met two of them briefly at conferences.

Having been a part of the Intercultural field in Japan for many years meant that I knew almost all of the scholars it was important to interview for this study. My contacts in the Intercultural Communication discipline arose from being a participant at major conferences over the years, being a member of the major academic associations that provide conference venues and publications for this discipline, and being a university colleague with some of the scholars. Indeed, because I was well acquainted with almost all of the Japanese scholars and American scholars who played major roles in this discipline, and through them gained introductions to the few other scholars thought to be key actors, and access to some upcoming new scholars, I was able to interview generations of scholars, both in Japan and the United States. With help from all of them, I also collected many archival materials to supplement the interviews. That I already had long-standing relationships with most of the scholars with whom I was requesting interview appointments greatly facilitated the interviewing process although there were also many challenges that are outlined in Chapter Four on Methodology.

Although no process is perfect, I evaluate the interviews as very successful in gaining in-depth and candid content. True, it may be said that my choices and decisions

for the design of this study were probably influenced by my subjective experience and by my personal network of scholars and that these influences affected the outcome. Therefore, the interpretations of the narratives and materials compiled for this study are mine and will be open to criticism and review. I invite other scholars to provide their own unique perspectives to this story of the development of the Intercultural field in Japan.

Through the years, one does not normally stop to reflect on the entire structure of a field one is involved in and how it developed. Upon Rogers' encouragement, I had the opportunity not only to reflect on my own experience within the context of the development of the field in Japan, but also to interview key individuals about their own specific roles within this development. It was my intention to provide a compilation of many interviews with key scholars, the majority Japanese and some American. In the process, what emerged was a more complete picture of the development of this discipline within Japan than had been previously documented.

It was a fascinating and rewarding experience to interview individuals whom I had known for years. However, as is usual in a relationship, I had not known their chronological life story or all their motivations. I am grateful to all the colleagues who so generously gave me their time and shared their memories. In addition, many gave me materials that are not available elsewhere. Judging from their many expressions of thanks, those colleagues seemed to have also valued the opportunity to remember and share inspirations and motives. I very much appreciate each and every one of those colleagues for their undying enthusiasm and drive to use all of their gifts and efforts to bring about better intercultural understanding.

A Model for Inquiry

This study, its parameters and methodology, was modeled after Rogers' work on the documentation of the communication field of study (1994, 1997). His research design provided me with an approach and methodology that used personal interviews, conference proceedings, secondary published sources, and archival sources. I modeled his methods in order to weave a narrative about the people and institutions involved in building the discipline of Intercultural Communication in Japan.

Little has been published about the history of the Intercultural Communication discipline in Japan. One article with Rogers as the lead author was published before I ever thought about this topic for myself (Rogers, Hart, & Miike, 2002; Kawakami, 2006). Rogers was interested in the topic because he saw the need to disseminate knowledge about other perspectives, outside the United States, and the global nature of Intercultural Communication as a discipline. He encouraged me to call on my experience and utilize my collegial network in Japan to produce a detailed study.[15]

Working closely with Rogers in the earliest stage of this study, I conducted and presented preliminary research on this topic. Included in the outcome of that research was the first version, a simpler version, of the network of associations, the invisible college. That view of the network of scholars considerably expanded as I continued the research. The network's growing complexity led me to the decision to present the findings as a series of layers with separate focus on people, institutions, or academic organizations in turn, and with some perception of the passage of time periods. These layers of the networks are presented in Chapter Five.

Establishment and Growth

The scholars who fostered the Intercultural Communication field in Japan and witnessed its growth over the years, including myself, did not stop to document how it happened. Now that this discipline has begun to mature, its initial years and subsequent development deserve documentation. There had always been intercultural communication of course, that is, interaction among people with different cultural dimensions and backgrounds, but the establishment of an academic discipline of Intercultural Communication in Japan may be traced back to the late 1950s to an individual, Mitsuko Saito. Having just returned from advanced study in the United States with a degree in speech, Saito began teaching at the newly established ICU on the edge of metropolitan Tokyo in 1958[16].

It is thought that Saito was the first professor in Japan to offer courses specifically in communication that also encompassed Intercultural Communication. That blurring of the line between communication topics and intercultural communication topics was one that would and does continue. Saito subsequently tapped her connections at Northwestern to bring a line of American scholars to ICU, one after the other, that continued for several decades. The American scholars introduced specific research and concepts; their continuous presence energized the field. ICU's two pioneering conferences in the 1970s, one of the outcomes of Saito's energy and interest in those early days, were reputed to be the first such conferences anywhere, including the United States, with Intercultural Communication as the unifying discipline.

In the early decades, through the 1980s, the study of Intercultural Communication gradually spread to other schools and jelled into a small but recognizable field. The

field's assumptions, literature, and methodologies were largely continued to be based on American precedents. Beginning in the mid-1980s, academic associations started up, the first was a branch of an American organization that celebrated its 20th anniversary in 2005. The most recent associations, established in 2002 and 2004, are indigenous and conduct all proceedings in Japanese. All have provided conference venues for papers and exchange. Publishing for the Intercultural field in Japan first focused on translations of American books; then Japanese authored books were important contributions. Another milestone, in 1998, was the International Congress for SIETAR International[17] (Society of Intercultural Education, Training, and Research based in the United States), that convened in Asia for the first time. It drew scholars from every region of Japan, as well as from the United States, Europe, and Asia. As early as 1990, a few scholars began to speculate about how a Japan or Asia-centric Intercultural discipline based on an indigenous or Buddhist worldview would contrast with the American-centric, and Euro-centric, approach.

Changes in research interests, methodologies, and assumptions within the field of Intercultural Communication in Japan were consistent with changes and trends in Japanese society and Japan's global standing. Future changes can be expected to continue to reflect changes in Japanese society. In April of 2002, a Japanese university, Rikkyo University (also known as St. Paul's), admitted the first class of master students to specialize in Intercultural Communication. Then soon after, in April 2004, the first class of doctoral students entered.

Summary

The introduction, development, and establishment of the Intercultural Communication field in Japan was almost parallel to that in the United States. One individual, Mitsuko Saito, who began teaching at the newly established International Christian University began to include Intercultural topics in her courses at the same time that Edward T. Hall was about to publish his groundbreaking work *The Silent Language* in 1959. Starting from that modest beginning, Intercultural Communication as a discipline proceeded to draw more scholars and students who then created more opportunities for exchange and collaboration. Gradually, the pieces needed for institutional recognition came into place.

At this time, the 50th anniversary of the publication of The Silent Language and just over 50 years since Saito initiated her teaching career, it is fitting to take a close look at the history and development of this field. The timing for this study allowed me to interview almost all of the early pioneers of this discipline and colleagues or students of those who had passed away. I was also able to interview scholars who would soon retire. The narratives they related to me formed the basis for the details that will be found here both in the text and the graphic representations of the networks that facilitated development.

Three research questions were asked for this study. These questions asked *why, what* and *how* regarding the establishment of Intercultural Communication as a discipline in Japan. The first question was to ask why the field of Intercultural Communication, with its particular assumptions, definitions, and concepts became established in Japan as the first place after the United States. The second question of interest was to ask what it

was about the approaches and concepts of Intercultural Communication that resonated with the Japanese on a psychological and personal level and seemed to offer some solutions to the urgent challenges of the day. To approach these two questions, I thought it was essential to outline the historical context that included the sociological, political, and economic aspects of Japan through the decades. Although individual actions were important, without that context, the discipline of Intercultural Communication could not have become strongly rooted and firmly established in Japan.

The third question for research was to ask how a network of scholars, known as an invisible college, formed around the emerging field of Intercultural Communication and led to its development, institutionalization, and sustainability. The formation of a dynamic network of scholars was at the heart of the development of the discipline. From this invisible college emerged all the *hows*, the ways that the diffusion of Intercultural Communication occurred over time and has come to be a recognized and sustainable discipline in Japan.

Having documented the development and establishment of this discipline, it is possible to affirm that Intercultural Communication as a field of study has been institutionally and sustainably established. To mark the turning point of the maturation of this field in Japan, an accounting of current trends and future directions ends the study. The field appears to be evolving in the direction of reframing the basic paradigm to be more appropriate for Japan. It is also expanding into new directions of complexity to meet current challenges. The history of Intercultural Communication in Japan may be of most interest to Intercultural scholars in Japan, but the historical outline may also be of some interest to scholars in the United States who would like to better understand the

international dimensions of the Intercultural studies field or would like to access the invisible college network for the advancement of research agendas.

---

[1] The capitalization of *Intercultural Communication* is intended to differentiate it as a separate term and refer to the field of study, the discipline within the academy, and will be used in this way throughout this study. I also capitalized the first word, *Intercultural*, when shortening the term or referring to scholars in the field as in *Intercultural scholars*. Occasionally, when referring to everyday interactions and not as a term, the words will not be capitalized.

[2] The parameter of years covered by this study, referred to as 'recent" or "present," is approximately to 2006. A few facts about events up to mid-2009 have been included.

[3].Hall, often cited as the founder of the Intercultural Communication field, did not have the intention of initiating a new discipline. It took well over a decade before courses were taught or programs offered by institutions in the United States, and that process is still continuing (see Hall, Rogers, Hart).

[4] Although Hall is rightly credited with using the term *Intercultural Communication* for his new perspective and concepts about culture, other anthropologists had used the actual term earlier. For example, Ruth Benedict, about a generation older than Hall, used the term *intercultural communication* in her article of 1941 on racial relations in the United States as a descriptive term along with other descriptors, not as the labeling of a separate approach. That Benedict article is an indication that Hall knew of the term as it was used generally (Hall studied under Benedict at Columbia University), but his innovation was to define the term in a specific sense. (See Hall, Rogers, Hart).

[5] Hall wrote about his writing challenges in his autobiography *An Anthropology of Everyday Life* (1992).

[6] Hall always identified himself as an anthropologist and was very modest about his contributions to Intercultural Communication. He never asserted or recognized himself as the initiator of a new discipline (personal communications).

[7] "Postwar" in this study always refers to the period after World War II, called the Pacific War (Taiheiyō Sensō) in Japanese.

[8] A *palimpsest*, literally in Greek "to scrape away," referred to an early practice of somehow erasing earlier writing in order to re-use the material, usually parchment, for new writing. Nowadays, ultraviolent light may be used to discover the original writing beneath later writing. Schramm and Rogers were fascinated with this technique and turned it into a metaphor for the idea of peeling back the layers of history to find out what had happened and who was connected to whom.

[9] I was one of those people who consistently had one foot in academia and one foot in the 'real' world of local and international business, and government endeavors starting in 1981.

[10] Dr. Saito knew of the plan for this study. In early January of 2004, I called her to request a spring interview during my next trip to Japan. Unfortunately, she passed away shortly after my phone call.

[11] I continue to maintain my permanent resident status in Japan and reside in Japan during part the year. When in Japan, I participate in events in Intercultural Communication and see colleagues who were also informants for this study.

[12] Permanent residency status in Japan is equivalent to having Green Card status in the United States.

[13] To answer the question of fluency requires different answers in English and Japanese due to cultural differences in self-promotion. For Americans, even a barely proficient individual will usually reply, "yes, fluent!" with great confidence. A Japanese, when asked about fluency in a second language, would, even if obviously bilingual, reply something like, "Not at all. I am still trying." In an attempt to balance these two expectations, I chose to write a non-emotional statement about supposed fluency without explanation of the many variations of fluency.

[14] Rogers had a long standing interest in the theory of the Stranger first postulated by Simmel which I shared. My status in Japan as an insider-outsider facilitated my access and research and will be further discussed in Chapter Four.

[15] Everett Rogers was my adviser until his death in October 2004. He was the first person to suggest that I seriously pursue the detailed study of the history of the Intercultural Communication field in Japan. He believed that I would be able to build on my preliminary study by interviewing many scholars and accessing many archival materials.

[16] The school year in Japan begins in April and although ICU allowed some students and perhaps foreign professors to begin in September, Mitsuko Saito probably joined the faculty in April of 1958. She obtained both her MA and Ph.D. in Speech from Northwestern University, in Evanston, Illinois. I did not find a record of the exact year of her degree or when she returned to Japan. However, she probably finished her studies in late 1957 or early 1958 and returned to Japan.

[17] I was one of the main organizers for this International Congress. We all worked for two years on the planning to prepare for it.

CHAPTER TWO – LITERATURE REVIEW

Narrative Paradigm

As I planned to conduct a number of interviews with scholars who played important roles in the establishment and development of the Intercultural Communication field in Japan and use their narratives as the foundation of tracing their networks and activities, it seemed useful to explore the framework and concept of the narrative paradigm, well explicated and developed by Fisher (1984, 1987, 1988), and discussed by other scholars (See Burke, Barthes, Bateson, Ong, Polkinghorne, White). The narrative paradigm is necessarily connected to the methodology of using narrative analysis as the base for findings and conclusions in this study. In this chapter, I recount the findings of Fisher, Burke, and several Japanese scholars, in order to assess the use of narrative for making sense of historical events. I was also interested in how they evaluated the cross-cultural use of the narrative paradigm, especially the appropriateness of its use for research about developments within Japan.

Defining the Narrative Paradigm

Fisher (1984, 1987, 1988), drew on the work and ideas of other scholars such as Burke, Bormann, Frentz, and Farrell (Hollihan, 1988) from a variety of disciplines such as political science, anthropology, English, history, law and philosophy (Hollihan). Fisher proposed the conceptual framework of the narrative paradigm in the mid-1980s in order to answer some of his concerns arising from the use of the positivist, rational-world paradigm[1] for assessing and understanding discourse. Fisher thought that a rational or argumentative framework was inadequate for explaining why people act out communicative experiences and believe in them in the ways that they do.

The *narrative paradigm* is a conceptual framework that includes all communicative acts and discourse and contributes to understanding why people believe and act as they do. Fisher specifically defined *paradigm* as "a representation designed to formalize the structure of a component of experience and to direct understanding and inquiry into the nature and functions of that experience" (1984, p.2).

Four Questions

Fisher posed four questions about communication that led him to propose the narrative paradigm. Fisher's questions were as follows:

1) How do people believe and act upon communicative experience?
2) What is the rationality that people use to assess communicative experience?
3) What do values have to do with the decisions people make as a result of communicative experience?
4) How can rationality and values be assessed and evaluated?

Fisher used the term narrative, as in narrative paradigm, in a particular way that he went to pains to define. For understanding Fisher's definition of narrative, one must conceive of the term narrative as having a hierarchical set of meanings that, proceeding from bottom to top, become more generalized, with Fisher's narrative paradigm at the top. His narrative paradigm always referred to "a conceptual framework for understanding human decision, discourse, and action" (p. 50).

Four Assumptions

Fisher's strong assumptions underlay the narrative paradigm. Those four assumptions are that 1) all human beings are *homo narrans,* 2) all communicative acts are

narrative, 3) the reasons that people believe and act are tied to values that in turn are the "good reasons" for their action, and 4) people use narrative rationality (or logic) to assess and evaluate all the narratives.

Fisher's main idea for the narrative paradigm was that all people in the world are storytellers, *homo narrans*, and communicate through narrative. Therefore, according to Fisher, all discourse is narrative and so includes rational, argumentative, and technical discourse. The narrative paradigm is very holistic and inclusive of complementary factors. Fisher described the narrative paradigm as inclusive of both emotion and intellect, both verbal and nonverbal modes of communication, and both imaginative and rational aspects of communication.

One more important part of the narrative paradigm is the connection to values that it demonstrates. Fisher thought that the rational paradigm did not take values into account and therefore could not adequately explain people's beliefs and actions. Fisher stated that people believe and act based on a set of values and whenever encountering a narrative, meaning any discourse according to Fisher, all people have the inherent ability to use narrative rationality to evaluate that narrative.

Coherence and Fidelity

Fisher explained that narrative rationality has two main parts. The first, coherence, has to do with the internal consistency of a narrative and in turn has three parts. Internal coherence regards the consistency of the structure – does the narrative hang together? The second is external or material coherence – are all the facts included and correct? The third is character. Are the character's choices and actions believable? Fidelity was explained as the idea that people compare a new story[2] to all other stories

they know and proceed to decide whether the new story "rings true" compared to the other, older stories.

Fisher's premise was that all people, including Japanese of course, have the inherent ability to exercise coherence and fidelity to assess narratives because people, as *homo narrans*, have been listening to stories since infancy and therefore know enough stories so that they can make comparisons with what they already know to be true.

Criticism of Fisher's Paradigm

A major weakness of Fisher's definition of narrative paradigm was that his definition was easily confused with other, long-standing definitions for the same term of "narrative." Somewhat unfortunately, Fisher developed the narrative paradigm by using the same term "narrative" and adding one more definition to the two already used. Fisher faced critical voices by reiterating his own definition of narrative and then contrasting his definition with the two other, more usual definitions. The first of the more usual definitions refers to the traditional narrative form, which may have many manifestations in different times and places; the second usual definition is the genre of narration (1988).

Controversy and Confusion

Criticism of Fisher's ideas seemed to arise partly out of a misunderstanding of what he was including in his definition and whether narrative could really be said to supersede other forms of discourse (Rowland, 1987). And there was the additional criticism of the limitation of narrative paradigm for assessing certain types of discourse such as fantasy (Rowland, 1989). Both Rowland (1989) and Warnick (1987) pointed out that the narrative paradigm had internal contradictions and inconsistencies that prevented a critical assessment of narratives.

Rowland (1987, 1989) appeared to exhibit confusion over the actual meaning of narrative as defined by Fisher, even while raising some issues regarding the narrative paradigm. Fisher's response (1989) was an attempt to clarify the way he understood the term "narrative" and to explain how the same term can be used for three different meanings, which are levels of abstraction.

To answer all his critics, Fisher explained that the first definition, to be called *narrative-1*, refers to individuated stories; the second definition, called *narrative-2*, refers to the genre or type of discourse; the third definition, Fisher's contribution, is *narrative-3* and refers to the narrative paradigm (1988, p.50). Whereas it is somewhat confusing to have the same term apply to three different levels of abstraction, Fisher expected that with time, people would come to understand the differences. He refuted Rowland's objections in six points, at pains to declare what the narrative paradigm was not, in a testy tone of calling out Rowland for his "shortcomings." Fisher ended his rebuttal article by referring readers to a number of authors who had built on his ideas (1989, p.57).

Warnick took Fisher to task for internal contradictions within his concepts of coherence and fidelity (1987, p. 173). She particularly argued that Fisher's concepts, in fact, did not provide a means for critical assessment of a narrative and asked how a critic could proceed to critique a narrative (p. 175). She argued that assuming the public would always know and reject a narrative of questionable fidelity and coherence was already known to be false. Her main example was *Mein Kampf* and the Nazi narrative that "rang true" for many Germans of the 1930s. Many other propagandistic narratives could be added to the list.

Rowland (1987, 1989) and Warnick (1987) called on Fisher to explain how so many people could believe in the fidelity of narratives that embody destructive values; obviously, different groups of people hold different values. Rowland (1989) called on Fisher to develop some tests similar to the way that Burke developed dramatism so that evaluation of narratives would not be totally subjective (p. 274). Rowland stated that personally he happened to agree with Fisher's values and would himself choose to adopt and reject narratives along the same lines as Fisher, but also knew that many people would make a different choice based on their values. Both Rowland (1989) and Warnick (1989) were concerned that critics, without any standards for interpretation, would simply use their own subjective judgment for evaluation of narratives. Fisher did not come forth with any critical criteria; however, he credited the average person with at least as much ability to evaluate narratives as any expert (1992).

The most Fisher (1992) seemed to address the problem of destructive values was by explaining that there are different forms of human communication but all fall under the umbrella of the narrative paradigm. For example, there are affirmative and subversive narratives, but he did not specifically address the problem of destructive values being coherent and "ringing true" for certain groups of people. Fisher seemed to be idealistic about people's actions and choices. Although he agreed that sometimes people do make wrong choices, he appeared confident that eventually people would make the "right" choices.

Use of the Narrative Paradigm Across Cultures

For this study, as I was a non-Japanese eliciting narratives from mostly Japanese scholars, thereby taking an intercultural perspective, I was concerned about whether the

narrative paradigm was applicable and appropriate for use in other cultures, especially Japan, so that narrative could serve as a framework for this research. In considering the use of the narrative paradigm for studies across cultures, the first issue was the claim of universality of the narrative paradigm that Fisher made, and secondly was the issue of whether any Japanese scholars could be found who had evaluated the narrative paradigm for use in Japan. In addition, I searched for a Japanese narrative tradition and any scholarly documentation that exists of that tradition. [3]

After an extensive search, neither articles that specifically discussed the appropriateness of the use of the narrative paradigm across cultures nor Japanese scholars who addressed the use of the narrative paradigm were found. Therefore, rather than depend on studies demonstrating the appropriateness of the use of the narrative paradigm in Japan or across cultures, I turned to Fisher's description of the universality and inclusivity of the narrative paradigm. His scholarship supported the employment of the narrative paradigm as an appropriate framework for use in a Japanese setting for research about Japan.

Universality of the Narrative Paradigm

Fisher's first two assumptions that all people are *homo narrans* and that all communicative acts are narrative underlay the claim of universality of the narrative paradigm. Many other scholars (See Burke, 1962; Barthes, 1975; Bateson, 1980; Polkinghorne, 1988) agreed that human beings communicate through narrative and that as soon as there was language there were stories although there are many varieties of form and structure. Fisher described the narrative paradigm as so holistic and inclusive that it subsumes the rational world paradigm (1984). Indeed, the narrative paradigm does

not specify any particular type of narrative or discuss culture. That point makes it possible that the narrative paradigm is applicable across cultures; at least several scholars agree.

Although Fisher did not consider narrative specifically from the intercultural or cross-cultural perspective, he did expend considerable text for citing an array of scholars from various disciplines who supported the idea of universality of the narrative mode. If the premise of *homo narrans* is correct, then narrative is meaningful across communities, across cultures, and across time.

Fisher quoted Hayden White, an historian, who stated that "narrative is a metacode, a human universal on the basis of which trans-cultural messages about the shared reality can be transmitted" (as cited in Fisher, 1984, p. 8). Turner, an anthropologist, weighed in with, "we must concede [narrative] to be a universal cultural activity, embedded in the very center of the social drama, itself another cross-cultural and transtemporal unit in social process" (as cited in Fisher, p. 8). Further, Barthes, Ong, and Bateson, among many other scholars, were also cited as proclaiming the universality and cross-cultural nature of narrative.

Barthes (1975), who was French himself, provided a significant reference to the applicability of narrative across cultures. He stated in his article that there has never been a group of human beings without narrative, that "like life itself, [narrative] is….international, transhistorical, transcultural" (p. 237) and that narrative acts have "historical, geographical, and cultural diversity" (p. 239).

Japanese Scholarship

I considered the appropriateness of using the narrative paradigm for research about Japan and how that use would situate me as the interviewer of Japanese scholars (and some non-Japanese scholars) with my purpose of finding out about the development of the Intercultural Communication studies field in Japan. I investigated any critiques by scholars and particularly searched for any opinions by Japanese scholars on narrative and the narrative paradigm since the majority of the interviewees were Japanese. In addition, I considered Japanese cultural norms, communication style, and Japan's narrative tradition to give some indication of the appropriateness of the use of the narrative paradigm as a theoretical base for my doing research in Japan.

Although I did not find any Japanese scholar who wrote specifically about narrative or the narrative paradigm, several scholars who wrote on the communication style of Japanese recorded points that may be relevant here. Okabe wrote about intercultural perspectives of communication theory in the book *Intercultural Communication Theory: Cultural Perspectives,* where he described and explained many aspects of cultural assumptions, values, and characteristics of communication and rhetoric by contrasting the communication styles of Japanese and Americans to (1983, p. 21). Okabe described the Japanese communication style as tending to rely on the nonverbal, to be more emotional, and to be analogous and monologic. Okabe also argued that Japanese tend to think more in heart logic than in mind logic. Thinking about these points in the context of the narrative paradigm, it is clear that Fisher intended the narrative paradigm to be inclusive and therefore to include the nonverbal (including physical behavior and attention to the contextual environment) and emotional aspects of

discourse. Nakane (1970), Kato (as cited in Oliver, 2001), and Kunihiro (1973) agreed with Okabe's points in their writings.

One earlier scholar, the first Japanese ethnographer, Kunio Yanagita, whose primary work was in the 1920s and 1930s, observed something relevant to the argument about Japanese communication having narrative form. Yanagita traveled around rural Japan for his research to document traditional life and communication. One of the categories he used may be translated as *verbal arts*, which he defined to include stories, poetry, and song (Oliver, 2001). He found that in the tight-knit rural communities there was little need for a great deal of everyday conversation, a conclusion duplicated by the supposition that Japan is a high context culture, and that the more tight-knit a community, the less the need for verbalization.

According to Yanagita's research, the word *hanasu*, a commonly used verb defined in contemporary Japan as *to speak* or *to tell*, originated during the 14th to 16th centuries and originally meant *to tell a story or a tall tale*, a far narrower meaning than its modern usage (Oliver, 2001). Yanagita discovered that in isolated rural communities in the earlier 20th century, the meaning of *hanasu* was still *to tell a tall tale* or as another culture, Hawaiian, might term it, *to talk story*. In other words, talking was largely for story-telling and what we would now term the purpose of entertainment.

Japan's Narrative Tradition

Although I did not find any scholar[4] who wrote solely on Japan's narrative tradition from a theoretical point of view, Japan's narrative tradition is an old and varied one. There are many examples, ancient, old, and contemporary, both formal and informal. Japan's is not solely an oral culture, as there has been a writing system for about 1,400

years, but there has always been a strong oral culture that continues in many forms, familiar to the public even today.[5] In fact, some of the forms still attract young people, and even non-Japanese, as both audience and performers. Some of these forms have morphed into other formats owing to new technology. Technology has also allowed these forms to be shared and treasured more widely.

Okabe (1983) observed that Japanese are best able to understand a situation by hearing about the story of one individual.[6] The emotional identification that occurs with that one individual and what Okabe termed, the heart logic, enables Japanese to understand an entire event or situation, such as a war, through that one story.

There are many possible examples. One example that caught the attention of the Japanese public and helped them understand the Iraq War and how many civilians are being killed and maimed was a story that drew the public to the story of a 10-year-old Iraqi boy who was brought to Japan for eye surgery after being wounded in a street battle. Day by day, the media reported events that added to the drama and pathos of the situation. One of the two Japanese journalists who had arranged for the boy to come to Japan was killed right before he could return from Iraq. His widow stepped in to spend time with the boy even while grieving her loss; she held press conferences about the boy's progress and then appeared with the boy. The story of the surgery and recovery was covered moment by moment, day and night. This one story serves as a good example of how Japanese learn about a situation through emotional identification.

Considering that the concepts of narrative rationality, coherence, fidelity, and rationality are the components of the narrative paradigm, even if Japanese have no knowledge of these terms (just as people in any other culture are not familiar with these

concepts), Japanese do, as Fisher claimed, practice the concepts and have inner, experiential knowledge of these concepts from daily life. Japanese are extremely sensitive to context and the demands it makes on individuals (Hall, 1987; Hara, 2006).

Japanese know numerous traditional and contemporary narratives to draw on in order to assess the fidelity of a story.[7]An assessment of the stories of Japan, traditional or in the news, suggests that Japanese do consider the internal and external coherence of a narrative and do evaluate the actions of characters based on their worldview and familiarity with the context that the characters are in. While all Japanese do not hold exactly the same values, Japan is a society that operates through consensus and Japanese are accustomed to trying to understand and then work around differences in opinion and values (see Hall, 1987; Nakane, 1970).

Compared to more heterogeneous, immigrant nations such as the United States, a majority of Japanese tend to believe the same myths about themselves, have the same level and content of education, and watch the same media thereby perpetuating contemporary narratives about themselves and their worldview (Miller, 1982). Therefore, there is evidence for the narrative paradigm being used in Japan whether or not there is an awareness of that paradigm based on the definition of the narrative paradigm and Japanese communication practice.

Validity of the Narrative Paradigm for the Historical Nature of This Study

Owing to the historical nature of this study and my goal to trace the development of the Intercultural Communication discipline in Japan largely through analysis of many narratives, it was important to discover what scholars said about the validity of basing historical investigation on the narrative paradigm. To understand ordinary experience,

Fisher wrote, it is the narrative context that includes history, culture, biography, and character which will imbibe meaning, validity, reason, rationality, and truth (1984, p. 3). Fisher discussed the narrative paradigm as the "master metaphor" and pointed out that other lesser "metaphors inform the various ways of recounting or accounting for human choice and action" (p. 6). Two concepts, recounting and emplotment, were relevant for explaining how narrative context imbibes meaning.

Recounting is a way that people tell stories to make sense of and find meaning in their life choices (1984, p. 6). Recounting naturally includes the forms of history, biography, and autobiography, all of which are at the foundation for this study through the narrative form. Barthes (1975) also observed that narrative receives meaning from the world that is external to it. Narrative makes use of that contextual meaning so that the ways historical, social, economic realities are categorized or perceived are the basis for interpretation of narratives.[8] In agreement with Barthes, Fisher (1988, p. 49) also stated that all historical texts are particular interpretations and therefore within the narrative paradigm. Fisher, who also cited other scholars, wrote that any historical interpretation is represented by some pattern of organization which is usually described as hypotheses, theses, or thematic periods.

Fisher used the term *emplotment* to describe the patterns that serve three functions and are essential to narrative. Emplotments serve to frame a story and give it its coherence, to contextualize a story and inform its fidelity, and finally to ground a story and set forth its truths. The latter point is about whether "an adequate explanation of experiences and/or events" has been fulfilled (p. 49). Historical discourse is value-laden

because of the process of selection and marshaling of various facts and voices to form the structure and all of that is set up by its initial emplotment.

Dilemma of Competing Narratives

In writing the story of the establishment and development of Intercultural Communication in Japan based on individual narratives, I needed to consider that competing narratives often emerge to describe and explain the same events. That phenomenon can be termed the "Rashomon effect"[9], after the name of the film by Akira Kurosawa where each individual involved in or eyewitness to an incident was shown to have and express very different versions based on their own perspectives and self interest. Neither Fisher nor other scholars pursued an answer for how to handle the dilemma of competing narratives.

Sometimes a competing narrative occurs because of certain narratives being privileged over others due to the silencing of some voices by others. Fisher stated that the use of the narrative paradigm would enable all voices to be heard because whether creators or listeners, all are full participants within the narrative paradigm (1984, 1987). Individuals, who may be coming in and standing at different points in a narrative may have different perspectives, different information, and even different motivations.

Mumby (1987) wrote that narratives tend to form clusters, and a review of all of them is helpful in understanding the whole. The development of the Intercultural Communication discipline in Japan is complex. As time passes, more people become involved and the population of scholars grows, there is bound to be increased complexity, a broadening of scope even as, at the same time, specialization occurs, as is the natural course of the maturation of any discipline.

Summary

Fisher, with the support of many other interdisciplinary scholars, conceived of the narrative paradigm as a master metaphor and metacode, both holistic and inclusive of any kind of human discourse, including historical, because of his claim that all human beings are and always have been *homo narrans*. Therefore, the narrative paradigm assumes that whatever structure or interpretation an author may use for historical text, it would demonstrate the essential qualities of coherence and fidelity, as well as the values inherent in the interpretation.

Important points for this study were the appropriateness of the use of the narrative paradigm as a foundation for the methodology of narrative inquiry used across cultures and for tracing a historical story within Japan by someone not Japanese. Based on Fisher and other scholars, there was sufficient support for using the narrative paradigm to tell the story of the establishment and development of the Intercultural Communication discipline in Japan as a historical narrative based largely on the narratives collected from a number of scholars who contributed to that history.

---

[1] The rational paradigm was parallel to or part of the positivist, objective way of thinking about and approaching the research of human behavior.

[2] I am using the terms 'narrative" and "story" interchangeably although story does tend to bring to mind an individuated account.

[3] One suggestion for a tangential study would be for a explanation of the forms of Japanese narrative historically, noting those that continue into the contemporary culture, and inclusion of new forms of Japanese narrative.

[4] There may be a Japanese scholar who has, more recently than Yanagita, researched Japanese narrative traditions and identified their narrative attributes, perhaps with even a citation for scholarship on the narrative paradigm. I welcome an introduction of such a scholar's work.

[5] Two of the many forms would be Rakugo and Manzai, both comedic narrative forms. More formal theatrical forms include Kabuki, Noh, Kyogen, and Bunraku which often treat the same traditional narrative in their distinct ways. Japan has a wealth of myths, fairy tales, and historical stories, as well as a rich literary tradition that long preceded the introduction of the Western novel form. *The Tale of Genji* written

by Murasaki Shikibu, a lady-in-waiting of an Empress in the 11th century, is often considered to be the first novel of the world.

[6] This characteristic may also be true for people of other cultures, including Americans, but, based on my personal experience and observations, I believe it is particularly true for Japanese – to the extent that daily news stories focus on individual stories within a situation rather than the general situation. In American media studies, this characteristic is caused by individualism. The result for Japan appears to be similar but based on different root causes.

[7] I recall how I have so often experienced talking over every aspect of a human interest news story with Japanese friends while they ascertained the coherence and fidelity of both the story and actors.

[8] Based on this thought, it makes sense that history can be rewritten and reinterpreted many times. Also relevant is that previously unrecognized or undervalued narratives are brought into the mix and a new integration takes place (Barthes, 1975, p. 269).

[9] The *Rashomon effect* is a term that has come to be used in American discourse although most people have no knowledge of where the term originated. *Rashomon* actually was the name of one of the city gates, very large structures, to the city of Kyoto, the old capital of Japan, which was the scene shown at the beginning and end of Akira Kurosawa's film of the same name. While waiting for a pouring rain to stop, some vagabonds take shelter under the huge gate and tell a long story to pass the time. That story within the story is the one in which each person involved told a different version.

CHAPTER THREE – THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVES

In this study, I examine and document the establishment and development of the Intercultural Communication discipline within the academy in Japan. Three theoretical perspectives are proposed for this study: network theory, its subsystem of invisible colleges, and diffusion theory. A new discipline arises gradually through both cognitive and social processes, with social processes being of great importance (Rogers, 2003). New ideas, however beneficial or sensible, may never be adopted due to the lack of interpersonal influence. The story of the establishment of Intercultural Communication studies in Japan is a story of the diffusion of new ideas through the use of interpersonal networks among scholars as the channels by which those ideas were disseminated. The invisible college (to be defined below), as a sub-set of network theory, is specifically relevant to this study as it refers to a network of scholars.

This study involves in-depth interviews with prominent scholars, and a few trainers, in the Intercultural Communication field in Japan. Through use of the resultant narratives from the interviewing process, in conjunction with archival materials and publications, I hope to piece and weave together the events and institutional contacts among the scholars to identify and create useful and meaningful network pictures of those key scholars and their institutions. Key individuals and institutions are central to the network dynamics that are the primary catalysts for the development of the discipline. By drawing on theory that was written about the development of other scholarly fields, it is possible to concretely understand the process and steps that led to the establishment of Intercultural Communication studies as a recognizable and sustainable discipline in Japan. Diffusion theory provides more focus on the communication channels, social system, and

individual opinion-leaders behind the growth of the invisible college network, in order to grasp the wider perspective of how a new idea, in this case a new academic discipline, was transported from the United States, then introduced to Japan, and subsequently expanded in its new environment.

Although network theory, invisible colleges, and diffusion theory are all closely related and parts of each overlap with the others, I discuss the three of them separately here for the purpose of examining important characteristics of each. First, I briefly introduce network theory, focusing on its origins and concepts. Secondly, I introduce and examine the characteristics of and conclusions drawn by Crane (1972) regarding invisible colleges. Crane cited Rogers regarding diffusion in her study of invisible colleges; in turn, Rogers discussed invisible colleges in his subsequent editions of *Diffusion of Innovations* (1983, 1995, 2003), due to its particular application to the diffusion of ideas through the channels of a scholarly network. Finally, as the third part of this chapter, for a better understanding of the characteristics of the invisible college network, I point out relevant elements of diffusion theory that promoted the dynamic and sustainable development of the Intercultural Communication discipline in Japan.

Network Theory

Perhaps the first reference to networks was by the early 20th century German sociologist Georg Simmel, who wrote that interpersonal networks influence human behavior (Rogers, 1994). The Chicago School that Rogers explicated as both an interpersonal network and a network of scholars is an antecedent of the invisible college network I identified in Japan. In the case of the Chicago School, individual scholars who happened to be gathered together at the University of Chicago in the early 20th century

transmitted Simmel's ideas from Germany to the United States. Several of the scholars of the Chicago School -- Robert Park, Albion Small, and George Herbert Mead -- studied with Simmel at the University of Berlin, then later wrote about and expanded on his important concepts, such as social networks, that Simmel had originally published in his book, *The Web of Affiliations.*[1]

In *A History of Communication,* Rogers (1994) traced and illustrated the network of this Chicago School in his discussion of how those scholars brought concepts and theories from Europe, then at the University of Chicago shared and exchanged similar research interests and approaches, and had ample opportunity for informal discussions. About a half century later, all of those points were mirrored in the development of the Intercultural Studies field in Japan. During the period when the Chicago scholars were all together, as colleagues, they formed a very visible college; however, as several left to teach at other universities and their students also took positions at other universities, the Chicago School was no longer just at Chicago but became an invisible college with roots in Chicago.

Invisible Colleges

An *invisible college* is a set of scholars that has common research interests within an intellectual paradigm and maintains contact through both formal and informal channels (Rogers, 1994, 2003; Crane, 1972). The characteristics of and dynamics within an invisible college are the same as for any type of network. However, whereas a network may show interpersonal linkages of people of any background, profession, or social grouping, an invisible college specifically focuses on a network created by a group of scholars, their institutions and common events ; indeed, the *web of affiliations* that

Simmel first wrote about in his book of the early 20th century. Crane made little distinction between networks and invisible colleges in her explanation, although she decidedly focused on networks of scholars and named those *invisible colleges* (Crane, p. 35).

At the center of an invisible college is at least one scholar who -- because of personal attributes, research interests, and being in the right place at the right time – can take advantage of opportunities and create opportunities to foster a line of study and teaching that may be a departure from a dominant paradigm, even if not seen yet as a separate discipline. A *paradigm* is a worldview that includes norms and parameters; it structures a research approach and direction (Rogers, 2003, p. 46). That process of the creation of an invisible college has occurred numerous times in both the natural and social sciences. If the new ideas attract others, and if the key individual or individuals are connected to many other people, the tipping point[2] of critical mass[3] necessary for sustainable momentum -- of people, institutions, and events -- may be attained.

The process of the invisible college continues as others within the original network are in turn connected to more people; graduate students complete their degrees and take up positions at other institutions, where they continue to teach and research within the same paradigm. The paradigm may then expand, become dominant, and form a new discipline of study. To continue the process of expanding an invisible college, scholars at separate institutions periodically come together for conferences or other events; outside the formal sessions are informal opportunities for exchange and for planning future collaboration (Rogers, 2003). Thus the pattern of sharing information, supporting one another's research, and fostering the field of study picks up momentum and continues. As

more people join the greater network, development of the invisible college of scholars continues. Some scholars may branch off into areas of specialization or turn off the main road to initiate different approaches or explore new interests (Crane, 1972).

Following is an explanation of the important characteristics of an invisible college and consideration of the relevance of the concept of paradigm shifting. Then three examples of the initial convergence of characteristics that led to the establishment of invisible colleges are presented. These three examples serve as relevant models for the process of the establishment of the Intercultural Communication invisible college in Japan.

Six Determinants of the Social Organization of Invisible Colleges

In *Invisible Colleges,* Crane (1972) described the six determinants of the social organization of an invisible college. These are the characteristics that make up an invisible college. Crane did not name them in the following order as her text identified characteristics in various explications. The order that the six are listed here does not signify importance and the characteristics are interrelated. First, there is no formal leader, but there are central figures; second, there are both direct and indirect channels of communication; third, all individuals do not necessarily know all others; fourth, it is possible to be influenced even by those not known directly either through third parties or publications; fifth, there is evidence of collaboration among individuals; and sixth, there is evidence of the growth of knowledge in the field of study.

Important for the social organization, Crane (1972) talked about *social circles* to mean members of a group that communicate face-to-face, that is, directly, and formed part of the invisible colleges she studied. Her references were mainly to scientific

invisible colleges within physics and mathematics, but she also included reference to agricultural sociologists who were studying the diffusion of farming innovations. Another term Crane used was *collaborative groups* that appeared to be the building blocks for the next level, the invisible college.[4]

Therefore, members of an invisible college are linked to one another both directly and indirectly through highly influential members (Crane, 1972, p. 49). The communication channels flow through them. According to Crane, it is the links among leaders of collaborative groups that is the key element in the formation of networks[5] within invisible colleges. The key figures are also known to all or most of the individuals, at least indirectly through publications and intermediaries. A most important characteristic is whether the key figures know one another and maintain communication with one another through both formal and informal means.[6] Key figures may collaborate on research and articles.

Through the key figures, again through both formal and informal means, everyone within their respective collaborative group comes to know about new developments in other parts of the network. Crane's research (1972) showed that although not all individuals within invisible colleges necessarily know one another, this does not matter. Indirect communication can take place through the collaborative groups. With this explanation of communication channels, it makes sense that not all individuals within an invisible college know one another and may be influenced instead by indirect communication or third parties.

Within an invisible college, more minor members, even those not within a collaborative group, may contact key figures and receive replies. Members within groups

may have limited contact with others or may never be contacted by anyone. In other words, Crane found that definite hierarchies were evident among scholars within an invisible college according to seniority, status within the field, number of publications, and number of advisees. Within the hierarchical system is a clear indication of leadership status.

Paradigm Shift and Invisible Colleges

Scholars in an invisible college converge around an intellectual paradigm. All researchers who adhere to a particular paradigm agree with its parameters and approaches. A new discipline that emerges does so due to new developments and events in the world that raise new challenges and questions. Thomas Kuhn (1962, 1970) wrote extensively on paradigms and paradigm shifts, taking examples primarily from the scientific field. His ideas were also applicable to the social sciences. Consideration of some of his concepts leads to conjecture about the development of invisible colleges, especially in light of the topic of this study in which a new intellectual paradigm was transported to Japan and took root.

When what Kuhn described as normal science has continued to the point where questions within that paradigm have largely been answered, and there are no big questions on the horizon, there is a tendency for a different set of questions to be posed and to be unanswerable within the paradigm being used. Although new questions and theories may at first be considered radical and untenable, more scholars may gradually join the newer group. As the process of paradigm shift continues, the number of scholars working within the old paradigm dwindles and the new paradigm ascends. The old

paradigm often dies out altogether, although old and new may co-exist and be known as different schools of thought.

In further discussion of Kuhn's ideas on paradigms another scholar, Campbell, offered the idea that gaps in knowledge and disciplines invite interdisciplinary approaches that may in turn develop into a distinct field of study. This evolution was described as "overlapping neighborhoods" or "fish scales" (as cited in Crane, 1972, p. 108). This phenomenon may describe the evolution of the Intercultural Communication discipline as it emerged from anthropology with strong interdisciplinary contributions from linguistics and psychoanalysis (Rogers, Hart, & Miike, 2002).

Socialization and Norms

The socialization process within a discipline is an important aspect of how a paradigm continues and occasionally a new paradigm emerges from of an old paradigm. Crane (1972) wrote pointedly about the socialization process within invisible colleges. As professors teach and train students, and those students in turn become faculty and teach more students, a particular socializing process takes place. Norms are passed on from professor to student, and as with all norms, become taken for granted. Those norms include types of research questions, methodology, and approaches. Crane also found that certain scholars within a discipline are often cited, whereas some scholars are never or rarely cited, maintaining the hierarchical nature of invisible colleges indicated above. These points coincide with some of the ideas that Kuhn expressed and are usual for individuals within the same field who have the same worldview and work within the same paradigm.

If these points are true for invisible colleges, there are several related topics to be considered, similar to the questions posed in Chapter Two regarding the use of the narrative paradigm. The topics of groupthink, dominant paradigm, and critical perspective are considered here from the viewpoint of socialization and norms within invisible colleges.

Groupthink

If everyone within an invisible college is researching within the same paradigm and has been socialized in the same way, there may be the danger of groupthink. Indeed, Crane stated that her research showed that scholars not socialized within the same invisible college under its central figures may find it difficult to be included in the network communication channels, or their research may be ignored or discounted as being of poor quality or of no relevance. Therefore, implanted within the hierarchy of an invisible college is an intrinsic ethnocentrism[7] and elitism.

With the advent of email and the Internet, geographical distance as a reason for isolation and exclusion from an invisible college may not apply, but that does not mean that isolation does not exist. However, keeping in mind that geographical location may make a difference in the outcome, for this study, I took the precaution to interview some individuals outside of Tokyo and, therefore, outside the major social circles.

Marginalization and Critical Voices

If it is the case that everyone within an invisible college is thinking within the same paradigm, interested in the same research questions, and using the same approaches, another question is whether any different voices outside the dominant paradigm emerge. The fact that socialization and adherence to norms are part of an invisible college opens

up the possibility that certain types of individuals will be left out. For example, women and minorities are typically excluded from dominant paradigms; feminist and other perspectives may be marginalized. Women and minorities may not be socialized in the same way even within an invisible college and yet it is extremely difficult for anyone to raise that issue if they are at the bottom of the hierarchy. In Chapter Five, in the discussion of central figures in the invisible college in Japan, I will specifically address this issue of whether any group appeared to be left out of the invisible college.

Neither Crane nor Rogers talked about any mechanism of invisible colleges that induced regular self-critical examination of practices and perspectives; however, as a paradigm within a field or discipline matures, that may occur naturally as part of the process of paradigmatic change that Kuhn outlined. Someone marginalized or someone who was differently socialized, but with enough familiarity of the dominant paradigm to examine the paradigm and question its norms, could introduce a critical voice. Before embarking on this study, I was aware of some questioning or branching off from the dominant paradigm and did find evidence of critical examination and reframing. This will be discussed in Chapter Six.

Examples of Invisible Colleges

Three examples of invisible colleges are presented here that are relevant to the invisible college of the Intercultural Communication discipline in Japan that is at the center of this study. In addition to the Chicago School example of an invisible college mentioned above, Rogers' *A History of Communication Study* (1994) revealed two other examples of invisible colleges that were important as predecessors to the establishment of the Communication field in the United States. The third example outlines the beginnings

of an invisible college at the point of conception of the Intercultural Communication field in the United States. These three examples are important to mention here because those characteristics of an invisible college that are clear within each example will be explicated and verified in the findings for the Intercultural Communication invisible college network of Japan.

Rockefeller Communication Seminar

Coinciding with the beginning of World War II in Europe, The Rockefeller Communication Seminar convened monthly for ten months and again for a conference in 1941 with an invited A-list of scholars who discussed and proposed to the federal government examples of needed mass communication research and application. Within the history of the communication discipline, scholars such as Bernard Berelson said that this Seminar was the key to the development of mass communication research because it provided the opportunity for leading scholars who were interested in communication issues to convene and form long lasting network links (Rogers, 1994, pp.221-222).

World War II Years in Washington D.C.

Upon American involvement in World War II, a number of American scholars and foreign-born scholars who had escaped Europe, of various disciplines within the social sciences, were called to Washington, D.C. to contribute to wartime efforts. Although communication studies did not yet exist as an established discipline, all of these scholars were interested in communication problems and were placed within federal agencies to advise on how to convey information to the public, how to persuade the public to perform certain behaviors, such as the purchase of war bonds, and how to influence communication effects in the public realm.

This interdisciplinary group included many scholars who would rise to prominence later, for example, Wilbur Schramm[8] and Margaret Mead. They occupied offices in close proximity and even car-pooled together everyday. It is clear that they had ample time, in both formal and informal settings, to exchange ideas and discuss their interests, important conditions for fostering an invisible college, and that their ties continued long after dispersing from Washington at the end of the War (Rogers, 1994, pp. 10-16).

Emergence of Intercultural Communication as a Discipline

The antecedents of Intercultural Communication as a separate paradigm may be traced back to Edward T. Hall, anthropologist, and his work in the 1950s at the Foreign Service Institute (FSI) in Washington, D.C. After World War II, when the United States acceded to the primary position of power and leadership in the world, American government administrations gradually realized that the United States had to be more conscientious in its dealings with governments and peoples around the world. It was Hall's job, along with other hired social scientists, to provide training for future American diplomats and technical workers; but he found that his anthropologically-based answers were not relevant to the trainees' needs.

In the discipline of anthropology, ways of posing questions about entire cultures and the methods for answering them had long been decided and were passed on to every graduate student. Hall knew the paradigm of anthropology; however, he was confronted with new questions from FSI trainees about interpersonal interaction between persons who are culturally different. The trainees did not want to know about an entire culture as a field study; they needed practical advice about behavior and interaction. Hall listened to

the trainees and turned to anthropology to seek answers from within the anthropology paradigm but could not find much that suggested solutions. The anthropology paradigm did not include questions or solutions about interaction among individuals from different cultural backgrounds.[9]

Hall's efforts to be effective with his trainees, combined with his knowledge from personal experiences, led him to creative thinking that met his trainees needs but went outside the anthropology paradigm. After a period of time spent thinking and talking with others, Hall began to break new ground and think in a different way from the paradigm he had learned. For Hall, it happened that at FSI he was placed in the position of searching for new answers, which meant new approaches and directions. Fortunately, he also had the opportunity to consult daily with various colleagues at FSI (Leeds-Hurwitz, 1990). Hall wrote a few articles; then the publication of his book *The Silent Language* brought his innovative and creative thinking to the attention of the academy and public alike. His writing was descriptive and accessible. The elegant concepts he constructed were in fact the founding of a different paradigm that then evolved into a separate line of study and practice apart from anthropology.[10]

When a paradigm shift takes place, and a branching off into a different direction of study occurs, scholars who have similar questions and are searching for a new approach find one another and open up channels of communication. If scholars have a setting for informal discussion, such as within a department or a study group, that may lead to a more formal setting such as a conference. If there is furthermore an institution to host and foster the new approach, the process of forming an invisible college proceeds. At the FSI, Hall and his colleagues, such as George L. Trager, a linguistics scholar, were

together in a setting for a few years that fostered their collaboration. Hall (1992) wrote about his daily visits with Trager and other FSI colleagues describing how the setting fostered interpersonal interaction that gave them the opportunity to discuss new approaches for training methods and instruction.

As shown in these three examples, an invisible college is likely to form out of an informal, interpersonal starting point that uses informal channels of communication before any institutionalization takes place because the informal grouping precedes the formal structure. Invisible colleges are not planned or intended; scholars with similar interests and questions find one another and share ideas which may then lead to further development. There are many informal exchanges that do not generate an invisible college. These three examples illustrate the early circumstances that include proximity, long-lasting interpersonal relations, opportunities for informal and formal discussion, and new challenges that bring forth a new intellectual paradigm that, with the perspective of hindsight, lead to the formation of invisible colleges.

Diffusion Theory

Diffusion is "the process by which an innovation is communicated through certain channels over time among the members of a social system" (Rogers, 2003, p. 5). An innovation may refer to a product, a process, an idea, or in the case of this study, a complex system of ideas that add up to a new academic discipline or new area of study. Diffusion theory discusses networks and accords interpersonal networks the primary role and influence in persuading people to adopt an innovation, whether a product or an idea (Rogers).

The members of the social system who are the focus of this study were scholars in Japan, both Japanese and American, who were at the forefront of the interest in the concepts of Intercultural Communication that started evolving in the late 1950s. Some of the early scholars in Japan were involved even before Intercultural Communication was fully formed as a discipline in the United States. Then the diffusion process continued as more scholars joined through the decades and the establishment of Intercultural Communication became institutionalized as an academic discipline in Japan. The growing number of both scholars and their activities over time increased the momentum of the growth of the Intercultural Communication field. Once critical mass was achieved, the diffusion became self-sustaining.

This study identifies the communication channels, both formal and informal social networks, that facilitated the exchange of information among scholars. Interpersonal networks played a major role in the diffusion of Intercultural Communication as a topic of study in the Japanese academy during the 1960s and 1970s specifically and in its development during the succeeding decades as it became a recognized discipline.

Interpersonal Channels

Although I already discussed the importance of interpersonal channels for the development of invisible colleges, and there is some overlapping of explanation, diffusion theory emphasizes a particular perspective on interpersonal channels. In the steps of the diffusion process, after the introduction of an idea or product, for the next steps of persuasion and implementation, use of the media is often recommended and used (Rogers, 2003). However, in the case of the diffusion of an intellectual paradigm, or a

new field of study, the media do not play a part because the relevant population is small and narrowly focused.

"The nature of the information exchange relationship …. determines the conditions under which a source will or will not transmit the innovation to the receiver and the effect of such a transfer" (Rogers, p. 18). In other words, interpersonal channels are most effective in transmitting new knowledge and concepts within the academy. Two major types of interpersonal channels, opinion-leaders and near-peer, exist, both effective in their own ways. The following section defines and explains these interpersonal channels. I identified both opinion leader and near-peer types of interpersonal channels in the course of this study, which will be discussed in Chapter Five -- Findings.

Opinion Leaders

Key figures in a community, in the case of this study a community of scholars, are called *opinion leaders* in diffusion theory (Rogers, 2003). It is the opinion leaders -- individuals who are recognized within their group and community for their status, knowledge, and social skills -- who are influential through their interpersonal interactions and persuasive in questions of change and adoption. Opinion leaders constantly use their social networks to gather and disseminate information and bring people together. Although the definition of an opinion leader in diffusion theory is almost identical to the explanation about the central figure of an invisible college as discussed above, diffusion theory emphasizes certain characteristics as explained below.

Opinion leaders are also usually *cosmopolites,* meaning that they belong to more than one network and are, therefore, able to gather information from a variety of groups and act as channels of new information to all the groups to which they belong, certainly

an important characteristic that I identified for the earliest key figure in this study, and then for other, subsequent key figures. In addition, cosmopolites, as indicated by the term, belong to networks outside the local community and travel widely. That characteristic was found to be very important at the beginning of the diffusion process (Rogers, 2003, pp. 290-291).

One of the other characteristics of opinion leaders is that they tend to be innovators to the extent possible within their social system. They tend to seek out what is new and innovative. Another characteristic of opinion leaders is that they are not necessarily technical experts. In this study, this point refers to scholars who were not necessarily theorists but who were involved enough in topics belonging to the field of Intercultural Communication to be respected for their contributions. Individuals who are not opinion leaders, but who are technical experts, perhaps without some of the social skills of the opinion leaders, can forge ahead into research and the actual application of the innovation.

Peers and Colleagues

Near-peers, in this study *colleagues,* are the followers rounding out the rest of the invisible college network. There must be a sufficient number of followers for diffusion to proceed. Another important idea about interpersonal channels in the diffusion process is that the "transfer of ideas occurs most frequently between two individuals who are similar, or homophilous" (Rogers, 2003, p.19). Peers are important in the diffusion process as good sources of information and exchange because of similar attitudes, interests, and backgrounds; peers build upon one another's ideas and form collaborations.

Collaborations among peers advance knowledge, establish venues for the exchange of knowledge, and lead to the eventual institutionalization of a new discipline.

Two Attributes and Their Effects

The diffusion process has perceived attributes of innovation that, when in place, facilitate and affect the rate of adoption (Rogers, 2003). Two of the five attributes, relative advantage and compatibility, were relevant to the story of the diffusion of Intercultural Communication studies in Japan.

The first relevant attribute, *relative advantage*, is the degree to which an innovation is perceived as better than current practice (Rogers, 2003, p. 229). The nature of the innovation, whether product or idea, coupled with the characteristics of the potential adopters, determines the type of relative advantage to be found, for example, in the social, economic, or medical areas. Answering the research questions of why the new intellectual paradigm of Intercultural Communication resonated with Japanese and why the new discipline of Intercultural Communication became established in Japan must be assumed to be partially connected to the relative advantage that was observed. That relative advantage, when compared to contemporary practices, facilitated the diffusion of the new intellectual paradigm as a new approach to societal needs.

The second attribute, *compatibility*, means the degree to which an innovation is perceived as consistent with an individual's or a society's values, past experiences, and needs (Rogers, 2003, p. 240). An innovation that is compatible with cultural values and beliefs is more likely to be readily adopted. An idea that is more compatible means that there is less uncertainty about how to incorporate it into the existing fabric of belief and practice. Further, new adopters find it easier to adapt the new idea to their own meanings

or applications. Potential adopters may not consciously realize they have a need for a particular innovation until it is presented to them.

In the present study, compatibility necessarily refers to individuals, institutions, and society. Two major research questions of the present study lead to exploration of why Intercultural Communication studies resonated with both Japanese individuals and society, and why that new discipline could, therefore, become established in Japan. The level of compatibility of the concepts and methods of Intercultural Communication with the values and past experience of Japanese society, along with the needs presented in the Postwar Period, must have been a factor in partially answering those questions.

Re-invention

Re-invention, defined in diffusion theory as the degree to which an innovation is modified by users in the process of adoption and implementation (Rogers, 2003, p.17), is an additional important concept, separate from the five attributes, that has relevance for the present study. Re-invention often happens as the way an innovation is changed so that it more closely matches the norms of a culture and becomes more acceptable to potential adopters. Social construction is part of the process of adoption of an innovation, as adopters attempt to make the new idea fit the local context.

Rogers stated three generalizations regarding re-invention that are all relevant to the present study. The three generalizations include the following: “re-invention occurs at the implementation stage for many innovations and adopters, a higher degree of re-invention leads to a faster rate of adoption, and a higher degree of re-invention leads to a higher degree of sustainability” (Rogers, 2003, p. 183). Measurement of the degree of re-invention of the concepts and methods of Intercultural Communication was not a goal of

this study. Even so, generalizations point to comparisons, and after looking at the result of over four decades of the diffusion of the Intercultural Communication discipline in Japan, it may be inferred that some level of the three generalizations occurred.

Referring again to two of the major research questions of why Intercultural Communication studies found a home in Japan and then developed into an institutionalized area of study, reference to the concept of re-invention might provide part of the answer. Within discussion of Chapter Five -- Findings, will be included some examples of re-invention, both at the implementation stage and continuing to the present time at an increasing rate, as well as evidence of the increasing sustainability of the establishment of the Intercultural Communication discipline in Japan.

In addition, Japanese have gradually modified the original methods and concepts of Intercultural Communication to have them become more Japanese, a process that has intensified in recent years. Evidence of this Japanization process is further discussed in Chapter Six.

Summary

Three theoretical perspectives that are closely intertwined and overlapping were selected for the present study. They include network theory, the subsystem of invisible colleges (a network of scholars), and diffusion theory. Characteristics of all three were useful for examining the findings for this study and for answering the three major research questions. These three theoretical perspectives provided a structure for the analysis of the narratives for this study. Network theory may apply to interpersonal linkage in any profession or social situation, whereas an invisible college refers specifically to a network of scholars linked together by an intellectual paradigm in a field

of study. The story of the establishment of the Intercultural Communication discipline in Japan is the story of the diffusion of new ideas as they were imported from the United States and then re-invented within Japan.

---

[1] This is the English title. Simmel's book was first translated into English and published in 1922. Looking at it now, this title seems prescient and reminds one of the World Wide Web. Rather than settle on the use of the term *web* however, American scholars chose the term *network*. Most recently, that term has been used again for *social networking*.

[2] *Tipping point* is a term originally coined by sociologist Morton Grodzin who, taking the hint from physics that a tiny weight added to a balanced object causes it to move or topple, applied it to social phenomena. Malcolm Gladwell, in his book *The Tipping Point: How Little Things Can Make a Big Difference (2000),* expanded and popularized the term to mean "the moment of …threshold, boiling point" (p.12).

[3] Everett Rogers defined *critical mass* as "the point at which enough individuals in a system have adopted an innovation so that the innovation's further rate of adoption becomes self-sustaining" (2003, p. 343).

[4] In Crane's text, it was not clear whether the two terms of *social circles* and *collaborative groups* had exactly the same traits, but she did describe them as having characteristics in common.

[5] Researchers of other areas of study such as business marketing and social trends have come to the same conclusion about the importance of linkages among leaders of groups and other characteristics outlined here. The characteristics of any kind of network are very similar to what is described here for invisible colleges, the network of scholars. See Rosen, Gladwell.

[6] Since Crane's study, published in 1972, many new means of informal communication exist such as email.

[7] I am using the term *ethnocentrism* here to denote a superior attitude by one group towards people outside of it, not necessarily differentiated by culture or ethnicity.

[8] Wilbur Schramm is considered to be in person who brought about the institutionalization of communication studies (Rogers, 1994).

[9] Hall, from early in his life, experienced a number of personal encounters with people from differing cultural backgrounds. Gradually, he realized that his innate skills had been improved through the challenges of those experiences and he began to articulate the skills necessary for successful interpersonal interaction (See Hall's autobiographical books, 1992 and 1994; personal communications.)

[10] Hall always identified himself as an anthropologist (personal communications), but in the Intercultural Communication field he is considered the founder (Leeds-Hurwitz, 1990; Rogers, Hart, & Miike, 2002).

CHAPTER FOUR – METHODOLOGY AND DESIGN OF THE STUDY

In this chapter, I talk about the design of this study, its evolution and process, the method, protocol, and process of narrative interviewing that was employed, and details of the sample chosen for the interviews. A list of the opening interview questions is included, along with my reasons for choosing those questions. Consideration of the intercultural dimensions of the interactions between the Japanese individuals interviewed and myself as the interviewer are also included. As the majority of individuals interviewed were Japanese, I include some discussion of the cultural factors within interactive communication styles and relational expectations that were relevant. I discuss my role as a participant-observer and insider-outsider.

I also discuss the discoveries and outcomes of the interviewing process and any challenges or unexpected considerations. During the period of time when I was conducting the interviews, I consider changes I made, observations made by the interviewees or me, and whether any issues arose that affected either the parameters of the study or any of the interviews. I also consider three critical questions regarding the design and protocol for this study. Finally, I consider any factors that arose for further study or related studies.

Design of the Study

The central point of this study was to identify and record individual contributions and memories, to document the networks among the individuals involved and the collaborations that occurred, all of which add up to a history of the development of the Intercultural Communication discipline in Japan. As stated in Chapter One – Introduction, my approach to this research was essentially emic, from within the culture.

Interviewing a number of Japanese individuals, plus individuals of other nationalities, closely involved in the development of the Intercultural Communication field was therefore key. Largely through my contact with those individuals, I also gathered information about key institutions within the academy, the establishment of academic associations, and other organizations, such as training consultancies, that were closely aligned with the academy in Japan. Also included are micro-level historical events with direct relevance to Intercultural Communication development, such as conferences.

Data collection was followed by a review and analysis of the narratives from those in-depth interviews. All of these primary sources were then woven together into one coherent narrative that tells the story of the Intercultural Communication discipline's development starting with its roots in the 1950s and, for the purposes of this study, continuing up to 2006 with the inclusion of a few additional facts for the most recent period to mid-2009.

It appeared to me that the individual narratives told to me during the course of this study all shared similar and complementary overarching themes, similar story lines, and convergence of facts and memories about events. Since the introduction of Intercultural Communication as a topic in Japan, decades have passed. It is fair to say that there are hints of differing narratives emerging in the sense of research interests, generational viewpoints, and attitudes towards American scholarship, perspectives, and methodology.

However, I evaluate that, comparatively speaking, there is far more convergence in terms of purpose and motivation of the field as a whole, and personal interest and motivation for involvement in the field. Rather than competing narratives, the relatively minor differences in narratives that were found in the course of this study may be

described in terms of a metaphor of connecting islands of differing perspectives within the broader picture of development.

Searching for the reasons why Intercultural Communication as a discipline might have found a home in Japan so soon after being introduced in the United States was central to both Research Questions I and II for this study. Relating particularly to Research Question I, the meta-level contexts of the historical, social, and economic realities of Postwar Japan were presented. Barthes (1975) and Fisher (1988), among other scholars, provided a solid scholarly foundation for this contextual framework, as was discussed in Chapter Two – Literature Review. The backdrop of meta-level Japanese history with its factual timeline provided contextual understanding and meaning to the development of the Intercultural Communication discipline in Japan when combined throughout with the narrative details derived from the interviews.

Relating particularly to Research Question II, the pressing questions of identity, language, and behavior were juxtaposed with the psychological resonance of the concepts that Intercultural scholars brought to Japan starting in the Postwar Period and continuing through the decades. The Postwar and subsequent periods of history that are outlined in Chapter Five – Findings also serve to bring forward the psychological, personal parts of the story of the development of the Intercultural discipline in Japan.

A major question for the interviewees was to ask about their ideas regarding current trends and future visions for the directions being taken in the Intercultural Communication discipline in Japan. Their compiled answers generated clear categories of trends and directions that are discussed in Chapter Six – Conclusions.

Narrative Interviewing

The main method used in this study for data elicitation was *narrative interviewing* defined as "a form of unstructured, in-depth interview" that is thought to elicit a valid rendering of events and memory (Jovchelovitch and Bauer, 2000, p. 61). Indeed, the Latin word, *narrere,* from which the word *narrative* is derived, means "to report, to tell a story" (p.59). The method of narrative interviewing was developed by Fritz Schutze, a German sociologist of the mid-20th century (Flick, 2000; Jovchelovitch and Bauer, 2000) based on the process of having the individual proceed, after a general opening question, to recount a long and extensive narrative of that individual's history, either as a whole or for the topic under study, often as a professional biography, from which the researcher later reconstructs social events from the perspective of those interviewed.

The results of narrative interviewing may also be used to construct history. Therefore, narrative interviewing may result in biographical narrative, in whole or part, and/or a historical narrative for tracing social and historical events. By using the biographical parts of the narratives from the interviews for this study, I was able to fill in facts about people, places, and events that contributed to the development of the Intercultural Communication discipline in Japan.

My approach for this research was to use the narrative paradigm and to interview a number of key individuals regarding the development and current practices of the Intercultural Communication field in Japan. In a later section, I discuss the way I gathered informants for this study and how I approached them. As part of the probing process for the major interview questions about career and research, I asked those individuals about their own roles and the roles of other individuals, as well as about

places and events in that development. As I assumed, I found that parts of narratives were repeated or overlapping: the compilations of all the narratives provided the major characters and places, as well as the major themes of development.

I believe I had unusual access to the Japanese scholars who were interviewed and that they opened up to me as much as they did because of the high level of trust between us. For most, that trust arose from our long-standing personal relationships as colleagues within the Intercultural Communication discipline. The length of time many of the Japanese scholars spent with me and the degree to which they shared personal stories was evidence to me that they trusted me with their information and memories. In a later section, I discuss my role as the interviewer and my cultural status.

Informant Definition and Details

I followed the format outlined for narrative interviewing to elicit in-depth biographical, professional, and historical insights into the careers of the scholars interviewed. Their careers spanned the arc of establishment of the Intercultural Communication field in Japan. Their contributions made possible the development of the Intercultural field in Japan. Following here is further explanation of the informants and the interview format.

The interviewee in a narrative interview is termed the *informant* (Jovchelovitch and Bauer, 2000, p.59). The list of informants according to their residence at the time of their interviews along with other demographic information is in Appendix A, the List of Informants. (Additional demographic information is included in Table 1 Central Figures of the Four Generations discussed in Chapter Five.) Early in the interviewing process, two informants drew diagrams of their understanding of generations and suggested that as

a way to organize findings. I followed their suggestion and decided that one way to organize my interpretation of the development of the Intercultural Communication field in Japan was according to thematic periods that I categorized as Four Generations. For those individuals who entered the Intercultural Communication field after another career, they were placed in the Generation representing the time they entered the academy and became active in the Intercultural Communication field.

I was acquainted with, usually for many years, all of the individual informants, both Japanese and American, except two, and was introduced to those two by other informants. I had been in a close working relationship in a university and/or an academic association with many of the informants and will further outline my associations below.

I conducted one focus group interview with seven graduate students in the doctoral program at Rikkyo University. I did not know any of them previously. I met one of the students at a student conference at Rikkyo University, where I had been invited by informants I knew at Rikkyo, and upon talking with that one student, she offered to set up a focus group interview time and place. She was able to gather seven graduate students on short notice for the interview.

The sample for this study was one of convenience in that I contacted individuals I knew and definitely wanted in the study. The nature of this study lent itself to targeting specific individuals due to their prominent roles in the development of the Intercultural Communication discipline in Japan. The focus group participants were also included through convenience after I met and talked with one doctoral student about this research. Through introductions from the individuals already in the study, I added two other

prominent scholars to the sample, thus there was a moderate snowball effect on the sample.

40 Informants

I conducted a total of 40 interviews, including interviews with the seven graduate students in the focus group. (Refer to Appendix A for the full List of Informants.) Therefore, a total of 33 of the interviews were conducted as individual in-depth interviews. Out of the 29 individual interviews conducted in Japan, 23 were conducted with Japanese and six with non-Japanese residents in Japan.

The non-Japanese were long-term residents of Japan, all of whom have been deeply involved in Japanese society at various levels. Four of them were very fluent[1] in Japanese and two of them were proficient. Their nationalities were four Americans, one Canadian, and one Scottish. Four individual interviews were conducted with Americans living in the United States; two of them had resided for long periods in Japan, one was raised in Japan[2], and the remaining American frequently visited Japan. Whereas all the interviews with residents in Japan were conducted face-to-face and digitally or tape recorded with the addition of field notes; an interview with one American in the United States was conducted by phone (with conference call recording), and one was conducted by email correspondence.

All of the individual informants could be categorized as scholars in that all had taught, or were teaching, university courses on Intercultural Communication subjects. Most of the scholars had long careers in the academy, and many made major contributions to the Intercultural Communication field. Several were more involved in corporate training, consulting, or other specialties, such as government-related research

or think tank research. Some scholars changed their focus, for example, after retirement. Some scholars straddled both university teaching and the training/consulting arenas.[3]

Learning More About Mitsuko Saito

The key scholar who initiated the scholarship on and teaching of Intercultural Communication in Japan, Mitsuko Saito, passed away in early 2004 shortly before I started my interview cycle. I did know her and had talked with her in January 2004 about setting up an interview during my next trip to Japan. She had consented, but she was already ill, and before I returned to Japan, she passed away. I had not been a student of hers but had worked with her in her communication business on a couple of projects in the late 1990s.

Although it was unfortunate to miss the chance to interview Saito, I was able to interview a number of people, including past students and colleagues, both Japanese and American, who knew her well for years, through all periods of her long career. I also was able to attend two informal memorial events where her contributions and accomplishments were commemorated and individual memories were shared.

One of those memorials was part of the program at the June 2004 CAJ conference. Saito was a founding member and always active participant in CAJ. A panel of five colleagues, four of them contemporary scholars[4] and one a former student who had worked with her in her business, talked about Saito. The other memorial time was a regular monthly meeting of SIETAR Japan, also in June 2004, led by John Condon, where a number of her former students from a range of professions attended and shared personal memories.

Varied Backgrounds of the Informants

Another topic of note regarding the informants was the range of degrees the informants had earned and their respective backgrounds. Doctoral degrees in Intercultural Communication were not offered until relatively recently, even in the United States, with the first being offered by the University of New Mexico starting in 1993. Master's degrees for that specialization were offered earlier in the United States. Therefore, both Japanese and Americana informants in the study held a variety of degrees and found their way into Intercultural Communication from a variety of backgrounds.

The degrees held by several key scholars in the sample, both Japanese and American, all from American universities were in Speech or Speech Communication for the earlier scholars and then Communication, the naming of degrees changing as the communication discipline evolved in the United States. Degrees held by other scholars involved in the development of the Intercultural Communication field in Japan were in, for example, Experimental Psychology, English as a Second Language, English Literature, International Education, Social Psychology, Linguistics, Comparative Culture, and European Medieval Studies. It is obvious that there was a range of possibilities as both Japanese and Americans sought a course of study compatible with their interests from what was available. That range reflects degrees that focused on language, communication, and psychology – all topics that are important to the understanding of intercultural interaction.

In addition to the range of degrees, informants in the sample came to their study of Intercultural Communication and involvement in its development in Japan from several backgrounds. Scholars in this study had an earlier interest in, for example,

English as a foreign language for communication and education, in international relations, especially the Japan – United States relationship, and also in interpreting and translation, foreign student advising, understanding Japan's role in the world, and explaining Japanese culture to the world. Some of the scholars certainly had an early interest in Intercultural Communication topics even if in those earlier days there was not as yet a specific discipline

There was no Japanese term for Intercultural Communication in the early decades; few people knew the English term. However, some scholars found a pathway, often unexpectedly, into the sphere of Intercultural topics where they then found that their personal interests converged very well. Those scholars who became prominent in the academy and academic associations after pursuing a different field therefore were chronologically older than some of the later scholars who started out in Intercultural Communication. This point is important to note when viewing the Central Figures of the Four Generations Table (see Chapter Five) where individuals were categorized into generations based on involvement within Intercultural Communication, not based on real age.

Language Considerations for the Interviews

For the purpose of this study, when I requested an interview I asked all Japanese informants to speak in English for the interviews. My explanation was that the dissertation was to be written in English and it was important for them to express their thoughts directly in English. The extra step of my attempting to translate their thoughts precisely from Japanese into English would have added complexity to the process, and no

doubt I would have lost a lot from the original. Fortunately, all of the Japanese scholars I interviewed were bilingual, and all graciously agreed.

None of the Japanese had any difficulty in conducting the interviews in English because of their fluency and all, with the exception of the graduate students,[5] had received some part of their higher education in the United States. Figure 2 Places Where Educated Outside Japan to be shown in Chapter Five, graphically illustrates where informants received their higher education degrees. All the universities in the United States where informants attended are shown. This point will be addressed in Chapter Five. This graphic does not differentiate between receiving a master's degree and a doctorate degree, the main point being to show that all the central figures and other individuals who played important roles in the Intercultural Communication field sought higher education outside Japan.

Some of the informants received a master's degree as their highest degree (so far).[6] Two of the informants received part of their higher education in a third country, the United Kingdom. Some informants had participated in exchange programs and/or home stays during high school or their undergraduate years. Some had also lived for extended periods in the United States, as well as in other countries.

With the Japanese informants I knew personally, we had always conducted our relationship at least partly, in Japanese and so at interview time initial greetings and small talk were carried out in Japanese, but when the recorder was switched on, all informants gracefully switched to English.[7] On occasion, when someone was searching for a phrase or memory by speaking in Japanese first, or when someone expressed an emotion in Japanese, they either followed up by expressing the same thought in English, or later I

clarified what they wished to say in English. Therefore, when I listened to the interviews later, there was no need to translate thoughts or memories from Japanese into English.

For the one focus group interview of seven graduate students, conducted face-to-face in Japan, the individuals were all familiar with one another as doctoral students at the same university, Rikkyo University, in Tokyo, and had been called together by the one student with whom I had contact. One of the students was a Filipino who, despite his youth, had already resided in Japan for years, was involved in Japanese society before becoming a doctoral student, and, of course, was fluent in Japanese.[8] All of these doctoral students were also fluent enough in English to speak in English for the focus group interview.[9]

Regional Inclusion

Although most of the scholars interviewed were in Tokyo, the most populous area of Japan, I also traveled to reach scholars in other parts of Japan in an attempt to avoid a Tokyo-centric bias and to include regional distinctions should they exist. Inclusion of scholars outside of Tokyo was also a precaution to avoid groupthink in case it existed. This part of my planning was very successful. I did include many informants from outside Tokyo. Although Metropolitan Tokyo is the center of Japan due to its population and number of universities, and even though Japan is a small country, it is important to avoid being Tokyo-centric when conducting research.

Refer to Appendix C Map of Japan Showing Regions to note where informants were from. I conducted individual interviews with scholars who teach at universities in the Metropolitan Tokyo region that includes Chiba and Saitama (known as the Kantō region), in Nagoya (the Chūbu region), in the Osaka, Kobe, and Kyoto area (the Kansai

region) and in Sapporo (in Hokkaido Prefecture). I conducted a focus group interview with seven new scholars who had entered the first doctoral program in Intercultural Communication at Rikkyo University (also known as St. Paul's University) in Tokyo. (Please refer to Appendix A for the List of Informants.)

Informant Careers Outside the Parameters of This Study

All individuals who were interviewed are included in the List of Informants (See Appendix A) with the demographic facts for each individual. There is a note indicating when someone was prominent in the training area, for example, and not particularly associated with a university, but the List does not categorize by area of the field. Rather it is categorized by location, the country where the interview took place and for Japan, by region. That decision was to demonstrate that I included informants outside Tokyo, from major regions of Japan who have played strong roles within the field's development. Thought that was one of the important considerations for telling the history of the field in Japan. However, it would also be possible categorize differently and that may be done with the same data in order to answer other questions or reveal other explanations.

All the 40 interviews were very interesting in their own right and I am grateful for each of them. At the early stage, I had not decided on the parameters of this study so I cast a wide net in order to interview people whom I knew were involved in the field in some respect or were well known for their careers that exemplified intercultural communication. I had not made any decision about what I was going to include or the parameters of the study; therefore, it was possible that I would be including the Intercultural training area or a more broadly based perimeter. I contacted some

individuals I personally knew and asked them for interviews because they had exemplary international careers that involved intercultural communication on a daily basis.

As I progressed through the process of interviewing and gathered data, it became clear that certain major figures within the development of the field of Intercultural Communication in Japan could be identified. Although I did not have all the details at yet at that earlier stage, I could see that those central figures surrounded by other individuals would be at the heart of the narrative and the responses to the research questions.

With the amount of data I was collecting, I saw that I needed to narrow the parameters of the study. I had to rein in the parameters of this study based on the three research questions that remained out of a larger number of possible questions. Having settled upon the three research questions in this study and having identified central figures in the history of the development of the field, the result was that some of the interviews were not to be included or that some informants would be referred to in a minor way for certain examples. Those results will be seen clearly in Chapter Five – Findings. When discussing the events, developments, and the graphic representations of Chapter Five, it is evident that certain individuals are prominent whereas others are rarely mentioned or not included in the results.

Those informants who were prominent in the corporate training or consulting area but not in the academy were not included. However, they were placed in the Generation according to when they became active in that area. Some individuals had careers in other related areas before entering the academy. Having narrowed the parameters of the study, I found I could not include all areas of Intercultural Communication, for example, corporate training and consulting as well as academia.

In my career, I had been involved in the spectrum of the Intercultural field. And SIETAR Japan, the major academic association for the Intercultural Communication field in Japan, also spans the spectrum and invites both scholars and practitioners to be members and leaders. However, it appeared that inclusion of the training side would make my study unwieldy. Therefore, only mention of the training history highlights is included here. I hope that someone else will turn their attention to that part of the Intercultural history in Japan.

Some of the other informants who were not included or mentioned in a minor way were those who were not directly involved in the Intercultural Communication discipline in Japan although they exemplified careers on the cutting edge of intercultural communication on a daily basis. As the emphasis for this study was on answering questions regarding the establishment of the academic discipline of Intercultural Communication, to shift the emphasis to those who made other kinds of contributions did not fit into this study. The stories of these other prominent people should be told; I hope that someone will choose that for future research.

Informants in the Training Area

Some of the informants were individuals who worked for the development of the Intercultural field but specialized in and were prominent in the corporate training area. Three informants who were pioneers in the training area of Intercultural Communication were Clifford Clarke, Kazuko Iwatsuki, and Diane Sasaki.

Clarke was the first to offer Intercultural training to Japanese or Japan-based companies. His firm conducted the first such training on Japanese soil in 1980. He has continued to run that business, in recent years from Hawaii. He was also one of the

founding members of SIETAR (USA) and assisted in setting up the SIETAR Japan branch.

Iwatsuki and Suzuki partnered for nearly a decade to offer Intercultural training in Japan especially for families through their business Culture Shock. They were also involved in the initial establishment of the academic association SIETAR Japan that fostered the Intercultural field in Japan. Both also have been active in SIETAR Japan through the years. Suzuki holds the position of Program Co-Chair at this time. One other corporate trainer, James Niblock, entered the training area in Japan in about 1991 and now offers consulting and training through the firm he founded with partners in Tokyo.

International Careers

Some informants had extraordinary international careers but they were not involved in the establishment of Intercultural Communication as a field; neither did they did lead or join any of the academic associations that fostered the field. They exemplified living in the heart of intercultural relations and negotiating intercultural interactions on a daily basis. If they taught university classes, they were in international relations, a related field but not Intercultural Communication. In a way, these informants might be closer to the mission and goals of the recently established Tabunka Kankei Gakkai as it tends to look at the macro geopolitical issues and includes culture as one of the significant factors. Two informants are examples of this kind of individual. Although this study emphasized something they did not lead, I hope that someone will choose to research and present on these and other pioneering individuals.

One of the informants who exhibited and practiced intercultural communication throughout his career is Masao Kunihiro, a very well known intellectual in Japan. He was

a contemporary of Saito and established several businesses in partnership with her and others. He also asked Saito to be one of the three translators for *The Silent Language*. His decades-old career as a top interpreter, translator, media figure, and author was devoted to furthering understanding between Japanese and Americans. He was connected to the Intercultural Communication invisible college through some individuals such as Saito and taught courses on international relations in the academy, but he was not active in the day-to-day activities of the establishment of Intercultural Communication as a discipline in Japan.

Another example of someone who exemplified intercultural communication in his life and career was Kinhide Mushakoji. He was, for many years, a researcher at the United Nations University located in Tokyo and more recently became the director of a research institute in Tokyo that specializes in international issues. Although very interested in Intercultural Communication topics and someone who has taught courses on international relations, Mushakoji was not involved in the establishment of Intercultural Communication or a member of the academic associations that provided a venue for presentation of Intercultural Communication topics. [10]

Interview Questions, Decisions, and Results

For all interviewees, Japanese and non-Japanese, individual and focus group participants, I began the interviews with the same broad, open-ended questions. These questions had been listed for the informants in my initial request and were also listed in the consent form. (Refer to Appendix B to see the consent forms for both individuals and the focus group participants)

I asked informants about:

1) their earliest exposure to the concept of Intercultural Communication and how they chose to pursue this field as their career,
2) their thoughts on the development of the Intercultural Communication discipline in Japan,
3) highlights of their career,
4) their research interests over the course of their career and current research interests,
5) their thoughts on current and future trends in the Intercultural Communication field in Japan, and
6) the most important one or two things they hoped to impart to their students.

Many other follow-up questions were asked in the course of each interview to probe for details and facts about persons, events, and dates. Discussion about my role as interviewer is in the section on My Positioning as a Participant Observer and how I guided the process is in the section on Interviewing Phases and Protocol.

As this study was centered on the history and development of the Intercultural Communication discipline in Japan through the documentation of key individuals and their associations with institutions and organizations, my questions focused on the careers of those individuals. The specific questions evolved from my own career experience, knowing as I did the basic development of the Intercultural Communication field and the roles of most of the informants. Of course, I learned an enormous amount of detail through the narratives that I had not known. The initial, broad questions, being open-

ended, allowed the participants to speak in any direction they wished that would fill out their answers.

Some informants drew diagrams of their network associations and generational networks to illustrate their explanations. During the course of talking about the various aspects of their individual careers, including research and activities, the informants talked about other scholars with whom they had connections. However, I did not have a specific question about network associations. Thinking about the process and results now, a distinct question about network connections and an invisible college might have been better to include.

However, in the course of the flow of the interviews, I did follow-up on and confirm references to other people. As the interviews added up, I noticed that there were overlapping references so that major parts of the networks were reinforced. Also, it became evident who the key figures were within the invisible college. In the way of paying attention to the connections mentioned and following up on those references, I was able to piece together the network of scholars that responds to Research Question III about the invisible college.

At the start of the interviews, I had a general idea of the invisible college of networks among scholars in the Intercultural field in Japan, as well as the landmark events that have occurred over the years; however, I did not pre-suppose the exact details of the invisible college. I had created a simpler diagram that showed many of the linkages among individuals and institutions for the preliminary study, largely based on my own knowledge and input from a few preliminary interviews, but I knew that the network

diagram would expand in an unknowable way. I believe that the narratives that evolved out the interview questions truly drove the process for conceptualizing the networks.

Interviewing Phases and Protocol

The procedure I followed prior to an interview was to make contact with the potential informant, usually by email message, and to include information about this study and the reasons for my request for an interview. Once I received a return message, I proceeded to set up an interview time, which, if in Japan, would coincide with the time period I would be in Japan, or for those in the United States, a mutually convenient face-to-face time or telephone interview time. In the case of remote interviewing, I received the signed consent form before setting up the exact interview time. Once I met face-to-face with an informant, I once again explained the study and the importance of interviewing that individual, explained the content of the consent form and received the signed form, and asked for any questions. Then I started the interview and proceeded through the stages of the narrative interview (Jovchelovich and Bauer, 2000), as outlined below.

For Japanese informants, because informed consent for the type of interviewing I was conducting was not the usual practice in Japan, I explained the use of an IRB[11] consent form. The one unusual aspect of the form's content was that due to the nature of this study and the professional status of the participants, no confidentiality was promised and no confidentiality is being maintained. In this study, real names of people and places are used. All participants who were interviewed were fully informed and agreed without hesitation to the conditions that were outlined. Regardless of the IRB protocol, my uppermost thought for use of the interviews was always to respect the relationship I had

with the informant. No one withdrew any of their comments after their interview; no one withdrew from the study.

Before starting the interviews, I let the informants know that if they wished to share, or realized they had shared, an off-the-record remark, they could let me know either at that time or later and that portion of the interview would remain off the record. Indeed, that happened several times with more than one informant during the course of the interviewing. None of those parts are included in this study although at times another informant freely spoke about a couple of points that one had considered too private. In those cases, I judged it acceptable to use information freely given without any additional information from someone who was speaking off the record. At any rate, much of that off-the-record interview content was not specifically relevant to this study although interesting.

As recommended by Seidman, it is important to encourage informants to focus on providing contextual background from their life narrative and "to reconstruct rather than remember" the past (1998, pp. 73-74). Reconstruction means that participants are freed from the anxiety about remembering everything through memory. Direct probing questions such as "What happened?" or "What was that like?" are helpful rather than asking the informant to remember something. Many people can recall more facts a little while after starting to talk about an experience.

I assured all interviewees that if I had any uncertainty about any comments that were used directly within this study, I would ask that individual to review that portion for accuracy and fairness so that no one would be misrepresented and nothing would be taken out of context. That assurance was both written into the consent form and repeated

by me before the start of the interview. This precaution was particularly important because I asked all interviewees to speak in English during the interview, while allowing for the occasional comment in Japanese. All informants trusted me to guard their meanings and to be careful about context. As stated above, all my judgments about use of content was dictated by my personal responsibility towards the relationships. More will be said about context and relationships in the section on Cultural Factors Observations below.

Over the course of listening to the interviews and writing up this study, I did not come across anything being used for direct quotation that required clarification, nor did I find any part that caused uncertainty as to its contextual meaning. During the interviewing sessions I had been able to clarify and be certain of those parts. The parts I needed to clarify were about factual information such as dates or places that I had neglected to clarify at the interview time.

I did not use any transcription service. Although it was time-consuming to go through each interview myself, it was a better choice because I am familiar with the communication styles, the accents, the various names of people and places, and the context of both the interview and the development of the Intercultural Communication discipline in Japan. If I had hired transcribers, I believe many parts of interviews would have been blank, and I would have had to go over the entire transcription again myself. The level of transcription was geared for precise meaning but not for the level of discourse or conversation analysis.

Having prepared and informed the informant about the purpose and topic of the interview, the interviewer's role is to follow procedures so that an outcome is not pre-

supposed or imposed. Rather, the interviewer elicits a free-flowing narrative and encourages informants to speak their narrative according to their individual perspectives and memory. The features of a well conducted narrative interview include an avoidance of pre-structuring so that the open-ended nature of topical questions takes the responses beyond a simple question and answer format. The result is a conversational style so that story-telling and listening occurs, thus letting the informants follow a "self-generating schema" natural to their own narrative (Jovchelovitch and Bauer, 2000, p. 61).

Four Phases

The four phases of a narrative interview as outlined by Jovchelovitch and Bauer (2000) are as follows with a short explanation of each and the addition of some of my own thoughts:

I. Initiation Phase: explain the purpose and main topics, and consent form, get permission to record and take notes. I would add making sure the informant is comfortable, asking if the informant has any questions, and my thanks. I then started slowly to help the informant begin to place him/herself in the context of the past and to launch the flow of memories.

II. Main Narration Phase: the informant interprets the question according to her/his own understanding and interpretation and talks. The interviewer listens and is silent, even through pauses, while taking notes and giving encouraging nonverbal signals.

III. Questioning Phase: after the main narration or episode has ended, the interviewer probes for details, asks clarifying questions, and checks on facts such as dates.

IV. Concluding Talk: the often informal conversation that occurs after the recorder has been turned off. At that point, the informant may add other contextual or personal information or memories that the interviewer should note. This part may also be a backtrack after having moved on to another topic for further clarification.

While these are the four major phases of a narrative interview, the process is not necessarily linear, nor is it followed exactly for each question of the interview. Informants often circle back to an earlier phase or jump ahead to another question, or proceed to a tangential topic before finishing one topic. That may be a matter of style and also of memory. It is up to the interviewer to keep track of each topic, at certain pause points to go back and clarify factual information, to elicit further thoughts, and to encourage the informant without leading the response in a particular direction. It is usual to cycle through the four phases for each major topic that is introduced; the pattern of the phases was repeated for all the major questions I asked in the interviews.

Depending on the communication style of the informant, some people share more personal details or go into more tangential information while others stick more closely to the facts about that topic. I found that especially in the relaxed state after the formal interview, many informants recalled more interesting stories or brought up memories that while interesting were somewhat unrelated to my purpose. Some communication style differences were related to age, gender, cultural background, or a combination of these attributes. The cultural factors impacting communication styles and the relationship with me as the interviewer are addressed in the following section.

Interviewing Protocol for Japan

During five trips to Japan starting in the summer of 2004 and ending in November of 2007, time that added up to about nine weeks set aside for research, I made steady progress on interviewing key scholars in Japan. As I knew almost all of the scholars well, they graciously tried to accommodate my schedule for the times I was in Japan. In addition to pioneering and senior scholars, I also contacted mid-career scholars, young scholars, and as stated above, new scholars who were in the doctoral program at Rikkyo University.

Although there were some scheduling constraints, I was able to meet with almost all the scholars I planned to interview. As I began to interview the first scheduled scholars, I asked them for recommendations about others to interview, and they referred me to other scholars they thought should be contacted and included as informants. While almost all of their suggestions were already included in my list, I added several more to the list. It was through that early contact with scholars I already knew that I was able to be introduced to and conduct interviews with two other scholars whom I had not personally known.

I started the interview process by contacting several key scholars who were familiar with this research, but it was not always possible to arrange a time within a trip's parameters, so I would try again for the next trip. I did not envision a particular order for the interviews although the key scholars were either pioneering or mid-career scholars rather than younger scholars. If I had had a particular order of informants for interviewing, it would have quickly changed due to scheduling impediments. It was more important to be flexible and meet individuals when it was possible. For those informants I

wanted to schedule who live in the regions outside of Tokyo, I needed to arrange those in clusters.

Meeting at conferences. I was able to interview a couple of individuals who live in the regions outside of Tokyo when they came to Tokyo to attend a conference that I was also attending. In fact, I arranged my time in Japan to coincide with conferences both because of their topical relevancy to this research where I was also able to listen to presentations by some of the informants and also to be able to arrange interview times with a couple of scholars I knew would be attending. Two of the conferences I attended concentrated on developments within the Intercultural Communication discipline.

The SIETAR Japan Conference in June 2005 was entitled Constructing Multicultural Spaces: Being Ourselves Together. It was both a retrospective view of the 20 years since the establishment of SIETAR Japan[12] in 1985 and a preview of future directions. I also attended the CAJ (Communication Association of Japan) Conference[13] in June 2004 where I was able to listen to several presentations in the Intercultural Communication category by Japanese scholars.

A couple of scholars who were presenters at those conferences could never be included as individual interviewees, given the overall time constraints, but I was able to listen to their presentations and to meet with them briefly. I was also able to listen to presentations by several scholars who became interview informants, thus facilitating making contact with them as well as giving me more information about and insight into their research prior to the interview.

Personal relationships. I had personal relationships, for many years, with many of the scholars in Japan, both Japanese and non-Japanese. Some examples of those

relationships are as follows. Gyo Furuta and Teruyuki Kume were my colleagues at a university in Chiba, Kanda University of International Studies, but I had known Furuta even before that. We were also together in various seminar and conference settings, and were together in a small research group. Furuta was introduced to me by Edward C. Stewart in 1982. I met Stewart through attendance at a series of workshops on Intercultural topics held in Tokyo in 1981. I was in a graduate studies class of Kichom Hayashi's when I was an exchange student to Japan in 1980 and then continued to know him within academic associations and as a colleague at his university where I taught through his recommendation for several years.

I was on the board of and held office in the SIETAR Japan academic association in the 1990s concurrently with Kyoko Yashiro, Shoko Araki, Yoshiko Higuchi, and Jacqueline Wasilewski. I knew other individuals through SIETAR Japan such as Kazuko Iwatsuki, Diane Suzuki, and Adair Nagata, and other scholars already mentioned above. I met John Condon when he returned to ICU to teach as a visiting professor in the early 1990s. Later, I co-presented several workshops and co-taught courses, in both Japan and the United States, with him as we shared an interest in cultural rhythms and kinetic communication. I came to know a number of other individuals through SIETAR Japan programs and conferences, and through conferences sponsored by other organizations in Japan.

Challenges

Challenges arose owing to the different school schedules, individual schedules, time and travel constraints, and choice of settings.

Scheduling. The school schedules of Japan[14] and the United States differ so that the timing of my trips to Japan for research was not necessarily the best time of year for Japanese scholars. I could travel to Japan some time during the periods of mid-May to early July, and from the second week of December to the second week of January. That earlier time period worked out fairly well for most informants, but it is the rainy season in Japan; sometimes stormy days meant the curtailment of a long trip or cancellation of an interview.

The December to January period is very busy in Japan filled with end of year and the new year's events and travel. No matter when the appointment was, sometimes I had to quickly rearrange my time, or deal with a cancellation. Due to time constraints, an interview sometimes had to be cut short. On the other hand, some scholars graciously continued for several hours or let me schedule a second session.

Traveling in Japan and across the Pacific. Also, due to the travel distances in Japan and the fact that most universities have been moved out of city centers, it is not possible to meet and interview more than one individual in a day. The greater Tokyo area has a complex, though extensive and convenient, public transportation system, but it takes time to move from place to place, including transfers. Reaching any destination took at least one hour, and it often took two hours. I always traveled by train as is the custom in Japan, sometimes the high speed Shinkansen[15] to reach regional destinations, and also used local trains and subways. Occasionally, I used city buses and, when necessary, taxis.[16] I never had trouble finding my way, even to a new place, because I am so familiar with traveling in Japan on any kind of system. However, one problem was

then I had a second session with an informant. Although I was grateful for a second session, that might mean another day of travel time of up to four hours.

Due to a family emergency of my own in the United States, I had to leave Japan only days after arriving at the end of 2006 thereby necessitating the cancellation of several appointments in the Nagoya and Kansai regions. After about ten days in the United States, I was able to return to Japan, but only as far as Tokyo. The holiday season had begun and flights were full. I finally got back to Kansai after the New Year's holidays, the most important holiday period in Japan. It is almost impossible to make appointments with Japanese for something like an interview during the early part of January as the New Year celebrations continue for days and people tend to travel with their families. I was able to re-schedule most of those cancelled appointments, but was unable to ever re-schedule two of them.

Correspondence and interview settings. Some of the elder scholars did not use email so it was important and necessary for me to use more traditional methods of contact before ever making an appointment. Sometimes two trips were needed to make arrangements so that I could contact that scholar during one trip to arrange for an appointment during the next trip. However, even for elders who used email, but with whom I had never used email, I would not judge it to be appropriate to use email for an initial request, as it appears too informal. After an elder told me it was fine to use email for future correspondence, I perhaps could use email for that individual.[17]In other words, I started the chain of requests and correspondence more politely and then used a more informal means after confirming the wishes of that individual.

Another challenge was the setting for interviews. Naturally, I had to go to meet the informant at a place they arranged. I always emphasized in the request for an interview that I would be recording and needed a quiet setting. Many Japanese informants were able to host me in their university offices or another quiet place that was ideal for recording. However, a few individuals could arrange to meet me only in places that were relatively quiet but not quiet enough for recording an interview. In those circumstances, I had no choice but to continue, realizing that it would probably not be possible to reschedule. Another consideration was not to dwell on that negative point which might have offended the informant or made them feel they had not provided the optimum venue. Owing to the noise level of those few venues, upon listening to those interviews later, it was nearly impossible to make much sense of some parts of them. In those cases, I relied on my field notes.

Equipment. Equipment malfunction is always a concern when conducting field interviews. Overall, my equipment served me well. I used two tape recorders – one that used regular sized cassette tapes and another that used mini-cassettes. During the period I was conducting research, I became aware of new, digital recording equipment, but at first it was compatible only with a Japanese operating system. When it became available in the United States, I purchased it and then used it for the remaining recordings. I wish I had had that digital recording technology earlier on.

Interviews with Scholars in the United States

This research topic is international, spanning Japan and the United States, and because the topic of Intercultural Communication itself originated in the United States, all the Japanese scholars until recently received at least part of their education in the

United States, and there were American scholars who played prominent roles in Japan. In addition to interviewing American scholars living in Japan, I interviewed four American scholars in the United States who in their own ways were part of the fabric of the networks of Intercultural Communication development in Japan. As detailed above, three of them had lived for extended periods in Japan.

The four American scholars are also listed in Appendix A as residents of the United States. Before the start of this study, for a preliminary study, short interviews with two key American scholars, John Condon and Edward C. Stewart, face-to-face and by telephone respectively, occurred in the fall of 2003. Both Condon and Stewart were instrumental in bringing knowledge of and research about Intercultural Communication to Japan in the earlier days of the field during the 1970s and early 1980s respectively. I interviewed these two individuals again, in more depth, for this study: face-to-face for Condon and by phone using conference call recording technology for Stewart. The interview with Condon in December 2007 was the last face-to-face interview in the United States.

In addition, there were two other informants from the United States. I interviewed Janet Bennett, one of the few Americans who attended the 1976 Japan conference, by arranging an interview with her when we both attended the SIETAR USA conference held in Albuquerque, New Mexico, in November 2006. I interviewed Clifford Clarke, one of the pioneers of intercultural training in Japan whose childhood was largely in Japan, by email correspondence. That was the last interview of the study in September 2008.

Another pioneering American scholar who played a prominent role in bringing Intercultural Communication to Japan was Dean Barnlund who passed away in 1992. Although not long resident of Japan, he strongly influenced the beginnings of the field in Japan and the Japanese students who studied with him. Two of the Japanese interviewed, Shoko Araki and Miho Yoshioka, studied under him at San Francisco State University. Another Japanese informant, Masako Sano, translated Barnlund's books into Japanese. Two of the American informants, John Condon and Janet Bennett, were also Barnlund's colleagues and knew him well. Barnlund was also Saito's colleague at Northwestern University.

I had hoped to interview the founder of the field of Intercultural Communication, Edward T. Hall, he was incapacitated by a stroke.[18] Hall is held in very high esteem in Japan. People in the Intercultural field in Japan readily acknowledge Hall's influence both on the field and their personal lives. Hall's first book, *The Silent Language*, opened up the field of Intercultural Communication in 1959,[19] and was soon after translated into Japanese in 1966. Hall traveled to Japan to be the keynote speaker for the second Intercultural Communication conference in 1976[20] and subsequently several times for research for his other books, including a book about doing business in Japan entitled *Hidden Differences* (1987). Although I spoke with Hall many times before research for this study began, I did not specifically ask him about his trips to Japan.

Observations of Cultural Factors

For the Japanese informants, I observed aspects of communication that may have been present due to cultural styles of interaction and expectations of relationships. I briefly discuss those points here in the interest of presenting a thorough picture of the

interviewing process and outcomes.[21]Recalling my experience of interviewing 40 people, each interview was unique in personality, time allotment, memory, and other factors, but there were particular cultural factors that I was aware of when I interviewed Japanese scholars. I also noticed some generational tendencies. And because I am a non-Japanese, that was also a factor to be aware of in the interviewing process. Important cultural tendencies and influences are indicated here.

Generational Differences

Overall, I noticed that Japanese scholars of the older generation tended to provide a more fully contextualized answer to a greater extent than younger generation informants through sharing personal details, exploration of tangential points, and the addition of many contextual details.[22]

I may have observed what has been noted about communication differences between Japanese generations. The older generation informants tended to focus more on the fully contextualized answer and also to focus on the relational aspect of the interview. The older informants, focusing perhaps on their long term relationship with me, wanted to be sure they filled in as many details as possible to help me. For the most part, I knew the younger generation informants less well, and they may have tended to be more task-oriented because they did not focus on the relational aspect. Younger Japanese tend to be more task-oriented than the elders and, indeed, the younger informants in this study seemed to focus more on answering the exact question.

I also observed during the course of this study that many informants, particularly the elders with long careers, noticed and expressed to me how coherent, and even linear, their narratives appeared to be even though they had never thought that their lives

followed a direct path. For middle-aged and older informants, with the opportunity to use hindsight and with appreciation expressed for being encouraged to go over their major professional milestones, they reflected that they had been on a journey that seemed intentional and purpose drive, although they said that was far from the truth.

It seemed to me that younger generation informants, both individually and in the focus group, were more goal-oriented and stayed on the task of answering the questions. The latter observation stands to reason since younger people have fewer memories and experiences, but there may also have been the factor of the changing Japanese communication style over generations. [23]

I noticed that at times, with someone I knew quite well, usually that was an informant from an older generation, and when we had ample time for the interview, that I enjoyed a tangential discussion of a small topic with the informant before going back to the main topic at hand. Or sometimes I added comments about my own experience to what they had shared. Seidman (2006) talked about that sharing of experiences and thoughts as being generally encouraging to the informant as long as it is not overdone. My reflection on the actual interviews and after listening to the recordings is that those sharing moments were enjoyable for both sides when they happened. Perhaps sharing did encourage those informants. The sharing of stories and memories often elicited laughter that also increased rapport and seemed to be enjoyable for both sides (p.74).

At first, many informants, especially those of the older generations, expressed that they did not have anything of interest to tell me, but after having a chance to warm to the topics, they at the end apologized for having said too much. That first response came from a willingness to help me because of our relationship coupled with the humility

inherent in the expression of a relationship as well as modesty about their roles in the wider story. I rarely had to prompt anyone. Any probing was usually to elicit more specific or factual information. Once the Japanese informants understood the purpose of the interview and they began, they spoke very freely and provided me with thickly descriptive narratives.

Keeping in mind that all of the Japanese informants were highly accomplished scholars and practitioners, they were following a communication and relational pattern in two ways. I believe that those who at the start of the interview expressed something like "Are you sure you want to ask me?", "I don't know what I can say that will be helpful" were expressing their modesty in a conventional way within a relationship. Those expressions of modesty closely resemble a situation where someone has exquisitely presented a veritable feast and says, "I'm sorry there is nothing here for you, but if you could possibly try a little bit of it…[24]" .

And at the end of the interview, those who said something like, "I've talked a lot, really too long, and don't know if it is anything useful, but thank you very much for letting me look back," followed the same pattern that occurs at the end of a meal when the host, after being thanked for it, says, "It was nothing; there was nothing there.[25]" That communication pattern around the serving of food has set phrases and ways of behaving. The basic pattern may be transferred into other communication interactions, such as an interview, as I think I observed.

Another aspect of the interview was that many informants, especially those of the older generation, at the end of the interview would thank me very much for having had the opportunity to be interviewed and, therefore, to remember their earlier careers. For

example, many said something like, "I have not recalled all of that until now; thank you so much for asking me." Although I was the one taking up their time by requesting an in-depth interview and was expressing my thanks, they were the ones expressing gratitude for the experience.[26] And they found the experience fulfilling as well.

While it is true that anyone being asked to remember events and people from earlier in their careers may enjoy the opportunity of recalling those times, and although it is not only Japanese who express gratitude for being encouraged to share their memories, I was struck by the repeated expressions of gratitude of older generation Japanese. I took those expressions as genuine realizations of being able to share their memories with someone who was very interested as well as part of the communication pattern of thanking the other person for demonstrating favor to them.

Another Japanese cultural trait is to anticipate and then say what the other person wants to hear. [27] I was mindful of that possibly happening, especially with people of the older generation. I think it did occur at the very beginning of some of the interviews, partly as the result of awkwardness. After that initial period, I think that the informants quickly forgot about me and became absorbed in their memories and narratives. In other words, the informants quickly became un-self-conscious and stopped worrying about what I wanted to hear.

Silence and Pauses

Silence, long pauses, in Japanese communication (Okabe, 1983; Nishida, 1996; Oliver, 2001) play an important role and can be misunderstood, or cause frequent interruptions by Americans and other non-Japanese. With years of experience of patiently waiting through long pauses and learning how to interpret them, I had no difficulty in

riding through pauses and periods of silence during the interviews. At times, the informants were spending time to recall their experiences and earlier histories as well as deciding how to express themselves in English. At other times, as is often the case in Japanese communication norms, informants were enjoying the space and sharing of experiences with me.

Seidman (2006) wrote about tolerating silence and I agree that it is an important skill, especially within Japanese interaction. On the other hand, there are times when Japanese finish other's sentences or overlap other's sentences. Being used to that communication norm as well, I had no difficulty with that rhythm either.

In order to foster that focus on their own stories, I tried to be unobtrusive, quiet as possible, and waited through pauses for them to gather more thoughts and continue. I was aware that not only was I asking them about long ago memories and events that they had to bring to the surface but was also asking them to tell it all in English. I tried to maintain the fine line of both encouraging them to tell their story and refraining from leading them to a certain answer. As I was constantly writing field notes and also checking on the recorder, my eyes were generally averted but my ears were wide open. That gave the informant the impression, I believe, that I was intently listening as they could observe my constant writing, but not that I was anticipating anything in particular. When I listened to the interview tapes, I thought I did well in refraining from leading them to any answer.

Some Japanese Concepts in Communication

In Japanese communication norms, there are important differences between the formal and informal, and the concepts of *tatemae* and *honné*, and *omote* and *ura*. [28]As I stated earlier, Japanese are very sensitive to context and the appropriate behavior and

communication for that context. My request for a scheduled interview and the procedures of recording and taking notes from beginning to end was naturally interpreted as a situation that is formal, *tatemae,* and *omote*. However, my knowledge of contextualization of communication styles and the fact that I knew most of the individuals personally also enabled me to change the mood to one that was more informal within the formal structure.

Referring to Phase IV of the interview process, it was often after the recorder was turned off that the informal period occurred. In that relaxed state, it was possible then to probe for other comments and details that belong to the *honné* and *ura* modes of communication. At times, I turned on the recorder again to capture those comments but had to be aware of whether the informant wanted those comments included in the formal transcription. I never tried to trick anyone into revealing something private and always followed the informants' wishes about what should be considered off-the-record. I took seriously that aspect of accuracy of reporting and assured the informants that I would honor their instructions about what was fine to include and what was not.

My Positioning as a Participant Observer

My own narrative, as an individual involved in the Intercultural Communication field's development in Japan since 1980, placed me squarely at the center of the entire narrative of the development of the field in Japan – both the academic and training sides, although in this study the decision was made to focus on the development within Japanese academia with nods of recognition to the other areas if they were intertwined with people, places or events in academia. My own career is one example within the arc of that development. As I was living and working through the decades, I was not

planning to later retrace my steps for this study. Nor was anyone else who has been interviewed.

According to qualitative research categorization, I may identify myself a participant observer, although I had not planned to be in that role. It is only now, with hindsight, that I realize I was in that role, although without awareness and without any deliberate documentation. My career in Intercultural Communication in Japan began in 1980, when the nascent establishment of the field was occurring and then continued to develop. Each individual within a greater narrative has their own perspective and viewpoint. As an American living in Japan, in the 1980s in Kansai (Osaka-Kyoto area) and in the 1990s in Tokyo, I possessed an unusual insider/outsider perspective and access.

During those busy years, I did not take notes about the development per say, but I did meet many individuals with whom I developed long-lasting relationships. Many of those colleagues were central figures in the Intercultural Communication field that for this study became my informants for the interviews. As stated above, during my career in which I held teaching positions at several universities, several of the informants were my colleagues. And several more, including Americans, were colleagues on academic association boards and committees. I also collaborated with others to produce workshops, presentations, courses, and trainings.

Insider/Outsider Roles

It is important within the context of Japanese cultural norms to talk briefly about the insider/outsider roles and the expectations attributed to these as well as about the access that is possible. Not being Japanese,[29] but living closely connected to Japanese in Japanese settings, such as universities and academic associations, placed me in a unique

insider/outsider role. As a colleague within a group and with the ability to participate in meetings and social events in Japanese, I was an insider.[30]

As someone who was very familiar with and practiced Japanese cultural norms in the many settings in which I participated and with the ability to communicate in Japanese, I was able to fit into groups and to be a functioning part of a group, not window-dressing. My early background in Japan enabled me to know more about traditional customs and behaviors than the average younger Japanese. Japanese generally like to treat non-Japanese as guests, which is another way of keeping them as outsiders.

I was a part of many Japanese groups in the course of my career and in personal life, which created a high comfort level with me in the room. That gave me a window into the real Japanese psyche and access to insider behavior that few non-Japanese ever access. Indeed, many non-Japanese have no desire to become insiders as they are well pleased with their guest status – after all, guests are well looked after and not expected to take much responsibility beyond being good guests.

However, it is also true that being a non-Japanese it is never possible to become Japanese, that is, to be accepted as a Japanese, and, therefore, I was perpetually an outsider.[31] In addition, as a non-Japanese, my perspective was undoubtedly different from a Japanese perspective at times. As a non-Japanese, who also knew a lot about Japanese cultural norms, I could at any time choose to play the "foreigner card" and express something different or behave in a contrary way to make a point or push someone off balance. Foreigners are considered unpredictable. Someone like myself who understands and practices cultural norms may also choose an unpredictable behavior as a strategy. However, I never intentionally chose unpredictability for relations with colleagues in the

academy. I sometimes used that tactic during negotiations in the business world when I was in the role of consultant, adviser, or trainer.

Researcher and Listener

My years of experience in Japan plus career years in the Intercultural Communication field provided the familiarity to evaluate the coherence and fidelity of the compiled narratives (defined in Chapter Two – Literature Review and attributed to Fisher, 1984, 1987, 1988). As the single listener of the interviews and the single author of this study, I understood that the grounding of the story told in this study would demonstrate adequate coherence and fidelity depending on my choices and selection of various facts and voices out of the whole.

I readily acknowledge that my being the investigator influenced the outcome; however, the final outcome was also influenced by my decades of intimate experience with Japanese culture and institutions, years of study of Japanese history and society,[32] and the years of collegial friendship enjoyed with so many of the informants. I attempted to accomplish a study that has both depth and breadth, and is judged acceptable by my Japanese colleagues, although there remain gaps and errors.

Use of the narrative paradigm in my research placed me as the listener, a very good role to have in Japan. I knew it would be important to meet and interview Japanese scholars in person in order to conduct in-depth interviews and proceed according to the information presented at the time.[33]Then during the interviews, I did my best to be relatively silent, listen and write notes, while I also responded with nonverbal and a few verbal cues (collectively called *aizuchi* in Japanese) in appropriate ways for the

interaction, although the interviews were conducted in English. Those cues encouraged the interviewees to proceed and to comfortably disclose their histories and thoughts.

I knew that my presence, the questions that I chose to ask, and my interpretation all contributed to the outcome of the research, and that if someone else were conducting this project, there could be a different interpretation and structuring. Because of my familiarity with Japanese communication practices, and the fact that I personally knew almost all of the individuals I interviewed, I was confident that I would pay close attention to what was not said as well as what was said, and that I would consider the meaning of the non-included or predominately nonverbal messages. I felt confident that after living in Japan for over twenty years, and that included experience in a number of different settings, my interpretation would be based on the culmination of all the narratives I listened to and would be evaluated as satisfactory and essentially correct by Japanese colleagues.

Preserving and Respecting Meaning

It is always important for any researcher to preserve the meaning that informants wish to convey and to honor what they wish to keep confidential. In addition, knowing what I do about the Japanese communication norms of *tatemae* and *honné*, and relational expectations, it was crucial for me to be particularly careful about contextual comments and confidential comments. Once I listened to the interviews, and if some of the informal talk was included in the recording or my notes, I made the decision as to what was acceptable to include, and what was not. I also decided which details to include and which to leave out according to their relevance to the central theme of this study rather than their unique interest.

As stated above, sometimes an informant cautioned me that what she or he was about to reveal, or had just revealed, was confidential, in which case I always honored that request and left out those comments. However, it may have happened at times that what one individual considered confidential was shared openly by another informant or that it was common knowledge.

It may be said that it is the human foibles, weaknesses, and the gossip going on in the background makes a narrative interesting; however, those will wait for another appropriate forum.[34]As with all narratives, there is no one *truth,* there are a series of interpretations based on experience and memory. Within this story of the Intercultural Communication discipline in Japan, I was also a part of and an observer of its development. I felt my responsibility as a colleague and friend to most of the informants keenly.

Critical Issues

In Chapter Two – Literature Review, I referred to critical scholar Mumby's caution that the privileged often control a narrative or that there is often a dominant voice that drowns out other voices (1987). Consideration of those concerns prompted three questions regarding my handling of informants and their interviews for this study. The first question was whether I privileged certain voices over others; the second was whether I discovered a dominant, privileged voice either in the interviewing process or the examination of texts that suppressed other voices. The third question, separate from the first two, was whether Japanese critical scholars have raised concerns about the mainstream development of Intercultural Communication and whether those voices were included in this study.

Regarding the first question, it could conceivably be said that I privileged Japanese who are fluent English speakers or who received at least part of their higher education in the United States, or another English-speaking country. And it may be further agreed that Japanese who fit those profiles may be placed more at the fringes of their society than in the mainstream; therefore, how would it be possible to assert that the informants included in and at the center of the present study really represent the mainstream development of the Intercultural Communication discipline in Japan?

To respond to that criticism, I would answer that in the case of the Intercultural Communication discipline in Japan, those who were drawn to intercultural issues and fostered the discipline's development were and continue to be precisely those individuals who are linguistically fluent, studied outside of Japan, and were at the forefront of changes in Japanese society.

Compared to average Japanese, the individuals who played key roles in the development of Intercultural Communication displayed an unusual interest in different languages and cultures, and in studying and spending time outside of Japan. These were the very traits that attracted them to Intercultural Communication as an area of scholarship and research. Therefore, although all the Japanese informants were fluent in English so that being interviewed in English at my request was not a problem, it was not for their linguistic fluency that I sought out those individuals. Rather, they were fluent in English because of their early and continuous study of English and, for all but the youngest scholars, their study for higher degrees outside of Japan.

To address the second question, I neither discovered a dominant voice or that certain voices were suppressed within the narrative of the development of Intercultural

Communication in Japan. I sought to have an inclusive overview of the history of the Intercultural Communication field in Japan in two ways. One way was to intentionally seek out and interview regional scholars outside of Tokyo, thereby avoiding the likelihood of the concentration of population and events of Tokyo becoming the dominant voice. A look at the List of Informants (Appendix A) evidences the number of regional informants.

In addition, I chose to interview scholars of varying career lengths and asked for their recommendations for whom else to include. The idea of organizing the informants into Four Generations (See Table 1 and Table 2 in Chapter Five – Findings with discussion) evolved through the interview process. Each generation was confronted with different societal challenges and participated in a different stage of development. Although there were clearly central figures within the greater narrative, I did not evaluate that finding equated to a dominant voice that subordinated or marginalized other voices.

The third question of whether Japanese critical scholars have raised concerns regarding the mainstream development of Intercultural Communication and whether those voices were included in this study may be answered, in short, in the affirmative. The critical revisiting of earlier concepts and methods is part of the natural process of maturation in a field of study. Re-evaluation generates new perspectives; fresh approaches are suggested and applied. In addition to all the common threads that connect individuals to the greater field of Intercultural Communication, there were likely to be some expressions of differing interpretations of events, theoretical bases, assumptions, or choices of methodology. Also, an emphasis on differing worldviews may occur that then invites conversation, dialogue, and new ways of doing research, new academic

associations, and new attitudes towards American scholarship. The rhythm of differentiation and convergence leads to creative and dynamic growth in a field.

Japanese scholarly critical voices did exist and were included in this study. Those critical voices appeared to emerge more from the middle and younger generations. For the individuals who raised a critical voice, however, it did not mean that they disregarded earlier scholarship. For earlier scholars, their change to a more critical voice appeared to be part of their personal evolution within the field (Ishii, 1997, 2004) and started as early as the early 1990s. Moreover, it appeared to me that younger generation scholars who took a more critical stance were well within the parameters of a naturally occurring evolution of the field (Miike, 2002, 2003). Further discussion of these critical voices will be in Chapter Six – Conclusions.

Ideas for Additional Research

Having gone through the interviewing process followed by analysis, ideas for additional research that would be a direct outgrowth of this study came to mind. For interviews with Japanese, the fact of my being a non-Japanese and my request that the informants speak in English for the interviews must have influenced the outcome of the interviews even though I knew most of the informants personally and am very familiar with Japanese culture and fluent in Japanese.

It would be interesting to compare the outcome of similar research conducted by a Japanese. And further, it would be interesting to compare the outcome of similar research conducted by a younger scholar, both a Japanese and a non-Japanese. To add to the possible variables for comparison, it would be important to compare the outcome of

research conducted by a male, of either a young or mature age, and either Japanese or non-Japanese.

Another idea that would be of interest is to write biographies of the early central figures who played instrumental roles in the early development of Intercultural Communication in Japan. A biography of Mitsuko Saito that outlines her many roles and linkages to many, varied networks would be quite interesting. There are many colleagues and former students who could be interviewed in depth for this project.

It would also be interesting to focus on some of the major events during the course of the development of the Intercultural Communication field in Japan to outline their themes, the people involved, the details of the networks that developed (or fell apart) as a result of contact at those events, and the contributions that arose both short-term and long-term. Several possibilities include the two conferences held at ICU in the 1970s, the Nihonmatsu Seminar of 1974, and the SIETAR International Congress held in Japan in 1998. These events are included in this study but there are many more details that could be written about and found to be very interesting. It would be possible to map a complete network that emerged from any one of these major events.

Another idea would be to focus on key individuals who pioneered and developed the Intercultural Communication corporate training and consulting areas in Japan. Although in this study there is some mention of these individuals and many of them were also active in the academy and academic associations, the parameters of this study omitted the development of training and contributions of trainers to the field of Intercultural Communication in Japan.

An additional idea would be to focus on the early media exposure of Intercultural topics by individuals such as Mitsuko Saito and Masao Kunihiro, and a little later period with Torikai. All three of them hosted long running programs on the NHK educational channel. Kunihiro's interviews were always in English with guests who were prominent in their fields, politicians, and other newsworthy people of the day. Some of Kunihiro's content was compiled, translated into Japanese and published for the public. The arc of exposure through the media would be interesting to document. Such a study would necessitate access to NHK archives, if they exist.

Others in the Intercultural field have also appeared frequently on television. And in recent decades there have been programs on the commercial broadcasting channels that fulfilled the mandate for educational content by combining Intercultural themes with entertaining game show formats. I tried to contact the producer of one of them in order to access more information about their mandate and weekly format, but was turned down. These are just a few of the many more topics that could be covered and would be of interest and value to Interculturalists in Japan, and perhaps outside Japan also.

Summary

I interviewed a total of 40 informants, using the narrative interview format to elicit in-depth narratives to construct a history of the development of the Intercultural Communication discipline in Japan. Of the 29 individual interviews conducted in Japan, 23 of the informants were Japanese; six informants were long-term non-Japanese residents of Japan. Four individual interviews were conducted with Americans in the United States who had played prominent roles in the development of the Intercultural Communication discipline in Japan. Although I was unable to interview several key

figures from the early decades because they had passed away, I was able to interview their students and/or colleagues. I also interviewed a focus group of seven doctoral students who entered as the first class in the first doctoral program in Intercultural Communication in Japan.

There were some challenges such as scheduling and travel. I was fortunate to have an insider/outsider role for Japanese interactions and a participant-observer role for all the interactions. I knew the majority of informants for many years in the academy, some as same university colleagues, and through involvement in academic associations. Therefore, the sample was one of convenience with a small snowball effect of a few introductions.

I followed the Four Phases of the narrative interview and also was able to produce good results because of my knowledge of Japanese communication norms and expectations. All of the informants were well able to speak in English for the interviews, which assisted the process of transcription and analysis for a document in English. The content of the interviews provided a lot of data that supported my response to Research Questions I and II. The interview content especially enabled me to construct an answer to Research Question III that asked about the invisible college network of scholars. I was able to map many aspects of the invisible college.

---

[1] The level of fluency is simply my evaluation based on knowing these individuals. The reason for inclusion of this information is to indicate that the non-Japanese informants living in Japan were very knowledgeable about Japan as well as about the Intercultural Communication field in Japan. Fluency in Japanese may be evaluated with many factors. Fluency may or may not include written Japanese of various levels. In my evaluation, I included the ability to recognize, acknowledge, and use Japanese nonverbal communication and interactive styles as well as verbal fluency.

[2] The individual raised in Japan from the age of seven until college age was Clifford Clarke who is fluent in Japanese. In this grouping of four informants, one other individual is proficient in Japanese, and I would evaluate the other two as knowing a few phrases for use. Of the four, however, only one had not lived in Japan, but rather traveled to Japan many times.

[3] In my own case, my career in Intercultural Communication of 20 years in Japan was an example of straddling both the academy and the corporate world.

[4] Three of the scholars on the panel were informants for this study: Masao Kunihiro, Satoshi Ishii, and John Condon. It was not possible to arrange a convenient time to individually interview the fourth scholar on the panel.

[5] The point here is that the graduate students were studying for their doctorate degrees in Japan so would not receive that degree abroad. Due to time constraints for the focus group interview, I was not able to ask fully about their individual backgrounds. It is likely that at least some of them had been on exchange programs, lived abroad with their families, or studied at least partially for their lower degrees outside Japan. There are many Japanese attending colleges every year in the United States.

[6] I just learned that one informant, one of the two I do not know well who was introduced to me, received her doctorate degree recently.

[7] At the end of such an interview, with the recording finished, the informant and I would smoothly return to Japanese which to me indicated and expressed an ease and trust in the relationship that was gratifying.

[8] I say "of course" because it should be remembered that all coursework was conducted in Japanese at a normal native fluency level.

[9] The six Japanese students, although not studying in English, had high levels of English fluency. And the Filipino student was fluent in English also.

[10] Another informant who was not directly involved in the Intercultural Communication discipline in Japan, but was interviewed was David Rackham. He is a professor at ICU in another field. He was an informant due to his knowledge of the history of ICU. I am indebted to him for sharing his collection of historical photographs of the ICU campus and for the use of his photograph at the front of this study.

[11] IRB refers to the university's Institutional Review Board. All types of research, including this qualitative non-invasive type, requires IRB approval and pre-approved consent forms.

[12] SIETAR Japan's policy is to have a roughly equal number of presentations in Japanese and English with some proceedings in both languages or with translation. The keynote and other major presentations at the 2005 conference were in English. Language choices for smaller session presentations and break-out sessions connected to the major sessions were left up to the presenters.

[13] CAJ's conferences and programs are entirely in Japanese with the occasional exception for an overseas guest speaker. Non-Japanese may be members of CAJ if they are able to participate in Japanese.

[14] The academic year in Japan begins in April. The first semester ends in mid-July. School begins again in mid to later September and ends either in late December or early January. Entrance exams are held in February. For ICU, the university featured in this study, the academic year begins in April but it uses the quarter system so that its school schedule is very different from that of other Japanese universities. ICU also allows students to enter in the fall semester to accommodate those coming from overseas where the school year begins in September.

[15] Often called the Bullet Train outside Japan.

[16] Taxi travel is very comfortable but expensive.

[17] Japanese may tell someone something is fine as a measure of politeness and regard for the other person believing that an individual who really practices courtesy will know whether or not to follow that within that relationship context. I believe I know when someone is authentically giving me permission as opposed to being polite because they do not want to be disagreeable. The older generation practices these communication norms to a greater extent than the younger generations. This communication norm is part of the *tatemae* and *honné* styles as well as of direct and indirect communication styles.

[18] Edward T. Hall, born 1914, suffering a stroke at the end of 1999. He passed away in July of 2009, as the final writing of this study was progressing, at the age of 95. I knew "Ned" as he preferred to be called, personally since early 1999 when I was fortunate to be in the last class he taught at the University of New Mexico. After that, I was able to visit him at his home in Santa Fe, New Mexico, about a 75-minute trip by car from my home in Albuquerque. It was possible, and delightful, to visit with him but not to conduct an interview. Many times during the course of interviewing for this study and after, many Japanese and non-Japanese in Japan asked me to tell Dr. Hall how much his work and books had changed their lives and how much he was appreciated.

[19] At the time of the writing of this study, to commemorate the 50th anniversary of the publication of *The Silent Language*, SIETAR Japan in both Tokyo and Kansai invited John Condon who has known Hall for over 45 years, to present on Hall's concepts and contributions at meetings in June 2009.
[20] I, and others, believe that Hall's first trip to Japan was in 1976, but it has not been possible to verify this fact.
[21] I also present these observations and comments here in order to point out and emphasize that it was owing to my long-standing relationships with the majority of the Japanese informants and reliable introductions to the other few informants that allowed me to call on them for their time and personal narratives. I doubt that a newcomer to Japan could replicate this series of interviews with the same responses. Of course, no qualitative study can be exactly replicated, but my point here is the one that Everett Rogers made when he encouraged me to pursue this study. Very few people have the relational status accumulated over many years to be able to carry out this project. Having said that, however, it is also true that no matter who would attempt a similar study, they would necessarily be influenced by their own perspective and relationships.
[22] For American informants, I did not interview younger generation Americans so could not make any inter-generational comparison or comparison with the Japanese.
[23] Two American informants also expressed the same observation of linearity with hindsight; both of them have lived for many years in Japan.
[24] In Japanese, "Nani mo nai desu ga…"
[25] In Japanese, "O-somatsu-sama deshita."
[26] A couple of the American informants expressed themselves in the same way, but many more Japanese did. The Americans were those with the longest residence in Japan.
[27] A trait not unique to Japanese but certainly embedded in Japanese interaction.
[28] *Tatemae* is defined as the formal façade of communication; one's public persona. *Honné* is defined as the internal thoughts, beliefs, and feelings that may be expressed only in confidence to persons of long-standing, trustworthy relationships. The listener should understand without discussion what is confidential. *Omote* is similar to *tatemae*, refers to the public face, and literally means *the front*. One may think of the *front stage* concept of Erving Goffman. *Ura* is similar to Goffman's *back stage* concept and sometimes infers back alley or underhanded dealings.
[29] Upon meeting me, there is no confusion about whether I am Japanese. I am not of Japanese heritage at all. I am an American with totally European ancestry, with a fair complexion.
[30] In many cases, I was the only non-Japanese and the only woman in a group.
[31] Indeed, as soon as I stepped outside the Japanese group I was embedded with, I was perceived to be a complete outsider. That is the norm in Japan.
[32] My formal study of Japanese society and culture began with an undergraduate degree in Japanese and Asian Studies from the University of Toronto (B.A. 1974) and has continued throughout my residence in Japan to the present day. During the course of my career, for example, I guided high-level opinion leaders from Western countries invited by the Japanese government, taught MBA-level courses on Japanese culture and business practices to American exchange students, and taught international negotiation skills to Japanese businesspeople and MBA students.
[33] At the time of my preliminary research, I interviewed some individuals but most were American owing to time constraints. The one interview with a Japanese scholar was conducted entirely through email. Whereas the email responses were satisfactory for gathering and clarifying some factual information, I knew that it would be necessary to interview Japanese individuals face-to-face in order to listen to their entire stories. The difference between face-to-face and email interviews may also be true for Americans, but I think that it makes a bigger difference for the outcome with Japanese.
[34] It might be of interest, at another time, having written this formal study, to then write another essay that takes in all the personality clashes, the gossip, the intrigues that are, after all, at the center of the drama of this narrative and may be well served by another format. There are precedents for the use of two entirely different formats of the same narrative in Japan and it is something, I think, that Japanese, by and large, would appreciate. After all, of what use is a sterile narrative? The real story of the development of the Intercultural Communication discipline perhaps cannot ever be told because it is far too complex and involved too many people over decades, but telling the back stories would add another dimension.

CHAPTER FIVE – FINDINGS

In this chapter, I discuss my findings that respond to Research Questions I, II, and III on the topic of *why* and *how* the field of Intercultural Communication Studies could become established in Japan and then develop into an academic discipline that has at this point in time become institutionalized and has diffused into society. The three Research Questions establish the three major sections of this chapter. This study traces how a new idea, in this case, a new academic discipline, was transported from the United States, introduced to Japan by both Japanese and Americans, and subsequently expanded and flourished in the new environment.

Research Questions 1 and II inquire about the context found in Japan starting from the post-World War II period and continuing through the decades, ending in 2006,[1] to close this study. The historical and social contexts presented here form the backdrop necessary to better understand the meta-level and psychological levels that presented a welcoming context for the new concepts and worldview of Intercultural Communication. Research Questions I and II both derive from questioning the historical and social contexts of Japan starting with the post-World War II era in depth and continuing through succeeding periods of time.

The difference between these two Research Questions is that Question I focuses on the meta-level of societal and historical context, the wider environment that presented itself during each period of time. The post-World War II period was found to be especially reception to what Intercultural Communication had to offer. Research Question II then focuses on the more personal and psychological effects of living within those periods of time. The changes in society that in turn affected personal lives and

psychological mindsets in succeeding periods of time to 2006 were more relevant to findings for Research Question II. The backdrop of context, however, informed both Research Questions as they asked why Intercultural Communication as a discipline found a welcoming home in Japan, took root, and became established. Throughout this chapter, as I proceed through chronological time, examples and commentary on both the meta-level and psychological level will be presented.

To address the *how* of the establishment, development, and institutionalization of Intercultural studies in Japan, Research Question III asks about the invisible college of scholars and the role it played. An interpersonal network of individual scholars, both Japanese and American, known as the invisible college, introduced and fostered the development of the Intercultural Communication discipline in Japan, closely parallel to its introduction and establishment in the United States. As explained in the Theoretical Perspectives chapter's section on diffusion theory, the establishment of Intercultural Communication studies in Japan is a story of the diffusion of new ideas disseminated through the channels of interpersonal networks among scholars known as an invisible college. As explained in the Methodology chapter the compiled narratives of many scholars contributed to understanding the interpersonal dynamics within the channels.

The narrative paradigm informed me to tell the story as a historical narrative based on the collected narratives of a number of scholars who contributed to that history. As I proceed chronologically to document the historical background, the amalgamated voices from those narratives will be inserted to flesh out the details and argument. The response to Research Question III draws on the findings from those collected narratives

of a number of the scholars who contributed to this historical story from which I was able to piece together many links of the invisible college.

In addition to the structure of the three research Questions, to respond to Research Questions I and II, this chapter is organized into four major parts corresponding to the four historical periods and the four generations of Intercultural scholars that I identified and introduce below. Detailed explanations of Research Questions I and II are found in the following section. Questions I and II are responded to in combination through detailing the historical and social contexts of each period, basically answering *why Japan* and *what resonated with Japanese* respectively. Research Question III will be further explained and findings discussed in the third major section of this chapter.

In the following section, I address the importance of viewing the historical and social contexts of Japan through the four historical periods that serve as backdrops necessary for understanding the development and establishment of the Intercultural Communication field in Japan. Each period's context is discussed by referring to the four respective Timeline Figures. For each period, I refer to the highlights of events and trends that created the contexts of that period which both impacted and advanced Intercultural Communication as a discipline. The laying out of each period's context is followed by explanation and highlights of the respective Generation and its developments within the Intercultural Communication field to provide a mapping of the history of the field.

Research Question I – Why Japan?

Research Question I for this study asked why the Intercultural Communication field of study, new also in the United States, found a context in Japan to take root and proceed in development almost parallel to that of the United States. The historical and

social contexts of Japan, especially starting from the Postwar Period, provide the essential reasoning and understanding for why and how Intercultural Communication as a discipline took became established and thrived. The historical and social backdrop begins with the Postwar Period and continues through the succeeding periods until 2006 to document the meta contextual reasons of why Intercultural Communication was of interest as a field of study in Japan, a non-Western country, and a country bitterly defeated by the United States in war.

The complete Research Question I was as follows: *Why did Intercultural Communication studies become established and develop in Japan when there were no other examples of its establishment in other Asian countries in the Post-World War II world?* This Research Question addresses the meta-level context of Japanese society. It calls for speculation on the colossal transformation that Japan went through after its defeat in World War II that affected every sector and segment of society and in turn generated new and urgent questions.

If the establishment of SIETAR (Society for Intercultural Education, Training, and Research) groups may be taken as a measure of establishment of the Intercultural Communication field around the world, the first group was organized out of less formal intercultural study groups in the United States in 1971. SIETAR Europa was not founded until 1991. SIETAR Japan, also an outgrowth of less formal study groups and Japanese membership in the American organization, dates its founding to 1985 showing that SIETAR Japan most closely followed the American development, ahead of Europe. Looking at the rest of Asia, SIETAR Indonesia was founded in 1999; most recently, SIETAR India was founded in August 2006.

I identified the sociological, educational, and economic contexts that were brought about through the historic transition of Japan in the latter 20th century. Japan was and remains a very different society than the United States. Japan was even more different than the United States at the end of World War II, emerging as a vanquished, defeated nation with an Occupier for the first time in its long history. Those meta-level contexts converged to provide some reasons for the introduction of and acceptance of Intercultural Communication studies. Succeeding periods of time, each with their own challenges and changes, as well as the accidents of history presented continuing opportunities for the development of the Intercultural Communication discipline in Japan.

Research Question II – What Resonated with Japanese?

As introduced above, consideration of the multiple contexts that Japanese people were facing in the Postwar Period and subsequent periods was important as the backdrop to the introduction and subsequent development of the Intercultural Communication concepts and point of view. Essential psychological and identity-based questions would drive motivation for how to proceed after the defeat of war. These questions are detailed below.

The search for answers led certain Japanese scholars to topics and approaches within Intercultural studies that happened to resonate with the greater Japanese society. If there had been no resonance, no one would have been interested in answers coming from Intercultural studies; Intercultural Communication as a discipline would not have become established.

The complete Research Question II was as follows*: How did the conceptual components of Intercultural Communication studies resonate with Japanese scholars*[2] *to*

the extent that they embraced the discipline so readily within a short period of time? Upon introduction to Japan, the concepts of Intercultural Communication might have received no response. Instead, elements within the discipline itself were attractive to and resonated with Japanese to an adequate extent, and also provided answers to urgent societal questions so that interest and momentum grew and led to the discipline's development in Japan. In its introductory state, components within the scope and approach of the Intercultural Communication discipline must have had the ring of familiarity, met serious needs, and seemed accessible, all points necessary for the diffusion of ideas including intellectual paradigms.

Historical and Social Contexts

Of the three Research Questions for the present study regarding why and how Intercultural Communication studies could be successfully introduced into Japan, Research Questions I and II specifically relate to the historical and social contexts of Japan. Therefore, the historical and social contexts of Japan serve as the backdrop to this study. It was essential to begin the documentation of the historical and social contexts of Japan at the point of the Postwar Period, 1945, that was even before Intercultural Communication as a field existed in the United States.

I considered what historical and social contexts needed to be included for mapping the development of the discipline through each historical period. The social, educational, and economic contexts, and in addition, relations between Japanese and Americans at the political, educational, and business levels were relevant to the introduction and subsequent directions of the field's development depending on the period. The social, economic, educational, and business trends of each of the historical

periods were then tied to the relevant trends, scholarship, and events of the Intercultural Communication field.

The choices and directions taken in the development of the Intercultural Communication discipline evolved out of the contexts of each time period; both Questions I and II were related to the contexts of the periods although each question focused on different parts of the field's development. Embedded in Research Question I was the assumption that in order for Intercultural Communication studies to be introduced and become rooted, the Postwar Period context was welcoming and receptive and is better answered by explicating the meta-view of the Postwar Period.

Research Question II asked what within Intercultural Communication resonated with Japanese and was more related to the explication of the three succeeding periods. Included in Research Question II was the assumption that the Intercultural Communication paradigm must have largely resonated with Japanese on a psychological level in order to become established and develop into a sustainable discipline. In relation to Research Question III, without the coincidence of a favorable larger environment as the backdrop for the individual efforts of scholars within the invisible college, Intercultural Communication would not have become established as it did. Without the larger context, those efforts would barely merit a footnote.

When making the decision about what levels of history and what areas of society would be relevant to explore for this study, I kept in mind Carr's observation that historical events are generally understood as a number of narratives that overlap and are relevant to one another (1986). The bulk of the findings and mapping for this study are based on the narratives (and materials) obtained through interviewing[3] and placed within

the larger context of Japanese historical events and their effects on society. Insights for Research Questions I and II were derived from a review of the narratives of the informants for this study as they related to the historical and social meta-views. Relevant archival materials and literature about the history of the Intercultural Communication studies discipline in Japan were also used, much of it provided to me by informants. The findings for mapping the links and characteristics of the invisible college for Research Question III relied on the amalgamated narratives and materials.

Macro and Micro-levels of the Context

In order to answer Research Questions I and II that ask about the possible reasons for why Intercultural Communication studies took root in Japan, at both the larger societal level and the more personal psychological level, it was essential to document and consider the multiple contexts of history, society, psychology, and economics. Development of the Intercultural Communication discipline in Japan was fundamentally influenced by the multiple contexts. Any new paradigm, any field that becomes established, must have a context within which to become situated before it goes through the diffusion process.

Consideration of the multiple contexts increases understanding of what realities Japanese were facing and what questions they were asking, first, in the Postwar years, then continuing through subsequent decades. The four critical questions will be detailed below. Tracing the development of Intercultural Communication studies revealed how it provided some answers to those key questions. The peculiar United States-Japan relationship also played a key role in the transfer, and then the development, of the Intercultural Communication field to Japan.

The historical and social contexts of Japan serve as the backdrop to this study and provide structure for the choices and directions made in the development of this discipline. For documenting the development of the Intercultural Communication discipline in Japan, I considered which historical and social contexts, and the respective historical periods for delineating the research structure, would be needed for inclusion due to their relevance to this mapping of the development of the discipline which is at the heart of this study. For example, I decided that the social and university contexts of Japanese society starting about 1950 and continuing to 2006 were relevant. In addition, relations between Japanese and Americans at the political, educational, and business levels were also relevant to the directions taken in the field's development.

Both the micro and meta-views of Japan are highlighted here. The meta-view focused on the backdrop of history, on what was occurring within Japanese society during the Postwar decades, from the time Japan was still under the Occupation of the United States, through the subsequent decades, ending for this study at the first half of the first decade of the 21st century. The meta-view points out key moments in history that affected Japanese intellectual history and therefore Intercultural Communication. A shifting of the public psyche occurred at these disjuncture points and directly affected both the search for answers for challenges facing society and the reception of the answers provided by the discipline of Intercultural Communication. The meta-view also took into account pressures being felt by Japanese society from the outside world, Japanese responses, and solutions offered by the discipline of Intercultural Communication.

The micro-view was directed to the Intercultural Communication discipline, from the time it was introduced to Japan at the end of the 1950s, to identify specific events,

occurrences, and directions in its evolution. Those highlights are shown in the lower sections of each of the period timelines. Tracing the discipline's progression within the academy also addressed Research Question III and its focus on the invisible college of scholars. The micro-level perspective for Research Question III assisted in identifying prominent individuals and activities starting at the International Christian University (ICU) in Tokyo and tracing the evolution of diffusion of the field owing to the dynamics of the networks.

The weaving of the meta-view and the micro-view continues throughout the findings of this study in order to form a coherent narrative that traces the development of the Intercultural Communication discipline in Japan.

Historical Periods and Generational Categories Used for This Study

The historical period names used for this study, together with the actual years, are shown in Table 2. In the context of this study, the term *Postwar* always refers to the period after World War II. The succeeding periods have names that coincide with major events for both Japan and the Intercultural Communication discipline. In this way also, the close relationship between development of the Intercultural field and the context is demonstrated.

For the purposes of this study, the research agenda based on Japan's status in the world was divided into periods beginning with the Postwar Period in Japan, 1945 to 1976, which constituted the recovery from war and economic miracle years. Subsequent periods are the Japan, Inc. accelerating global economy years of 1977 to 1989, The Lost Decade from 1989[4] to 1999 after the bursting of the economic bubble years, and the most recent

years that I called Global Soft Power from 2000 to 2006 that marks the parameter for this study.

Table 2. ***Four Historical Periods and Related Generation Categories***

Historical Years	Historical Period	Generation Term	Generation Years
1945 – 1976	Postwar Period	Pioneers	1958 – 1976
1977 – 1989	Japan, Inc.	Inheritors	1977 – 1988
1989 – 1999	The Lost Decade	Heisei	1989 – 1999
2000 – 2006	Global Soft Power	Millennials	2000 – 2006[5]

The earliest introduction of Intercultural Communication concepts did not occur until the late 1950s; then starting in the late 1960s and continuing into the 1970s, interest evolved and establishment began. Establishment continued in the 1980s and beyond; maturation began in the 1990s. For the purposes of this study, in order to present findings relevant to Research Question I in this chapter, I focus first on the Postwar Period, defined as 1945 to 1976. World War II came to an end in August 1945, followed by the American Occupation of Japan until 1952. During the immediate Postwar Period from 1945 to 1958, and discipline Intercultural Communication did not yet exist anywhere; however, it is important to examine these years. During these years, some individuals who would become key figures were growing up and receiving their educations; they were influenced by the time they lived in. The meta-level contexts were shifting towards preparing the groundwork for introduction of this intellectual paradigm.

While I am confident that the first three historical period names are commonly used by average Japanese and may be used by historians of Japan, the last period of this study, Global Soft Power, is a term conceived by me based on known historical and

social trends. There are indications, expanded upon in a later section regarding this historical period, that this or a similar term may be chosen for this recent and continuing period. For the purposes of this study, the last period closes at 2006, but that does not mean that any definable period comes to an end in 2006. In any case, it is probably too early to distinguish an historical period until there is some distancing with hindsight or a perceivable transition takes place.

The Four Generations is a categorization that evolved from the informant narratives and their references to major events that I used to organize the major periods of development of the Intercultural Communication field in Japan. The Generations concept will be referred to in connection with each period as I identify each Generation's major events and accomplishments.

The Generations are further discussed in the third major section of this chapter when addressing Research Question III about the invisible college of Intercultural scholars. Terms and years of the Four Generations are shown also in Table 2; the years for the Generations closely correspond to the historical period years. The Four Generations are categorized as the Pioneers 1958 to 1976, Inheritors 1977 to 1988, Heisei 1989 to 1999, and Millennials 2000 to the present. Also see Table 1 Central Figures of the Four Generations that lists the individual informants according to Generation with their major affiliations. This Table will be frequently referred to as each Generation is discussed.

Table 1. ***Central Figures of the Four Generations***[1]

		U.S. American	Japanese	NAME	GENDER[2]		Universities Closely Associated With
					Male	Female	
Postwar 1945-1976	PIONEERS 1958-1976		X	Mitsuko Saito		X	ICU[3]
			X	(Masako Sano) [4]		X	ICU
		X		Dean Barnlund	X		Northwestern U., ICU, San Francisco State
		X		John C. Condon	X		Northwestern U., ICU, U. of New Mexico
		X		Clifford Clarke	X		(Stanford University) IRI/Clarke & Associates (trainer)[5]

[1] Where an individual is placed in this Generations table is not relevant to chronological age. Placement has to do with their influence within the discipline.
[2] Gender is indicated due to the difficult of knowing that piece of information automatically by non-Japanese about Japanese names. And for this study, the gender of the scholars is important.
[3] ICU is International Christian University.
[4] These parentheses indicate a more minor role but still important and long-term.
[5] Name of this company changed several times.

Central Figures of the Four Generations (Continued)

		U.S. American	Japanese	NAME	GENDER		Universities Closely Associated With
					Male	Female	
Japan, Inc. 1977-1989	INHERITORS 1977-1988		X	Gyo Furuta	X		Kanda U. [6] of International Studies
			X	Satoshi Ishii	X		Otsuma Women's U, Dokkyo U.
			X	Jun Toyama	X		Momoyama Gakuin U.
			X	Teruyuki Kume	X		Kanda U. of International Studies, Rikkyo U.
			X	Roichi Okabe	X		Nanzan U.
			X	Kyoko Yashiro		X	Reitaku U.
			X	Shoko Araki		X	Obirin U.
			X	Kazuo Mizuta	X		Kyoto Sangyo U.
			X	Shoji Mitarai	X		Sapporo U.
			X	Kazuko Iwatsuki		X	(Culture Shock[7], trainer)
		X		Edward C. Stewart	X		ICU, U. of Nagoya

[6] Note that *university* in Japanese is *daigaku* but I used the 'U' for an abbreviation of university whether Japanese or American.
[7] Name of training business.

Central Figures of the Four Generations (Continued)

Japan, Inc. 1977-1989

	NAME	**GENDER**		**Universities Closely Associated With**
		Male	**Female**	
U.S. American				
X	Holly Siebert Kawakami		X	Osaka International Women's University, Gakushuin U, Kanda U. of International Studies
Japanese				
X	Diane Walsh Sasaki		X	(Culture Shock, trainer)

Central Figures of the Four Generations (Continued)

The Lost Decade 1989-1999

HEISEI GENERATION (1989-1999)					
	U.S. American	**Japanese**	**NAME**	**GENDER**	
				Male	**Female**	**Universities Closely Associated With**
		X	Kichiro (Kichom) Hayashi	X		Aoyama Gakuin U.
		X	Kyoko Yashiro		X	Reitaku U.
		X	Yoshiko Higuchi		X	(local level)
		X	Richiko Ikeda		X	ICU
		X	Chizuko Tezuka		X	Keio U.
		X	Yoko Matsuda		X	Kobe U. of International Studies, U. of Hyogo
		X	Miho Yoshioka		X	Momoyama Gakuin U.
		X	Yukiko Jolly		X	Aichi Shukutoku U.
	X		Jacqueline Wasilewski		X	ICU
	X		Joseph Shaules			Rikkyo U.

Central Figures of the Four Generations (Continued)

Global Soft Power 2000 ~						
MILLENNIALS 2000-2006						
	U.S. American	**Japanese**	**NAME**	**GENDER**		**Universities Closely Associated With**
				Male	**Female**	
		X	Kumiko Torikai		X	Rikkyo U.
		X	Kiyoko Sueda		X	Aoyama Gakuin U.
	X		Adair Nagata		X	Rikkyo U.
		X	Yoshikazu Hongo	X		ICU

Whereas the Postwar Period started immediately after the end of World War II, the Pioneer Generation brought in Intercultural concepts and studies midway through the Postwar Period. Therefore, the Postwar Period started before and lasted longer than the corresponding developments of the Pioneers Generation. I chose to end the Postwar Period in 1976 (not unusual for historians although some may choose a slightly different closing year) in order to correspond to important early events organized by the Pioneer Generation that took place through 1976. The succeeding historical periods -- Japan, Inc., The Lost Decade, and Global Soft Power -- correspond almost exactly to the succeeding Generations and their relevant events and trends.

Essential Challenges for the Japanese – Four Critical Questions

There were four crucial questions that Japanese asked in the immediate Postwar Period. Although ordinary citizens might have contemplated some essential questions as they struggled to meet daily needs and began to look to the future after experiencing the devastation of World War II, it was up to the intellectuals of society to articulate these questions. Partial answers have been forthcoming through the decades; however, these questions have still not been satisfactorily concluded even at the beginning of the 21st century. Unfolding circumstances continued to keep these four questions relevant. (See Dower, 1999; Vogel, 2002).

Those four questions follow. They are interrelated and could be listed in other sequences. The order listed here makes sense from the standpoint of the pressing issues of the Postwar Period that were focused on building a Japan that met everyday needs and how to become an exporting nation. These questions underline the fact that the Japanese world had been turned upside down; people were searching for new values, a new way to

be in the world, since their past had steered them in an ultimately destructive direction. In subsequent periods, and currently, these critical questions could be re-aligned into a different order although this list in this order still is relevant. The four crucial questions asked by Japanese in the Postwar world are as follows.

1. How can we relate to foreigners? What is the best way for Japan to relate to the rest of the world? What differences do we need to know about? Japan's way of relating to the outside world had ended in disaster and utter defeat in 1945. There had to be another way. For self-survival, Japanese needed to determine a new way of how to relate to and communicate with foreigners. The Americans were the occupying force and were everywhere in Japan with power over aspect of life. On the interpersonal level as well, Japanese wondered how best to relate to the conquerors now that their destinies were intertwined for an unknown number of years.

The entire Japanese economy and society underwent radical change after World War II under the American Occupation. Many people were challenged to change their attitudes towards the outside world, including towards their former enemies, in order to make a living. Many people who had no education or training for dealing with the outside world had to find the resources to do so in order to survive. Japanese believed that foreigners were different; they needed to know what differences were important and how to deal with them.

2. What do we do and when? This question is a continuation of question number one but is more specific. On both the interpersonal and macro-levels, Japanese wanted to know what kind of behavior was appropriate, best overall, and would lead to success. Some scholars have described the Japanese nation as a greenhouse plant that

cannot survive outside amid weather storms (Japan Center for International Exchange, 1976). Very few Japanese had any experience dealing with the world outside of Japan, yet suddenly, at the end of the War's end, everyone was, more or less, going to have to interact with Americans. People wanted a menu or recipes for behavior and customs that would be successful, or at least, not get them into trouble.

Japanese have a relatively low tolerance for uncertainty as revealed in studies conducted by Hofstede (1984) and as written about by Gudykunst (1984, 1986). Japanese prefer to learn a formula for the way to behave for a favorable outcome in contrast to believing no preparation is needed, or relying on trial and error. Indeed, Japanese learn specific procedural behaviors or their own interpersonal interactions (Stewart, 1995). Interacting with non-Japanese was such a total unknown immediately after World War II; it must have been a frightening prospect to guess how to interact with the American occupying force.

3. How can we master English? Language was one of the biggest barriers to communication with the outside world. Japanese knew that in order to relate successfully to the outside world, particularly with Americans, they would have to become proficient in English.[6] Learning English had been prohibited during the militarist years so very few Japanese had been exposed to English let alone become fluent in either speaking or writing. Speaking English for Japanese was particularly difficult and continues to be difficult even now. Japanese needed a quick way to understand foreigners, especially Americans, and to be able to communicate in English in order to succeed in the new Postwar world order.

4. What is our identity as Japanese? Who are we as Japanese? What does it mean to be Japanese? This question refers to the identity crisis that Japanese experienced after the defeat of 1945, the first defeat in their long history, to be followed by seven years of occupation. It is a self-reflective question that grew in prominence and came to the forefront in the 1970s.[7] Due to the devastating defeat of war, the identity and meaning of being Japanese of the pre-1945 world had been totally discredited and could no longer serve Japanese in the Postwar world. The values and worldview that Japanese had believed in had led to defeat. Thus, out of necessity, the search for new values and a new worldview emerged.

The wholesale rejection of the wartime identity, values, and worldview created a vacuum that begged the question of what would replace the former values and beliefs (Japan Center, 1976). The Americans brought in many new ideas regarding democracy, individual rights, and capitalism. The American Occupation-managed new Constitution[8] incorporated human rights, including women's rights, and renounced a military and military means to solving problems for Japanese. Interpreting and understanding all these new ideas brought in by the Occupation presented an unexpected challenge for Japanese. Although ordinary Japanese were concerned with everyday survival, at a sub-conscious level there must have been a burning question about whether anything identifiably Japanese remained to bring forward into the future.

The questions outlined above that emerged out of the immediate Postwar period, and continued, were relevant to concepts that were soon to be included in the Intercultural Communication field that is commonly dated from the 1959 publication of Hall's *The Silent Language*. Although only a few scholars were at first involved in the

development of the Intercultural field in Japan, they could, on behalf of society, begin to find some answers to these bewildering questions facing the Japanese population.

Highlights of Historical Periods and Relevant Developments of the Intercultural Communication Field

Postwar Period 1945 – 1976

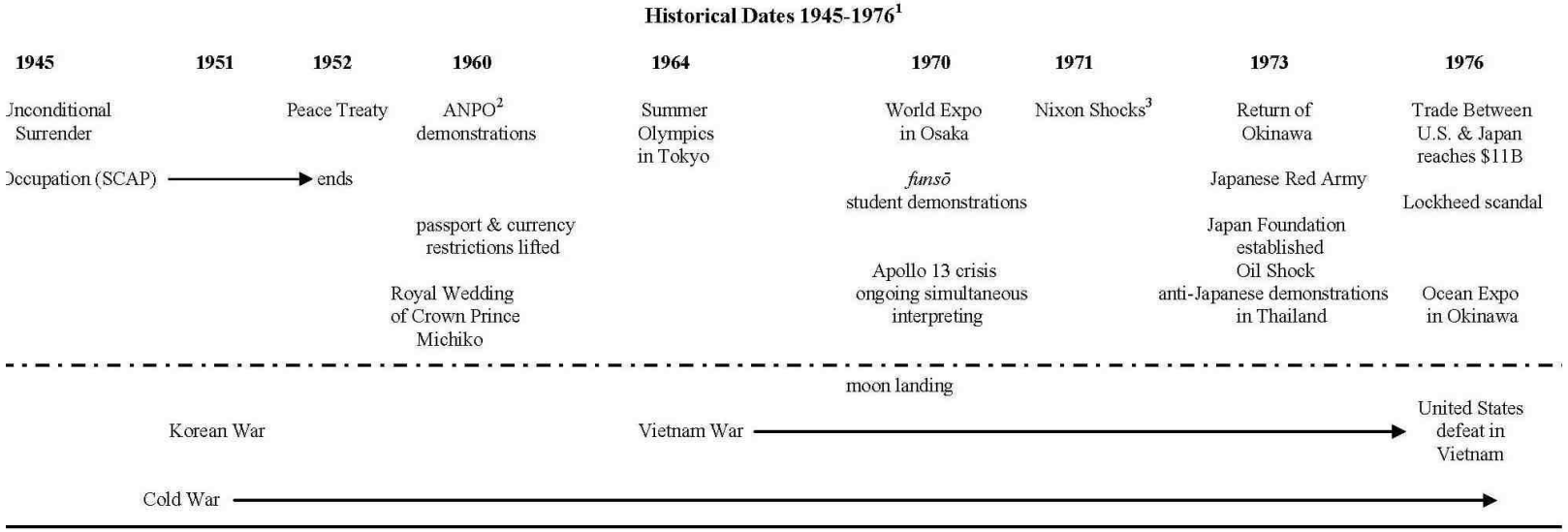
Here follows a summarized explanation of the Postwar period that covered 1945 to 1976. Figure 3 The Postwar Period Timeline, 1945 - 1976 illustrates the major events relevant to Japanese history and society for the Postwar Period. The latter Postwar Period was the time of the initial introduction and founding of Intercultural Communication as a field of study in Japan. For the purposes of this study, only certain aspects of each historical period are outlined because of their relevance as the backdrop to the story of the establishment of the Intercultural Communication discipline in Japan. The contexts to be considered for the first period of interest, the Postwar Period, are divided into the historical context as the major backdrop and then the social contexts that include sociological and psychological, business and economic, and educational.

Historical Events Timeline

The historical timeline is the first context to be considered as seen in Figure 3 The Postwar Period Timeline, 1945 – 1976 that impacted Japan in the Postwar Period, 1945. The most far-reaching event was the end of World War II in that culminated with the Japanese unconditional surrender in August 1945 and installed the American Occupation (SCAP)[9]. The Occupation lasted until 1952, which was also the year the formal Peace Treaty was signed between the United States and Japan.[10] World War II and its aftermath established the Postwar Japan-United States relationship that has continued with few

changes and has also played an important role and backdrop to the development of the Intercultural Communication field in Japan.

As noted in Figure 3 The Postwar Period Timeline, 1945 – 1976, major historical events are plotted on the timeline and related to major events in the development of Intercultural Communication studies. The upper section, Historical Dates 1945 to 1976, events above the dotted line, indicates what historical events were specifically related to and impacted Japan directly. The flow of events that were going on in the world at large that also impacted Japan are indicated below the dotted line in the upper grouping. Some events may have spanned years and are indicated by long lines with arrows. The lower section in this figure, Important Dates for Intercultural Communication in Japan – Pioneer Generation indicates important events directly relevant to the development of the field in Japan. The major events of this Postwar Period are relevant to both Research Questions I and II. The following sections describe the events illustrated in Figure 3 The Postwar Period Timeline, 1945 – 1976 in more detail.



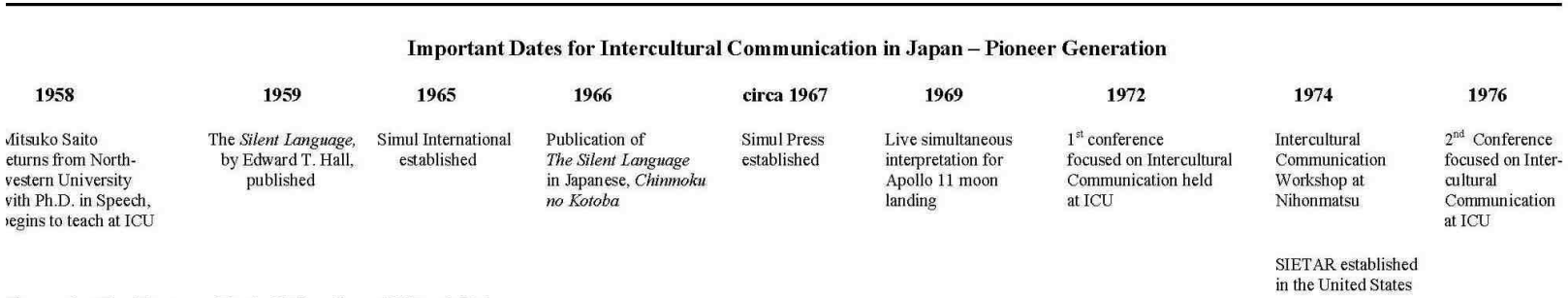


Figure 3. **The Postwar Period Timeline, 1945 – 1976.**

[1] Many other events and trends are not included in this and other timelines.

[2] There were massive street demonstrations, especially students, against the renewal of the Treaty of Mutual Cooperation and Security between the United States and Japan, called ANPO in Japanese, the shortened title of the very long Japanese name. Although some changes were made to make it a little more equal, the major clauses of the Treaty remained in effect. The number of United States military bases in Japan was not reduced.

[3] From the perspective of Japan, there were two so-called Nixon Shocks. The first one was the announcement, without prior consultation, that the U.S. dollar would no longer be tied to gold. The second was that Nixon did not consult with the Japanese government before his visit to and recognition of China so that it came as a complete shock to Japanese leaders.

Historical Patterns of Japan

To better understand the cataclysmic changes that Japanese were going through sociologically and psychologically in the Postwar Period, it is important to take a brief look back in time, at least to the beginning of the militarist era in the later 1920s. There were vast differences in the worldview and societal norms of the earlier part of the 20th century compared with the post World War II worldview, values, and norms. The watershed change was Japan's utter defeat and the complete change in governance. In addition, the prevailing Japanese identity, both as a people and as a nation, during the militarist period was transformed by the changes brought about by the defeat and Occupation.

Another historical consideration is the prevalent, recurring pattern of the occurrence of periods of whole scale borrowing from the outside world that alternates with periods of introspective Japanization of culture and technology throughout Japan's history. This pattern repeated itself in the middle 20th century, with indiscriminate borrowing of everything American although the action was partially imposed and unavoidable as an occupied nation. Nevertheless, this aspect is relevant to the sociological and psychological contexts of Japanese during the Postwar Period.

The period after World War II for Japan is often referred to as the "second opening," (Japan Center, 1976) with the Meiji Period (1868-1912) defined as the first opening. At the end of the 19th century after being virtually closed to trade and diplomacy since the early 17th century during the rule of the Tokugawa Shogunate, Japan re-opened to the outside world. During this Meiji Period opening, the government and every level of Japan sought to learn everything foreign (and possibly superior) from every industrially

advanced society, particularly Europe but also the United States,[11] in order to modernize Japan. Foreign experts of every discipline were invited to teach in Japan, and Japanese studied and adopted everything from military, education, and government systems to painting, sculpture, literature, journalism, fashion, and manners.

In the Postwar Period, the so-called second opening, the Japanese nation was again eager to learn and borrow from the outside, especially from the United States, as the prevailing thinking was that such a powerful and wealthy country must be superior in all ways. The fact that the United States had defeated Japan in a long and bitter war lifted it and American know-how to a lofty position, something like a big brother. That the United States Occupation and the mostly young, idealistic soldiers stationed in Japan were benevolent occupiers set the stage for a hierarchical relationship with Japan in the student role that continued in succeeding decades with almost no challenge and little change.

Sociological and Psychological Contexts

Below are sections for discussion of the various contexts, sociological and psychological, business and economic, and educational, that were included in my exploration of the establishment of the Intercultural studies field in Japan. All of these contexts were important to reference because at the end of World War II, every aspect of life in Japan had been destroyed and devastated; out of the ashes, every part of society had to be created anew. Examination of the sociological and psychological contexts here is due to their relevancy to the development of Intercultural studies in Japan. Particularly relevant to Research Question I, the sociological context refers to the entire society, impacts upon it, how people were living, their economic condition, and the structure of

society. Particularly relevant to Research Question II, the psychological context refers to the mindset of the people, identity issues, and internal processes for making sense of the reality with which Japan was presented.

Within the psychological (psychodynamic) level, relevant to Research Question II, Japanese were at a loss to understand what to do, how to behave, and even how to think. What they knew was that all their efforts and sacrifices through the militarist years had come to naught. They must have wondered how to replace the values and worldview that had led them to defeat and devastation. Before they could think about those things, however, they had to slowly and painfully recover from the war -- find enough food to eat, find relatives, confirm deaths, find shelter, that is, find a way to insert some normalcy into their lives.

The defeat by and surrender to the American forces in 1945 was followed by the equally traumatic period of the Occupation. Japan had never been colonized or occupied by a foreign power in its long recorded history of over 1300 years.[12] The Japanese had been led to believe that Americans were giant monsters who must be resisted to the last woman and child. Certainly the experience of the War, including the total devastation of all major cities by incendiary bombing plus the first uses of atomic bombs on two cities prepared the Japanese to expect the worst. Moreover, the Japanese military had bullied, terrorized and committed atrocities in all Asian countries it had occupied. Contrary to expectation, many of the Americans who staffed the Occupation had been prepared by intensive study to understand at least the rudiments of Japanese language and culture, with many quite proficient. And many were young idealists who came with optimistic plans for transforming Japan into a democracy (Dower, 1999).

The entire Japanese society underwent a one hundred and eighty degree change that affected every institution and societal structure. In a matter of months, government, agriculture, education, and business were all changed dramatically by General MacArthur's Occupation. Few Japanese comprehended what was happening or how to interpret the changes. Most Japanese were totally occupied with finding enough food for the day and shelter for the night. For the first time, women's rights, including the right to vote, were incorporated into the new Constitution. This "second opening" radically upset the hierarchy, the status quo, and removed the former leaders of every sector of society from power so that into the vacuum people who would not have been able to excel seized the opportunity and were successful. Examples abound, such as Akio Morita and Masaru Ibuka who founded the SONY Corporation and Junichiro Honda who founded the motorcycle and automobile company.

The Korean War had no Japanese soldiers in it; Japan was still under Occupation and its new American authored Constitution prohibited a standing military or aggressive action. The American forces used Japan to obtain and inventory supplies, pre-deployment and leave for the troops. Japan's economy got a substantial boost from supplying and servicing the Korean War troops. For the first time in the Postwar years, average Japanese saw a rise in their standard of living and were able to purchase consumer goods. For the first time, Japanese could purchase a refrigerator, a television, and a washing machine[13] – these goods became known in popular parlance as the *3 shu*, or three treasures, a reference to the Three Imperial Treasures, the Jewel, the Mirror, and the Sword.

Moving on into the 1960s and the later Postwar Period, the Summer Olympics held in Tokyo in 1964 and the World Expo held in Osaka in 1970 meant to Japanese that they were back on the world stage as respected and valued members of the international community. There was a great deal of excitement and pride surrounding these events. These powerful symbols of being a new Japan, being right with the world, and being successful in it made it easier to forget the past and feel that some progress was being made in answering the four critical questions outlined above. However, those four questions regarding identity and how to interact in the world have persisted even as times changed.

On the other hand, Japan's image abroad has not always been as favorable as Japanese imagined. As time went on, Japanese were able to distance themselves from the War and any part they may have played in it; however, neighboring Asian countries remembered all too vividly Japanese military atrocities. That difference in perception has persisted to the present time and erupts in misunderstanding and accusations on a regular basis; some examples will be mentioned in the historical sections below. When Prime Minister Tanaka visited Thailand in 1974 and was greeted with anti-Japanese demonstrations. He and the Japanese public were surprised; after all, it was nearly thirty years since the end of World War II. Japanese realized that the identity they carried with them and their sense of reality differed from the image of Japanese abroad. This image gap would be vehemently displayed time and again in Asian countries, as well as periodically in the United States.

The Japan-United States Relationship

Anything that happened in the Postwar years in Japan, and still to a great extent even now, was influenced by Japan's relationship with the United States. This area of inquiry is of importance to the development of Intercultural Communication studies because the field originated in the United States and was transferred to Japan largely through the leadership and continuing efforts of Mitsuko Saito, who studied in the United States in the mid-1950s, and by her American colleagues whom she invited to teach at her university.

It is important to briefly address the dynamics of the Japan-United States relationship for some understanding (Iriye and Wampler, 2001). Particularly after World War II, the relationship was unequal, but even now, the junior-senior relationship continues despite Japan's status as the second largest economic power. The psychological aspects described above for interpersonal interaction with Americans applied also to the interactions involving the entire society. Japan, as the defeated nation, was at the mercy of the Americans. Fortunately, the American Occupation turned out to be benevolent, but that does not mean that there were not mistakes.

The United States leadership was and has been very comfortable in the teacher/parent roles of the teacher/student or parent/child relationship. However, as Japan became economically strong and even looked like it would surpass the United States in the 1980s, tensions arose. A Japan-bashing backlash occurred, and relations reverted to stereotyping (Iriye and Wampler, 2001). Within the sections about each historical period, more will be said about these developments.

As was apparent in the Postwar historical timeline, anything the United States was involved in affected Japan. It is often said in Japan that if the United States sneezes, Japan catches a cold. Another expression for this dynamic is that when the United States says, "jump," Japan asks, "how high?" American administrations have tended to ignore Japan when making global diplomatic decisions, earlier examples being the Nixon Shocks. Although the American attitude and actions affected Japan, American administrations seemed not to acknowledge any effect. Three instances of American ambivalence towards and disregard for Japan during the Postwar Period are detailed below and shown in Figure 3 The Postwar Period Timeline, 1945 – 1976. For Japanese, that American behavior reinforced the challenges expressed in the four critical questions.

ANPO Treaty. The inequality of the relationship between Japan and the United States was demonstrated on the world stage when, in early 1960, the Japan Socialist Party disrupted the Diet, and Japanese students and trade unionists took to the streets to protest against the renewal of the Treaty of Mutual Cooperation and Security, known as ANPO in Japanese. A continuation of an earlier Treaty early in the Postwar Period when Japan was still under the Occupation, the United States Congress had ratified the treaty renewal and sent it on to Japan for approval. Although a few points had been changed, there had been no collaboration to make the Treaty more equal or take into consideration any Japanese grievances. Many Japanese believed the new treaty echoed the unequal treaties imposed by the colonizing powers in the 19th century.

The Nixon Shocks. The two Nixon Shocks, shown in were examples of how arbitrary and inconstant the Americans could be in relation to Japan and demonstrated a lack of consideration towards Japan. In 1971, Nixon unilaterally cancelled the Bretton

Woods system, which had always fully backed the American dollar with the value of gold.[14]For Japanese, who rely on and carefully consider relationships and networks, it was a slap in the face.

The other Nixon Shock was in quick succession to the first shock when in 1972 the Nixon administration decided to normalize relations with China. Nixon's Undersecretary of State called the Japanese Ambassador only fifteen minutes before Nixon's visit to China was announced to the general public. China is in Japan's backyard; that lack of regard did not match Japan's expectations of a close ally. Government officials and ordinary people alike must have wondered how Japan could trust and work with a partner who apparently had no understanding of face issues, reciprocity, and the norms of relationships. From the American point of view, it may be said that in an unequal relationship there is no need to consult or preview decisions with subordinates whether or not Americans were thinking about Japanese expectations or the Japanese concept of *face*.

Another aspect of the Nixon Shocks was that in 1969, Prime Minister Sato had journeyed to Washington D.C. The outcome was a joint communiqué of mutual accord that the United States would begin the process of returning Okinawa to Japan in 1972. Indeed, that did happen. But this evidence of cooperation and respect was overshadowed by the Nixon Shocks.

Educational Context

As soon as the American Occupation took over in late 1945, the educational system underwent an overnight radical change, affecting society on both the sociological and psychological levels. Because Intercultural Communication was first introduced as a

topic at the university level, within the educational context, it is important to note the educational context separately.

The educational world of Japan, on all levels, in every sense, was turned inside out. For a time, there were no classes, no textbooks at all. From one day to the next, textbooks were censored by tearing out pages or blackening text that upheld the Japanese Empire's beliefs and worldview. The English language that had been forbidden was reinstated. The Occupation ordered that curriculum must include some contemporary American textbooks and materials. Before too long, all schoolchildren were learning English from the *Jack and Betty*[15] series of books that portrayed a typical family and neighborhood in the Midwestern United States.

Americans posted to or living in Japan were asked to come to school rooms to talk about the United States, their hometowns, American meals, manners, schools, etc. Japanese youth were encouraged to be interested in the world outside Japan; that curiosity blossomed in adulthood for many. Japanese scholars of the Pioneer Generation and the Inheritors Generation were influenced by the Postwar education that opened up the world to them, started them on the road to learning English,[16] and reinforced their interests in language and culture. They all found ways to seek higher education in the United States when few people traveled abroad at all. The number of Japanese entering college in the days after the War was far fewer than it would be in later years as most people could not afford the luxury of study when they had to find jobs and think about the basic necessities of life. However, all of the scholars of the Pioneer Generation, even if from modest circumstances, found ways to attend college and then continue their education abroad.

The average person was hungry for any bit of knowledge about the United States and how Americans lived. As soon as television came to Japan, starting in the later 1950s, Japanese audiences viewed all the standard American programs such as *Father Knows Best* and *Superman.* Those programs portrayed an idealized view of American life and society as affluent and idyllic. Japanese were motivated to catch up with and have all the wonderful products that Americans enjoyed.

Universities in Japan seemed to have re-opened with the least disruption of any institutions. At any rate, universities were not dismantled, and there do not seem to have been cases of scholars being arrested for war crimes. Some intellectuals had protested the war aims and Japan's imperialist designs as best they could. They became Postwar heroes. Others had quietly supported the status quo or abstained from any opinion. Some of those scholars tried to justify their opinions after the War (Miyoshi, 1991; Japan Center, 1976). However, the fact that few intellectuals had stood up to the power structure or even questioned Japan's direction made their Postwar opinions sound hypocritical and hollow.

Creation of a new university. As stated above, this time of the "second opening" opened up a society that had been rigidly hierarchical, proscribed, and closed. Defeat in war turned society upside down, thus creating a vacuum. Some people outside the top echelons of society, with their innovative ideas and procedures, became the new leaders of the era. There were some intellectuals who were not within the main hierarchy of scholars; they had been waiting unobtrusively for the chance to steer Japan in a different direction.

One such group was a small number of Protestant Christians[17]who, in the turmoil of the immediate Postwar era, proposed the establishment of a new university that would

be based on two pillars of Christian values: respect for all peoples and conflict resolution through peaceful ways (see Iglehart, 1964; Takeda, 2003). They and their American partners, who assisted with fundraising stateside, were able to establish the International Christian University in Mitaka,[18]Tokyo.[19] The Japanese name is Kokusai Kuristokyō Daigaku, the exact translation of International Christian University, this university is known by all, including in Japan, by its initials "I.C.U."[20]. This university has been referred to already; here is more detail about its origins and philosophy. The reason for focusing on this institution is due to its central importance in the story of the establishment of the Intercultural Communication discipline in Japan.

The land the Japan committee identified for the new university, after viewing a number of possible sites, had previously been the site of the Nakajima factory for the design and manufacture of aircraft for the Japanese Imperial military.[21] The transformation of that land and main building from an military contractor factory to a new style institution of higher learning was a real case of turning guns into plowshares.[22] ICU's undergraduate doors opened in 1953; that first class graduated in 1957 (Iglehart, 1964). The first graduate level class entered in 1957. One of the Pioneer Generation scholars interviewed for this study, Masako Sano, graduated in the first ICU class; she was also a pioneer as a woman to go to college and then study further in the United States. Upon returning to Japan, her entire career was at ICU. See Appendix K for early photos of ICU grounds, buildings, people, and contemporary photos of the campus.

As a university in Japan, ICU has always been considered unique in most ways: in its offerings, timetable calendar, student-centered approach, and the number of non-Japanese professors who teach full-time. From the beginning, there were non-Japanese

faculty and students on campus. Instead of referring to them as foreigners, usual labeling in Japanese, a different consciousness caused the decision to refer to all people from outside Japan as *non-Japanese*, a much more inclusive designation, particularly significant in Japan where homogeneity is the norm and anyone foreign is treated as an outsider.[23] Due to being created after much careful deliberation among the Christian supporters, both in Japan and the United States, ICU proposed to fulfill a special mission in Japanese education and the search for global peace. To that end, faculty were, and still are, required to be Christians and all students are required to take a religion course.[24]

To a large extent, ICU was modeled after American small liberal arts colleges.[25] The vast wooded campus,[26] far from a central population center that provided dormitories, and even faculty housing, on campus was one-of-a-kind in Japan. Also like liberal arts colleges, ICU's ratio of students to instructors was very small, especially for language and related interpreting and communication classes. In contrast to the teaching style at Japanese universities, many ICU instructors, especially those from overseas, called for participation and student presentations in their courses.

One of the premises of ICU was that language learning would be preeminently important. All freshmen had to achieve English proficiency. Other languages were added so that students could study a third language. In 1967, the first group of non-Japanese began intensive study of the Japanese language (E. Andoh, personal communication, from 1992 to 2008). There were also communication-related courses such as journalism, and courses for consecutive and simultaneous interpretation were offered early on and then added to. Courses and requirements were rigorous, all based on the philosophy of international goodwill and respect for each individual.

In a practical sense, ICU's programs and requirements were educating young people to take on a new role for Japan on the world stage based on mutual respect. ICU's motto was "the university for tomorrow" (Iglehart, 1964; Takeda, 2003). However, a department of Intercultural Communication was never established at ICU, even though ICU has gone through major administrative restructuring periodically (most recently in 2008). And ICU never initiated a degree in Intercultural Communication at any level; students could study Intercultural topics within another degree program if they could make arrangements with faculty.

Nevertheless, with its diverse faculty and student body even in the very early days, there was ample opportunity for day to day intercultural interaction among people in the ICU family; indeed, that was one of the principles and concepts for the university, that such interaction would be a natural part of everyday life on campus. More will be said about ICU and the beginnings of Intercultural Communication.

As an upstart with no reputation, ICU attracted limited attention at first, although there were always more applicants than places. ICU gained publicity by drawing prominent speakers such as former First Lady Eleanor Roosevelt and Ambassador Edwin O. Reischauer. ICU students of the late 1960s joined other students in boisterous demonstrations to demand changes to the university and disruption continued for a time. By the early 1970s, as graduates entered many fields and gained success, and some of its programs such as simultaneous interpreting received a lot of publicity, ICU's reputation grew.

Student demonstrations. In line with the worldwide baby boomer generation challenge to authority on all levels in the late 1960s, Japanese students also took to the

streets in massive demonstrations. Even at ICU, perhaps even more at ICU than other places, where the principles of peaceful negotiation and respect for the individual were principles, students protested, barricaded the entranceways, and took over buildings. The administration seemed to be in a state of shock and responded officially in a heavy-handed way.

One panelist on the Memorial Panel during the CAJ (Communication Association of Japan) conference in June 2004 after Mitsuko Saito's death that February, while speaking about his friendship with Saito said that student protests, known at *funsō*, started earlier at ICU than other universities. When John Condon, one of the major informants for this study, arrived for the first time at ICU in August 1969, the *funsō* was at its height; the campus shut down. He recalled his first exposure to campus life as going to the Honkan, the main building on campus, and seeing the president, aged 85, seated on stage, being confronted by shouting students in headbands and with truncheons in hand. That was the end of Condon's expectation of meeting a polite and reserved society that followed the rules of hierarchy.

Condon went on to say, in the interview with him, that the faculty was split between those who wanted students to stay outside the campus fence and those who wanted students to come inside. After about a month's delay, ICU's fall term finally started. The solution arrived at was to have the riot police build a corrugated metal wall, 10 feet tall, all around the Honkan, the main building inherited from the militarist period that had been retrofitted. Security points were set up at all entrances; students had to make a choice of whether to stay outside or enter. The metal wall evoked images of the Berlin Wall. As a newcomer and outsider, Condon was advised to stay out of the

controversy, but he remembers it as a disturbing and painful time that continued to affect everyone long after the wall came down.

As classes went on, everyone could hear the demonstrators chanting outside the gates; the snake dances continued. ICU faculty found themselves divided into hawks and doves. One of the doves was Saito who went outside the gates to talk with the students and seek reconciliation. That division of perception between hawks and doves would affect relations among all faculty until one by one they retired. Although Condon surmised that those memories of that division are about gone now because most of those people have retired, that thought may be premature. According to Jacqueline Wasilewski, another informant, who arrived at ICU in 1991 and retired in 2008, she observed that while the people who experienced those days may be gone, their successors continue the conflict without knowing why.

The Simul Press. Within this section on the educational context is the story of the Simul Press, a publishing house that was started by people concerned with international relations. The Simul Press stated its mission as bringing to the public books on bilateral relations, communication, diplomacy, international business, etc. by both non-Japanese authors in translation and Japanese authors. (See the Simul Press Mission Statement in Appendix D.) Simul Press started its operations in the late 1960s.

Both Mitsuko Saito, identified as the key figure who introduced Intercultural Communication topics, and Masao Kunihiro, an informant for this study, were principles in that publishing company.[27] They were also two of the three translators of *The Silent Language* into Japanese in 1966, but Simul Press was not yet established to publish it. Other books on Intercultural Communication by scholars who were informants for this

study or included as important figures in the invisible college were published. Condon, Barnlund and even Edward T. Hall published with Simul through the introduction of Saito. Saito and Kunihiro both published some of their other books through Simul Press. Through Saito's connection, Simul published the proceedings of the two Intercultural Conferences held at ICU in 1972 and 1976. As a new publisher, Simul became well known for the niche it created and expanded.[28]

Simul Press was one of three businesses created by Kunihiro and Saito, along with other partners, at the end of the 1960s.[29] Both Kunihiro and Saito, of the Pioneers Generation (refer to Table 1 Central Figures of the Four Generations), started businesses that were presciently pioneering, in time for the needs of the day. The word *simul* referred to *simultaneous interpreting* at which they both excelled and how they met. Kunihiro remained the practitioner[30] at high government levels and international conferences; Saito, having expanded the interpreting program at ICU, also added her own school, Simul Kyōshitsu (the name meaning *simultaneous interpreting classroom*) to supplement ICU classes and to draw in other students.

Saito and Kunihiro started two other sister businesses together. Organized even before Simul Press was Simul International in 1965, the first company to provide full-service conference organizing including interpreting, both simultaneous and consecutive, and translation services. The other was The Simul Academy of International Communication, established in 1980, which offered courses in interpreting and English.[31] Some time in the later 1980s, Saito broke off from the Simul businesses and started an independent company called Communicators to offer interpreting, translation, and other specialized communication services. After retiring from ICU in the mid-1990s, she

worked in her business full time; the company continues to offer the same services since her death in 2004.

The Communication Association of Japan. The earliest academic association established to focus on communication topics in Japan was the Communication Association of Japan, CAJ (Japanese name of Nihon Komyunikeishon Gakkai).[32] CAJ started up in 1971with close ties to the Speech Association in the United States.[33] It is an official academic association in Japan and holds an annual conference. Some Intercultural scholars were founding members, many continue to be active members, but the CAJ did not specifically focus on Intercultural Communication. Many of the key figures for this study have been and continue to be active. CAJ's mission statement is about honoring the range of human communication and the promotion of "internationally oriented communication education" (http://www.caj1971.com).

In CAJ's application form, there are seven interest categories to choose from, including intercultural communication as well as mass communication, interpersonal communication, public speaking, debate, and rhetoric. Conferences do feature sessions for Intercultural Communication. It is interesting to note that the seven categories reflect Saito's range of interest and that she was a founding member. CAJ's proceedings are in Japanese but open to non-Japanese who can participate in Japanese.[34]

The Business and Economic Context

The one area where Japanese had a chance to catch up with the United States and to be on equal footing was in the economic and business realm. Japan as a whole concluded that the only way to recovery after the devastation of war was to concentrate on economic growth and that meant becoming a strong exporting country. As Japanese

worked hard to rebuild their cities and economy and got back to work in reformulated companies[35] or started new ones, they were eager to learn the best business practices from any Americans willing to teach them.[36]

Japanese goods in the Postwar Period were considered cheap and shoddy, but gradually Japanese products achieved high status and top quality reputations. During the same period, Japanese, with the help of American mentors, discovered what traditional ways of doing business would serve them well (Abegglen, 1957). Some Japanese practices such as lifetime employment were reported as the secrets of Japanese management success. The efforts of the Postwar decades led to the "Japanese miracle," fully recognized in the 1980s. Once Japanese felt they had caught up with the United States, at least in GNP terms, they could then test how they could reassess and reconfigure the relationship with the United States.[37]

Intercultural studies, if defined as including language skills and business applications, was relevant to the continuing assessment of the relationship with the United States as it provided possible practical applications to the critical questions that were outlined above. For example, the need to do business with Americans (and globally) meant that international negotiations and contracts were involved. Specialized knowledge of English, business practices, and negotiation practices were necessary for that work. For smooth negotiations and other communication with the outside world, interpreters were needed.

Training of interpreters was at first a branch within communication studies, with the first program initiated at ICU in the 1960s under the direction of Mitsuko Saito. Interpreting gradually became a specialized discipline within or adjacent to Intercultural

Communication studies. ICU has continued to offer specialization in interpreting skills. The most recent professor to take Saito's place in that capacity is Yoshikazu Hongo who joined ICU recently after a career of interpreting and translation work. Most recent developments of this area will be addressed again in the section on the Global Soft Power Period and the Millennials Generation in the section on Rikkyo University's four-track graduate program.

Gradually, business training, with an emphasis on how to understand the other party and foster optimal communication for win/win outcomes was introduced into Japan, as well as training for employees working in joint ventures, and American owned companies with branches in Japan. Some workshops for businessmen[38] were offered in the 1970s. Condon talked about his involvement with the Pegasus Seminars[39] that were partially sponsored by the American Chamber of Commerce in Japan (ACCJ) to provide a retreat-like seminar for especially newly-arrived Americans in large American corporations to learn how to better conduct business with Japanese.

At this early time, it is interesting that scholars (Condon worked with another American scholar living in Japan and involved some of his ICU students) were called upon to design business training. Shortly after, Clifford Clarke and his associates brought intercultural business training to Japan as a specialty. For international business, Intercultural Communication appeared to be relevant; it had an academic base but also a practical applicability. These two sides of Intercultural Communication continued side by side in the development of this discipline in Japan.

Introduction and Early Developments in the Intercultural Communication Field

Remembering that the field of Intercultural Communication was in its infancy in the United States, starting in the 1960s there was a gradual introduction of major Intercultural topics that included nonverbal communication, interpersonal communication, the concept of high and low context, and the values orientation approach to understanding differences in values among cultures.

Saito, a young faculty member at ICU, was the first individual to introduce many of the communication topics that were in vogue in the United States at the time. Her ICU courses incorporated a range of communication topics including intercultural topics even though there was as yet no distinct discipline. She then invited a line of American scholars to teach at ICU. Upon introduction of these concepts in the United States, many through the books of Edward T. Hall, they were introduced into Japan through translations of Hall's books and American scholars such as Barnlund and Condon who came to ICU.

The four critical questions that required some applicable answers helped to create a social context that was receptive to these Intercultural topics. Japanese were aware of the need to get along well in the Postwar world order to negotiate with well with old enemies. These Intercultural topics resonated well psychologically with Japanese, perhaps because of the familiarity with and implicit emphasis on these topics in Japanese culture and communication. Many in society felt the needs even though only a small number of scholars were familiar with Hall's writings.

The ideas introduced through Hall's books as they were translated made sense to the Japanese in explaining who they were, what kind of communication style they

practiced, and also gave them clues about how they could understand non-Japanese, especially Americans. Contemporary and subsequent scholars and practitioners in the Intercultural Communication field enlarged upon those clues.

Here is a summary of the start of the Intercultural field in the United States and its introduction into Japan through key figures associated with ICU.

Edward T. Hall's Concepts Resonate with Japanese

The founder of the field of Intercultural Communication is generally considered to be Edward T. Hall, a cultural anthropologist. The publication of his first book, *The Silent Language*, was in 1959 and it is that year that is used to date the official beginning of the Intercultural Communication field in the United States. His ideas and perspective were quickly transported to Japan in the form of the book's translation in 1966. Individuals, who were informants for this study and have had lifetime careers in Intercultural Communication, especially those belonging to the Pioneer and Inheritor Generations, told me time and again, of the impact and importance of Hall's books for them. Hall did visit Japan in 1976 as an invited presenter at the second Intercultural Communication conference to be held at ICU; it is thought that was his first trip to Japan.

Three translators translated *The Silent Language,* all Japanese scholars, two of them prominent in the interpreting field and also relevant to this narrative of the development of Intercultural Communication in Japan. Masao Kunihiro, one of the informants for this study, discovered the newly published *The Silent Language* while on an interpreting trip to the United States browsing in a bookstore in Kansas. He was immediately interested and called on two colleagues to produce a translation that was published in 1966.

Mitsuko Saito, the second scholar in the translating group, is at the center of this study and narrative as a major figure of the Pioneer Generation; she continued to be influential until her death in 2004. (See Table 1 Central Figures of the Four Generations.) These two scholars acted as facilitators for new ideas including the new Intercultural field so that Japan, in comparison to many other countries, had access to the founding book of Intercultural Communication almost as quickly as Americans.

Hall is revered in Japan.[40] Hall was a consummate observer, a master storyteller of real world stories, and an accessible writer whose writing synthesized his observations into sensible concepts. With the masterful translation by Kunihiro, Saito, and a philology scholar, Nagai, from Tokyo University, Hall's writing was accessible and captivated many Japanese students and scholars. It is noteworthy that in the year of the 50th anniversary of the publication of *The Silent Language*, 2009, only SIETAR Japan among all the SIETAR local organizations around the world, held a special seminar to review the concepts that Hall presented in his books to commemorate his many contributions.[41]

Edward T. Hall's major concepts found a ready audience in Japan because they seemed both to make sense and to answer some of the burning questions Japanese had. *The Silent Language* was all about the nonverbal cues that may be hidden but are all the more important for being unconscious and taken for granted.[42] Hall's well-known expressions "culture is communication; communication is culture" and "time talks and space speaks" perhaps made sense to Japanese based on their sensitivity to meaning embedded in nonverbal expression.

In his 1976 book, *Beyond Culture,* Hall further introduced his concept of high and low context cultures and emphasized that high context cultures, such as Japan, pay much

more attention to and derive more meaning from nonverbal communication than low context cultures, such as the United States. Japanese communication places a strong emphasis on context of all kinds in an interaction, much of the context being the various nonverbal expressions of meaning. Another facet of context that is inherent in Japanese communication is the emphasis on relationships; that is, one must know one's relationship to another person before speaking due to the Japanese language structure.

In addition, the approaches of Intercultural Communication brought to Japan during the Postwar Period starting with Saito and continuing with the American scholars she invited to come to ICU, were largely experiential and pragmatic. Japanese generally prefer a practical, pragmatic, and inductive approach. The experiential approach differed from the usual Japanese academic approach in the classroom, but Japanese may have found familiarity to the traditional apprenticeship learning style.

Intercultural Communication had developed pragmatically to meet the needs of American diplomats in training at the Foreign Service Institute, so it did not come burdened with many theories at the beginning. Although there was an academic base, there were corresponding practical methods and training was present from inception. The concepts were flexible so as to allow for various interpretations and approaches. In all of these ways, Intercultural Communication was well suited to the Japanese context and way of thinking, as well as to the needs of the day. As stated above, Japanese wanted to learn the behaviors that lead to the most successful interactional outcomes.

In his books, Hall also presented many examples taken from specific cultures; he tended to concentrate on differences among cultures rather than similarities. These approaches also made sense to Japanese who preferred to look at the entire context of one

culture, and when comparing, tended to concentrate on differences. Knowledge of differences was important in order to know what behaviors to change or initiate. Intercultural Communication provided a way to learn the differences between cultures and how best to maneuver among them. And, Japanese, tending to believe that Japanese culture was unique, believed that they were different from other people. The following sections that outline the contextual history and issues of the subsequent three historical periods continue to refer to significant developments in the Intercultural Communication field.

Early Years of Introduction to Japan

Highlights of the early years of the introduction of Intercultural Communication as a field of study with its own concepts and important events are shown in the bottom section of Figure 3 The Postwar Period, Timeline 1945 – 1976 as Important Dates for Intercultural Communication in Japan. Note that the dates here begin with 1958, the year that Mitsuko Saito returned to Japan with a doctorate degree in speech from Northwestern University and began teaching at ICU.[43]

For the Intercultural Communication field, Saito is the seminal figure. Without her, Intercultural Communication as a discipline, even communication as a discipline, might not have been introduced for a long time in Japan, and would not have had the arc of development it did. It was certainly owing to Saito's dedication and enthusiasm for her specialty that ICU became the central institution for introduction of and dissemination of Intercultural Communication. The following section details some of her biography and the contributions she made for the introduction and eventual sustainable establishment of

the Intercultural discipline. In the last main section of this chapter I return to her story in discussion about the invisible college of scholars.

This Postwar Period was filled with a number of major steps and events crucial to the early development of Intercultural Communication in Japan. Saito played an instrumental role in all of them. See Table 3 Major Events in the Development of Intercultural Communication in Japan. Her contributions included invitations to a line of American professors to teach at ICU, arrangement of sponsorships to support the two conferences that were held at ICU, one in 1972 and the other in 1976, and generally appealing to her extensive networks for promotion of the conferences, attendance of prominent people from the spectrum of society, and to arrange for publication of the conference proceedings. Each of these events and her contributions will be outlined below.

Within this Postwar Period, I designated this first Generation for the history of Intercultural Communication in Japan as the Pioneers. Saito was the first Pioneer of the Pioneers. I chose the term *Pioneers* based largely on its use as a term in Japan[44] for people who are innovative, ahead of their time, and admired for being so. Therefore, the nuance is very positive. In the Merriam-Webster Dictionary, most of the definition is the same as the Japanese meaning, “innovative, to act as an innovator and participate in the development.”

Table 3. ***Major Events in the Development of Intercultural Communication in Japan***

Event Year	Event
1958	Mitsuko Saito, returned from Northwestern University with Ph.D. in Speech (later to become Speech Communication and then Communication), begins to teach at International Christian University (ICU). First Communication courses, including Intercultural Communication topics. Development of interpreting program.
	The Silent Language, by Edward T. Hall, published
1966	Publication of *The Silent Language* in Japanese, *Chinmoku no Kotoba*, translated by Masao Kunihiro, Mitsuko Saito, and Yoshimi Nagai. Published by Nan'undō Publishing.
circa 1967	Simul Press established with mission to "contribute to recovering the essential conditions of humanity and unifying all peoples as one world in peace". (Bankrupt circa 1991.)
	Sister company, Simul International, established 1965 as conference organizer, providing interpreting, translation, other services (Continues operations as fully owned subsidiary of Bennesse Corporation with increased business and technical services [www.simul.co.jp/en/about/chronology.html])
	Affiliate company, The Simul Academy of International Communication, established 1980 to offer courses in interpreter training and English.
1969	Live simultaneous interpretation for Apollo 11 moon landing brings national recognition and respect. (Masao Kunihiro and Sen Nishiyama are interpreters)
1972	"Communication Across Cultures" Conference held at ICU, probably first in the world ever focused on Intercultural Communication. Hosted by Communication Department of ICU at the request of the Commission for International and Intercultural Communication of the Speech Communication Association (now National Communication Association). More than 2000 people, including ICU undergraduates, attended. Unique format of one week with undergraduate pen pal buddies assigned to overseas attendees, post-conference arranged travel, time allotted for graduate student presentation alongside distinguished scholars.

Table 3. Major Events in the Development of Intercultural Communication in Japan

(continued)

Event Year	Event
1974	Intercultural Communication Workshop at Nihonmatsu. 72 researchers and practitioners attended, most from Japan and United States, few from Europe. Funded by nine U.S. institutions and nine Japanese institutions. Planners: Clifford Clarke, David Hoopes, Dean Barnlund, Dan Smith. SIETAR (Society for Intercultural Education, Training and Research) established in the United States.
1976	"Humane Responsibility in Communicating Across Cultures" Conference, again focused on Intercultural Communication, held at ICU. Edward T. Hall is invited presenter. Keynote speaker, Wilbur Schramm, considered the institutionalizer of communication studies in the United States, former director of East-West Communication Institute, Honolulu. Typical conference format unlike 1972.
1980	*Introduction to Intercultural Communication* textbook by John C. Condon & Faithi Yousef of 1975 translated and adapted by Chie Kondo into Japanese as *Ibunkakan Komyunikeishon: Karucha Gyappu no Rikai [Cultural Dimensions of Communication]*. Published by Simul Press.
1980-1981	First Intercultural Communication training in Japan held at Akashi for Proctor & Gamble Co., conducted by IRI, Cliff Clarke and associates
1985	SIETAR Japan established (Tokyo)
1986	CCTS (Cross Cultural Training Services) started with first workshop given by Dean Barnlund
1987	Kanda Gaigo Daigaku (Kanda University of International Studies) established and Institute of Intercultural Communication (Ibunka Komyunikeishon Kenkyū-jo) is there which includes a specialized library for Intercultural Communication. All students required to take both Introduction to Communication and Intercultural Communication

Table 3. Major Events in the Development of Intercultural Communication in Japan

(continued)

Event Year	Event
1987	First textbook for Intercultural Communication by Japanese authors, *Ibunka Komyunikeishon: Shin Kokusaijin e no Jōken* [Intercultural Communication: Conditions for an Internationally-Minded Person] Gyo Furuta, editor, and Teruyuki Kume, Satomu Ishii, Roichi Okabe. By Yuhikaku Publishing.
circa 1991	SIETAR Japan takes Japanese name *Ibunka Komyunikeishon* Kenkyū-kai [Intercultural Communication Study Group]
1991	SIETAR Japan Kansai Chapter established
	First Makuhari Zemi (Makuhari Seminar) held annually through 2000. From the 4th time, 1995, name changed to British Hills (subsequent seminars changed theme and format)
1994	SIETAR Japan holds first annual conference
1997	*Journal of Intercultural Communication* (*Ibunka Komyunikeishon*) commences annual publication
1998	SIETAR International 24th Congress held in Japan – first time in Japan and Asia. Theme: "Dialogue for Creating a Global Vision" November 20th to 24th 500 participants. Format of concurrent academic sessions and cultural sessions.
1999	SIETAR Japan becomes an official academic association in Japan and changes its Japanese name to Ibunka Komyunikeishon Gakkai
	Contrast Culture Workshop
2002	Rikkyo University establishes first Master's Degree Program to focus on Intercultural Communication; 4 tracks of English Language and Education, Interpretation & Translation, Intercultural Communication, Environmental Communication
2002	Tabunka Kankei Gakkai (Japan Society for Multi-cultural Relations -- JSMR) established

Table 3. Major Events in the Development of Intercultural Communication in Japan

(continued)

Event Year	Event
2004	Rikkyo Society for Intercultural Studies -- RICS (Rikkyo Ibunka Komyunikeishon Gakkai) established. Established for alumni of program, faculty, and interested people to keep them connected and to foster continued research.
2004	Rikkyo University establishes first Doctoral Degree Program with degree in Intercultural Communication; 4 tracks of English Language & Education, Interpretation & Translation, Intercultural Communication, Environmental Communication
2008	Rikkyo University establishes College of Intercultural Communication

Saito's Career and Contributions

Mitsuko Saito was the first Japanese woman to obtain a doctorate in Speech and only the third woman to return to Japan with a Ph.D. She studied at Northwestern University and as she also studied for her master's degree there, she must have lived outside Japan for some years. In that period, it was not easy to fly back and forth frequently. As she was a young, single woman from a prominent family who had studied abroad when very few people could get permission to travel outside Japan, and her accomplishment was unprecedented, her return was quite a media event. In later years, she often talked about how surprised, though delighted, she was at being met at the airport by the press and well-wishers; she became an overnight celebrity.

She started her teaching career at ICU in 1958 in the Linguistics Department (Iglehart, 1964, p. 184)[45] as there was nothing like a communication department yet. She remained teaching at ICU until her retirement in 1995; therefore, a career of 37 years.[46] All the while she was at ICU, she also carried on other endeavors: interpreting and translating for international events, running an interpreting school, consulting for business, hosting her own program about communication topics, being involved with Simul Press and the sister companies for conference organizing and services (as noted above), and publishing both translations and some of her own writings. She also married a member of the Diet, which gave her additional responsibilities to a constituency in rural Kyushu[47] and media management for her husband's political life. And she helped to organize early associations such as CAJ, participated in conferences both in Japan and abroad, and traveled back to Northwestern frequently to attend General Semantic workshops.

Refer to Figure 4 Mitsuko Saito's Extensive Professional Networks for a graphic view of the multifaceted networks to which Saito belonged. Not only was she the first Pioneer of the Intercultural Communication field, she was also a pioneer in other ways. She was a pioneer in academia as a female scholar; she was a pioneer in the interpreting field, and in the conference services business.

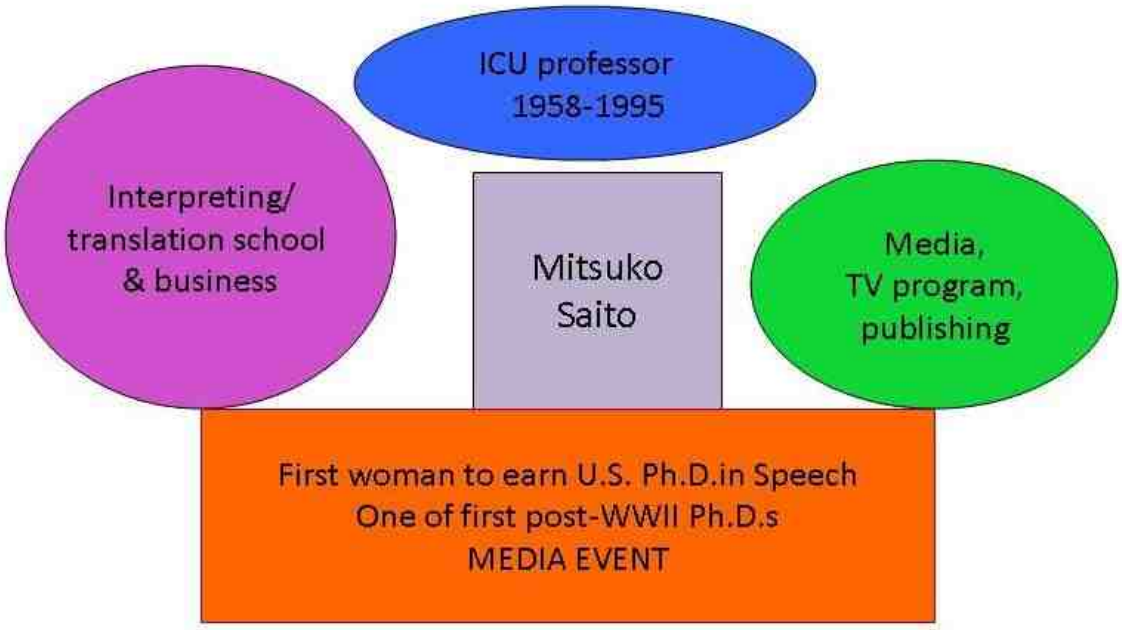


Figure 4. Mitsuko Saito's Extensive Professional Networks

ICU had just graduated its first undergraduate in 1957; Saito began teaching the following year. She never lived on campus but spent several full days a week there including time outside of class. As soon as she began teaching at ICU, Saito applied what she had learned at Northwestern and shared it all with generations of students. In a profile of her following an English article she wrote for the General Semantics Bulletin, it stated

that at that time she was teaching Oral Communication, Introduction to the Study of Communication (Intra-Personal Communication), General Semantics, Psychology of Language, Conference Interpreting I, II, and III. Although the exact date of that article is unclear as the date was not on the article, I believe it was published in 1970 (see Appendix E for the entire article). At any rate, her course load and titles were always about the same from the time she took up her position at ICU.

Saito established several courses in communication immediately and continued to teach them throughout her career. She also took over the one already offered interpreting course and expanded it into a conference interpreting program. Excellent English skills were essential for interpreting of course. For other courses, she emphasized English for communication. Saito's approach to communication meant that interaction was involved, totally unlike the usual way of teaching language in Japan. She had learned primarily about speech communication in her studies at Northwestern University and initiated methods that would turn students into competent communicators.

In Japan, the main approach to learning English, or any foreign language, was that the words were divorced from their cultural context,[48] and the goal was one of absorption of information[49] rather than for communication. Therefore, despite the widespread attempts to teach and learn English, whether within the formal education system, through business training programs, or in English conversation schools, Japanese have found English and communication with the outside world difficult. Although some changes have been made, the basic purpose and methodology continues.

Saito designed what was probably the first public speaking course at a Japanese university where passive lecturing by the instructor was the norm. It was likely based on

her experience at Northwestern where all students had to take a course called Discussion that was later re-named Interpersonal Communication. Japan had no tradition of public speaking instruction; courses in public speaking were unknown. All students were required to take the Oral Communication course, something they all dreaded although they later realized its value as they took positions in business and public service after graduation. The course was ideal for ICU; it fit with ICU's principles. Saito was identified with the Public Communication course throughout her career at ICU; she taught it as a bilingual class. However, because the course was required, many others instructors, full-time and part-time, also taught it through the years based on her design.

From what I heard from colleagues who knew her at ICU in the early days such as Condon, Sano, and Ishii, the Oral Communication course cited in the publication profile was also referred to as Public Communication. Condon recalled listening to student speeches and having someone interpret Japanese speeches for him. Ishii, also a graduate of Northwestern, taught Public Communication as a part-time instructor for several years. Many years later, Adair Nagata taught that course at ICU in the early 2000s and found out it was the course that Saito had pioneered and developed. That course endured because it certainly fulfilled the principles of ICU to foster general language skills and fluency in English.

Saito studied General Semantics at Northwestern, an approach and philosophy championed by Alfred Korzybski and cutting edge in academic circles at the time. The main premise was that people communicate in contradictory, unclear, and ambiguous ways. If adequate attention were to be paid to making communication precise, comprehensible, and transparent, that would make a tremendous difference for

understanding. All her life, Saito belonged to the International Society for General Semantics, served on its board, and frequently contributed short articles to its publications, as the one cited above and excerpted below. She also attended some of the General Semantics Institute programs.

Saito taught, and probably designed, a course called Intercultural Communication that was then taught by John Condon after he arrived at ICU in late 1969. The three courses listed in her profile, Study of Communication (Intra-Personal Communication), General Semantics, and Psychology of Language, probably shared much content in common. A lot of that content was her ideas and interpretation about intercultural communication. While at Northwestern, it is possible that she knew of Hall's research and his earliest articles although she missed meeting him there. Hall came to Chicago and taught at Northwestern in the 1960s so she could have met him during one of her return visits. She had just started teaching at ICU when Hall's *The Silent Language* was published. Its premise and concepts certainly converged with what is known about her concepts about communication and Intercultural Communication.

Saito, by her own admission too busy with a far-flung life that extended into different realms, was not able to publish much. So it is valuable to have found, in Saito's own words, excerpted from her article on General Semantics and Intercultural Communication, what she wrote about her ideas about the essence of successful Intercultural Communication. It is probable that what she expressed in this article of 1989[50]was what she wanted to convey to her students. Her fusion of General Semantics and Intercultural Communication was interesting and enlightening. She certainly indicated a deep interest and awareness of nonverbal communication and its impact on

intercultural communication. She wrote the following:

> …the first basic principle of general semantics: "the map is not the territory" means that the verbal word cannot be equated with the nonverbal world, with its complex structures so diverse, heterogeneous and multifarious. Remaining aware of this principle helps insure successful communication at the intercultural level.
>
> Another principle needing emphasis is that the map does not cover all of the territory. …Remembering that the conclusions we reach, the decisions we make, are based on only part of the relevant evidence will help us keep open-minded, better prepared to discover and accept additional information.
>
> In our age of intercultural communication, the role of listener is very important…Listening to people with different cultural backgrounds is not only hearing and evaluating what they say. Intercultural listening means making an effort to understand what we do not understand (pp. 296-297).

Saito went on to suggest that preparation for intercultural encounters was important. She not only taught, she conducted training and consulted for businesses. She used a variety of props and exercises to induce students and trainees alike to understand that each individual perceives differently, that is, "people see differently and evaluate differently" (p. 297). When I had the opportunity to work with her in a corporate training program in the late 1990s, she was using many of the same props, exercises, and video footage that she had used for decades, always with effective effect.

From this article and from listening to Saito's former students reminisce about her classes, as they did in a gathering after her death, it is evident that she emphasized nonverbal communication for fostering real understanding of the Other's intensions. In

the article cited above, she went on to suggest the use of extensional devices, which may have been something well known in General Semantics and made clear by her explanation. Again, her emphasis on nonverbal communication is interesting. She wrote that in dealing with members of another culture, extensional devices can be used to help enable the listener to distinguish and react to nonverbal realities instead of verbal expressions.

> The five such devices briefly mentioned below are useful aids in keeping our minds open when listening and speaking.
>
> Use 'et cetera' as a reminder that people cannot say or know all about anything; use indexing to show that no two things are identical; use dating to show that no one thing is ever twice the same; use quotation marks as a reminder that a word is not being used in its usual sense; and use hyphens to unite elemental terms to produce non-elemental terms. (Johnson, General Semantics: An Outline Survey was cited for this summary, no date of publication.) Using these devices will help improve mutual understanding in intercultural communication.

Having known some of Saito's former students over the years and also listening to a group reminisce about her classes at the Memorial get-together hosted by SIETAR Japan, I heard a great deal about certain aspects of the content she included in her classes. Ishii and Condon commented on her teaching, relationship with students, and the content she included as panel members for the CAJ Memorial session.

As referred to in the profile about her above, Saito focused on intra-communication, that is, getting to know oneself, one's own cultural patterns, one's own

perspectives. Saito seemed to seamlessly combine communication principles, interpersonal communication, Intercultural Communication, language skills, and intra-communication in her classes. In other words, it points to her being a generalist and pragmatic, rather than specializing or dogmatic. That approach was attractive to students. Her emphasis on intra-communication was also pioneering within the academy (indeed, it is still rare even in the United States) and was valuable for college students who were at the age of self-discovery and learning to become self-reflexive.

Every former student at the SIETAR Japan Memorial reminiscing session agreed that the most memorable part of Saito's class was when she set up time for them to practice calligraphy with a brush in the traditional manner and asked them to model her rendering of the *hōshū no tama*, a Buddhist symbol that looks like a jewel (*tama*) with flames coming out of the top. Refer to Saito's own calligraphy of this symbol in Figure 1 The Hōshū no Tama by Mitsuko Saito. Her *sumi-e* calligraphy was reproduced from her article of 1970 entitled *Learning to Communicate*.[51] Her former students enthusiastically shared their memories, many of them from over 40 years ago; obviously the experiential exercise had fulfilled Saito's purpose and mission.

Saito's own words in this article from 1970 explain her thinking for consistently spending time on this exercise in her classes. She also used the same exercise for training in corporations. Her thinking appeared to be very holistic; she made connections among and synthesized seemingly disparate elements. Another way she did that was to synthesize Western/American concepts and methods with Japanese cultural concepts and methods. She took what she valued from both the West/America and Japan and harmoniously combined them together in a meaningful way.

One of the points Ishii made about Saito as he spoke about her at the CAJ Memorial session was that although she was educated in Western ideas and was eager to share what she had learned with her students, she never forgot about her own culture and valued what Japanese culture had to offer. That was a particularly important message to convey to students in the Postwar Period. Ishii[52] said, "Professor Saito did not forget about Japanese culture, her teaching and philosophy were not just America-centric. So many times I learned that from her….Her philosophy and values were essentially from Buddhism " All on the panel agreed that although Saito was brought up in a Christian home and identified as a (No-Church) Christian (and therefore could teach at ICU) and absorbed a lot from the United States, at the core she was Japanese or Asian.

As I heard more comments about Saito's philosophy and way of teaching Intercultural Communication, I thought that in some ways the field has come full circle. Her approaches and goals sounded very contemporary, even innovative for the current concerns and directions that the field is taking that will be noted in this chapter and discussed in Chapter Six – Conclusions. Her respect for Japanese values and approaches and ability to combine those with her American education sound relevant to the process of reframing towards Japanization or indigenization of the foundations of Intercultural Communication.

Although Saito did not publish much after the early years, two books early in her career were very influential among her peers and those who came after her. Time and again, Japanese informants, including Kume, Ishii, Okabe, and Kunihiro told me that reading her two books or even better, hearing her lecture on their content, was memorable and enlightening. At a time when very few books were available on any Intercultural

topics, especially before the translation of *The Silent Language* in 1966, which of course was one-third her work, those interested in learning more were grateful for her books. She did not translate her own books into English, but the titles given for the books within the profile for her in that 1989 article were *The Science of Spoken Language* and *Theories of Listening.* Interesting that they sound very pedantic; the Japanese titles were much more accessible: *Hanashikata* and *Kikikata* that might be translated as *Ways of Speaking* and *Ways of Listening*. Saito also translated other people's books or found good translators for them. She translated John Condon's book, *Living in the World of Words* and arranged to have it published by Simul Press. She also made publishing arrangements for Edward T. Hall.

Many other comments by former students and colleagues at the Memorials focused on Saito's special feelings for her students and how she went to great lengths to help them with job hunting and other decisions for the rest of their lives. Saito was a teacher rather than a researcher. As Condon said, "she used her influence to help so many; people like that don't receive awards." She used her extensive networks to find opportunities, partnerships, jobs, and internships for students, often launching them into lifetime careers. She was the quintessential networker; that aspect of her personality will be further addressed in the third main section of this chapter about the invisible college of scholars.

One of the panelists at the CAJ Memorial session whom I did not know related that he remembered how years ago when Saito attended an NCA conference, he was greatly impressed to learn that she brought back souvenirs for her students. He thought that act really showed how she took care of her students and that they were so important

to her. On the other hand, some of her colleagues also found her difficult to deal with. Many examples of her behavior showed how she demanded loyalty and devotion from former students. Both perceptions are probably true. The traditional relationship of professor as adviser and student was very personal and carried into all aspects of life for the rest of one's life even if the student did not enter into academia. The relationship was also similar to the traditional concept of *deshi*, an apprentice who studied with a master.

Line of American Scholars Invited to ICU

When Saito was at Northwestern, she met Dean Barnlund, also in speech communication and a pioneer in interpersonal communication. As time went on, he turned his attention to Intercultural Communication topics. Barnlund continued at Northwestern as a professor [53]before moving to San Francisco State University in the early 1960s. Saito and Barnlund corresponded after Saito's return to Japan and she later invited him to come to ICU as a visiting professor, probably the time coinciding with his first sabbatical at San Francisco State University. The attitude and policies in place at ICU from its inception was to bring in recommended international scholars for a term or their sabbatical year; Saito was familiar with that policy and used it to advantage (Iglehart, 1964, p.210).

Barnlund would be the first American scholar of Intercultural Communication that Saito invited teach at ICU and was able to make arrangements successfully. There would be a total of five American scholars. The line began with Barnlund in 1967 and ended with Wasilewski upon her retirement in 2008. Refer to Figure 5 Line of American Scholars Invited to Teach at ICU.

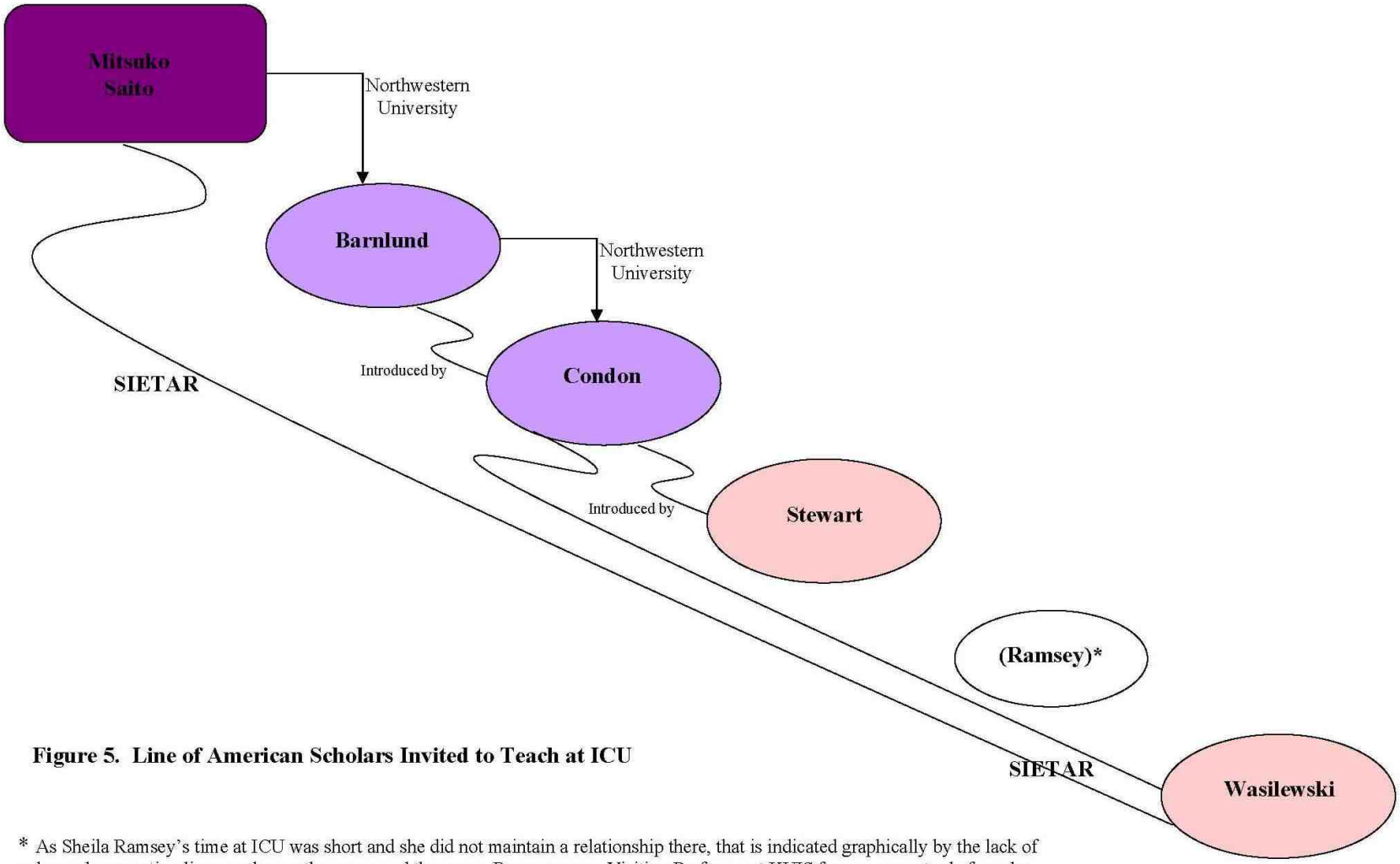


Figure 5. Line of American Scholars Invited to Teach at ICU

* As Sheila Ramsey's time at ICU was short and she did not maintain a relationship there, that is indicated graphically by the lack of color and connecting lines, and parentheses around the name. Ramsey was a Visiting Professor at KUIS for one semester before she returned to the United States. She also conducted periodic workshops for CCTS and SIETAR Japan. I succeeded her and taught the same classes at KUIS from 1992 to 2000. She was not an informant for this study.

In this part within the section on the Postwar Period and with focus on the Pioneer Generation, I look at Saito's first and second invitations to American scholars to teach at ICU. Both Dean Barnlund and John Condon influenced the Intercultural field in profound ways and certainly facilitated the diffusion of Intercultural Communication as a discipline in Japan.

Dean Barnlund, first in the line. Despite Barnlund's short first stay at ICU (he came to teach for less than a year, perhaps one semester) in 1967, he had a profound and abiding influence on Japanese scholarship and the development of the Intercultural field. After returning to the States, he stayed in close contact with Japanese colleagues, visited often, and his groundbreaking publications about Japanese were quickly translated into Japanese by a colleague, Masako Sano at ICU (an informant), and published by Simul Press thanks to Saito. He returned for short stays numerous times through the decades until he passed away in 1992.

Many Japanese went to San Francisco State University to study with Barnlund for a higher degree, three of them, Shoko Araki, Kazuko Iwatsuki, and Miho Yoshioka, were informants for this study. Japanese also sought out other opportunities to study with Barnlund either in Japan or the United States. Many of the concepts and assumptions that Japanese scholars carry with them about Intercultural Communication and their own culture can probably be traced back to Barnlund. For example, his emphasis on interpersonal communication made sense to Japanese who work through relationships and wondered how to form successful relationships with foreigners for mutual benefit. Yoshioka spoke of how it was to study with Barnlund[54]saying that he was always available and believed in her and all his students. His classes were so interesting and his

assignments creative. He helped her, and others, put into words what she was experiencing. Also, he honored Japanese culture, thus giving her the permission to be curious about and honor her own background.

Barnlund conducted research in Japan that yielded a comparative study of privacy and disclosure attitudes and practices. At the first conference at ICU in 1972, he gave his first presentation on his work to that point. His book *Public and Private Self in Japan and the United States: Communicative Styles of Two Cultures* (1989) was first published by Simul Press. The Japanese translation was published simultaneously. Barnlund observations about communication styles and interpersonal interaction were published in another book *Communicative Styles of Japanese and Americans: Images and Realities* (1989). Further details about Barnlund within the invisible college are presented in the last main section of this chapter.

John Condon – second invitee. Another individual who greatly influenced the early development of Intercultural Communication in the Postwar Period was John Condon, an advisee of Barnlund at Northwestern. Condon had already lived in Mexico and Tanzania. Having studied under Barnlund and having been influenced by Hall, Condon brought similar perspectives and interests with him to Japan. Condon also had met and informally studied with Edward T. Hall because Hall had come to Chicago to teach at IIT. (Later, he came to teach at Northwestern.) He also met with Edward C. Stewart (another informant for this study) when he visited Northwestern. Years later, Condon recommended that Stewart succeed him at ICU.

One of Condon's major contributions was to introduce the values orientation approach to the field. Condon focused his instruction on the why of actions and behaviors,

relating them to values. His dissertation of 1964 took a values orientation approach to the differences between Mexico and American culture and is considered to be the first dissertation of Intercultural Communication, a forerunner to the formal field.

Barnlund recommended Condon to Saito as someone who could perhaps commit to a more lengthy stay at ICU. Condon arrived at ICU in late 1969 and stayed for ten years as a full-time professor. Condon was very interested in Japan and appreciated the opportunity to be there although everything he had heard about Japan turned out to be not quite true. His arrival during the *funsō* era was quite contrary to expectations, but was also fascinating. Although he and his family lived off campus, he was very much involved in campus life.

Condon found the ICU students serious and engaged; he was very impressed with their work ethic and that they formed study groups and met two weeks before school started while still enjoying summer vacations. One of the most fascinating student projects I have ever seen is Condon's copy of student work that was self-published and entitled *Patterns of Communication In and Out of Japan: 20 Original Studies of Japanese Communication in the Family, in Public and Across Cultures* from 1974. Many of the research reports were surprisingly innovative and insightful. Some of Condon's students also presented their work at the Intercultural conferences of 1972 or 1976.

Condon let students follow their own interests while giving them guidance to shape their research, and gave them outlets to share their findings. When asked about teaching at ICU and his objectives during the interview with him, Condon answered, "Here were people who in many ways were authorities on their own culture, in a way that outsiders weren't, but to cite the authorities was what they thought term papers and senior

theses was about. So … part of what I was trying to do was to break that and to encourage people to appreciate and become interested, more interested, in what they might have thought was pretty ordinary. And you can hear that as either a noble goal or a selfish goal because I was really interested in those things that maybe they weren't so much…. I wanted to expand the notion of communication from speeches and conferences and narrower categories of intercultural communication…to everyday life communication.

He also, perhaps through some introductions from Saito, found opportunities to appear in the media, conduct some business training, and write a number of books. As noted above, Saito translated his book *Living in the World of Words* and also arranged for publication with Simul Press. In 1975, Condon (co-authored with F.S. Yousef) published what is considered the first textbook for Intercultural Communication *An Introduction to Intercultural Communication.* One of his and Saito's students would translate that book into Japanese in 1980, also published by Simul Press (Kondo, 1980). Condon also wrote a book of his observations about Japan *With Respect to the Japanese* and another book about Japanese culture *What's Japanese About Japan?* Condon's books were written in a very accessible manner and are still in print.

Condon said he always taught a course called Intercultural Communication (English name only) and thought that perhaps Saito had taught it before he arrived. He also heard that an American professor who was at ICU in the earliest years had taught a course of that name. It made sense given the principles and goals of ICU, but he did not know what the content had been.[55]Condon returned to the United States in 1979 but frequently visited Japan. He was asked to come to ICU again as a Visiting Professor in

the early 1990s. He recommended two successors, Stewart and Wasilewski, in the line of American scholars.

First Intercultural Communication Conference at ICU in 1972

Condon brought the idea for a conference to Saito, early in 1971 after receiving a letter from Michael Prosser who was heading the newly formed Intercultural Communication Committee within the Speech Communication Association (now NCA). His letter said why not hold a conference over there in Japan. With that casual thought, Condon talked to Saito about the idea.

"As is known, Saito was very resourceful in all kinds of ways…. She thought about what should we do; whom should we invite….Saito called people she knew to get them involved such as Chie Nakane, Masao Kunihiro, Takeo Doi – that was the first time he gave a public presentation of his *amae no kozo* and it was first published in the Speech Communication Journal. Even Akira Kurosawa's[56] assistant attended the conference because of Saito's connection. Because of who she knew and her [skills of] persuasion, they were able to gather all those people."

Saito arranged for ICU to support the conference as a suitable project to celebrate the 25th anniversary of the university's founding. She also elicited support from Japan Airlines so that attendees from the United States could get a special, discounted fare. As soon as Condon mentioned someone's book he had been reading, she would say she knew that person and would have them attend. The trouble was that they needed to have at least 12 attendees from the United States in order to claim the airline's group discount and almost no one in those days seriously thought about traveling all the way to Japan. So Condon worked on getting enough people to come from the United States.

The 1972 conference was a great success, very innovative in many ways; 2000 people participated, many of them students and the media. The theme was *Intercultural Encounters with Japan: Communication – Contact and Conflict* (1974). Through Saito's connection, Simul Press published the proceedings with the same title. Her other company, Simul International, provided interpreting services. Everyone found opportunities for growth and making collaborative connections; attendees who came from the United States found their lives and careers transformed.[57]

One informant, Janet Bennett, told me her story of when she and her husband, newly returned from a Peace Corps assignment in Micronesia, were riding on the train with William Howell, professor from the University of Minnesota and one of the only people teaching an Intercultural Communication course in those days. Engrossed in their conversation, they kept missing their stop and went back and forth a few times. By the time they got off the train, the trajectory of her life had changed. She and her husband went to the University of Minnesota and completed their doctorates. She has returned many times to Japan to teach workshops sponsored by the Cross Cultural Training Services organized by Shoko Araki, as both Barnlund and Condon did.

A major innovation of the 1972 conference was to involve ICU students as pen pals and guides. Any American planning to attend was connected with a student pen pal before the conference. The student asked that individual what he or she wanted to do and see in Japan. Once individuals arrived, the same student was assigned to help them and guide them around ICU and to places based on interest. Students enthusiastically worked very hard to make the conference a success. Many called it the experience of a lifetime when they were reminiscing at the Memorial meeting. Many of those students went on to

study for a higher degree in the Intercultural field and to work in either academia, the business world, or in government positions that required their expertise in Intercultural Communication.

The conference was divided into three themes: Interpersonal Communication, Cultural Values and Communication, and Language and Culture Relationships. This conference was notable for the presentations of scholars who introduced their new research. Later, they published on the topics of those presentations and became well known for them. Barnlund presented on his public and private space research for the first time. Condon presented on the values approach. Notable Japanese scholars, from related disciplines, who would become known internationally presented such as Takao Doi, from the psychology field, on the concept of *amae* and Chie Nakane, sociologist, on the Japanese social system. Saito presented on conference interpreting. The topics reflected the broad spectrum of Intercultural topics and interest.

Many ICU students also presented from their work, something unheard of at Japanese academic conferences. Condon recalled that a master's thesis student, Keiko Ueda, whose article was also part of the student self-published report, presented on Sixteen Ways of To Avoid Saying "No" in Japanese. He thought that that study, maybe owing to the title, has had a life of its own and gotten more attention than anything else from that time.[58]

Intercultural Communication Workshop at Nihonmatsu in 1974

Another attendee in 1972 was Clifford Clarke who had grown up in Japan. He was studying at Stanford and already had a background in foreign student advising. He was also one of the original members of the study group that led to the formation of

SIETAR (in the United States). For him, one outgrowth of his experience at the 1972 conference was to initiate the Stanford Institute of Intercultural Communication (SIIC), which was a series of seminars in a retreat-like setting. SIIC started up in 1975 and grew each year. In 1987, Clarke decided that other commitments necessitated handing over leadership for SIIC to Janet and Milton Bennett. The location changed to Oregon and became the Summer Institute for Intercultural Communication, still SIIC. It continues to be held each summer for about three weeks with many course offerings.

Condon, Hayashi, and Nagata (of the informants) have been instructors for SIIC. Many Japanese began to attend the summer sessions and came to be the largest group of attendees after Americans. Many also became interns for the program meaning that they volunteered their time for preparation and working in exchange for a chance to study. Refer to Appendix J History of Intercultural Communication Field (1945 – 2005) for events in Japan relevant to the international growth of the Intercultural field.

Another outcome for Clarke was his idea for and organization of the Nihonmatsu Workshop for Intercultural Communication in 1974. He and others organized the workshop which brought together an equal number of Japanese and Americans, 76 total, who represented academic institutions, government agencies, counseling associations, and independent consulting for a week at a remote hot springs inn for an intensive series of discussions.

Clarke was able to elicit sponsorship grants from two corporations, one Japanese and one American, as well as from the International House of Japan to cover expenses and offer all-expenses paid trips to all participants. Some of those participants were informants for this study. Clarke also engaged ICU students to assist him with

videotaping the entire week's sessions. Clarke still has those videotapes and is willing to loan them to anyone wishing to do research from them. However, the videotapes are never requested and participants who I know are largely reluctant to talk about the experience.

The only person I interviewed who was willing to talk about the workshop was Ishii. He actually enjoyed being at the hot springs and getting to know people, but never understood what the purpose was for being there. The other informants, four in all, recalled the experience as a bitter and painful one. They related the many conflicts that erupted and how some people, especially older Japanese, were so upset that a couple of them left the premises, not practically easy to do and contrary to usual behavior. Paul Pedersen, one of the organizers and one of the group leaders, then at the beginning of his career in cross-cultural psychology, later wrote an essay of reflection about his experience (Personal communication via Clifford Clarke).

> We were so concerned about coming off as professional. We were so concerned about being respected by the other person that we broke the rules to do it. I learned more during this long week than any other such experience I ever had. In some ways, it was my biggest success, but also my biggest failure. Under that kind of pressure, I was absolutely unable, or perhaps unwilling, to take seriously the principles of good intercultural communication. I learned how stress kills the best of intentions. When you are under attack for a prolonged period of time….then you respond to the attack irrationally with anger and you try to hurt the other person rather than hear the other person.

Pedersen was profoundly changed by this group experience that he had been assigned to co-lead. He stated in his essay that even after 30 years he continues to learn from everything he encountered during that week in Japan. The top three lessons for him were that he would always be a learner, never "the expert," that total and deep listening is the most important skill one can learn, and thirdly, he observed the power of emotions. He learned how tenuous rational thinking is and how easily it can vanish (Personal communication via Clifford Clarke).

Clarke said that looking at the week with hindsight, a major problem was that there was no skilled general facilitator for the groups. He also learned that all individuals, including Interculturalists, carry their cultures, values, and beliefs as close to the surface as anyone else. A third observation he told me and also included in his keynote address to the SIETAR Japan 2007 conference was that the outcome of the Workshop "demonstrated our need as professional interculturalists to practice the integration of our values especially those which lead us to either universalistic or contextualistic thinking. We of course must have those values that we consider absolute for ourselves but we must also be able to understand and be sensitive to other cultures, which hold their own perceptions of universal truths" (2008).

Second Conference in 1976

The second conference held in 1976 had the theme *Communicating Across Cultures for What?: A Symposium on Humane Responsibility in Intercultural Communication*. Simul Press published the proceedings of the same title in 1976. This second conference, also sponsored by ICU, was unlike the first one; it was structured much like the usual academic conference with a symposium and presentation sessions,

little student involvement. The media was still interested in it, however, and gave it a lot of publicity. Edward T. Hall was invited to give a presentation; I believe this was Hall's first trip to Japan. The title of his presentation was *Critical Models in Transcultural Communication.*

Wilbur Schramm, the institutionalizer in the academy of communication in the United States (Rogers, 1994, 1997), was invited to be a speaker for the 1976 conference. The title of his talk was *With Respect to Intercultural Communication.* Although not known as an Intercultural scholar, upon his retirement from Stanford University he had become the director of the East-West Center at the University of Hawaii. He said he wished he had written *The Silent Language* and posed four directives for anyone studying culture that included respect for differences, allowance for people to do things in surprising ways, curiosity, and enjoyment of learning about another culture.

Summary of the Postwar Period and the Pioneer Generation

During the Postwar Period, from the time that Mitsuko Saito began teaching a range of communication courses at ICU, the introduction of Intercultural Communication as a discipline was underway. Every course that Saito taught had an Intercultural component whether a survey of communication, General Semantics, or conference interpreting. It appeared that Saito, as so many Japanese, thought that any kind of encounter with non-Japanese was a combination of language and culture. In Saito's case, she had deeply studied communication dynamics and introduced communication with intercultural communication principles derived from General Semantics embedded in the content. Those who studied with her were able to find answers to those critical questions

of how to communicate and behave with foreigners and to get in touch with their own identities.

Hall's concepts were scarcely in the public space when Saito began teaching at ICU. Saito was the seminal pioneer for many areas including Intercultural Communication. As the years passed, Saito initiated an invitation to Dean Barnlund to come to ICU for a term. That would be the start of the line of five American scholars whom Saito invited, with the line ending in 2008 after 41 years, scholars who influenced the development of the field through their teaching, research, and publications.

In addition, three transformative events, the 1972 and 1976 conferences, and the Nihonmatsu Workshop were held. They were the first of their kind anywhere in the world, and held in Japan. They were jointly organized by Japanese and Americans and drew both as attendees. For many, it is not an exaggeration to say that those experiences were turning points of their lives. Many collaborations and innovations grew out of the connections and encounters experienced at these events.

The Postwar Period ended about 1976 after Japan was able to survive the defeat of war, reframe the relationship with the United States and Americans, and revive economically. As the 1970s ended, the Postwar generation had greatly improved the living standard greatly. Japan was poised to zoom ahead and become known as a well-oiled economic machine. The next section introduces The Japan, Inc. Period in order to contextualize it in relation to the further developments of the Intercultural field.

The Japan, Inc. Period 1977 – 1989

The years from 1977[59] to 1989 were real go-go years for Japan. Main events are shown in Figure 6 The Japan, Inc. Period Timeline, 1977 – 1989 and discussed here. The

once shoddy, trinket type goods or toys were now transformed into world-class automobiles, ships, and electronic goods. Americans both admired and despised Japanese goods while also having no knowledge about the society from which they came. American scholars and business managers published books lauding Japanese management practices as well as portending the end of American industrial supremacy. There was a steady stream of B-school instructors and managers making pilgrimages to Japan to find out the secrets to Japan's phenomenal success.

The title *Japan as Number One*[60] (Vogel, 1979) said it all. Japan seemed to work seamlessly as a well-oiled corporation where everyone in the society, from bureaucrats to housewives, was pulling in the same direction and playing their part as the cog in the machine with dedication and sacrifice. The film *Gung Ho* (1986, directed by Ron Howard), set in an American auto factory town, humorously portrayed overweight, barely competent, juvenile Americans partnered with super-competent, disciplined, technologically advanced Japanese who bought out the American factory and brought change. The fact that the film ended with mutual respect and understanding was something not often played out in the real world although there were attempts where Clarke was involved.

Some scholars stated that Japan is a "receiver culture" and although excellent at collecting information from the outside had no practice of explaining itself to the outside world (Japan Center, 1976). This reticent tendency and Japan's leaders lack of ability to communicate well and being poor at public relations became evident as Japan's economic presence grew stronger. Even as Japan's products gained a reputation for excellence in global markets, the consumers had no sense of the people or culture behind the products.

Japanese management abroad was largely silent and incognizant. People admired the products but distrusted the producers who seemed to be faceless, "economic animals."

In the meantime, on the domestic front, the Japanese government spent on infrastructure and lowered interest rates, thus heating up the economy that led to the so-called bubble economy into the 1980s. Infrastructure did improve; facilities in rural areas were updated; office building complexes soared based on new engineering theories that would prevent earthquake collapse. However, some old, closely knit neighborhoods were bought up and razed to make way for the new, usually speculative, projects.[61] Real estate developers built, cities sprawled, the population continued to move from rural areas to urban centers until the depopulation of the countryside verged on dangerous for maintaining a steady food supply.[62] At the same time, every kind of exotic food and drink was available. Japanese started to sample cheeses and wines of the world. Every producer wanted to import into Japan; it was where the money was.

Concurrent with the time of easy credit, the yen climbed rapidly against the dollar and stayed there after the Plaza Accord[63] of 1986. Designer clothing and accessories found the best market in the world in Japan because consumers equated high prices with high quality. With credit easy and the yen value against the dollar so favorable, investors and speculators began to buy America – buildings such as Lincoln Center, golf courses such as Pebble Beach, hotels on Waikiki, and upscale houses block by block as representatives knocked on doors to offer huge sums—all leading to the backlash against Japanese goods dramatized by smashing and burying Japanese cars and stereos.

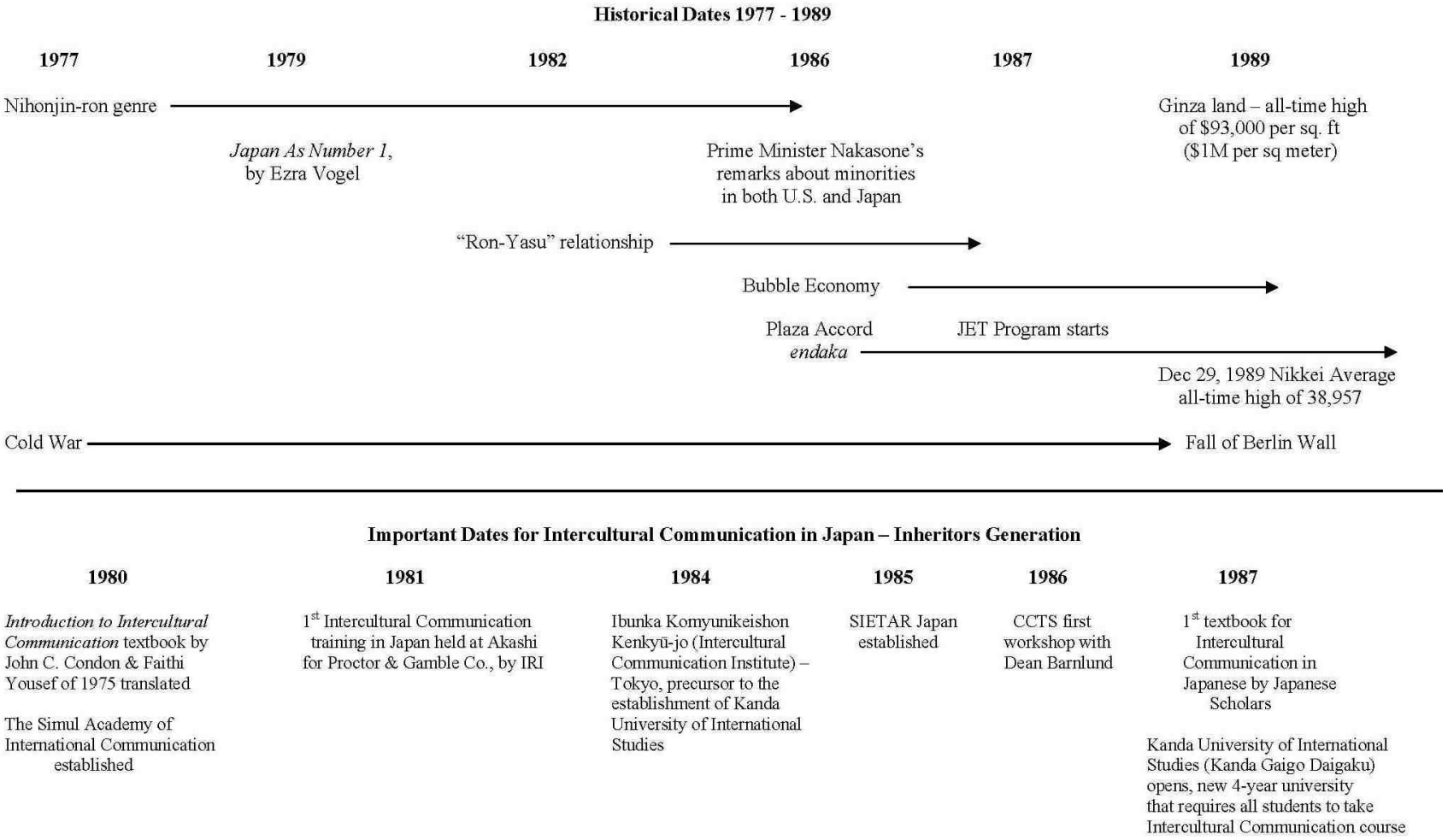


Figure 6. **The Japan, Inc. Timeline, 1977 – 1989.**

With the exchange value of the yen so high, Japanese ventured out to travel the world and buy up any item that caught their fancy. Suddenly, Japanese of any background could afford to stay in four-star resorts, buy jewelry and furs, and visit casinos. Japanese farmers who had never been to Tokyo flew to Europe on group tours; housewives who had shopped at only the local market flew to Southeast Asia to bargain their way through their tours, and it became *de rigueur* to honeymoon in Hawaii, or later, in Australia. American newscasters displayed the "most expensive piece of real estate in the world" by standing on a corner in the Ginza district of Tokyo and measuring out one foot square, further reporting that the entire value of United States real estate added up to only the small area of Tokyo.

Japan and the World

During this period of Japan, Inc., the Japanese government realized that it needed to conduct some public relations in order to promote more positive images of Japan to counteract the prevalent "economic animal" stereotypes. One idea was a government sponsored program, through MITI[64] and JETRO,[65] and repeated many times, that invited North American and European opinion leaders to enjoy a complimentary three-week stay in Japan. The first two weeks, in Tokyo, consisted of many seminars with Japanese business and journalism leaders; then the third week, they were taken by train and bus to one or both of the old capitals, Kyoto and Nara, for cultural sightseeing and learning.[66]The hope was that those opinion leaders would return to their countries with new understanding and appreciation for Japan and influence many others to think positively of Japan.

Local government and business organizations such as the Osaka Chamber of Commerce, sponsored similar trips and forums. JETRO, heretofore set up to assist Japanese companies maneuver exporting mazes, now added to its mission assistance for foreign companies trying to crack the Japanese market. Some foreign corporations were successful. It was widely thought that Japan was the place to be. An indication of Japan's prominence was that *Newsweek* took a chance and initiated its Japanese language publication in 1986; others followed.

New entertainment products, different from the cars and ships started to flood global markets. What the transistor radio was in earlier days, the Sony Walkman was in the 1980s, a popular phenomenon that used Japanese corporate strengths of miniaturization and innovation of existing technology to package international consumer products. This and other products also came out of a cultural base – the Japanese idea of changing one's own small space and behavior instead of changing the larger environment and making others change. The Walkman concept changed music listening habits around the world. Another company, Nintendo[67], created the Game Boy, a hand held video game device, that entered popular culture in 1989. Both of these product lines and other innovations continued to alter consumer tastes and habits.

Japanese society, on all levels, was reaching out. It was the age of *kokusai-ka* meaning *internationalization*. The spirit of the period was symbolized through the well-publicized "Ron-Yasu" relationship. "Ron" referred to President Ronald Reagan and "Yasu" referred to Prime Minister Yasuhiro Nakasone; the phrase referred to their buddy-buddy relationship. Of course, as with any aspect of the Japan-U.S. relationship, that news was followed far more closely in Japan than in the United States. It fascinated

Japanese because Japanese never use their first names as forms of address in official or business dealings so it appeared to be a sign of the times of how "international" Japan was becoming. An outcome of that relationship was the Prime Minister's admonition to buy imported goods, especially American goods. But the problem was, what American goods would Japanese want to buy?

Japanese officials were not only generally poor at public speaking; when they did speak they often came across as arrogant or insulting. One example was a comment by Prime Minister Nakasone, at a closed door internal meeting, where he make a derogatory statement about the American population due to the numbers of African Americans and Hispanics that lowered the general intelligence. That kind of comment was frequent enough that people interested in communication and intercultural relations, such as those in the Intercultural Communication field, saw it as an indication of the need for more education. Scholars and trainers in the Intercultural field redoubled their efforts to offer programs and courses that addressed intercultural issues.[68] Having the wealth to venture abroad for business, leisure, and politics also seemed to trigger a lot of friction. *Boeki massatsu*, meaning trade friction, was endlessly in the news, at least partially caused by a lack of communication and management skills. Trainers of Intercultural Communication offered answers.

Domestic Effects of Kokusai-ka

Kokusai-ka's effects were domestic as well as international. Attitudes towards how the Japanese government treated foreigners and minorities within Japan came to the forefront. Japanese had a long-standing belief, reinforced by education, that Japan was completely homogeneous with no different ethnic groups. The number of foreigners in

Japan was small but they were often very visible, in unique roles. For a people who had always thought in terms of being an island nation, cut off from others, with a unique culture and language, to think of themselves as one of the major players in the world and to think of incorporating foreigners into their society were considerable challenges. The foray into the world as colonizers and invaders had ended badly; now here was another way to be in the world that presented its own challenges.

The flip side of *kokusai-ka* was that very few foreigner tourists visited Japan. Its reputation for being expensive, truer than ever due to the high yen, and inscrutable kept the numbers small. Japan also instituted various new visa requirements and a controversy over fingerprinting erupted, especially among the Zainichi Koreans, people of Korean descent living in Japan. This group of people, even if the third generation born in Japan and with Japanese names,[69]were not Japanese citizens and had to carry a special Korean passport and visa. That community's protest encouraged other minorities such as the Okinawans[70] and Ainu[71] to give voice to both their cultural heritage and past wrongs. The belief of Japanese homogeneity was seen to be a myth that was fraying.

Although tourists were few, the impression that Japanese were rich and the streets were paved with gold drew all kinds of people to Japan for economic reasons. Chinese and other Asians with student visas could work part-time and were willing to take jobs that young Japanese found unappealing. For a few years, many Iranians came to Japan to find jobs and overstayed their visa periods. Japanese law enforcement was uneven and regulations lagged reality. Then, the government changed its policy, rounded up the Iranians who tended to congregate in certain places, and stopped issuing visas to Iranian nationals. Unscrupulous labor agents exploited some laborers. Young women from Asia

and Russia came to Japan to work in nightclubs. Some women were duped by agents, possibly with ties to Japanese organized crime,[72] and sex worker trafficking showed up as a problem. The trend of foreigners coming to Japan to find work, legally and illegally, grew and would explode in the 1990s. Within a short time, it was evident that people from all over the world were walking the streets of Tokyo and other cities, something not seen before.

Japanese interest in all things foreign that were excellent, and the high yen, led to a proliferation of what was available – from food to wine to golf to designer labels – as well as how people could spend their time. With such a wealth of hobbies and interests, the traditional arts[73] that had been a part of the education of well-brought up children lost ground. And at the same time, traditional crafts that take years to master suffered from lack of apprentices, change in lifestyle, and high prices. Some foreigners came upon their life's purpose and began to apprentice or at least to learn for a few years before going their own ways again. The martial arts actually flourished outside of Japan. One Way-of-Tea (tea ceremony) school opened its doors to non-Japanese and established branches outside of Japan. If not for the foreigners and Japanese government who supported Kabuki, Nō, and Bunraku, the traditional theater genres would have passed by the wayside.

However, one tradition, Sumo wrestling, its origins in the mists of time and strongly connected to indigenous Shintō beliefs, was wildly popular; all six major annual tournaments were fully televised. Its resurgence in popularity was partially attributable to the sight of non-Japanese wrestlers, scouted from Hawaii. The largest wrestler to ever weigh in, Konishiki, with Samoan roots, was a spectacle in himself. Although he did not

attain the very highest rank and stayed at the second rank, he was very popular and eventually became a Japanese citizen. After retirement, he left the Sumo world and became a television personality. Rumors of discrimination besieged Konishki. Right behind him, however, two Hawaiian compatriots did reach the highest rank, thus cracking wide open the closed doors of the Sumo world. In 1993, Akebono, from Hawaii, became the first non-Japanese Yokozuna, the highest rank possible. Since then, other nationalities have been scouted, Mongolian, Russian, Bulgarian, and have done well. The first group of Hawaiian wrestlers was a source of excitement and a symbol of *kokusai-ka* on the domestic front.

Educational Context

During the Japan, Inc. Period, new directions in education, both formally and informally, were occurring. The Mombushō [74] (Ministry of Education) initiated the JET Program[75]in 1987. JET was initiated as policy to enable children to be fluent in English and able to interact around the world. Previous public English language education had focused on testing for written passages and grammar with little concern for communication. The JET Program brought in young, college-educated, native English speakers, half from the United States, most of whom were sent to both urban and rural schools to co-teach with Japanese teachers of English, not always an altogether congenial arrangement. Some JET Program participants were embedded in local government offices to work on international relations, a sometimes successful arrangement but often not well coordinated.

Whereas most Japanese believed that non-Japanese could never become proficient in their language, more Japanese speakers began to appear. At this time, many Chinese

and other Asians started to come to Japan in increasing numbers to seek higher education in Japan. In 1984, the government initiated JLPT, the Japanese Language Proficiency Test, with the same four levels as the long-standing English language proficiency test. Chinese did very well on these tests because the written language contained many Chinese characters. Anyone who passed the top test could apply to a Japanese university for entrance with Japanese. From their point of view, a degree from Japan was valuable for their future. A few non-Japanese fluent in Japanese appeared regularly on television; those numbers would also increase.[76] The Hawaiian Sumo wrestlers all became fluent in Japanese and often spoke to the press.

From the outside, American universities started to set up branches in Japan, believing that they would corner a market on English language instruction, coursework in English, and accessible MBA programs. Temple University was the first to establish a branch in 1982; and it survives in Tokyo. Others generally survived until the bursting of the bubble economy. Some, enticed by a local government's invitation, were situated in a rural field. Although some students chose to attend these American branch colleges, most young people preferred to go abroad to study English and other subjects, especially after the yen made that so inexpensive. On the other hand, relatively few American students came to study in Japan because of the language barrier and few language programs, and of course the expense. There were a few exchange programs for Americans to be in Japan for a short time.

One of the emerging key figures of the Millennials Generation, Kumiko Torikai, is an example of someone who studied for her degree at Columbia University's branch in Tokyo in teaching English as a second language (TESOL). She had already been a high

school exchange student to New Jersey. Having young children at the time she wanted to study, she could not think about going abroad. Being able to attend classes in Tokyo allowed her to opt for studies that would assist her in transitioning from interpreting and media hosting to classroom teaching.

Intercultural Communication Relevance – Inheritors Generation 1977 – 1988

The strong internationalization trend of the Japan, Inc. Period offered relevance, need, and motivation to the Intercultural Communication field's development at every level of society: corporate, governmental, organizational, and individual. At the individual level, some of the trends mentioned above provided opportunities for people interested in the nascent field of Intercultural Communication, often through a circuitous route, as very few people knew such a discipline existed.

As pointed out above, the number of Japanese studying abroad increased many-fold. A number of those who would become key figures in the Intercultural Communication discipline took the opportunity to study for undergraduate and advanced degrees abroad, almost all in the United States, as shown in Figure 2 Places Where Educated Outside Japan. A few, the Pioneers, had gone to the United States to study in the Postwar years, but many more followed during these Japan, Inc. years. Visa requirements had relaxed and the standard of living had improved so that study in the United States was somehow affordable even before the yen strengthened. I labeled this Generation within the development of Intercultural Communication as the Inheritors (see Table 1 Central Figures of the Four Generations).

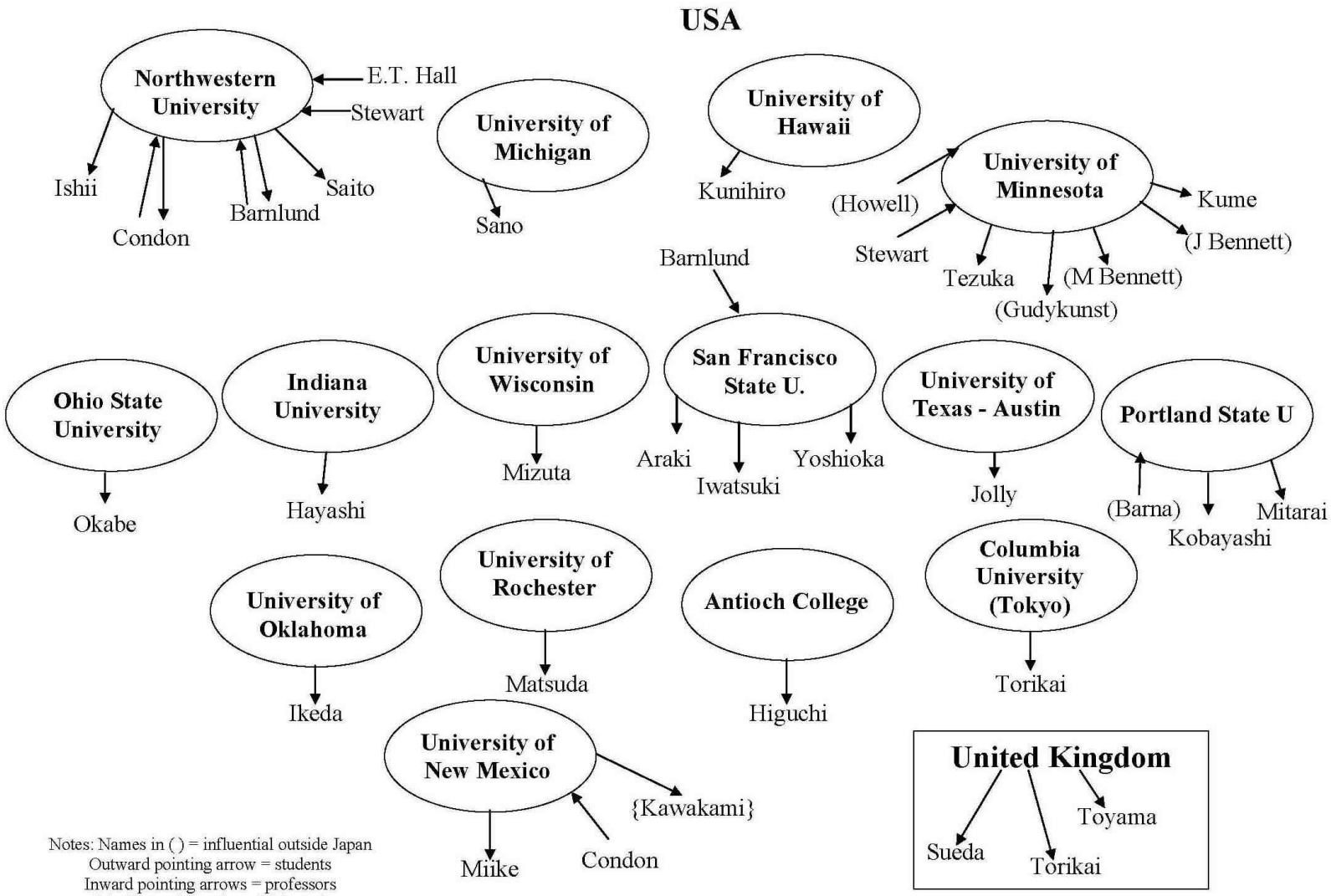


Figure 2. **Places Where Educated Outside Japan**

As the second Generation of the four identified in this study, the Inheritor Generation inherited what the Pioneers had introduced and accomplished, then built upon that foundation. Even though many who studied abroad had not been connected with one another before going, some began to form connections while outside Japan. Upon returning to Japan with advanced degrees from a number of different universities, they took up positions at a number of different universities in Japan.

None of the degrees were specifically in Intercultural Communication as that degree would not be offered for some years, but those who attended the University of Minnesota, Teruyuki Kume, Portland State University, Shoji Mitarai and Toshio Kobayashi, and San Francisco State University, Kazuko Iwatsuki, Shoko Araki, and Miho Yoshioka, were able to take the earliest courses offered in Intercultural Communication. Others majored in literature, teaching English as a second language, linguistics, rhetoric and other communication topics. None of them were hired to teach Intercultural Communication as they entered, for example, English Literature, International Relations, English Language, and Humanities departments at Japanese universities, but they found ways to include Intercultural content in their classes. Their interests led them to make further connections with like-minded scholars leading to formation of the invisible college and establishment of academic associations that will be discussed in later sections.

During this time, some non-Japanese, aside from the American scholars at ICU, fit into the Inheritors Generation and became active, central figures in the development of Intercultural Communication. Diane Walsh Suzuki, with her partner, Kazuko Iwatsuki, started their own training business called Culture Shock that especially targeted wives

and families of corporate managers to smooth their transition into Japan. They also worked with Japanese youth going abroad. I included myself in this Generation. During this time I was in Kansai (Osaka-Kyoto-Kobe area). Edward C. Stewart who had succeeded John Condon at ICU was the third in the line of American scholars to be invited by Saito and was in Japan for the entire 1980s decade.

Another area of relevance during this period of Japan, Inc. was the advancement of Intercultural training and consulting for corporate, governmental, and organizational sectors.

Although the history of Intercultural Communication training is outside the scope of this study, it is important to mention that the first such training was conducted in Japan in 1981 in Akashi, Japan. That training was the Japan-side of the comprehensive training for Proctor & Gamble conducted by Clifford Clarke and his associates under the name of IRI, Intercultural Relations Institute, associated with Stanford University.

Proctor and Gamble had decided to manage the cultural diversity of their technology transfer project to Japan and continued to use Clarke's services after the initial project. Clarke changed the status of his firm to profit from non-profit and the name several times. He conducted training for several large Japanese and joint venture companies in Japan either by embedding personnel in the companies or by offering training to companies. Clarke is also listed in the Pioneer Generation. More recently, Clarke operates under the name Global Integration Strategies LLC out of Honolulu. Other people, some specializing in training and some scholars who bridged both areas,[77] formed small firms and built up the training and consulting part of the Intercultural field.

Establishment of new organizations. As interest in international relations and Intercultural Communication increased, and traffic across the Pacific increased in both directions, new organizations, some professional and some academic, were established to provide venues for exchange. Following are brief descriptions of several organizations that started up during the Japan, Inc. Period. One of them, SIETAR Japan, is particularly central to this study as it involved individuals, both scholars and practitioners, interested in Intercultural Communication topics.

As more non-Japanese professionals came to live in Japan, they began to establish organizations to oversee their needs, some open to Japanese membership and others not. One of the earliest to be formed, in 1979, was the FCC, the Forum for Corporate Communications, by people, mostly Americans, working in the English advertising and public relations departments in Japanese companies.[78]FCC was open to people from related fields and welcomed Japanese members although all meetings and proceedings were conducted in English. It came to be a common format for other groups that formed during that period; these organizations afforded opportunities for exchange and socializing among Americans, a few other non-Japanese, and Japanese who were already comfortable in international settings. Other business-oriented organizations such as FEW (Foreign Executive Women) and KAISHA[79] Society for non-Japanese working in Japanese companies were founded in 1981 and 1987 respectively.

SIETAR Japan, after a couple of false starts, dates its start from 1985. SIETAR stands for Society of Intercultural Education, Training & Research and was founded in the United States in 1971; the first conference was held in 1975. Some Japanese scholars began to attend SIETAR annual conferences and gradually the idea for a branch of

SIETAR developed. For a few years it was more like a study group, with people who were starting to be active in training or education able to find like-minded people and learn from one another. Gradually, the structure came into place and offerings expanded so that its official start was in 1985. As in the United States, the range of Intercultural areas was represented at SIETAR Japan so that monthly meetings drew both academicians and practitioners, or those whose work spanned both arenas.

Other Intercultural study groups, outside of Tokyo, began in this period. In Nagoya, Roichi Okabe organized the Nippon Komyunikeishon Kenkyūsha Kaigi (Communication Scholars Meeting); it still convenes annually and Okabe publishes the proceedings. At least two study groups were organized in Kansai (Osaka area), one led by Kume before he moved to Tokyo to join the newly established Kanda University of International Studies. (See below for more about this university.) That study group's members joined the SIETAR Japan Kansai Chapter that started in the early 1990s.

Another opportunity for Intercultural specialists seeking education were the bi-annual intensive workshops with top Interculturalists, usually American, offered by CCTS (Cross Cultural Training Services) organized by Shoko Araki, still continuing today. Araki had studied under Dean Barnlund at San Francisco State University; she started her offerings by inviting him to Japan to give weekend workshops. Many of the individuals who are key figures in this study have been instructors for CCTS: John Condon, Janet Bennett, Edward C. Stewart, Kichiro (Kichom) Hayashi. Many other key figures were regular participants.

A new Japanese university. During the 1980s, not only were many American colleges setting up branches in Japan, Japanese universities were expanding, re-locating

outside of city centers, and new universities were being chartered. One of the new universities was established by one of the oldest English and foreign language schools in Japan, which grew into something like a community college, the Kanda Institute of Foreign Languages. In the mid-1980s, Gyo Furuta, one of this study's informants, was engaged to plan and organize a new type of four-year university that would focus on language and for the first time ever, Intercultural Communication. The new university opened its doors in 1987, located about an hour by train from mid-Tokyo, out past Japan's Disney Land, on reclaimed land waiting for development in Makuhari, Chiba.

The name of this university in Japanese, Kanda Gaigo Daigaku,[80] meaning literally the Kanda University of Foreign Languages, was however translated as the Kanda University of International Studies, a far different nuance even if there was no non-Japanese student program for many years. The abbreviation KUIS is also used for the name as both the English and Japanese names are long. As with other universities that have *gaigo* (*foreign language*) in their names, all students had to take English courses and work towards fluency in English, as well as a chosen second language. However, unique in its conception, part of Furuta's vision, was the radical requirement that all students had to take Introduction to Communication and Intercultural Communication courses.[81]

Although the emphasis was on communication, rather than only languages, the Ministry of Education would not grant approval for a department of communication until some years had passed. The reason was that in Japanese, the word used for *communication* is the pronunciation of the same sounds into Japanese, as *komyunikeishon* and the Ministry had never allowed a department, division or university name to be a

borrowed word.[82] Finally, after years of petitioning, and as the study of communication became more widely accepted and popular among students, the Ministry granted permission to name the department with a foreign, borrowed word for the first time. Thus, Kanda University of International Studies had the first Department of Communication in Japan. Up to that point, other schools had used other words or phrases in Japanese.

During the planning phase, in fact, even before there was one university building, Furuta worked out of a small office adjacent to the old Kanda school in an old neighborhood of Tokyo that he named the Institute of Intercultural Communication, Ibunka Komyunikeishon Kenkyū-jo, the first of its kind.[83]The Institute was then moved to the new building fitted with a library[84]and staff.

Furuta came to this project after a wide-ranging career of research and publishing, some of it far from Intercultural Communication and some of it more closely related. I placed Furuta in the Inheritors generation despite his many years of experience because he entered the field of Intercultural Communication as he began the planning for the new university. Although he came to the study of Intercultural Communication as a discipline later in his career, he is credited with deciding on the Japanese term that came to be used. More details will be forthcoming in the section on the next period, The Lost Decade, when Furuta's idea became the term of choice and even diffused to the general public.

Furuta completed the organization of KUIS by persuading Teruyuki Kume, a young scholar in Kobe (another city in Kansai) who had obtained his degree at the University of Minnesota (placed in the Inheritors Generation in this study) to move to the new university. The Institute of Intercultural Communication became the hub for a number of activities[85] including a newsletter published three times a year, an annual

journal, annual summer seminars, a speaker series, and a Media Watch study group that presented and published. The first Annual was published in 1989.

First textbook series. Furuta also organized a group of scholars to launch the first Japanese textbook focused on Intercultural Communication even before the university doors opened; it was published in 1987. That first textbook's Japanese title was *Ibunka Komyunikeishon: Shin Kokusaijin e no Jōken,* with the English translation as *Intercultural Communication: Conditions for an Internationally-Minded Person.* It was published only in Japanese; this English title is taken from an article written by Okabe, one of the authors in the group, in English about the early history of Intercultural Communication (1988).

According to Kume, that first text was a transitional book, nearly like a translation without being a translation because the authors followed the organization and content of textbooks in English on Intercultural Communication. The group of authors that Furuta organized for the first textbook included Satoshi Ishii, Jun Toyama, and Roichi Okabe, in addition to Kume and himself as senior editor. All of them were informants for this study and all were placed in the Inheritors Generation.

These scholars continued as the core group for what became the preeminent series of textbooks for Intercultural Communication in Japan. Kume organized subsequent textbooks, sometimes including another scholar or two because of their expertise. They tackled the first writing project without a clear vision for the series in mind; the series evolved as every few years they chose a topic according to the needs they observed. See Table 4 Textbook Series Authored by Japanese Scholars for the complete list of these

textbooks. More details about this textbook series will be added in the sections on the next periods, The Lost Decade and Global Soft Power.

Table 4. ***Textbook Series Authored by Japanese Scholars***

Number in Series	Date of Publication	Title [with English meaning]
I	1987	*Ibunka Komyunikeishon: Shin Kokusaijin e no Jōken* [Intercultural Communication: Conditions for an Internationally-Minded Person]
II	1996	*Ibunka Komyunikeishon Kīwādo Shū* [Keywords on Intercultural Communication]
III	1997	*Ibunka Komyunikeishon Handobukku* [Handbook of Intercultural Communication]
IV	2001	*Komyunikeishon Riron* [Theories in Intercultural Communication]
V	2005	*Ibunka Komyunikeishon Kenkyū Hō* [Intercultural Communication Methods]
VI	2007	*Keisu de Manabu Ibunka Komyunikeishon* [Learn Intercultural Communication With Case Studies]

Notes:
List of Textbooks – First series of Intercultural Communication textbooks by Japanese authors
Publisher: Yuhikaku in Tokyo
1st editor Gyo Furuta, then senior advisor
Succeeding editor: Teruyuki Kume
Core Group: Teruyuki Kume, Satoshi Ishii, Roichi Okabe, Jun Toyama (others: Kazuhiro Hirai, Kiyoshi Midooka)

Summary of Japan, Inc. Period – Has Something Been Lost?

Years before the Japan, Inc. economic miracle ended, a television drama series, *Oshin,* captured the attention of the public from all walks of life and invited introspection. *Oshin* was one of NHK's[86] television drama series, broadcast in weekday installments of 15 minutes that ran for one year. The series was so popular that even the Diet halted proceedings so that members could watch it. The series was about one woman's life, named Oshin, born in 1900. Tracking her life, the series ran for a year to take a look at Japan through the 20th century, especially women's roles, and at how Japan had changed in such rapid fashion with barely a moment to reflect.

Nearly every person in the country watched the last episode in 1984. Oshin, now elderly at age 84, having just interacted with her family including grandchildren, looks into the camera at the end and says, "What was it all? Was it all worth it? Did I lose myself in the process?"[87] Although riveting as a drama, perhaps Japanese were not quite ready to be reflective until the 1990s after the end of the bubble economy. Oshin, the drama and character, perhaps portended the coming malaise. Oshin was also an unexpected smash hit abroad, translated for broadcast in 59 countries. In that way, Oshin was one of the first cultural exports of Japan, a theme that will be visited for the last historical last period, Global Soft Power, of this study.[88]

Summary of Development of the Intercultural Communication Field – Inheritors Generation

For the Intercultural field, the 1980s offered tremendous opportunity for trainers because the need for intercultural skills was evident and corporations also were flush with funds. At the universities, instructors with an interest in Intercultural Communication

could incorporate its themes and concepts into their courses. Other organizations were established, of particular note the SIETAR Japan organization that would draw scholars and practitioners alike to its meetings. It was not yet an academic organization, still more like a study group. More people were being drawn to the Intercultural field, either to the academy or to practice, and were finding one another at the various venues for exchange and collaboration. The foundation for the field was well established; next would be the stage of consolidation.

KUIS was established and outpaced ICU in innovative coursework and an emphasis on Intercultural Communication. The KUIS Institute of Intercultural Communication also organized publications and other activities that provided means of exchange among scholars. And the term of choice in Japanese for Intercultural Communication had been decided and was being used for the Institute, publications, and course titles at KUIS, as well as the first Japanese authored textbook. The story of that term will be told in the next section.

The Lost Decade Period 1989 – 1999

The Lost Decade has become an accepted term to delineate the period after the bubble economy, the decade of the 1990s. The Shōwa Emperor[89] who had sat on the Chrysanthemum Throne for over 60 years, since 1926, as a deity overseeing an empire until War's defeat, and saved by General MacArthur from being tried as a war criminal to then become the symbol of unity of a people, lay dying in the closing days of the 1980s. It was the peak of the bubble economy, just before the crash. The Emperor was not important for running Japan, but in most people's memory he had always been there, a diffident, bespectacled, grandfatherly figure who did not know what to say to ordinary

people. He had renounced his divinity on order of MacArthur and had tried to change for the new era. The nation was on a death watch for months. Weddings were postponed. Businessmen and news anchors wore gray ties; everyone wore somber colors. The New Year holidays could not be celebrated.

As soon as Emperor Hirohito died on January 7, 1989, the new era, Heisei,[90] was proclaimed. Emperor Akihito, born 1933, ascended the Chrysanthemum Throne as the 125th in his lineage. The new Emperor was a youth during the war years; in the early Postwar years he was tutored by a Quaker woman, Elizabeth Vining,[91] who was also peripherally involved in the founding of ICU. As the Crown Prince, he had chosen his own bride and married the first commoner in Japanese history in 1959,[92] the daughter of an industrialist who became Empress Michiko.

The funeral ceremonies and the ascension ceremonies took place over almost two years.[93] Mourning for the old and familiar coupled with hope for the new era seemed to mirror the uncertainty of the sputtering last months of the bubble economy. When the decade of the 1990s was about to pass into history, economists and social observers coined the phrase “Lost Decade” to describe it. Figure 7 The Lost Decade Timeline, 1989 – 1999 shows Important Historical events in the upper section. The lower section of the figure shows Important Dates for Intercultural Communication in Japan; these will be discussed in the later section following brief details of the sociological and psychological, educational, and business contexts.

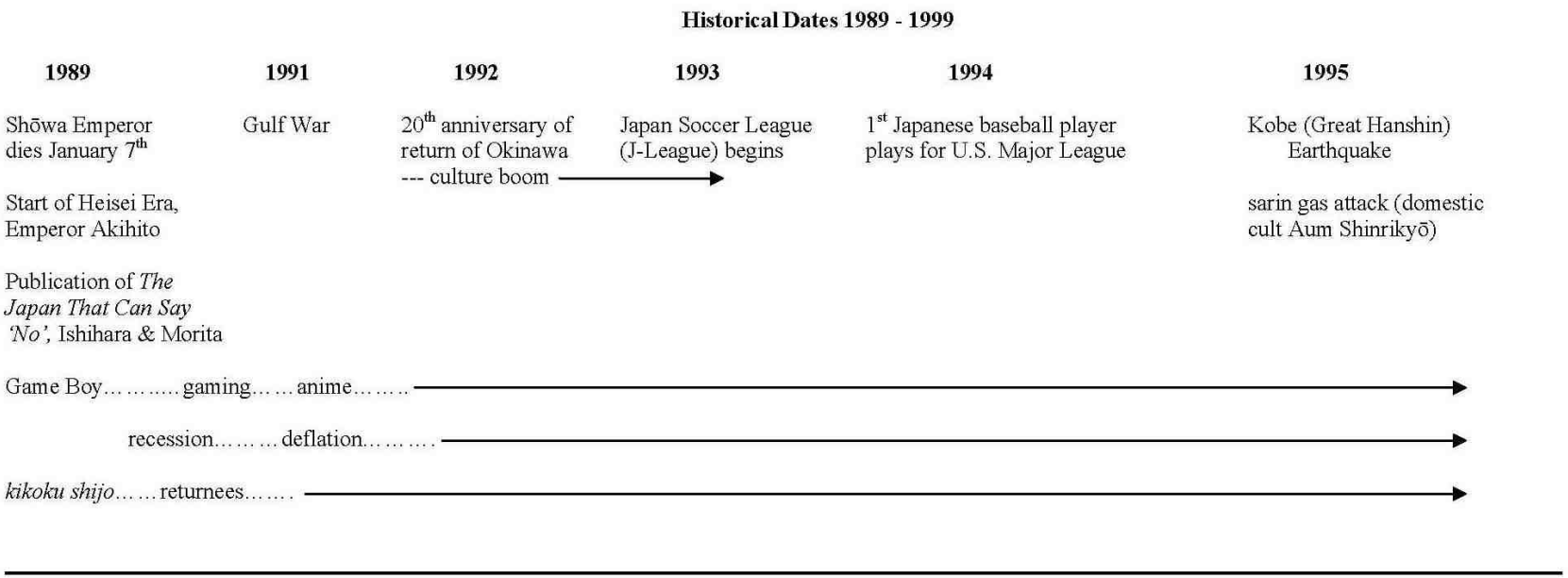


Figure 7. **The Lost Decade Timeline, 1989 – 1999.**

The Lost Decade refers mostly to the recession that never seemed to quit throughout the decade of the 1990s despite a series of stimulus measures. The soaring stock market where taxi drivers were making a fortune, popped on December 29, 1989 upon reaching its all-time high. The heady days of solid gold bathtubs and gold flakes on food, of water imported from glaciers, fat expense accounts, and buying the world was over. Bank failures, deflation, the steep drop in property values, and the hollowing out of Japanese manufacturing affected people both in the pocketbook and psyche. Many salaried people were in trouble with what are now termed "under water mortgages;" some walked away from vacation properties and exclusive golf clubs bought for investment.

At first, looking around Tokyo, Osaka, and other cities, restaurants were still full, the trains were still packed with commuters, and shoppers were out. But gradually, top department stores failed, banks merged and changed their names to survive, and discount stores proliferated that featured cheaper goods and clothing made in China or South Korea. Mainstays of Japan, Inc., the very pillars of a system that was touted to be number one, crumbled such as lifetime employment and the housewife at home safety valve.

Sociological and Psychological Contexts

Although Japan's economy went into a tailspin and deflation was a problem, to observe all the people still out shopping and dining, it was hard to tell at first that society had changed. The economic doldrums produced social phenomena that were also challenging. After the heady days of the bubble years, all through the decade of the 1990s, there was the feeling that something had gone amiss. Something had been lost; something had been squandered. The public lost faith in government institutions, the very same that had advanced the "Japanese miracle." Societal and international challenges abounded but

government seemed to be at a loss. Emergencies were met with incompetence. The public lost trust in the Establishment as scandal after scandal surfaced at banks and large companies. Arrogant behavior of the Japan, Inc. days coupled with the lack of public relations skills at the top levels brought about continuing international backlash towards Japan that Japanese often found inexplicable.

Trends were in motion that would affect society's structure and social contract. Some examples follow. Japanese corporations imported the American corporate practices of downsizing and early retirement, translated as *risutora* (*restructuring*) and "the tap on the shoulder," a real departure from the former Japanese practice of keeping on redundant workers.

Young people, many less interested in a full time salaried position, and with changing values, began to choose different career pathways from their parents. The new generation had grown up in the Japan, Inc. years when material goods were plentiful; they carried those expectations into their adult lives. The *furītā* [94]was born, someone who worked when necessary, or where interesting, for periods at a time, thus making time to pursue one's own interests. Not paying benefits suited the companies as well. Others looked for meaningful work such as in NGOs,[95] or wanted to study or work outside Japan. Others took jobs but unlike their older counterparts who stayed in a company for life, these young people found nothing wrong with quitting to try out a different company or pursue a different path. These trends have continued so that in the early 21st century, there is a large percentage of part-time workers and *furītā*s who work without benefits and also without loyalty.

Domestically, two events of 1995 called into question any effectiveness of the Japanese government and disrupted the cohesive social system. The first event, early in the year, was the Great Hanshin Earthquake, in the Kobe area. Japan is a country of earthquakes so although the severity of the quake was certainly cause for concern, it was the total lack of preparedness and indecisiveness that was stunning. News helicopters flew above the raging fires all night; the media called on the government to release helicopters to drop water on top of the burning city. Nothing was done. Roads were so clogged with people trying to evacuate that emergency vehicles could not get into affected areas.

Measures that would have saved people's lives simply were not taken. Everyone watched on television as 6,500 people died. The effect was chilling. Average Japanese thought that as they went about their work and lives, officials were also doing their best to serve the nation. Japanese saw firsthand that should something happen to them in their area of Japan, they would be on their own. Government politicians and officials appeared to have no disaster planning in place; they lost face and the trust of the public. When the freeways in the California Northridge Earthquake had crumbled exactly one year earlier, Japanese officials bragged that it could never happen in Japan, but the major Hanshin Expressway collapsed and so did many buildings.

The international community also changed its opinion of Japan. The Japan, Inc. image of a people who could accomplish anything, who were always competent and confident, melted away. It happened that a Swiss team with their disaster trained dogs were in Osaka for a conference but their offer to take their dogs into the area was rebuffed as were all foreign offers of aid. It turned out that the people who could evacuate

were those who worked with foreign-owned companies of the area such as P&G (Proctor & Gamble) because they had disaster plans and training in place. All of their employees were quickly evacuated by small boats.

Most people knew someone affected by the earthquake. Japan is a small nation, about the size of California with a population of about 120 million. Many had relatives or friends who died or were injured. Many more knew people who escaped from the rubble of their homes. There was an outpouring of donations of money and goods for months. Media coverage of the aftermath continued for months. On the positive side, it was a turning point for Japanese citizenship: volunteerism started for many with Kobe and continued for other societal concerns. Although the rebuilding of Kobe and claims continued for years, and in some cases, still continues, the positive outcome was that government examined its policies so that when the next serious earthquake hit, in 2004 in more rural Niigata, aid quickly arrived.

The other event of 1995 was the sarin gas attack on several subway lines in Tokyo[96] found to be perpetrated by a domestic cult, the Aum Shinrikyō. The government had been surveilling the group but no hint of the attack had been picked up. A media circus ensued while the authorities tracked down the perpetrators and arrested key individuals. The average Japanese began to feel that the very fabric of society was being ripped apart. That feeling continued as one after another scandal involving government officials and corporate heads played on the evening news. The never ending string of scandals continues in the present time.

Women's changing roles. Women's changing roles were generated by educational opportunities and changes in upbringing. More and more women were

graduating from college and seeking careers, or at least, years of employment. For those with high aspirations, the Equal Employment Act of 1985[97] was supposed to be liberating in that it removed labor barriers for women and put them on equal employment footing with men. New opportunities for women led to the trend that the population with the highest disposable income was young women. Often continuing to have a room at their parents' home, they were free to spend on designer goods, to travel, and to eat out.

At the same time, fewer were interested in marriage or children, a new social phenomenon. They were seen to be independent (at least partially so), educated, a little spoiled by parents, and somehow allowed more freedom of choice than young men who were expected to follow a strict path of traditional employment. These young women enjoyed their freedom and wanted it to continue. Friends, yes, boyfriends, yes, but they did not want to end up like their mothers. So marriage was delayed and the old adage of being married by age 25 or ending up like a Christmas cake on the shelf on December 26th[98] became passé. In 2006, the average age for marriage for men was 30 and for women 28 (Brinton, 1992; Masaki, 2007).

Even if women did marry, fewer wanted children making the DINKs[99] another phenomenon. More women wanted to continue their careers and their lifestyles; they did not want to end up like their mothers as stay-at-home housewives and they did not believe their husbands would be any different from their salary-man,[100] absentee fathers. The birth rate declined steadily and continues. Compared to the birth rate of the United States in 2006 of 2.05, the birth rate in Japan overall was 1.32; in Tokyo it plunged to 1.02 (Masaki, 2007).

The woman who tried to balance a career and childcare found it nearly impossible because of long working hours, inadequate child care facilities and hours, and the loss of extended family nearby. The law of 1985 that ostensibly gave equality to women in the workplace also neglected to consider women's special responsibilities. The government had done nothing to increase or subsidize childcare facilities. The societal norm and corporate practice continued to say that once a woman had a child, she would quit and stay home to be the caretaker.

Ageing population. Another social challenge was the ageing population. The population of Japan was definitely in an inverted triangle shape. With the highest longevity in the world, more people were living the longest they ever had while at the same time the birth rate was falling.[101]Although the facts were clear, the government did not actively plan; rather it waited until the crisis was at hand.

Although the nation was proud of its elderly on the surface (there is even a holiday called Respect for the Aged Day), government did not build facilities, private facilities were out of reach of many, the extended family home was largely a thing of the past, and it fell on the shoulders of middle-aged daughters-in-law to figure out a way to take care of elderly parents. Speculation about how high taxes would have to be on younger people to support those who had wrought the Japanese miracle was a heated topic with no good answers. The aging of the countryside population was particularly acute but no one had a viable answer.[102]Some families placed their elderly parents in the Philippines or another suitable place where full-time, patient care could be had for a low price compared to Japanese prices. Japan was loath to consider immigration to allow in

eldercare workers although some measures were taken as discussed below in the *Japan and the World – Kokusai-ka* section.

The Japanese diet and lifestyle was thought to be responsible for the dramatic longevity. Outside Japan, some foods such as sushi and green tea started to become popular and then ubiquitous. Researchers came to Japan to study why Japanese were so healthy and lived so long, especially in Okinawa where the very highest percentage of people over 85 live. As noted earlier, Okinawans belong to a separate ethnic group than Japanese, and also have different traditional foods and lifestyle.

Starting in the later boom years of the 1980s, and continuing into the 1990s because of the high yen, the government proposed new ideas for how senior citizens could enjoy retirement. Retiring at 60 as was traditional, or even at 65, meant that there would be many remaining healthy years for most people. The government allowed people to collect their pensions and social security at foreign addresses. Why not encourage seniors to live in Japanese enclaves in attractive places abroad such as Australia? The government named this idea Silver Cities, started the planning, and actually opened some destinations.

After selling their small houses for yen, Japanese seniors could live in large homes with swimming pools and next to golf courses for much lower budgets than was possible in Japan. The idea was that they would live in completely Japanese functioning communities and not need to worry about English, obtaining the foods and goods they liked, or dealing with locals. Japan was not prepared for the backlash that ensued. Some people joined the Silver Cities; more independent people went on their own to destinations abroad.

Kikoku shijo – Japanese children abroad. Japanese corporations continued to post many Japanese managers abroad in the 1990s, a trend that had started in earlier years. Many of those managers decided to have their families accompany them so that a major impact of the movement of Japanese managers around the world was that their children were educated outside of Japan.[103] The term for such children, no matter their age, is *kikoku shijo*. Every year, up to 10,000 children of various ages were returning to Japan's education system (Yashiro, 1992); as the 1990s progressed, the number increased. The term *kikoku shijo* refers to both boys and girls, but because the majority of the returnees have been girls the term has come to largely refer to girl returnees.

In metropolitan locations abroad, there was often a Ministry of Education sanctioned Japanese school; however, not more than 40% of the children living abroad could be educated at a Japanese school. In other locations, or by preference, many parents opted for an international school that placed their children within a diverse student body where they were educated in English, or opted for a local school, most often in the United States, which socialized and educated their children as local children.

If those children returned at some point before graduating from high school, they faced many challenges ranging from teasing to bullying, and just not fitting into the tight-knit social structure of Japanese schools. Many children returned to Japan for college[104] whereupon they found themselves ill prepared for the Japanese educational system. In addition to having been socialized differently, although they appeared to be fluent in English, their written skills were often poor in both languages (Yashiro, 1992; 1995). They also behaved differently which could alienate fellow classmates and professors.

The fact that the majority of returnees were girls was related to the differing expectations for sons and daughters as well as ways of raising them. Within Japanese families, it was widely thought that girls educated abroad would not be seriously impeded either educationally or career-wise, and in fact, language ability, thought to be more natural for girls, would be enhanced and therefore an asset for later endeavors. On the other hand, it was believed that sons, if possible, would be better brought up and educated within the more strictly traditional Japanese system for socialization and education necessary for later achievement. Parents were making assumptions about their children's futures in the real world. Even as *kikoku shijo* gradually came to be seen as a new elite capable of coping with internationalization and leading Japan in that direction because of their language and cultural skills (Kanno, 2000), most parents[105]still wanted their sons to follow the prescribed life pattern and join a conservative, high-ranking corporation after college graduation.[106]

That different expectations for sons and daughters happened to open doors of freedom, independence, and creativity for the girls, in comparison to their brothers,[107] that often led to opportunities for the young women in the new era of globalization with its needs for language skills and knowledge of different ways of marketing. The challenges of being bilingual and bicultural in a society that still operated under the misapprehension of being homogeneous and so unique that no one outside could fit in or understand it meant that *kikoku shijo* practiced a lot of personal negotiation. Someone who had negotiated her own identity and could move comfortably across cultural borders could be an asset to Japan, corporations began to think. The original four critical questions that Japanese society speculated on in the Postwar Period had persisted. The

returnees, through their life experiences (Seelye & Wasilewski, 1996), were becoming skilled at knowing both how to be Japanese in the world and how to communicate with the rest of the world. The topic of *kikoku shijo* became a topic of considerable interest to some Intercultural scholars, some of whom were returnees themselves.

At first, ICU was one of the only universities to interview and accept Japanese students educated outside Japan. Later, others, including some very traditional schools, began to accept those students. By 1997, over 300 universities offered relaxed admissions criteria for *kikoku shijo*, a system sometimes attacked as preferential treatment. ICU was rather well prepared to assist and accept returnees because from its beginning, it had encouraged and accepted international students.[108] However, other schools with no exchange students and no counseling or advisement expertise for such returnee students, left their success up to individual professors or the students themselves.

Japan and the world. At the beginning of the Lost Decade was the Gulf War in 1991. The Japanese, prevented from military deployment by the very Constitution implemented by the American Occupation, conducted a drawn out, dramatic debate in the Diet[109] to decide how to participate. The final compromise decision was to support the Coalition war effort by contributing billions of yen. The money was needed but the image of someone just writing a check instead of being on the front lines themselves backfired and drew negative worldwide press. Worse was the reaction from people, such as ordinary Americans, who knew nothing about the funds or the Japanese peace Constitution, who simply thought that Japan was only interested in pursuing economic gain as the "economic animal" and was shirking international responsibilities. For

Japanese, once again, it was shown that a lack of international finesse and poor public relations had handed them a black eye.

The Japanese government, headed by the Liberal Democratic Party (LDP) continuously since the Postwar years, continued to heavily subsidize agriculture and steer funds to rural communities to spend on infrastructure even though the population had largely shifted to urban areas. Political districting still favored rural constituents; therefore politicians catered to less populated areas. Urban Japanese grumbled but most still identified themselves with whatever rural community their ancestors had come from and still returned, if possible, twice a year, to those places for the most important holidays of the year, New Year's and O-Bon (the time in summer when ancestor spirits return to earth).[110]

Government policy had steadfastly refused to import rice from other countries thereby protecting rice-growing regions and self-sufficiency of the daily staple. Japanese grown rice, while delicious, was up to seven times more expensive to buy. Gradually, protection for apples, beef and other products had wavered or fallen but not rice, not only the essential staple but also connected with the mythical roots of Japan and the spirits of the land.

However, 1993 brought an unusually cool and rainy summer that decimated rice crops. Emergency action was taken to import tons of rice from Thailand, Australia, and the United States. Learning to cook the long-grain rice of Thailand became a new hobby. The Australian airlines, Qantas, helped to promote Aussie rice by giving out bags to all passengers from Japan. It turned out that Australian and American short-grain rice strains were the same or similar to Japanese rice because Japanese immigrants had brought

them; moreover, they were far cheaper. Once the consumer liked the taste and the price, it was hard to go to back to the old price levels. The government had to allow rice imports to continue. As usual, it had taken an emergency and continuous pressure from the outside[111] to effect a change.

Finally, on the bright side, a highlight of the 1990s was the Nagano Winter Olympics of 1998, the second winter Olympics to be held in Japan. The entire area of mountainous Nagano, rather remote until the building projects for the Olympics improved transportation and infrastructure, was transformed. The new Nagano Shinkansen (Bullet Train) was just one of the new high speed lines that was completed to link Japan its full length. Many Japanese got excited about the prospects of being on the international stage in a positive way at the end of the decade and volunteered to help. This Winter Olympics is known both for being the first time to use so many volunteers and the first attempt to make the Olympics environmentally green.

Japan-United States, Japan-Asia relationships. The Japan-United States and Japan-Asia relationships were challenged several times during the 1990s. As the fiftieth anniversary of the end of World War II approached in 1995, Japanese who had lived through that period were aware of it with a mixture of thankfulness at the progress made in the Postwar years and anxiety over the unfinished business with the United States and Asia. Before his death, the Shōwa Emperor, at an official dinner as the head of state, made a tepid statement of apology for the suffering caused by Japan in Asia. From the Japanese point of view, it was a strong statement simply because the Emperor had made it, but it was too weak for the Asian countries.[112] However, even that bland comment by the Emperor was vigorously objected to by the far-right groups that included some

elected politicians who still called for a return to the glorious Japan of the Emperor system and military might.

Periodically, China and South Korea loudly complained to Japan about its government approved secondary school textbook policies. It was evident that over time, Japan was whitewashing the military's aggression in Asia by changing words[113] and shortening sections. The effect was that younger Japanese had almost no idea what had occurred in the mid-20th century.

In June 1994, a sudden break in the hold of the LDP party that had lasted the entire Postwar Period, brought the Socialist Party and a coalition of smaller political parties, into a brief 18 months of power. Prime Minister Tomiichi Murayama, who had served as the loyal opposition for many years and never expected to become prime minister, was suddenly thrust onto the world stage for a brief time. Although his government did not do well with the domestic crises of 1995, he is known for his strong statement of apology given on August 15, 1995. The national annual somber ceremony on the surrender date that always honored the fallen and those who had suffered in World War II, had extra significance on the occasion of the 50th anniversary.[114] That statement was the strongest yet of responsibility and apology, and has been referred to numerous times by subsequent Japanese officials.

Although in Japan there was a lot of attention paid to the 50th anniversary with many documentaries, an opening of information about the wartime government and the Emperor's role, oral history projects, and young people learning for the first time through these means, in the United States there was little recognition of the anniversary except for several books published and a few documentaries about the development and use of the

atomic bombs, not of interest to most people (Kawakami, 1996; Kawakami, Chen, Gwangho, Itaba, and Kume, 1997).

Japan protested to the United States about the upcoming Smithsonian exhibit of Enola Gay, etc. that documented the use of atomic bombs and the end of the War for its victorious tone and the lack of recognition of human suffering. However, in the United States, the American Legion, Air Force Association, and other World War II veterans were dismayed that, in their opinion, too much attention would be paid to casualties and not enough on how the bombs had brought the War to an end and saved American lives. Pressured on all sides, the Smithsonian cancelled the full exhibit[115] and displayed only the Enola Gay fuselage with a placard of purely technical information for a brief time (Nobile, 1995).

In Asian countries, especially China and the Korean peninsula, in the lead up to the anniversary, there was a lot of coverage of World War II through special programs, documentaries, and events to examine even more than usual the Japanese aggression and uncover real facts of their histories. One of the outcomes was the coming forward of the so-called "comfort women," mostly Korean women who had been conscripted by the Japanese military government to be sex slaves for the military. After years of shameful silence, elderly women came forward to tell their stories and make claims for reparations. The Japanese government at first ignored and then refuted the claims. However, during the brief change of government under Prime Minister Maruyama, there was some recognition and as compensation, the government set up the Asian Women's Fund, not directed at individuals or any specific group but for the general support of Asian women. Although something had been reluctantly recognized after a half century, for the Asian

countries it was as usual a matter of too little, too late. Japan never went through the soul-searching necessary to take responsibility for wartime atrocities as Germany had; any small step was the result of outside pressure.

The U.S. military bases in Japan, with a disproportionate number on Okinawa, were another holdover from the Occupation period. Okinawa had been held by the United States until 1972 when it was returned to Japan so relations with Americans were fairly good although there were constant complaints of noise, disruption, and some accidents. However, a series of crimes by military personnel starting in 1995 brought forth outrage. Okinawan leaders began to call for base closings and updated policies for U.S. personnel that would reject extraterritoriality for them (Kawakami, 1998).[116]

Although nothing new, another source of Asian outrage was the sex tours to Southeast Asian destinations. Asian countries started to speak up in protest. Corporations and individual tourists alike participated in tours arranged ostensibly for golf or sightseeing, but known to be for men seeking exotic sexual experiences. Some arranged for specific girls to be with them throughout their trips and on multiple trips. These trends were strong in the Japan, Inc. years but the high yen continued throughout The Lost Decade years as well. The difference was that Asian countries began to raise objections.

Kokusai-ka --domestic internationalization trends. *Kokusai-ka*, internationalization, continued with some new features. First was that *kokusai-ka* became more of a two-way exchange rather than just the Japanese going out and absorbing what they could find, or buy. And, there was a movement away from the U.S.-Japan bilateral obsession to an interest in other cultures.

The establishment of professional soccer teams, in 1993, contributed to the interest in other cultures through the recruitment of many seasoned soccer players from Latin American countries. One of them, Ramos, in particular became a well-known celebrity with many fans. Being from Brazil, he was different from Americans. He and others gave Japanese a window to other Western cultures that were not American. Soccer itself became a stepping stone to the many countries of the world where soccer is the national sport and pastime. Foreign coaches were brought in; international press from countries interested in soccer also came to Japan. Some Japanese players had already played outside Japan in Italy and other countries so they also brought back those connections and talked about them.

In the sports world, baseball was still very popular and American mature players were still recruited for Japanese teams, maximum two on a team. Japanese fans and players alike idolized American Major League baseball but no Japanese had even imagined playing for the Majors when suddenly, in 1994, one player made headlines by contracting to play for the Los Angeles Dodgers. Hideo Nomo became as well known in the United States as in Japan. He was the first Japanese player to be successful on American turf. Others, such as Ichiro,[117] Matsui, and Matsuzaka, followed with lucrative contracts and successful careers.

Another big question for Japanese society has been whether to allow in contract workers, immigrants. The declining population of young people coupled with another social phenomenon in Japan, pushed the government, starting in 1990, to allow in certain groups of people to work in Japan. Japanese young people refused to do jobs that were difficult (meaning hard or strenuous), dirty, or dangerous -- all words that begin with the

sound ’k’ in Japanese.[118]Therefore, Japanese talked about the three Ks as the short-hand catchphrase to explain a lack of young workers in some fields. To supplement the workforce, the government began to implement visa changes and guest worker programs in 1990 starting with Brazilians and other South Americans of Japanese descent up to the third generation. Brazilians brought their spouses and children and settled into some towns that needed small factory or other workers such as in Gunma Prefecture (L.R Hirabayashi, Kikumura-Yano, & J.A. Hirabayashi, 2002).

This trend of allowing in contracted foreign workers has continued. One of the major challenges is to have enough workers for factories and construction; another worry is how to have enough people to assist the elderly population. Groups of guest workers for short periods have been allowed into Japan, usually through an agent. Problems often occur with the agents, especially if they have ties to the underworld. There are extra considerations of language and culture attached to any elder care so there are few immigrant workers doing that work. The government has not reached consensus on how to handle guest workers, even at the present time. The linguistic, educational, employment, and assimilation issues of guest workers have been of interest to some Japanese Intercultural scholars.

Japanese beliefs about their place in the world and what the rest of the world was like started to be both shaken and shaped by some television programs on commercially owned stations. Unlike NHK, the commercial broadcasters had some programs with entertainment formats that were produced to fulfill the legal requirement for educational content.

One program with a loose game show format was rather rowdy and featured as many as fifty non-Japanese of many nationalities who were fluent in Japanese along with well-known Japanese comedians and personalities. Japanese speaking foreigners had been appearing on television for years but only a few. The foreigners on this program were in Japan for various reasons, some of them in business, some exchange students, and many of them were from countries Japanese knew little about. A man from Benin in Africa was a regular and always wore his native dress on the program. He gained such a fan base that the program followed him during a visit home and showed how the money he earned in Japan could build a school in his village.

A couple of long-running shows, also on the commercial stations, also with game formats, showed real people and situations in other countries. For example, one weekly program featured a young singer or actor who had just spent a week in another country, often somewhere very remote, with the task of learning something from those people. Examples were learning to make wine in France, to dance the Irish jig in Ireland, to do yoga in India, to live on a boat and fish with boat dwellers in Thailand, and even to hunt wild boar with Papua New Guineans. This and other programs were in the best tradition of edutainment although some of the other programs deliberately sought out the very weird or belittled local people.

Business Context

The business context continued much the same during The Lost Decade. The Japanese products of the Japan, Inc. days were still available and of high quality, but the rising value of the yen made them expensive. Despite the high yen, manufacturers continued to focus on exporting although many components or lower-end goods were

produced off-shore. Therefore, the hollowing out of manufacturing continued and necessitated that higher value-added, innovative goods be produced in Japan. Japanese management continued to be posted abroad in large numbers also continuing the same family disruptions. Japan became and still is the country that uses the most industrial robots, to boost productivity. Smaller, family-run factories and shops closed because either they could not compete or there was no one to take over the business. Some, even those making traditional items, moved their business to China or another low-cost country. Or they converted their land use to something like a convenience shop.[119]

One important innovation that affected business and every part of society was the development of computer systems and software for the Japanese language. That had not been immediately possible until the system that necessitated two-bits for every character instead of the one-bit needed for Western languages was developed. Although it is still not quite as easy to type in Japanese as English (there are several steps), the *pasa-con* and *wa-pro*[120] was a great step forward that unleashed a quick succession of new products, new business practices, and new social behavior.

Although the Japan, Inc. products such as electronic goods and automobiles continued, a new era of soft goods opened up on the heels of the Game Boy, namely, Japanese video games and anime.[121]The quality of these products improved year by year and swept into the United States, Asian countries, and elsewhere to be taken up by every child and teenager. Specific pockets of this market, for example, Pokemon, geared to younger children, became a true phenomenon as its anime, merchandising products, and television cartoons became the rage. Another phenomenon, at the end of the 1990s, short-lived but replaced by similar games, was the Tamagotchi, a tiny hand-held game that

acted like an electronic pet that needed feeding and sleep. As this trend continued, Asian youth were captivated by Japanese popular culture, including singers, unlike their elders who did not think anything good could come from the country that had waged war on them. Japan's image was beginning to change around the world.

Intercultural Communication Development: Heisei Generation 1989 – 1999

The Heisei Generation, 1989 to 1999, is the third generation I identified for this study (Refer to Table 1 Central Figures of the Four Generations). The name is taken from the new reign name of Heisei, a recognized turning point for Japanese society. The Heisei Era happened to coincide with the years of The Lost Decade, its challenges and issues, as briefly described above. The previous two generations, Pioneers and Inheritors, continued or entered positions in universities, some in combination with training and consulting. Key figures of the Heisei Generation were studying for higher degrees in the United States, one in the United Kingdom. See Figure 2 Places Where Educated Outside Japan). They then returned to take positions in academia and become active in SIETAR Japan and other academic organizations. The line of American scholars at ICU continued as Jacqueline Wasilewski took the position. A few other non-Japanese figures continued or became involved in the discipline and its related academic associations.

From the diffusion theory point of view, it appears that the tipping point of critical mass was reached early in the decade. The Japanese term for Intercultural Communication emerged and became known within and even outside the academy. The 1990s was the period of growth and consolidation of the Intercultural Communication field in Japan, just as the 1970s had been in the United States (Okabe, 1988; Ishii, 1988;

Rogers, Hart, & Miike, 2002). During this decade, the new field solidly established itself within the academy and set forth on a sustainable, institutionalized course.[122]

Following are sections on the Makuhari Zemi (Seminar) series, evolution of the Japanese term for Intercultural Communication, the growth of academic associations, new scholarship interests, and other important events during this time.

Makuhari Zemi. In the summer of 1991, the Institute of Intercultural Communication started to hold annual summer seminars on Intercultural Communication topics for Japanese scholars and any non-Japanese able to participate. Although fewer in days, these seminars were modeled after the Summer Institute held annually in the United States, formerly known as Stanford Institute. Both Furuta and Kume thought that Japan needed a similar annual venue for education and exchange.

The name Makuhari was taken from the place name where KUIS, and therefore the Institute, were located, and was also the location of nearby facilities used to hold the seminars in the first few years. *Zemi* is the Japanese pronunciation of *seminar* that also incorporates the idea of workshop and a more leisurely, retreat-like atmosphere than the usual academic conference. The annual Zemi was always well attended and many participants also gave presentations or workshops. I recall that the Makuhari Zemi venue was the first time I heard Ishii present on his Buddhist paradigm idea for Intercultural Communication to be detailed below.[123] Kume organized the annual Seminars until he left KUIS in 2000.

At the height of the bubble economy a few years before the Makuhari Zemi began, every place flush with cheap money put plans in place for every fantasy that was on the backburner. The Riji of Kanda, equivalent to a Board of Regents for American

universities, approved a plan to design an extravagant resort at the top of a mountain in one of the rural prefectures hours from Tokyo. By the time British Hills was completed, the bubble had burst, but it served as an example of the excesses of the period coupled with some of the naïve ideas floating around.

The Riji decided that one way to use British Hills, even though for less than one week a year, was to change the venue for the Makuhari Zemi. Therefore, the name changed to British Hills Zemi with basically the same format but a much longer travel time. The Intercultural scholars enjoyed the natural surroundings but also had a sense of unease and cognitive dissonance with the design of the place and the people employed there.[124] After Kume left KUIS, a British Hills seminar continued with a different purpose and format, no longer focused on Intercultural Communication exchange.

Evolution of the Japanese term for Intercultural Communication. There was no specific Japanese term for *intercultural communication* during the earlier introductory decades. Outside a small group of scholars, either Americans or Japanese fluent in English, no one was using this English term. Although Saito had introduced courses in communication at ICU, there was never a department or division that had the name of Intercultural Communication at ICU.[125] The American scholars she invited to teach at ICU introduced concepts of Intercultural Communication and used the term, whereas Condon said he taught a taught a course with that title, the last scholar in that line, Wasilewski, said she did not have a course with that title. The early conferences held at ICU in 1972 and 1976 used *communicating across cultures* rather than *intercultural communication* in the titles.

As the concept of *kokusai-ka* gained momentum, various Japanese terms were used to apply to the new need and idea of greater communication with non-Japanese, related to the four critical questions. As most people, even in academia, had never heard of Intercultural Communication as a field of study and had no idea what it might mean, although a variety of Japanese terms were used in the early days, the term that came to be used in Japanese was rarely heard.[126] New university departments, courses, and lectures that were created to ride the wave of interest in *kokusai-ka* used, for example, *bunka koryū* (meaning *cultural exchange*),[127] *kokusai koryū* (meaning *international exchange*), *kokusai rikai* (meaning *international understanding*), and *hikaku bunka* (meaning *comparative culture*). These terms, as may be seen from the English equivalents, were not the same as *intercultural communication,* which has been generally defined as communication among people with different cultural backgrounds (Hall, 1959; Rogers, Hart, & Miike, 2002).

Sometimes Japanese used the exact English term written in *katakana* (all foreign words and names are written in that script) according to the Japanized pronunciation but virtually the same as in English. If *intercultural communication* were written according to Japanese pronunciation, it would be *intā-karuchuraru komyunikeishon*. However, that method was rarely if ever used as it would not enlighten anyone as to the true meaning of the term.

As noted above, Furuta, in the course of planning the new university, Kanda University of International Studies (KUIS), in the mid-1980s began using a term that evolved during this period to become the chosen term in Japanese. The use of the prevalent term, *ibunka komyunikeishon,* emerged after a period of at least eight years and

some trial and error with two divergent phrases. Furuta, who took modest credit for the prevailing term of, told his story to me in full during the interviewing process. The history of that term is little known by individuals within the field. The summary is here.

The story of the Japanese term must begin with the word *communication,* the second word in the term *intercultural communication,* and its evolution into becoming an accepted Japanese word. The word c*ommunication* seemed to capture a new need for a meaning that could not be found with any Japanese words. *Communication* also had the cachet of being a borrowed English word, therefore adding to its fashionability, especially among young people interested in studying aspects of it. Gradually, the term *communication* came to be widely used, always written in *katakana* according to Japanese pronunciation. The alphabetical rendering of that pronunciation is *komyunikeishon*. As explained above, after a lengthy petition period by Furuta on behalf of KUIS, the Ministry of Education eventually approved the department name that used *komyunikeishon* in it for the first time. The term *komyunikeishon* was on the road to common use and respectability.

When Furuta set up the planning office for the new university, he named it Ibunka-kan Komyunikeishon Kenkyū-jo (meaning Institute of Intercultural Communication), which he planned to transfer to the new university's institute. Note that he used the Japanese *katakana* word for *communication*. In terms of the story of the resulting term, what is notable about that early name for the Institute is that it included the *kan* after *ibunka*, which would not remain. Furuta's reasoning and decisions about this entire phrase, and especially about the *kan* determined what the prevailing phrase would be.

Furuta had worked most recently, in the early 1980s, as the editor for the Kodansha[128] Encyclopedia of Japanese Culture where one of his challenges was how to write Japanese terms and names in English. While puzzling over the editing of the Encyclopedia, Furuta found that there were no rules or uniform method for how to write Japanese terms and names in English.[129] Furuta's solution was to gather language and editing consultants together and codify an exact method for writing Japanese terms and names in English. That experience, with the addition of his being bilingual and a scholar, served as preparation for his decision about the best Japanese term to use for Intercultural Communication.

Furuta explained that when anyone telephoned the newly created Institute of Intercultural Communication and he or his assistant answered with the name Ibunka-kan Komyunikeishon Kenkyū-jo, the other party was completely taken aback. Furuta suspected that the problem with the name he had chosen for the Institute was that it was too long. Therefore, Japanese could not catch all the syllables to understand the meaning of what was said. As he dissected each word in the name, he knew that *ibunka* was an old and familiar word. The word *komyunikeishon* (*communication*) was gaining widespread usage already. The word *kenkyū-jo* meaning *research institute* was also familiar. Furuta decided that the problem lay with the *kan* that he, and others also, had attached to the *ibunka* part making it *ibunka-kan*.

The Japanese language normally does not differentiate between singular and plural nouns; Japanese understand that point from the context. The word *bunka* meaning *culture* could refer to one or many cultures. Furuta explained that it is the *i* in *ibunka* that points to another culture; therefore, logically there must be more than one culture being

talked about. The *kan* that Furuta added originally was intended to mean *between* or *among*, the word meant to link the different cultures.

As Furuta reached the conclusion that *ibunka* itself already contained the idea of two or more cultures, he reasoned that the addition of *kan* was redundant and served to trip up both the speaker and listener.[130] Knowing that Japanese habitually shorten words (examples have been pointed out in this chapter), Furuta removed the one syllable word *kan* from the name of the Institute and all naming connected to the University. Indeed, it made a difference and people began to understand the entire concept of *ibunka komyunikeishon* as communication with cultures that are different. This term very much fit with the burning questions that had challenged Japanese since the Postwar Period of how to approach foreigners and how best to communicate with them.

Upon closer examination of the Japanese term chosen by Furuta, however, there are two points to be made. An important point to note about the term, Ibunka Komyunikeishon, is that it is not a direct translation of Intercultural Communication and is different in its basic concept. *Komyunikeishon* is essentially the same as *communication*; however, *intercultural* and *ibunka* are not the same. The term *ibunka* literally means *foreign or different culture or cultures*.

The other point is that there is no definite *inter* as in *intercultural* to be found. The meaning could as easily point to comparison between two or more cultures rather than interaction between people with differing cultural backgrounds. For some scholars, the addition of *kan*, in their opinion, made it sound more like actual interaction. Saito was one scholar who advocated the use of *kan* and she may have initiated that term.[131] With her background in General Semantics, perhaps she thought the *kan* made the term clearer.

The earliest reference I found for the term *ibunka-kan komyunikeishon* is the Condon book translated by Saito and published by Simul Press in March 1972 so that is some proof that Saito used it. Furuta knew that term and used it at first before deciding the shortened term would be better. In effect, his refined term branched off from the original.

That original term that includes the *kan* persists in some circles. Saito always advocated for its use, as have other scholars. However, as time passes, those advocates have passed from the scene or changed their minds. Aside from Saito, no other central figures of the Intercultural Communication field advocated for the inclusion of the *kan*; they all followed Furuta's lead in using *ibunka komyunikeishon.* An academic association that is related to Intercultural Communication but not at its center is the Ibunka-kan Kyōiku Gakkai (the Intercultural Education Association); it continues to use the *kan* in its name. Its leadership is, in fact, adamant that all presenters at its annual conferences include the *kan* as the correct term.[132]

Diffusion of the Japanese term. Despite some disagreement among scholars, Ibunka Komyunikeishon became the Japanese term of choice. New courses, departments, texts, and the recent Rikkyo[133] University graduate programs all use the term Ibunka Komyunikeishon. SIETAR Japan, the primary academic association for Intercultural Communication in Japan chose to use Furuta's term for its Japanese name. The diffusion process was given a jump-start by newspapers using the term. By the early 1990s, Ibunka Komyunikeishon was the term of choice. All other terms that had been used in the 1980s were no longer possible choices for *intercultural communication* in Japanese.

Furuta and the Kanda Riji (Board) fostered publicity about the new University and its Intercultural Communication courses, the Intercultural Institute, and the textbook.

One of the major ways the term *ibunka komyunikeishon* reached the critical mass to be widely adopted and known was through its use in two of the prominent newspapers.[134] Furuta talked about how journalists always pay attention to new vocabulary in society, adopting new words and presenting them to the public. He pointed out that Asahi Shinbun (Asahi Newspaper) and Nikkei Shinbun (the full name Nippon Keizai Shinbun meaning the Japan Economic Times, similar to the Wall Street Journal)[135]for a while vacillated between the two terms, one with *kan* and one without, but tended to adopt the term he promoted. According to Furuta, journalists agreed that *ibunka komyunikeishon* made more sense in meaning.

Several interview informants commented on a defining time when they noticed and realized that the term Ibunka Komyunikeishon was being chosen to stand for the English term, Intercultural Communication as the discipline. Informants said that there was a definite coming of age for courses, interest in the field, and other offerings, a true sign of diffusion when critical mass was enough to push adoption across the tipping point. That time was in the early 1990s. I noticed it myself when, after having been away from Japan for a short time, early in 1991 I came across a magazine in a large hotel that featured an article about some prominent people in society; that article's headline used, for the first time I had seen in print outside of academia, the term Ibunka Komyunikeishon.[136]

Sometimes academia takes longer to catch up to trends in the public arena. Yoko Matsuda, in the Osaka-Kobe area, Kansai, said that at the first Makuhari Zemi (Seminar) in 1991, she was lamenting to others in a session that she wished she could teach a course entitled Intercultural Communication (Ibunka Komyunikeishon). At the time, she was

teaching a course called Comparative Culture (Hikaku Bunka-ron), an acceptable title for that period. She remembered saying during the discussion that she had the impression that Intercultural Communication was still a largely unknown topic. Within less than five years, by 1995, she was indeed teaching a course entitled Intercultural Communication at Kobe Gaigo Daigaku (Kobe University of International Studies).

Another observation came from Condon, who had been away for Japan for an extended time. He returned in late 1991 to teach for a short time again at ICU. He expressed that he was amazed at noting how faculty and students easily used the terms Ibunka Komyunikeishon and Intercultural Communication, how many courses were being offered under those titles or courses with that content, and in general, how far the field had come since he had last taught at ICU and left in 1979. He thought that the field had really come of age in the interim period.

As the decade of the 1990s progressed, and more universities started to add courses in Intercultural Communication, two results occurred. One was that, as Matsuda stated above, she and others who were prepared to teach Intercultural Communication topics were more able to do so. On the other hand, as universities tended to cater more to student interest in order to attract the dwindling number of college age youth, they added courses titled Intercultural Communication having no idea what that really meant. Many universities had no one on their faculties who were specialists in Intercultural Communication and did not search for anyone. Like the public at large, perhaps, university administrators thought that Intercultural Communication was a new or fancier term for English language classes.

Therefore, even as the number of courses entitled Intercultural Communication grew, many of them were simply disguised English courses taught by English language teachers in the English departments of universities. Perhaps with such a title, those instructors had more leeway in choosing the content of their courses. Some teachers of English, depending on the instructor, Japanese and non-Japanese, had always included intercultural content although sometimes the content was their idea or sometimes actually from the discipline of Intercultural Communication. The impetus for interest in Intercultural Communication in Japan continued to be tied to the necessity for foreign language learning in Japan in order to communicate with people, especially Americans, outside of Japan. The four critical questions that Japanese coming out of World War II had faced were still just as relevant in the 1990s.

Greater interest among English language teachers in Japan, both Japanese and non-Japanese native speakers, in the Intercultural Communication field was coupled with opportunities for them to teach Intercultural Communication courses. That trend of language teachers teaching Intercultural Communication in its turn played a part in the diffusion of interest in and knowledge about the discipline While there was some tension and mistrust among the instructors of different fields, there was also a developing cooperation.

The largest and oldest association for language teachers in Japan, mostly for English, called JALT, Japan Association for Language Teachers,[137] started a SIG (Special Interest Group) for Intercultural Communication that drew a lot of interest. Some language teachers turned more to Intercultural Communication and added to their education in it in order to specialize in it.[138] In 1988, one of JALT's major publications,

The Language Teacher, devoted a special issue to the history of Intercultural Communication in the United States. Two of the authors, Okabe and Ishii, were two of the core contributors to the textbook series that began in 1987 and informants for this study, and a third, Kazuhiro Hirai, was brought in at times for other textbooks in that series.

SIETAR Japan comes of age as an academic association. SIETAR Japan had continued; from 1989 until 1993, Kichiro (Kichom) Hayashi (an informant) became president of the association and gave a tremendous boost to its legitimacy and membership. I was not in Japan full-time for a couple of years; upon returning and attending a SIETAR Japan monthly meeting early in 1991, I was astonished to enter a large room filled to capacity with people interested in Intercultural Communication topics. The small circle of scholars had transformed into a large organization of people representing every area of Intercultural Communication. Hayashi was professor of international business and economics with a specialty in Intercultural business; he used his role as president to recruit people from both academia and business, experienced professionals and students.

At around the same time, SIETAR Japan adopted the Japanese name Ibunka Komyunikeishon Kenkyū-Kai, meaning a study group for Intercultural Communication. In 1999, SIETAR Japan officially became an academic association, *gakkai,* under the regulations set down by the Ministry of Education, with the official Japanese name of Ibunka Komyunikeishon Gakkai. Note that SIETAR Japan for its evolving Japanese names always used the Japanese term without the inclusion of *kan.* As the one academic association that focused on Intercultural Communication, the use of the term *ibunka*

komyunikeishon without the *kan* certainly served to diffuse the term among those interested in the field and in the Ministry of Education.

SIETAR Japan expanded in membership numbers, geographical area, and offerings in the 1990s. An annual conference and membership retreat were initiated in 1994. Scholars and trainers in Kansai (the Osaka-Kobe-Kyoto area) voted to have their study group become a branch of SIETAR Japan called SIETAR Kansai Chapter about 1991. And scholars in Nagoya who already had formed a study group became an affiliate of SIETAR Japan called SIETAR Chūbu.

SIETAR Japan wrestled with the concept of bilingualism (Japanese and English) from its beginning. SIETAR Japan was initiated as an affiliate of the American Society so the question from the beginning was what to do about language, a question that no Japanese academic associations faced. Japanese members and many non-Japanese members were bilingual, but many non-Japanese members were not proficient in Japanese. And fluency in verbal Japanese did not mean skill in reading or writing Japanese. Concern about what Intercultural really meant and sensitivity to language made the leadership ever mindful of how to best produce its programs and publications in Japan for a diverse membership. The idea was to maintain an open door policy to newcomers to Japan and to anyone who could function in English but not in Japanese. There were never many non-Japanese participants who were not Americans but a few came and became active.

SIETAR Japan was the only academic association in Japan that made bilingual access, both verbal and written, an implicit tenet of its mission and always built in to all programs and publications (see SIETAR Japan website www.sietar-japan.org). Officers

on the steering committee have been a balance of Japanese and non-Japanese. Therefore, SIETAR Japan has revisited the concept and delivery of bilingualism time and again, with policy always an ongoing process and never with a final pronouncement.

Another offering of SIETAR Japan was the annual journal, *Journal of Intercultural Communication, Ibunka Komyunikeishon* started in 1997.[139] The *Journal* is a good example of how SIETAR Japan provides bilingual access. There have always been two Journal editors, one Japanese and one non-Japanese. Each sends out a call for contributions; there are separate format instructions. However, articles are not bilingual – some are in English and some are in Japanese. The Japanese articles usually have an English abstract attached. There are two covers, the main one in Japanese, two Tables of Content, and bilingual explanations of SIETAR Japan.

In November 1998, after a two-year planning period, the 24th SIETAR International Congress, with the theme Dialogue for Creating a Global Vision, was held in Japan for four days. Several SIETAR Japan officers, Shoko Araki, Kyoko Yashiro, Kichiro Hayashi, had been active SIETAR International members for years and the then current SIETAR International president, Jacqueline Wasilewski, was a resident of Japan[140]thereby creating a convergence of personnel that brought the long-standing idea of holding the international conference in Japan to fruition. Five hundred people attended with nearly three hundred people coming from other countries. Most of the foreign attendees were from the United States and some from Europe. Very few Asian attendees arrived because of the effects of the 1997 Southeast Asian economic crisis.

A unique feature of that Congress was the concurrent academic and cultural contexting sessions.[141] The idea was derived from Hall's original work that context is

important and is the sense-making opportunity for intercultural understanding. Through exploration of context, it is possible for people to perceive how similar all people are in basic needs and motivations while also how different they are in motivation and solutions. A greater understanding of context through all the senses leads to greater appreciation of the Other.

With the success of the 1998 Congress and the reorganization of SIETAR International into SIETAR Global, the then president of SIETAR Japan, Shoko Araki, and the steering committee applied to become an official academic association, *gakkai*. That status was granted and the official Japanese name of SIETAR Japan became Ibunka Komyunikeishon Gakkai, thereby allowing it to be of equal status and consideration to other *gakkai*. The growth of SIETAR Japan in membership and through events was evidence that the Intercultural Communication field was maturing. Once the tipping point was reached, interest in the discipline grew exponentially and institutionalization occurred. The Intercultural Communication field was becoming a sustainable entity.

Additions to the textbook series. The Japanese Intercultural textbook series that began in 1987 continued as two more books were published in the 1990s. In 1996, *Ibunka Komyunikeishon Kīwādo Shū* (*Keywords on Intercultural Communication*) and in 1997, *Ibunka Komyunikeishon Handobukku* (*Handbook of Intercultural Communication*)[142] were published by the same group of scholars and publishing house. Refer to Table 4 Textbook Series Authored by Japanese Scholars. As noted above, Kume told me that the initial textbook's reputation was that it was something like a translation even though in Japanese by Japanese scholars because they had so closely followed the format and thought of American textbooks. For these next two books in the series, the group focused

on what was needed by Japanese students and on their own scholarship. Kume was the senior editor for these textbooks. Although Furuta was still involved, he preferred to hand on major responsibilities to Kume.[143]

New research interests in the 1990s. During The Lost Decade, as has been reviewed in the sections on context, more Asian workers came to Japan to fill gaps that Japanese would not, there was an influx of Latin Americans to play soccer and of Japanese descent to take factory jobs, the number of *kikoku shijo* continued to increase, Asian brides were brought into rural areas of Japan, and traditional patterns of life were changing for all generations. All of these societal trends and global interfaces provided many topics of interest to Intercultural scholars; some articles have been cited and are listed in the references list. The pursuit of these interests was in line with the type of examination of interactions that had already been done, for example in methodology; the details were different.

In addition, some Intercultural scholars advanced research interests regarding methods, concepts, and the fundamental paradigm for Intercultural Communication that were innovative. Examples of the latter type of new research interests are important for this study in bringing to light new directions of the field being initiated in Japan. All of the individuals mentioned here were informants for this study except for Barnlund and Hall. Several of these new research interests are introduced here and in the next section for the last Generation covered, the Millennials, within the Soft Global Power Period. These research directions also will be reviewed and categorized in Chapter Six – Conclusions.

Several new interests that started during the 1990s continued and become important trends for future directions. Satoshi Ishii, in the early 1990s, incorporated his study of Buddhism in Japan and his exploration of Buddhist values as a foundation for Intercultural Communication (2004). Prior to Ishii taking this approach, because Intercultural Communication had emerged from American scholarship and context, it was very much based in the norms and assumptions of that culture. Ishii turned his attention to Buddhist values and the Japanese communication paradigm derived partially from Buddhist thought; he wondered if the Buddhist worldview could provide another foundation for Intercultural Communication, a more indigenous foundation, in addition to the American foundation.

Ishii studied at Northwestern University at the end of the 1960s at the recommendation of Mitsuko Saito and met John Condon during his stay. He met Dean Barnlund when he was conducting research surveys in Japan. He had started his career as an English teacher, then turned to Intercultural Communication. Ishii stated, "…while I was at Otsuma [Women's University], I taught speech communication and also Intercultural Communication. In that respect, perhaps I was one of the first to introduce Intercultural Communication to Japanese universities except for ICU." I placed Ishii in the Inheritors Generation because although he began teaching Intercultural content in the 1970s, attended both ICU conferences, and was a participant in the1974 Nihonmatsu Workshop, it was during the Japan, Inc. years that he came to the forefront of the field as one of the Japanese textbook authors. More will be said about Ishii and others and their scholarship interests in Chapter Six – Conclusions in the indigenization/Japanization section.

Another interest that started in the mid-1990s was to explore means other than verbal-centered communication for bridging differences and creating understanding, empathy, and rapport. Several individuals in the field, Niblock, Hayashi, and including myself, explored a variety of nonverbal communication means to apply particularly to the training situation (Kawakami, 2004, 2006). In my own case, I was interested in exploring how kinetic communication could be used in both training and educational settings to foster rapport, trust, and equality among, first, Japanese and Americans whose tendencies to high and low context, and nonverbal and verbal communication respectively, often put Japanese at a disadvantage because they were always adjusting to American verbal dominance.[144]

By extension, I was interested in interaction among multicultural and diverse groups within the same national culture (2006). By leveling the field with the use of kinetic (movement) exercises, I found through practice that it was possible to increase understanding and rapport without verbal finesse and without Americans needing to become fluent in Japanese. It was noteworthy that Japanese in relation to Americans, for example, as well as other groups that appeared to be passive and self-effacing, responded very positively and assertively thereby demonstrating that behavior was not necessarily inherent but was at least partially dependent on the constructed environment.[145]

The importance of alternative means of communication gained interest within SIETAR Japan to the extent that a SIG (Special Interest Group) was formed after 2000. That SIG name is MusICC standing for Multi-Sensory Approaches to Integral Intercultural Communication; it holds regular workshops and often invites presenters from outside the strictly Intercultural and academic realms.

Another interest that began in the 1990s may be termed *bodymindfulness* (a term that is a combination of *bodymind* and *mindfulness* (Nagata, 2002)), similar to and with some overlapping to the interest in nonverbal means of communication, but also encompassing a holistic perspective of the individual and recognition of the importance of consciousness in intercultural relations. Individuals who particularly focused on this area include Nagata and Hayashi. The topic of bodymindfulness has been a theme for an increasing number of workshops.

Both research pursuits, nonverbal alternative means for communication and bodymindfulness, may be directly traced back to Hall's foundational observations and concept building. Hall always emphasized being aware of our physical selves as the instruments we have to perceive the world. Therefore, it is imperative for us to know more about the human brain and how it perceives and interprets information that enters through the senses. A part of that understanding comes from deep exploration of our inner lives and how we individually respond to and interpret what is coming in. One of the biggest filters is culture and all its aspects. Once we are more aware of ourselves, we can begin to be more aware of and approach understanding of how others are processing and responding to what is coming in to them. That explanation also sounds like Saito's attention to intra-communication and her teaching method with the *hōshū no tama*.

Bodymindfulness uses awareness of emotion and kinesthetic interface with the world as a way towards empathy and Intercultural competence (E. T. Hall, personal communications, 1999; Hall, SIIC, July 1995; Nagata, 2003). Both of these themes, alternative nonverbal means of communication and bodymindfulness, will be addressed again in Chapter Six – Conclusions within current trends and future directions.

Toward the end of the 1990s, Edward C. Stewart returned to Japan in 1998, to the University of Nagoya as a visiting professor, after a ten-year absence from Japan since leaving ICU after his teaching period there from 1980 to 1989.[146] Many years before, starting in the 1960s, during his associations with the Foreign Service Institute and the Business Council for International Understanding in Washington, D.C., Stewart had pioneered the methods of role play and simulation. He created the Contrast-American concept and process as a role-play method[147] in order to provide a way for American businessmen to become more competent in business dealings in other parts of the world[148] (Stewart, 1979; DeMello, 1979).

Upon returning to Japan in 1998, it was good timing for him to partner with the SIETAR Japan membership with the intention of adapting the Contrast American method for Japanese business personnel doing business in the rest of Asia.[149] The method was re-named Contrast Culture, but all the major concepts and structure remained. A group of interested people within SIETAR Japan, including myself, organized several study group workshops to learn the method first-hand from Stewart and to discuss a way to interpret it for a Japanese context. The members of this study group were already familiar with role play and simulation but Stewart, who had pioneered these methods, had particular emphases and conventions within the system he had devised and perfected for optimum effect.

After a period of study with Stewart, I took the lead planning a half-day workshop for the SIETAR Japan membership presented in September 1999. I gathered together the group of interested SIETAR Japan members plus some non-members who were needed to provide authentic non-Japanese Asian input for the presentation. There was a great

deal of interest judging from the attendance and vigorous discussion subsequent to each of the three role-plays presented to the audience. It was fortunate that Stewart himself was present to answer questions in depth and add to the debriefing.

Although Stewart was not able to find a place in Japan that would provide a home for the Contrast Culture method, as he had been able to do in Germany,[150] there was sufficient interest so that a SIETAR Japan SIG was created. Under my leadership at the beginning stage of the SIG, I continued to discuss nuances and questions with Stewart and was able to have the SIG group conduct another workshop that included the basic points of the method and presentation of a role play for the annual conference of International Business Communication (IBC),[151] another organization for trainers in Japan. The Contrast Culture SIG has continued to hold study sessions and present at SIETAR Japan conferences.

Summary of Development of the Intercultural Communication Field – Heisei Generation

These innovative interests in scholarship within Intercultural Communication fostered the development of the field and demonstrated a vibrancy of thought and purpose among scholars in Japan in the 1990s. The topics of interest outlined above are exploration of a Buddhist paradigm for Intercultural Communication, alternative non-verbal communication modes for fostering Intercultural Communication, a holistic approach of body-mindfulness, and adaptation of the Contrast American method for Japanese interacting with Asia. This list of interests emerged from the context of Intercultural issues in Japan. Some scholars took leadership and many other scholars and practitioners showed a deep interest in these topics that has continued. These topics will be re-visited in Chapter Six as part of the trends and new directions conclusion.

The 1990s quickly demonstrated a critical mass of individuals interested in Intercultural Communication that was then reinforced in the academic association SIETAR Japan and its activities. Universities caught on to the trend of interest and offered more courses in Intercultural Communication that necessitated finding more instructors. Some of them were specialists; others were interested English teachers. The term for Intercultural Communication in Japanese that had been created by Furuta in the mid-1980s and used in all names at KUIS, diffused to become the term of choice both within the academy and even in mainstream media. Two more volumes in the textbook series were published. Many opportunities for exchange and collaboration were created and sustained including the Makuhari (and British Hills) Zemi, journals and newsletters, and SIETAR Japan conference and retreats. There was so much evidence of awareness of the field of Intercultural Communication that the 1990s may be seen as the time of maturation of the field, just as the 1970s were the time of maturation of the field in the United States (Okabe, 1988). Institutionalization had begun; sustainability was in progress.

Dawn of the 21st Century – Global Soft Power

Japan, the land of the rising sun,[152] was one of the first places on the globe where the year 2000 dawned.[153] The trends that had begun in previous years continued or accelerated. The Lost Decade gradually gave way to better times but there was never a return to anything like the 1980s.

In these years, Japan was becoming known for something different – a Japan that was creative, fun, high-spirited, open. More and more, the common culture of youth around the world, especially in Asia, was made-in-Japan popular culture – video games,

anime, manga, songs, and movies. Indeed, younger people around the world have a common language that transcends national borders, which is derived from growing up with and enjoying the same video games, anime, and even Japanese songs that belong to cartoons. They seemingly do not need to know each other's national languages; they can communicate very well via playing games together from remote locations or talking face to face about the various characters and levels of the games.[154] Japanese food such as sushi was no longer considered exotic; it was readily available in cities and even towns in other countries. Karaoke and other Japanese popular culture had become "cool."

The new, emerging image of Japan was a far cry from the "economic animal" image of previous years. Based on these international social trends, therefore, in searching for a suitable name for the first period of the 21st century,[155] I chose Global Soft Power. The term *soft power* for this study refers to the manifestation of Japanese pop culture and its economic power around the world (Peng, 2007), not completely replacing but preempting the older, Japan, Inc. durable goods and in turn creating a new image of Japan as cool, trendy, and hip.

In 2006, a large conference, the Digital Hollywood University, was held in Tokyo for *anime* and video game fans and producers. The guest speaker was then Minister of Foreign Affairs, Taro Aso,[156] who, recognizing a new era for Japan, praised the soft power that these new Japanese goods were bringing about (April 28, 2006). Aso pointed out the universal popularity of J-pop, J-anime, J-fashion, and food that, along with traditional Japanese cultural offerings, was "polishing the Japanese brand" and creating the equivalency of "cultural diplomacy" (April 28, 2006). Aso continued his business and marketing metaphors by stating that the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (Gaimushō) needed

to partner with popular culture creators to increase the good opinion and feeling about Japan abroad. Younger scholars, some within and others outside of Intercultural Communication, have been interested in aspects of Japan's soft power in Asia and the West and will probably continue to devote scholarship to this topic.

Following are summaries of the sociological, psychological, and economic contexts in a similar format to those of the earlier periods. Refer to Figure 8 Global Soft Power Timeline, 2000 – (2006) for important historical events and important dates for Intercultural Communication in Japan.

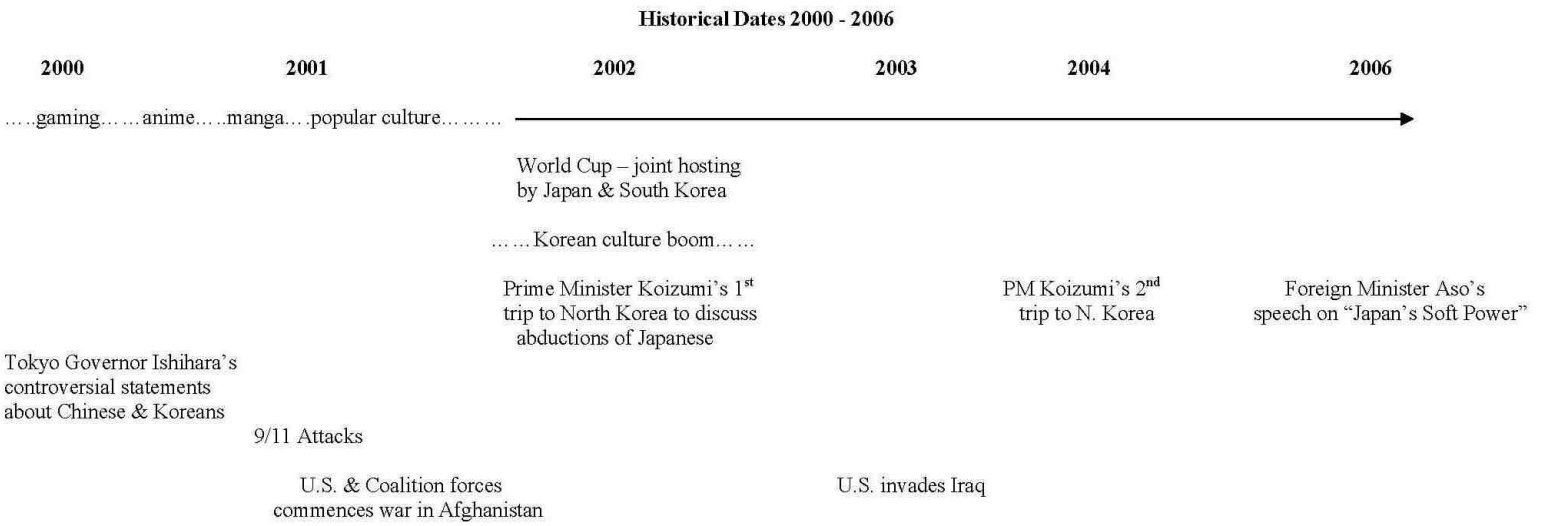


Figure 8. **Global Soft Power Timeline, 2000 – (2006)[1].**

[1] 2006 is the terminal year for this study, not necessarily the end of any historical period. In 2008, the College of Intercultural Communication is established at Rikkyo University. In 2009, JII's 1st annual conference was held.

Sociological and Psychological Context

The trends of social change, especially the ageing population, low birth rate, changing status of women, and need to import workers for both rural and urban jobs continued without any viable ideas for intervention. Trends that were pointed out above such as Asian brides for farmers, Brazilian and other Latin American descendants of Japanese immigrants, *kikoku shijo* being a part of the population, plus, bringing in Asian and Russian women for the nightclub trade, sometimes illegal trafficking, added up to a big price tag for the economic success of Japan. The march of globalization had turned out to be a two-edged sword in terms of social consequences and an image of Japan that was rich but negative, an image not imagined or poorly understood by the public.

The largely positive trend of this period was that the young people, raised to be more international, with greater access to exchange programs and educated with somewhat more emphasis on learning English for communication, possessed a more global perspective. They perceived opportunities where their parents saw disruptions to prescribed, traditional life patterns. Also, younger people were shedding the older generations' inferiority complex of comparison with the United States and the West. Young people who were used to Japan's high status in the world even assumed a superior attitude as they knew about failings of American society in terms of poverty, health, and technology.

A changing world for men. Many people, but especially middle-aged men, were displaced by the new trends of society. Many men were lost in the shuffle of a changing corporate landscape of *risutora* (downsizing and reorganization), hollowing out, and use of more robots. The legions of *salarimen* who worked hard for their companies

commuted long distances and worked long hours. More cases of *karō-shi*, the invented word that meant death from overwork, were being claimed. Whether caught in the changes, lost after retirement, or ashamed of losing a small business, the rate of middle-aged male suicides continued to climb. It was no longer unusual to have train lines in Tokyo or Osaka stopped for hours in order to clear the tracks of a suicide. The train lines even gave up using euphemisms for the delay since everyone knew what it meant.

Young men out of college were not as interested in finding steady employment that looked like their fathers' jobs. The *furītā* trend continued as many young men took a job when they wanted it or for part-time with no thought about future security. They did not believe they could ever afford a home or be prosperous so they decided not to try. The *otaku* phenomenon that grew out of the *furītā* trend was another societal worry. Some stay-at-home geeks were successful such as the one who created the Pokemon characters; the worry was that a large percentage of the younger generation was cut off from society, not following the usual prescribed life path, and lacked social skills.

Divorce rates for every generation climbed. For middle-aged couples, it was generally the wives who decided they did not want to continue into retirement with that husband around all the time. Whether still married or divorced, many men had a difficult time adjusting to retirement, often unexpectedly early with that "tap on the shoulder," because their identities were tied to their companies. There was almost no assistance for preparation or planning. Younger women who did marry often decided to call it quits after a short time. Those who had children expected their spouses to help with childcare and the household. Men's roles were changing but men had no role models to follow. Women were no longer coddling them. Many teen and grown children barely respected

their fathers and certainly felt they did not know them because they had been away at work all the time.[157]

Multicultural progress and some backlash. So many Japanese had traveled abroad and so many young people had studied abroad, the population as a whole had become more comfortable with relations with the outside world. Progress had been made with the critical questions. However, with the influx of exchange students and contract workers, especially from other Asian countries, many Japanese neighborhoods began to look more multicultural. Asian and Middle Eastern foreigners were different in appearance, behavior, and habits. This new phenomenon created new challenges.

Naturally, the neighborhoods lower on the economic scale were impacted the most. It was those people lower on the socio-economic scale who were the least prepared to deal with foreigners and who felt they had the most to lose. Foreigners who were American or European, largely white and either connected with corporations or professionals, had always lived in upscale neighborhoods and were not seen as a threat. As diversity continued to accelerate in Japanese neighborhoods, there was some backlash. Being global in product marketing was turning out to be different than being global in relations and outlook. The increasing diversity of Japan contributed topics of interest to Intercultural scholars. A new academic association was initiated which will be introduced below.

Onto the scene stepped Tokyo Governor Shintarō Ishihara[158] who had always displayed a nationalistic bent as an author, commentator, and national politician. After several tries for the Tokyo governor's office, he won the election in 1999 and became even more popular after it. In April 2000, and on other occasions, he made headlines by

proclaiming opinions about foreigners and using derogatory, stereotypic terms when referring to Chinese and Koreans (Kawakami, 2001). He refused to apologize but was still re-elected.

For many citizens, he represented a backlash against too much change; change that could be identified as diversity. However, even those who disagreed with Ishihara's statements, or were embarrassed with his attitude, seemed to admire his forthrightness and strength of conviction, so unusual for a Japanese politician. In fact, in 1989, he had co-authored a book with then SONY chairman, Akio Morita, entitled *The Japan That Can Say 'No'* published both in Japan[159] and in English. It received a lot of publicity in the United States. Morita distanced himself from the book, but Ishihara proclaimed that Japan needed to stand up assertively to the United States.

Japan and the world; kokusai-ka in this period. The continuing high value of the yen, *endaka,* while inhibiting exports of many products did not much affect the electronic goods. Children and young people around the world eagerly wait for the next *anime* or the next game, along with all the merchandise that accompanies them. And the continued high value of the yen against the dollar also meant that Japanese have continued to travel and study abroad; anywhere one goes are many Japanese tourists or students. Or a Japanese can be found doing something unusual such as playing in a bluegrass band or living with Inuit at the Arctic Circle.

In the 1980s, when Japanese first thought about *kokusai-ka* (internationalization), another thought, and worry, was about the *shin-jinrui*, the so-called "new human race" that society dubbed the upcoming generation, so different from their elders. The generational gap continued but by the 2000s those *shin-jinrui* had taken their places in

society. It is their children, few though they are, that have become a new type of Japanese once again.

Not all young people are anti-social, or just uninterested in society. Japanese have long thought that although their education system was good, it neglected the cultivation of creativity. Perhaps the younger generation found their creativity in what is outside of school. Like many of their counterparts in the West and around the world, Japanese young people deeply care about the environment and about alleviating poverty. I noticed a shift in perspective towards the outside world and the environment starting among university students in the mid-1990s. Having used some of the same class exercises for several years, it was evident that for exercises having to do with values orientation towards the environment and perception of foreigners that some students were shifting to a more globally connected perspective and greater awareness of global environment problems.[160]

Another aspect of *kokusai-ka* was regarding the purpose of exchange or international students for coming to study in Japan. For professors who had contact with international students over decades, it was evident that the type of interest in Japan had changed from the time of Japan, Inc. or The Lost Decade days. Wasilewski commented that compared to the early 1990s that were her early years in Japan when non-Japanese students who came to study at ICU about Japan's management, that interest dropped off quickly. By the late 1990s and into the 21st century, student interest about Japan had changed to a focus on popular culture; students from all parts of the world came to ICU to study some aspect of popular culture. She went on to comment that the field of

Intercultural Communication itself was changing in focus also, from business relations and international relations to popular culture topics.

The trend toward a global consciousness converged early in the century on the occasion of the FIFA World Cup, for soccer,[161] to be held for the first time in Asia and for the first time to be jointly hosted, by Japan and South Korea. Japan and the Korean peninsula's history have been intertwined for centuries, too often not amicably. In the 20th century, the Korean peninsula was a colony of Japan from 1910 until the end of World War II. What was a day of devastating defeat in 1945 for Japan, August 15th was a day of liberation in Korea. Details about the Japanese military's behavior and government policy during the period of colonization continue to come out and are sources of shame, controversy, and tension. South Korean keeps an eagle eye on Japan's textbook, immigration, and trade policies, often loudly protesting.

However, the two nations are also intertwined culturally and linguistically; Japan's closest neighbor is South Korea. Former Prime Minister Koizumi attempted to improve relations with North Korea and traveled to Pyongyang in 2002 to discuss the abduction of Japanese citizens by North Korea starting in 1977. It was the first time a Japanese prime minister had visited North Korea since the colonial period. Koizumi went again in 2004. After many years of denial, Kim Jong Il did finally admit that the North Korean government had kidnapped some young citizens and produced information about them.[162] That incredible and tragic saga continues.

The decision to award the World Cup of 2002 to both Japan and South Korea was a dramatic invitation for the two nations to cooperate on the world stage. During the lead-up time to the games, the Japanese press was filled with news and information about

South Korea. Public interest boomed and many Japanese, especially the young, traveled to South Korea to experience the food, culture, shopping, and history. Along the way, there was some consciousness raising about Japan's historical impact on the Korean peninsula, but the real influence was on food and fashion tastes in Japan. This boom, called *hanryū* in Japanese, continued after the games ended exampled by the phenomenal popularity of the South Korean television series *Winter Sonata* (titled *Sonata* in Japanese) that won acclaim and re-broadcasting (Han, Singhal, Hanaki, Kim, & Chitnis, 2007).

Intercultural Communication Field: Millennials Generation 2000 – 2006

There have been many developments in the Intercultural Communication field for the six years 2000 to 2006, the terminal year for this study. The Heisei Generation, educated outside Japan, stepped into university positions. There were several important events and establishments. Some of the informants for this study pointed out how they observed the coming of age for the field of Intercultural Communication. Scholarship interests that were mentioned for earlier years continued and will be further discussed in Chapter Six – Conclusions. Additional volumes in the textbook series that started in 1987 were published. I termed the Generation for these years at the start of the 21st century, the Millennials (refer to Table 1 Central Figures of the Four Generations). At this time, the beginning of the 21st century, for this and future generations of scholars comes a disjuncture that provides a departure in educational background. Japanese are now able to study for a higher degree in Intercultural Communication in Japan. In addition, international students even without Japanese proficiency have been able to opt to study in Japan for a higher degree with a focus on Intercultural Communication if they choose.

A new academic association. In 2002, a new academic association was established by Japanese Intercultural scholars to operate only in Japanese, although open to any non-Japanese capable of participation in Japanese. That association is the Tabunka Kankei Gakkai, with the English name of the Japan Society for Multicultural Relations (JSMR).[163] Hayashi[164] and Kume were the principle organizers. For some years, Kume and Hayashi had been discussing the direction of SIETAR Japan and the need for an officially recognized *gakkai* (academic association) to focus on Intercultural Communication in Japan. In the meantime, SIETAR Japan, under the leadership of Shoko Araki, completed the application to become a g*akkai* in 1999 as an outcome of the success of the 1998 International Congress.

Kume then thought about another need and another name for a new academic association. Tabunka Kankei Gakkai was launched with immediate official status approved by the Ministry of Education and Science (MEXT). The fact that two academic associations exist officially and have growing attendance at their events is evidence of the growing interest in and need for the Intercultural Communication paradigm and scholarship in Japan.

Much of the Tabunka membership has overlapped with SIETAR Japan's Japanese membership. Tabunka's membership in 2006 was about half the number of SIETAR Japan. Tabunka Kankei Gakkai held its first annual conference in 2005 and there were plans to add a members' retreat similar to SIETAR Japan's. The leadership of Tabunka Kankei Gakkai was male in contrast to the leadership of SIETAR Japan that has largely been female. To bring some balance to the Tabunka Kankei Gakkai board so it would not appear to be male-dominated, Kume and Hayashi were careful to include Yoko Matsuda,

a female scholar in Kansai, on the board. They also decided to include, as a liaison board member, a Hungarian female scholar with some years of residence in Japan who had returned home.

The Tabunka organization demonstrated innovation in its offerings. It organized day-long seasonal workshops on specific topics of interest to scholars in cooperation with other academic associations, such as research methodologies at the end of 2005 in cooperation with the Japan Qualitative Psychology Association, in order to draw more participants and to encourage cross-pollination. Another innovation of the Tabunka Kankei Gakkai was termed the Horalogy meetings. Hayashi explained that the term is a coined word, partly from the Japanese word *hora* meaning "a lot of hot air, a wild dream, to talk big without any support for it." The idea was to talk about any topic in a brainstorming fashion and build on others' ideas, quite a departure from the usual academic discourse and very appealing to younger participants.

When asked about the difference in emphasis compared to SIETAR Japan, Hayashi, who, at the time of our interview at the end of 2005, was about to become president of the organization in spring of 2006, replied that the Tabunka Kankei Gakkai's vision was to research how Japanese society was becoming and could become more multicultural, with emphasis on the Brazilian communities in Japan as an example. The emphasis would also be on global multicultural societies, starting with Asia and then expanding to the West and Africa. Matsuda, at the time of the interview with her at the beginning of 2006, concurred saying that although it was somewhat confusing to tell the two associations apart, Tabunka's perspective was more about wider social issues at both the national and global levels.

Both Hayashi and Matsuda opined that Intercultural Communication emphasizes interpersonal relations although Interculturalists are also interested in multicultural issues. Usually, Interculturalists do not go to the level of political issues. They said that the Tabunka Kankei Gakkai was trying to bring interpersonal communication issues together with macro-level issues. Moreover, the vision was to draw in more people with interests in psychology, sociology, and international relations, as well as from NGOs who are working out in the field, while having Interculturalists at the core.

Some of the research topics of interest during The Lost Decade were about foreign workers in Japan, ethnic minorities in Japan, Japan's interface with global issues, for example, and while many individuals presented and published on those topics through SIETAR Japan venues, I chose to focus on the new directions taken in methods and concepts in the paradigm itself. Tabunka Kankei Gakkai, then, was a place that would emphasize these geopolitical, social, and global issues that involved interaction among people from different cultural backgrounds at the macro-level of institutions.

Hayashi used the examples of Japan's relations with South Korea and China. Always problematic, and always possible to worsen, he saw the problems as political but also deeply rooted in culture. Past historical acts and the perception in China, for example, of the lack of contrition and meaningful understanding on Japan's part do and can lead to aggressive acts on the part of China to, for example, exploit oceanic oil reserves that Japan believes is in Japanese territory. The Tabunka Kankei Gakkai aims to explore beyond the interpersonal level. To address Asian issues, for example, Chinese and Korean speakers were invited to the first annual conference in 2005 to add their voices to the Japanese presenters.

An additional difference of comparison with SIETAR Japan is that Tabunka Kankei Gakkai aims to focus on multicultural interactions rather than bilateral or dyadic comparisons, in other words, with a perspective that is global. Tabunka was created in response to the recognition that Japan is not a monolithically homogeneous place and has ethnic groups and regional differences, as well as gender and generational differences. In addition, Japan needs to look to the rest of the world and see its complexity, not only focus on the Japan-U.S. relationship or perceive the rest of the world through U.S. colored glasses. The different approaches and perspectives compared to SIETAR Japan were evolving and continue to evolve for the new academic association. Tabunka has attempted to bring forth answers to the original four critical questions that have continued for over 60 years about what it means to be Japanese and how to relate to the rest of the world.

Several people, including Kume and Matsuda, said that SIETAR Japan has always had a strong American focus, or a Western focus, owing to its original ties to the United States. While the leadership was not bothered by that flavor, some potential (Japanese) participants did not like it or it made them uncomfortable. Matsuda went on to say that from an outsider's point of view, SIETAR tends to be largely practice-oriented even though as a participant over many years, she knew that there was interest in theory as well.

Both Tabunka Kankei Gakkai and SIETAR Japan (Ibunka Komyunikeishon Gakkai) leaders have discussed what kinds of collaboration they envision going forward. Both Hayashi and Matsuda said that since so many individuals are members of both associations, there should be productive work and events the two associations can plan

together. Research interests certainly converge so it seems that a synergistic collaboration of benefit to all members would be possible going forward.

Collaboration seems to be a trend for scholarly associations in Japan. In fact, the idea of collaborative, co-sponsored events may have been innovated by SIETAR Kansai Chapter owing to is small number of regional members. An example that Matsuda noted was a workshop of December 2004 that was co-sponsored by the SIETAR Kansai Chapter, CAJ Kansai Chapter, and the Interpreters Association. It appears that while specialization of the past decades continues there is and will be more opportunity for convergence and collaboration among memberships that are interrelated.

Another new association. In 2003, the Japan-U.S. Communication Association (JUCA) was established as an affiliate of the National Communication Association (NCA) and with ties to CAJ (Communication Association of Japan), thus being a unique association that spans the Pacific Ocean and has ties on both sides of it.[165]CAJ was discussed earlier and pointed out as the earliest organized association focused on communication topics in Japan. Like CAJ, JUCA was not established to focus solely on Intercultural Communication. Rather it attracted communication scholars from the spectrum of communication specialties who had an interest in Japan-U.S. communication. This new academic association is mentioned here owing both to its overall focus and also to evidence of younger scholars' interest in Japanese popular culture judging from the papers presented at JUCA's sessions at the NCA annual conference. JUCA quickly attracted enough paper submissions and participants to become eligible for two presentation sessions and one business session at NCA annual conferences.

More additions to the textbook series. The series of Japanese authored textbooks for Intercultural Communication continued to have volumes added. Three volumes have been published in the Global Soft Power Period so far to make a total of six in the series. In 2001, *Komyunikeishon Riron* [Theories in Intercultural Communication], in 2005, *Ibunka Komyunikeishon Kenkyū-hō* [Intercultural Communication Methods], and in 2007, *Keisu de Manabu Ibunka Komyunikeishon* [Learn Intercultural Communication with Case Studies] were published by the same core group of scholars and the same publisher.

The longevity of this collaborative endeavor is noteworthy as it is unusual. The use of the Japanese terms *ibunka komyunikeishon* and *komyunikeishon* in the titles and content served to diffuse these as the standard terms to all teachers and students who used these textbooks. And, it is important to note the topics addressed in these three textbooks. One is on theory, one on methods, and one uses the method of case studies. Kume said that this series evolved from the needs expressed by instructors. It is very possible that other volumes will continue to be added to this series. Ishii and Kume have retired but could still actively participate in adding volumes. Or, other scholars could be brought in to continue the series.

I focused on these textbooks because they are in a series, the example of the collaborative core group that was formed and continued, and that the volumes emerged by meeting the needs of the field. Also, the first textbook in what would become the series was the first textbook authored in Japanese by Japanese scholars. All of those firsts and characteristics make this series important within the development of the Intercultural field.

However, it should be noted that other Japanese Intercultural scholars also authored textbooks or topic books in Japanese over the years. Although I did not compile a complete list of them, Japanese authors I am aware of who were also informants for this study were (in alphabetical order by family name) Kichiro (Kichom) Hayashi, Richiko Ikeda, Shoji Mitarai, Kazuo Mizuta, Kiyoko Sueda, and Kyoko Yashiro. Many more informants have authored and published articles in Japanese journals. Some of these books have also been published in English. Many authors have also published articles in English starting with Mitsuko Saito in the 1960s. A former student of Ishii, Yoshitaka Miike (not an informant for this study), who went to the University of New Mexico for his higher degree and then stayed in the United States for his teaching career has recently, in the Millennials years, published articles and chapters in English on topics relevant to Intercultural Communication in Japan.

Recognition of the field. One of the informants for this study, Yoko Matsuda, in Kansai (in the Heisei Generation) shared her thoughts about the maturation of the field of Intercultural Communication and the evidence she knew of recognition of the field. In the fall of 2005 two indications occurred that the field of Intercultural Communication was both being widely recognized and maturing, and both had to do with the change of a Japanese word choice. That change in word choice came from two sources: one from the Ministry of Education and Science (Mombu Kagaku-shō) and the other from a scholar in another discipline. The Ministry also had made a policy decision that motivated interest in Intercultural Communication. The indications of recognition that Matsuda related may be seen as another tipping point in the progression of Intercultural Communication becoming a full-fledged and sustainable discipline.

The one indication occurred when Matsuda was asked to speak at the large Japanese Language Education Conference (Nihongo Kyōiku Taikai)[166] for teachers of Japanese language, held in both Tokyo and Kansai. She was invited to speak by someone from the Bunka-Cho, the Culture Section within the Ministry of Education and Science, specifically to give a talk about Ibunka Komyunikeishon Gaku. According to Matsuda, it was the first time she had heard someone use the word *gaku* in reference to Ibunka Komyunikeishon. In other words, by the choice of the word *gaku,* the Ministry had referred to Intercultural Communication as a real academic field of study.

The common term used in Japanese when referring to Ibunka Komyunikeishon had always been *ron* as in Ibunka Komyunikeishon-ron that may be translated as *essays about* or *discussion*, perhaps as *topics* in this context, whereas *gaku* refers to *a field of study*, a *discipline*. The difference between the terms *gaku* and *ron* was significant and Matsuda noticed it immediately. She thought that the Ministry had not initiated the use of the term *gaku* but had been influenced by others in academia. However, she did not know the background of the word choice. In any case, use of the term *gaku* at the Ministry legitimized the field and would influence others.

Matsuda accepted the invitation to speak and presented to the teachers of Japanese language. Another surprise for her was that her session, out of four concurrent sessions, attracted a far larger number of participants than the others so she was assigned a large lecture hall. She learned that the certification testing that the Ministry initiated for teachers of Japanese includes a section on Ibunka Komyunikeishon. Therefore, curiosity had been generated among a large group of professionals motivated both by necessity and interest. That group of educators, the teachers of Japanese language, who are at the

forefront of intercultural relations, may be drawn in to participate in other organizations such as SIETAR Japan and Tabunka Kankei Gakkai.

The other point of recognition for Intercultural Communication came in a book that was published in the fall of 2005 by a well-known, influential sociolinguist, Sachiko Iida. Her volume, focusing on Intercultural Communication, was the second in a series published by the Socio-Linguistics Association (Shakai Gengo Kagaku-kai). The significant point was that Iida, in her preface to the book, argued for the use of the term Ibunka Komyunikeishon **Gaku.** Iida's use of the term *gaku* was notable. Not only was the term *gaku* used in that book, Iida specifically pointed out the legitimacy of its use. Iida's use of the term would serve to draw in and influence many more scholars in related fields of study and elevate the field of Intercultural Communication.

These forms of recognition, coincidently at the same time, one by a socio-linguistics scholar and the others by the Ministry of Education and Science, came from outside the field of Intercultural Communication, not from the scholars associated with it. That fact in itself may be most significant as it is from the outside that recognition really occurs. Naming and the use of exact terms are very important in tracing the maturation and sustainability of a field of study. These two forms of recognition added to the critical mass of recognition necessary for lasting establishment and sustainability of the field, critical parts of the diffusion process.

Matsuda added that she was currently teaching a course called Tabunka Kyōsei-ron that might be translated as something like Living Together Multiculturally Topics.[167] Note the use of the word *ron* in the title that means *topics*. *Tabunka* is the same word as used for the academic association and means *multicultural*. The word *kyōsei* means

symbiotic according to the dictionary, or taking the two parts of it separately could be the meaning of *living together* or *mutual living*. It is a good indication of the new courses being taught within Intercultural Communication studies. Matsuda told me there was a lot of student interest in that course.

Matsuda added that the Japan Association for Foreign Student Advising (JAFSA) had created a SIG for Intercultural Communication and members have long had an interest, for obvious reasons. Part of Matsuda's background was foreign student advising at a time when there were few of either students or advisers; she also taught the Japanese language in Australia for a time. She has kept in contact with associations for both foreign student advisors and Japanese language teachers. Matsuda said that when more people with differing professional interests and approaches come into a field of study, changes are bound to happen and the field is invigorated.

First graduate programs established. In 2002, Rikkyo University[168], in Tokyo, established the Graduate School of Intercultural Communication and began offering Master Degrees with a focus on Intercultural Communication for the first time in Japan. Only two years later, in 2004, Rikkyo initiated its Doctoral Degree Program in Intercultural Communication, also the first in Japan and as of the writing of this study, still the only one of its kind in Japan. Of course, previous to that, students could research and write on an Intercultural Communication topic with a willing professor, as had occurred in the United States, but their degree was actually from a literature or language or international studies department.[169]Japanese students interested in Intercultural Communication had been pursuing higher degrees in the United States, occasionally in the United Kingdom.

The Rikkyo Intercultural Communication graduate program has become well established and sustainable within a short time. A most recent development, in 2008, is that Rikkyo raised the organizational level of the Graduate School to a College of Intercultural Communication.[170] The first graduates of the doctoral program (seven were informants for this study) who fit into the Millennials Generation for this study are already taking positions in academia and other areas.[171]

The first doctoral program to focus on Intercultural Communication in the United States started in 1993 at the University of New Mexico within the Communication & Journalism Department under the leadership of Everett Rogers. As was noted for the early days of the field, considering Japan's condition in the Postwar years, the disparity of circumstances, and the countless cultural differences, development of the field in Japan closely paralleled the development in the United States. *The Silent Language* was translated into Japanese only seven years after publication. Development of the field in Japan generally lagged a decade or so behind development of the field in the United States; the Rikkyo doctoral program is a recent and important example. True establishment occurs with institutionalization, especially as evidenced by a doctoral program, just as happened with the communication field as documented by Rogers in *A History of Study Communication Study* (1994, 1997).

Rikkyo's Intercultural degree program is a unique program, unlike any in the United States. It appears to have evolved out of the threads of the background of the Intercultural Communication field in Japan, evident in the four tracks of concentration that the program offers, thereby making it worthwhile to discuss its evolution at length. Both the Master's and Doctoral degree programs have four tracks that are: Teaching

English as a Global Language,[172] Interpreting & Translation Studies, Intercultural Communication Studies, and Environmental Communication (Rikkyo graduate school of intercultural communication materials; Rikkyo University website www.rikkyo.ac.jp/grad/i-c/english/outline02.html)**.**

The first three tracks appear to be connected to the threads of the field that have existed ever since Saito introduced topics and focused on interpreting. The content of each of these three tracks are self-explanatory and easy to understand. The fourth track, Environmental Communication, is unique and warrants some explanation as to its content. The evolution of its inclusion will be outlined below. As written in one of the English materials that explains the Graduate School, "the environmental is viewed as another culture, which we should try to communicate with and understand. This [track] doesn't approach the environment from only a scientific point of view, but also considers various aspects of environmental issues, such as environment and education, environment and the media, along with environment in literature" (Rikkyo graduate school of intercultural communication materials; Rikkyo University website www.rikkyo.ac.jp/grad/i-c/english/outline02.html).

Kume also told me about student and faculty activities that resembled service learning and fieldwork for coursework within this track. These are called Research Workshops and function as a bridge between theory and practice. One example included contact with Ainu leaders to learn from them about their traditional values and beliefs about nature and the environment. This is only one example of how the four tracks are interrelated in their learning goals. He was interested to learn about possible collaborative

projects with environmental or sustainability programs in the United States for Rikkyo students.

In 2005, the Rikkyo Graduate School of Intercultural Communication received a grant for the Research Workshop entitled Sustainable Future: Toward New Challenges in Intercultural Communication from MEXT as part of the Ministry's Initiatives for Attractive[173] Graduate School Education Programs (Noda, 2005; See Appendix H Intercultural Communication Studies for [a] Sustainable Future). The environmental communication track, while always one of the four tracks, shifted its emphasis to sustainability and re-designed the program for achieving the goal of global peace and sustainability by recognizing the role of Intercultural communication (Noda, 2005).

The main individual who imagined this program and brought it to fruition was Kumiko Torikai, whose background started with interpreting, then detoured into the media as interviewer and reporter, and then into teaching English as a second language before designing the Rikkyo graduate program in Intercultural Communication. In addition, Teruyuki Kume, formerly at KUIS, moved to Rikkyo in mid-2000 expressly to assist with the graduate program formulation.

Torikai explained that from her point of view, her first career of conference interpreting meant exposure to intercultural problems. The more she added to her interpreting skills, the more she realized that interpretation was not only a matter of language, it was a matter of communication; she was always trying to bridge the gaps between the two languages of Japanese and English. She also came to realize that the social context was important. Torikai's career arc actually parallels many of the highlights that were outlined here for the historical and sociological periods.

Torikai's earlier career as interpreter and interviewer proceeded from the time she was a student volunteer for Expo 70 in Osaka[174] as interpreter and reporter. Her career developed as Japanese (as outlined in earlier sections in this chapter) were exploring ways to become internationalized; her career was at the leading edge of *kokusai-ka*. The essential questions of the Postwar Period about language, culture, and identity were a part of the landscape in the 1970s and the 1980s. Part of Japan's push onto the world stage was to host many international conferences and for many Japanese to attend a variety of conferences abroad so that Torikai as interpreter had plenty of work.

Torikai described her early role as constantly dealing with people from all over the world, an initiation into being, as she termed it, an *intercultural mediator*. She drifted away from interpreting because she felt that she was treated like a talking machine and she could not reconcile the approved theory about interpretation with her own experience.[175] As her interpreting career wound down, she started her second career as a talk show host for a weekly NHK program Music of the World.

After leaving the workplace for a while to have children, Torikai discovered that she could study TESOL[176] at the Tokyo branch of Columbia University (another trend that was also noted above of American universities establishing branches in Japan). She then started her third career by entering academia to not only teach English as a second language but also to create an entire English language curriculum for a prominent women's college. Similar to many other two-year schools in the 1980s, Toyo Eiwa Jogakuin started planning a four-year university to commemorate its 100th anniversary of 1984. The university opened in 1989. Torikai, an alumna of Toyo Eiwa, was engaged to help restructure the English language department and curriculum. Based on her varied

background in the real world, she geared the curriculum to focus on communication, definitely a departure from the usual English language curriculum and methodology. Her innovative approach gained an outstanding reputation among educators.

In 1995, she was contacted by Rikkyo University, then recruited in 1997 to come and revamp its English language curriculum. However, Torikai departed from her most recent innovations as she pondered the future needs of students. She described to me how she had presented a radical plan to the new president of Rikkyo in 1998. That first presentation was limited to an idea for a graduate program for TESOL. With her background, Torikai wanted to include translation and interpreting studies to complete the curriculum. There was no precedent for such a graduate program; however, the Rikkyo administration supported her thinking.

In a way, Torikai's thinking brought the interpreting specialty full circle. Saito had developed an interpreting program at ICU starting in the 1960s and that directorship position persisted, most recently filled by Yoshikazu Hongo who had a long career in interpreting. However, interpreting education had really been taken over by *senmon gakkō*, schools that are something like a cross between a community college and a technical college, with some courses also offered by English conversation schools. Saito had faced constant criticism for fostering a skill-based interpreting program in a university although she persisted. Torikai's idea and the result of interpreting and translation being included as one of the four tracks for a graduate school served to elevate this specialty and place it clearly within Intercultural Communication.

Then, Torikai's thinking expanded as she discussed her idea for a graduate program in TESOL that would include interpreting and translation with a colleague at

Rikkyo who was a scholar of ecocriticism, the environmental aspect of literary criticism. Ken-ichi Noda[177] suggested adding an environmental dimension as he told her the example of how National Parks in the United States provide guides to interpret nature and cultural issues. Although at first that seemed out of bounds and unrelated to language and translation, Torikai began to think about whether it was possible to look at the environment from a communication perspective.[178] She realized that environmental issues could not be solved based on the facts of natural science, that human and social issues were involved. She and Noda, the ecocritical scholar, spent another year in discussion.

That creative process led to the design of a unique graduate studies program, the first of its kind in Japan and worldwide. The entire program is anchored in Intercultural Communication at its core. Torikai explained her way of thinking in an article, "The School offers four concentrations that, at first glance, appear to have no interrelation: Intercultural Communication, Environmental Communication, Language Communication, and Interpreting and Translation Studies. However, by adopting the perspective of intercultural communication, they all become indispensable parts of a program that goes beyond the traditional framework" (2002, 2004, 2005; See Appendix I Better Communication Starts From Accepting Cultural Differences. Now the Rikkyo Graduate School in Intercultural Communication website pages in English have a large lettered title above the list of the four tracks that reads, "Communication Studies for a Sustainable Future." The emphasis has definitely shifted to having Intercultural Communication be the means towards the goal of a sustainable global future.

Torikai came to realize that her frustration with interpreting and even the Columbia TESOL program was due to neglect of the cultural component.[179] Rikkyo accepted her innovative proposal and initiated implementation by recruiting a number of new faculty. Torikai became the dean of the new graduate school and program. In addition to Kume who moved from KUIS and is identified as one of the key figures in Intercultural Communication in this study, one professor of pragmatics, another professor of environmental communication in addition to Noda, and two non-Japanese, Adair Nagata and Joseph Shaules, were recruited for the new graduate school. For this study, Kume was placed in the Inheritors Generation. Torikai, Nagata, and Shaules were placed in the Millennials Generation because their involvement and leadership in the Intercultural Communication field started after 2000 following other parts of their careers.

Individuals with various interests and career plans are attracted to the Rikkyo program and can follow a track of choice while having all of them anchored in Intercultural Communication. See the current complete list of course offerings and faculty profiles at the Rikkyo website (www.rikkyo.ac.jp/grad/i-c/english/outline02.html and http://www.rikkyo.ac.jp/grad/i-c/english/courses.html). As of the time of the interview with Torikai, in mid-2005, over 100 individuals were applying each year for 30 places in the master's program. Rikkyo had plans to expand the program so that 35 would be placed. At the time of that interview, five doctoral students were being accepted into the program each year; that has not appeared to change. An additional innovation for these programs was to offer evening classes. Clearly, there was consideration for the type of students, more non-traditional and in the workplace, who would be interested in and good additions to the graduate programs.

Although many Chinese students had applied to enter the program, none had been accepted at that time;[180] it was a dilemma for the leadership to consider how to proceed to internationalize the program. Practicing Intercultural concepts and multicultural beliefs is a different facet of an Intercultural program than teaching the coursework. Rikkyo and other universities, including ICU, were faced with a shrinking student age population in Japan (the low birth rate was discussed above) and it was uncommon for mature people to engage in graduate level studies. The universities knew they could fill all seats with Chinese and other Asian students, but were so far reluctant to go in that direction. For this Intercultural Communication graduate program, many applicants are mature students with experience in the workplace who understand their interests and future career goals, unlike for some other graduate programs.

In any case, one non-Japanese doctoral student had been accepted and was an informant for this study. His nationality was Filipino and he had a multicultural heritage; in addition he had already lived some years in Japan and had obtained a master's degree from Waseda University[181]all of which contributed to demonstrating that he was fluent enough in Japanese to study at Rikkyo.

Referring back to Matsuda's comments regarding the use of the term *gaku* to indicate a field of study or a discipline*,* Rikkyo appears not to use *gaku* for any of the levels within the academic structure. The entire graduate program itself is housed in a separate graduate school referred to as a *kenkyū-ka*[182] and translated into English as the Graduate School of Intercultural Communication. More recently, as noted above, the English name changed to *college*, but I could find no evidence of any change in the Japanese naming; the original use of the term *kenkyū-ka* made that unnecessary. The

short statement of purpose at the top of the website page of details about the Graduate School does include *gaku*, but that was the only place I could find it used.

The administrative structure within the Graduate School, as shown in English, is that there are two main divisions; namely, Intercultural Communication Studies and Studies of Communication at the same level. The two tracks under the former are Intercultural Communication Studies and Environmental Communication. In Japanese, these appear as Ibunka Komyunikeishon, without *gaku* or any other ending even though *studies* was included in English; the latter is the direct translation of Kankyō Komyunikeishon. Under the division Studies of Communication are Teaching English as a Global Language and Interpreting and Translation Studies with equivalent Japanese titles without the use of *gaku*.

The overall curriculum is termed *kamoku*, again no use of *gaku* as might be done in other universities or for other disciplines. Looking at the list of courses in Japanese, many of the course titles use *ron* at the end of the titles, thereby having the meaning of *topics*. The reasons for the terms used at Rikkyo and why *gaku* is not used more often would be an interesting follow-up topic to this research. One reason might be that according to the university structure, the new Intercultural Communication did not fit into any other division or department, thereby becoming its own separate division with its four tracks. The pages of the website that are cited here were updated in 2009 (http://www.rikkyo.ac.jp/grad/i-c/english/courses.html and http://www.rikkyo.ac.jp/grad/i-c/program.html). As stated above, the newest update in English was the news that the Graduate School had become the College of Intercultural Communication in 2008 although the term used in Japanese of *kenkyū-ka* did not change.

The first Master's class graduated in 2004 and in the same year the Rikkyo Society for Intercultural Studies – known as RICS (Rikkyo Ibunka Komyunikeishon Gakkai) was established for alumni of the Program, faculty, and other interested people in order to keep them connected and to foster continued research. RICS holds an annual conference and sponsors speakers.

Torikai echoed what Matsuda said (and others also think) about being disturbed at the misuse of the term Intercultural Communication or Ibunka Komyunikeishon in Japanese advertising, especially by English language conversation schools.[183]Torikai believed that misuse of the term reinforced public thinking that Intercultural Communication and language learning are the same and there was no gain in greater understanding concerning the depth and breadth of the field. Torikai lamented that even the Ministry of Education and Science did not have a good understanding of what the Intercultural Communication field really meant, all the more unfortunate because, in her opinion, Japanese education needs the cultural component.

Torikai's comments to me during the interview and as the keynote speaker at the SIETAR Japan 20th anniversary conference seemed to me to address the four key issues that Japanese had been grappling with ever since the Postwar Period. Torikai stated that without an explicit cultural component within all levels education, Japan would fall short in its goals for the future, not only to build a society that respects diversity and appreciates differences but also as a people secure in their own identity as one of many in the global community. In the next section that gives an overview of the SIETAR Japan 20th anniversary conference, I will return to Torikai's assertions through examining her keynote address for that occasion.

SIETAR Japan holds 20th anniversary conference. In 2005 SIETAR Japan, the Ibunka Komyunikeishon Gakkai, held its annual conference in recognition and celebration of its 20th anniversary. In the 20 years since its inception, it was safe to say that Intercultural Communication as a discipline in Japan had come of age and was being institutionalized. Planning began under the last part of Adair Nagata's term as president; she then became the Conference Core Committee Chair. The conference was held at Rikkyo University where Nagata taught in the Intercultural Communication Graduate School. She and many long-time members (including Wasilewski, Sueda, Higuchi, Yashiro, and Araki; others were included as panel presenters – see below) who had shepherded the organization through the years of growth together with newer members decided on the theme of Constructing Multicultural Spaces: Being Ourselves Together. An underlying theme was collaboration and sharing, made visible by the inclusion of other related scholarly associations to participate and display materials. The celebratory part of the conference was certainly the inclusion of a workshop and performance by Ainu who live in Hokkaido. Their inclusion visibly demonstrated the multicultural space of present-day Japan and supported their quest to be recognized as an ethnic minority in Japan.

The main part of the program was the symposium entitled The Intercultural Field in Japan: Possibilities and Potentials that had four parts consisting of a keynote address by Kumiko Torikai, presentations by five panelists, break-out sessions[184]for each of the speakers to lead small group discussion on their topics, and a summary session where representatives of each break-out session reported to the entire audience. The other speakers were Kichom Hayashi speaking on Recent Developments in Intercultural

Business, Shoji Mitarai on Negotiation and Conflict Resolution Studies in Japan and the World, Jane Bachnik on Multimedia Uses for Intercultural Education, Masako Hiraga on Genre Analytical Approach in Intercultural Pragmatics: A Case of Education, and Mayumi Kubota on The Role of Media in Development Communication.[185] They all, with the addition of Kumiko Torikai, with the topic Intercultural Frontier, led break-out sessions to allow for small group discussion on each topic.

Torikai's keynote was titled Mapping the Intercultural Field in Japan: Possibilities & Potentials. In 45 minutes, she presented a succinct overview of the field with attention from her perspective as an interpreter, language teacher, and educator. Even within that short amount of time, she contextualized her remarks by including events from the 1960s that were of global significance and a brief look at the introduction of Intercultural Communication topics via ICU. (I included the same events and others in the Postwar Period and other period Timelines and discussed them in this text.)

Torikai's presentation was of interest to me as a perspective on the growth of the Intercultural field. She particularly included information about governmental policies that the average person does not know, but that influence education and society. Here below is an excerpt from the article I wrote to summarize her comments for the SIETAR Japan Newsletter of Fall 2005.

> Torikai argued that the current government's policies contained noticeable omissions from the Intercultural perspective….It was surprising to hear that it was only as recently as 1989 that the first English word (*gairai-go*[186]) was included in an official Japanese document. The word *communication* (rendered in the Japanese pronunciation as *komyunikeishon*) was included in a Mombushō

> (Ministry of Education before the name change) document as the stated purpose of foreign language study. For interculturalists, it is gratifying to know that a term so central to our field was the word to break new ground in this way.
>
> In the sense that the 1989 proposal introduced the notion of communication and deviated from the "information gathering" purposes of overseas encounters originating in the Meiji Period, it seems to me that [this document] presented a radical change. Yet, as Torikai pointed out, although the Mombushō has continued to set policy that utilizes the word *communication*, on taking a closer look, [to the 2003 Action Plan to Foster Japanese who Can Use English] it appears that for the government, [*communication*] is used to refer almost exclusively to language study, which in turn, usually means the English language with little consideration of the intercultural aspects of communication.
>
> [Torikai went on to say] that the concept of culture is missing. Intercultural communication is not recognized as a separate field of study at the highest levels of government. Rather, culture is considered to exist largely as an adjunct to language education (pp. 10-11).

The reason for extrapolating these points is that they concisely coincide with some of the points within this study. Governmental policies have influenced education and society in these years when Japanese were searching for how to be in the world and seeking success in their interactions. In the early days, beginning with Saito at ICU, Intercultural topics were included in her original communication courses, also new to Japan and within a still new university. From the viewpoint of Japanese, as was exhibited in the crucial questions coming out of wartime, language, behavior, and culture are all

intertwined, but the most noticeable and most important vehicle for communication success always seemed to be language.

Although it is important to recognize that change has occurred in government policy for education and attitudes have been changing through the decades among people, Intercultural Communication has not quite been recognized by the general public or the government as a multifaceted answer to the questions that still challenge Japanese society. However, as time goes by, Intercultural Communication as a discipline is maturing and becoming a sustainable entity. Moreover, the concepts of Intercultural Communication are permeating other related fields and outlying professions. I will return to this last point at the end of Chapter Six. The early part of the 21st century continued trends that started in the 1990s: the maturation of the discipline, the institutionalization demonstrated by the proliferation of courses and especially the establishment of graduate degrees specifically in Intercultural Communication. Although these developments somewhat mirrored development in the United States, there were important variations and innovations in Japan.

North-East Dialogue Project. As an example of a new, multifaceted and complex approach to building bridges among people from different cultures, The ICU-COE North-East Asian Dialogue (NEAD) Project is summarized here. The coordinator of this project was Jacqueline Wasilewski (an informant for this study and the last in the line of American scholars invited to teach at ICU) who received a grant through the Centers for Excellence program in Japan. The Project started April 2005, ended March 2008, and was conducted through ICU with ICU students and students of other countries.[187]

Wasilewski combined some of her long-term research interests into this Project. One interest is how new, publicly recognized social spaces are created; what enables true dialogue to take place? The other interest was about hidden histories, both of families and ethnic groups of people. As was explained above, ICU from its inception had welcomed international students. From two of her graduate students, one from Siberia with indigenous heritage and one from China, she learned that the aftermath of World War II was still in progress in Northeast Asia. No peace treaty was ever signed between the Soviet Union and Japan, for example. There was no common language such as English for the post-colonial British Empire and no recent alliance or association as exampled by ASEAN for Southeast Asia.

Therefore, the idea to create a Dialogue Project to involve students from the Northeast area of Asia was born. It would involve students from Japan, China – both the People's Republic of China and Taiwan, South Korea, and representatives of indigenous peoples from the region. Some civil society members were also invited. Before any dialogue could take place, there had to be decisions made about language and attention paid to differing histories and contested histories.

The main outcome of the First Dialogue was to realize that there are almost no opportunities for people living in proximity in Northeast Asia to meet for any reason and if they do meet, they do not share a common language. The Second Dialogue involved more ethnic minorities of Japan, Korea, Russia, and China and Japanese returnees from Siberia, Manchuria, and North Korea.[188]The challenge was to create an environment for exchange within a short time framework. Wasilewski was familiar with Bohmian open-dialogue format and the high-tech root cause software (BDA/SDDP) (2008, p. 42); both

were used with transformational results. The software is still being used and updated to seek a way "to create a global governance space" (p.42).

The Third Dialogue combined with the Nanjing Project that brought together ICU faculty and staff with their counterparts at Nanjing universities to discuss service learning projects. However, part of the trip was also to explore the truth of the contested past of the Japanese military actions in Nanjing.[189] One of the participants from ICU was Yoshikazu Hongo who teaches interpreting at ICU (another informant for this study); he and his students interpreted for the meetings.

Based on my understanding of this Project, it illustrates an approach that combines intercultural interaction with close attention to geopolitical and historical contexts. Having discussed some of the differences in mission and nuance of purpose between SIETAR Japan and Tabunka Kankei Gakkai, this Project may be seen as an example that combines both the interpersonal and meta-levels. The Project also used software to identify and report on findings and to keep contact alive among participants from far-flung geographical locations, an innovative use of technology that might be copied by other endeavors going forward. The Project also explored theories of boundaries, conflict resolution, and incorporated Cultural Studies perspectives of power and a critical view. Some aspects of this approach have rarely been at the center of Intercultural Communication, but inclusion is necessary to make Intercultural Communication a viable perspective for addressing complex global problems.

The Project asked the question of how to create MIID Communities, standing for Multi-Centered, Interlinked, Inclusive, and Discursive. And an outcome was to propose Basic Principles for the Co-Evolution of MIID Communities that would stand as useful

for other projects. The four listed principles were (with some summarizing by this author): 1) everyone affected by a decision should be included in the decision-making, 2) every voice is listened to with equal respect and attention, 3) the goal of nurturing the most vulnerable members of society serves to nurture all, and 4) maximum autonomy and choice for the smallest entities within systems must be supported by systems (Wasilewski, 2008).

Summary of Global Soft Power Period and Millennials Generation

This section entitled Global Soft Power gave summaries of the sociological, psychological, and economic contexts that were related to the important historical events and important dates for Intercultural Communication in Japan at the beginning of the 21st century. Those events were shown in Figure 8 Global Soft Power Timeline, 2000 – (2006) (the year 2006 in parentheses to indicate that although this is the ending year of this study, it was not necessarily the ending year of any period).

Many of the trends and challenges of the previous historical periods continued, even intensified, in these years. Certainly globalization accelerated and global consciousness increased, especially among younger people to include environmental and multicultural issues. Economic standing had not and did not change. What changed was the type of product, especially the variety of J-Wave electronic and entertainment products that also shifted Japan's image around the world. The other part of the title for this period, *soft power*, even recognized by the Japanese government, refers to that new image.

In the Intercultural Communication field, designated the Millennials Generation for this period, associations, events, publications, and research continued from the

previous years. Many firsts and seminal events also occurred, as shown in the lower section of Figure 8 Global Soft Power Timeline 2000-(2006). The previous generations, Pioneers, Inheritors, and Heisei, continued in academic positions and participation in events. Some of the Pioneers retired or passed away. Some Inheritors retired. Some individuals retired, but continued their research or entered full-time into another area of Intercultural Communication such as corporate training. Some individuals of the Millennials Generation entered the Intercultural Communication field after other careers; others were studying and earning degrees specifically in Intercultural Communication from the first advanced degree program in Japan.

Significant events included the establishment of the first advanced degree programs with four tracks of study and the College of Intercultural Communication in Japan at Rikkyo University and establishment of several academic associations (*gakkai*) that were Tabunka Kankei Gakkai (JSMR), Rikkyo Intercultural Communication Society (RICS), and the Japan-U.S. Communication Association (JUCA). All of these developments offered many more venues for exchange and collaboration.

SIETAR Japan celebrated its 20th anniversary by inviting presentations from a broad spectrum of related Intercultural topics. The Rikkyo University degree programs also offered a broad definition of Intercultural Communication via its four tracks and shifted its emphasis after 2005 to definitely focus on global sustainability and peace. Overall, it appeared that the broad definition, meaning to include many of the strands that had been present from the very beginning, was the direction being taken. Another direction as evidenced by the Tabunka Kankei Gakkai (JSMR) mission and the Northeast Dialogue Project was an approach that seems to stretch the Intercultural paradigm to

combine attention to intercultural interaction with geopolitical and historical contexts, in other words, a merging of both the interpersonal and meta-levels.

These several ways of broadening – the shift to focus on environmental sustainability, inclusion of the various related fields of study, and merging of the interpersonal with the meta-level – are examples of innovative directions and growth that have emerged from the context in Japan. These directions may predict future trends. The new directions for research and the trend toward further Japanization of the foundational concepts of the field and the phenomenon of local/global attention will be addressed in Chapter Six – Conclusions.

Perhaps most significantly, there were definite signs that the discipline was being recognized by the government ministry and scholars in related fields, in line with the steps of diffusion that require recognition and institutionalization for sustainability.

The next section turns to Research Question III to discuss the invisible college of scholars, the network of individuals that facilitated the introduction, development, and establishment of Intercultural Communication as a field of study in Japan starting in the Postwar Period around 1958.

Research Question III -- The Invisible College in Japan

In this third major section of this chapter, after addressing the first two Research Questions by detailing the historical and social contexts and pointing out the developments of the Intercultural field from 1958 to 2006 with the relevant contexts, I return to Research Question III regarding the invisible college of scholars in Japan. The invisible college of scholars, as explained in Chapter Three – Theoretical Perspectives, is a type of network, a network of scholars, and is essential for the diffusion process for an

intellectual paradigm such as Intercultural Communication. The scholars in an invisible college have common research interests and maintain contact through both formal and informal channels. Research Question III asked *what was the role of the interpersonal network of individual scholars, both Japanese and American, identified as an invisible college, that facilitated the introduction, development, and establishment of Intercultural Communication as a discipline in Japan almost parallel to its introduction and establishment in the United States.*

This section regarding Research Questions III focuses on mapping the interpersonal relationships that formed the invisible college by segmenting some aspects of the complex and dynamic findings picture that emerged through this research, particularly through listening to the biographical and professional interviews of the informants, all of whom were chosen for the important roles they played in this history. The decision to isolate certain segments of the overall narrative was made in order to focus clearly, in explicable pieces, on various dimensions that respond to the Research Question.[190]

In order to map aspects of the invisible college, this section principally considers links among people, meeting places, and the ways that exchange was facilitated among people, in places, and through venues of exchange. Each major finding is tied to a graphic description of that segment of the invisible college making aspects of the relationships visible as supplements to the text. This section is divided into four major topics. First is the story of the line of American scholars at ICU including biographical notes relevant to the invisible college relationships for Mitsuko Saito and those American scholars. Second is the subject of Japanese scholars who studied outside Japan, mostly in the United States,

with identification of their places of study as well as the breadth of study, and mention of American scholars at those places who influenced Japanese scholars in the earlier days.

The next two topics are both related to the exchange of information through both formal and informal channels of communication that is essential for the diffusion process. The third topic to be noted is places that provided venues for exchange among scholars thereby supporting formal and informal contact within the invisible college. The exchange of ideas occurs at sponsoring venues such as universities, academic associations, and other institutions through conferences, meetings, and seminars. Fourth to be addressed are the channels of exchange such as journals, books, and workshops that distribute and diffuse ideas among scholars with common research interests within the invisible college.

If even some of the conditions essential for an invisible college exist, the diffusion of its intellectual paradigm is successful (Rogers, 2003; Crane, 1972). The invisible college that I identified for Intercultural Communication in Japan had more than adequate characteristics for all of the conditions. The diffusion of the interest in, the knowledge about, and the numbers of people and programs involved with Intercultural Communication in Japan has multiplied. The field of Intercultural Communication diffused to the extent that it has become institutionalized and widely recognized; the field reached the critical point of maturity. The ultimate goal, the pursuit and growth of knowledge within the paradigm, has been successful. The field continues to expand into new and multiple directions, which will be discussed in Chapter Six – Conclusions.

Before looking at these separate aspects of the invisible college, here first is a broader look at the invisible college in combination with the Four Generations that were

discussed above for each of the periods. These connections within the invisible college are displayed in Figure 9 The Invisible College Depicting Central Figures and Generations (Invisible College – Generations). This visual representation features both central figures and some of their links to other individuals along with generational time. The Generations are indicated by having individuals from earlier generations towards the top of the figure and continuing in time towards the bottom of the figure. However, the method was conceptual and not meant to be exact.[191]When discussing and viewing other aspects of the invisible college, it will be useful to return to this graphic.

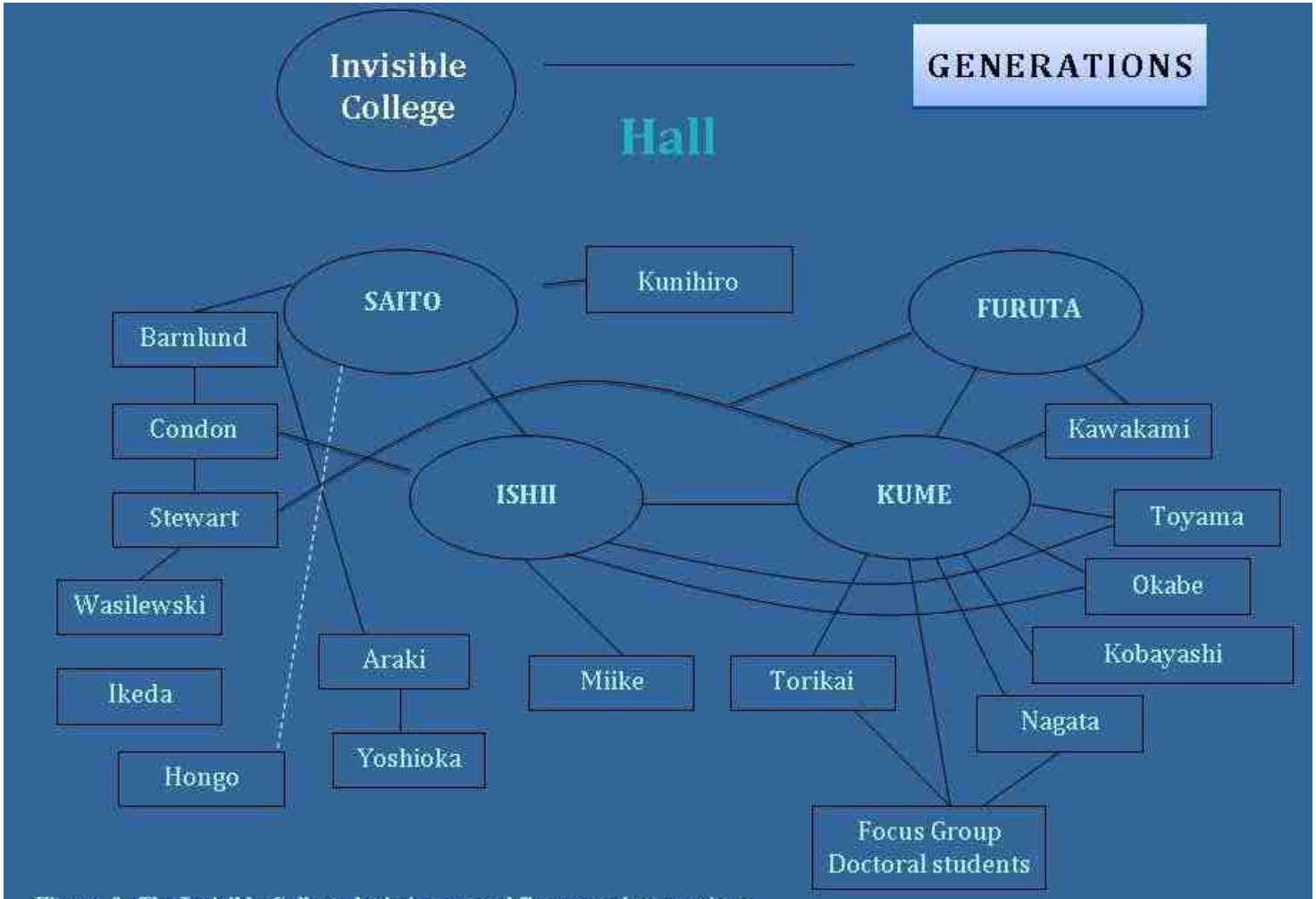


Figure 9. **The Invisible College depicting central figures and generations.**

Notes: 1. Placement of people in this graphic is intended to represent Generations with the movement of time starting at the top representing earlier generations and continuing towards the bottom to proceed to more recent Generations, but it is conceptual not specific.
2. This figure shows institutional ties but not other ties such as being officers in SIETAR Japan together.

Characteristics of the Invisible College

Invisible colleges cannot be planned; they evolve. Scholars with similar interests and questions find one another and share ideas that may then lead to further development. An invisible college generally starts to form from interpersonal interactions that use informal channels of communication as the starting point before any institutionalization takes place; informal grouping precedes the formal structure. When early circumstances include proximity, long-lasting interpersonal relations, opportunities for informal and formal discussion, and new challenges for the scholars to solve with a new intellectual paradigm, then the formation of an invisible college is likely to happen.

In responding to whether the scholars involved in Intercultural Communication in Japan formed an invisible college that could be identified, based on the findings of those traits just listed, it appears that an invisible college was formed and continues to be dynamic and sustainable. Subsequent to navigating through the four points with their relevant mappings, I will return to Figure 9 The Invisible College Depicting Central Figures and Generations (Invisible College – Generations) to take a holistic view of the findings and evaluate the qualities and features of the invisible college of Intercultural scholars in Japan.

Mitsuko Saito and the Line of American Scholars Invited to ICU

The influence of American scholarship and practice is unquestionably of major importance when documenting the introduction and development of the Intercultural Communication field in Japan. Intercultural Communication as a discipline emerged in the United States, usually formally dated from the 1959 publication of Hall's *The Silent Language*. Mitsuko Saito who returned to Japan with a Ph.D. in Speech from

Northwestern University was the seminal figure whose major contributions were teaching Intercultural topics within her many courses at ICU and inviting a long line of American scholars to teach at ICU.

Therefore, both directly and indirectly, Saito brought American Intercultural scholarship to Japan. That line of American scholars in turn influenced numerous Japanese colleagues and students. In order to look more closely at the relational links important to the invisible college as the vehicle of diffusion, this part details characteristics of Saito that contributed to her being the first and enduring central figure in the diffusion development of Intercultural Communication. More details regarding the place of the ICU American scholars within the invisible college are also discussed.

Saito was Maven, Connector, and Persuader

Gladwell (2000) wrote about three types of people who perform essential roles within a network and have attributes that serve to diffuse whatever the product or idea may be. The three personality types are *maven*, *connector*, and *persuader*[192] (p. 33). Saito appears to have had the characteristics of all three types. A *maven* is an "information specialist," someone who wants to know about everything of personal interest and then share and trade that information with all people in her networks (p.33). Others rely on the maven to connect to new information, certainly the role that Saito played with the new field of Intercultural Communication. A *connector* has large social networks because of "an extraordinary knack for making friends" and "has a special gift for bringing the world together" (p. 33). It is someone who knows a lot of people and keeps connected with them. A *persuader* is someone who has is charismatic and has excellent negotiating skills that may also be manipulative. For anyone who knew her, all of these characteristics

describe Mitsuko Saito, a compelling communicator. These qualities[193] account for her success as a networker and for her role as the central figure in the introduction and development of the Intercultural Communication field in Japan.

Saito was not only involved in the invisible college that is of interest to this study; she belonged to extensive networks across various fields, professions, and locales. A composite representation of her extensive and various networks is shown in Figure 4 Mitsuko Saito's Extensive Professional Networks She connected people from disparate networks across those boundaries. Within the diffusion process, she may be identified as both an *opinion leader* and a *cosmopolite* as introduced in Chapter Three – Theoretical Perspectives, both of which have some overlapping with Gladwell's three types.

As the *opinion leader* she was, Saito constantly used her social networks to gather and disseminate information and to connect people. One of the best examples of that characteristic was the action she took to organize the 1972 conference and to bring in scholars and others from a variety of fields to participate, all because she knew them. Saito was also an innovator and lover of the new, other characteristics of opinion leaders. Those traits were evident in her teaching methods such as use of the *hōshū no tama* (refer to Figure 1) in her classes and her insatiable curiosity about many topics (also a trait of the connector). She was ahead of her time as the one of only a few women to study abroad and the first to obtain a degree in speech, a virtually unknown area of study in Japan at that time. Another characteristic of not being a technical expert goes along with her not conducting studies or publishing findings. Her strength was to connect people and often assisted them with their research studies and publishing. She assisted Barnlund and Condon with their careers and publishing, and her many students who later entered

academia, among them Yashiro, Kondo, and Imahori.[194]Former students knew they could call her years later to ask for her introduction for a career move and she would have several ideas for them.

Certainly Saito was a *cosmopolite,* someone who belongs to more than one network, gathers information from a variety of groups, and acts as a channel of new information to all the groups to which they belong, As a cosmopolite, she belonged to far flung networks outside her area of specialization and she traveled widely. These traits are similar to those belonging to a connector. Being a cosmopolite alone was one of Saito's most valuable characteristics (Rogers, 2003, pp. 290-291) during the early days of introducing Intercultural Communication. For example, she knew and kept in touch with Dean Barnlund whom she had met at Northwestern and brought him to Japan.

As a professor at ICU, she was involved in academic conferences both in and outside Japan. Some of the associations she belonged to were noted in an earlier section, but her interests were broad and in addition she belonged to the Mirai Gakkai (World Future Society) and the Harvard University Negotiation Project. For some years, she hosted a regular program on the NHK educational channel introducing communication topics to the general public. Throughout her career, she ran an interpreting school and trained future interpreters. She also ran a business for conference organizing and translation services until the end of her life. On top of all of those professions, she handled the media exposure and press relations for her politician husband and served his constituents in Kyushu.

An example told by Condon that she told to him illustrates her movement among extensive networks. "There was a time, she told me, after a long faculty meeting…people

had been debating back and forth about the Mombushō (Ministry of Education) and that the Mombushō wants this and that, and she said, 'I finally had to leave because I had invited the Minister of Education for dinner and I had to go home to prepare'."

The American scholars who were invited by Saito to teach at ICU brought with them their perspectives, teaching styles, theories, texts, and models. They mentored many students, some of whom entered into Intercultural scholarship. Others used their Intercultural education in the business world, for interpreting, in government or NGO positions. Figure 5 Line of American Scholars Invited to Teach at ICU shows the professors invited by Saito to take up the position at ICU, one after the other. The time spanned 1967 to 2008, 41 years.

Barnlund came to ICU in 1967. Barnlund and Saito knew one other directly from having met at Northwestern University. Saito thought she could take advantage of ICU's policy of inviting scholars to campus for a term or during their sabbaticals. Although Barnlund stayed only a short time, one term, at the beginning, he returned to ICU many times, conducted research there, and also expanded his contacts and activities in Japan. As noted previously, Barnlund was the first instructor that Araki arranged for her CCTS workshop. He presented many times over the years. Moreover, many Japanese students chose to study at San Francisco State University because of him. Also he was a drawing card for SICC for both Japanese and non-Japanese who knew him in Japan.

Barnlund introduced his advisee, John Condon, as someone who would be interested in coming to ICU for an extended period. Indeed, he stayed there for ten years, from 1969 to 1979. That ended the Northwestern University connection although Condon, when he was finishing his dissertation at Northwestern, had met Edward Stewart when he

had come to present a lecture on his Contrast Culture method. Stewart and Condon shared an interest in values orientation that was central to Condon's dissertation. Condon invited him to join the Nihonmatsu Intercultural Communication Workshop in 1974 so that at that time Stewart and Saito met. Barnlund also participated at Nihonmatsu.

When Condon was thinking about who he could introduce to replace him, he thought of Stewart; he had observed that Stewart and Saito had gotten along well at the Workshop. Stewart was interested; Saito agreed and arranged for Stewart to come to ICU. He arrived in 1980 and stayed until 1989. Stewart's background was in experimental psychology. He was active in SIETAR Japan although he did not take a leadership position and he gave workshops for CCTS both during his stay and later during visits. He also visited Japan to participate in several Makuhari/British Hills Seminars; he had known Kume while he was a student at the University of Minnesota and Kume translated his book, *American Cultural Patterns*. He returned to Japan as a Visiting Professor to the University of Nagoya in 1999. During that period, he conducted many study workshops and assisted with the major workshop for SIETAR Japan on the Contrast Culture Method (more details were discussed above).

Stewart did not recommend anyone to succeed him. Stewart enjoyed teaching at ICU but almost immediately the relationship with Saito deteriorated. He was also critical of how the university (all Japanese universities) operated, by having a very personal master-apprentice type of arrangement with circles of professors surrounded by graduate students and junior faculty. Unlike in the United States, it is the practice at Japanese universities to hire graduates to continue teaching and researching under their professor at the same university.

Condon had visited Japan and ICU several times over the years and always kept in touch with Saito and others at ICU. ICU was about to undergo a major reorganization and the administration thought of having Condon come to teach again, this time as a senior scholar within the new International Studies Division.[195]By this time, Condon was teaching at the University of New Mexico and although he thought he would enjoy being at ICU for a short time, he could not commit to many years and he could not go immediately.

Condon recommended Jacqueline Wasilewski as a candidate to take the position. Condon had met her through SIETAR (USA) conferences. Wasilewski was interested, but there was uncertainly about when exactly she could come; the arrangements and official paperwork were expected to take a long time. Therefore, Condon also arranged to go ICU[196] in the early 1990s, but Wasilewski had already arrived in late 1990. Her position was in the newly formed International Studies Division, which interestingly lasted until her retirement in 2008 when ICU reorganized again. Therefore, Condon's second time at ICU, as Visiting Professor, overlapped with Wasilewski's period.

Fortunately, Saito had met Wasilewski some years earlier because Saito was very active in SIETAR (USA) and served on its Governing Council for years. That line of connection is shown in the figure labeled SIETAR between Saito and Wasilewski. Wasilewski had attended Council meetings as an observer as soon as she became involved with SIETAR after 1976 and then came onto the Council herself. They had met again in 1989 when Saito was on her way to Harvard for a Negotiating Project meeting and stopped in Washington, D.C. to visit the Americans For Indian Opportunity (AIO)

office where Wasilewski worked at the time to find out what they were doing in conflict resolution.

Wasilewski, already active in SIETAR (USA), joined SIETAR Japan and became very active. She served in several leadership positions and was on the steering committee for most of the years she was in Japan. She became President-Elect of SIETAR International in 1994. SIETAR International was based in Washington, D.C. and had become the umbrella organization for all the SIETARs around the world. The top office was a six-year commitment so that she was President-Elect for 1994 to 1996, President from 1996 to 1998, and Past-President from 1998 to 2000. That she became president-elect in 1996 meant that the timing was right for SIETAR Japan to host the 24th International Congress in 1998. Through her world-wide SIETAR connections, she persuaded many Americans and Europeans to attend.

Wasilewski outstayed all her predecessors and retired in 2008 after 17 years. Saito was no longer there to assist in an arrangement for Wasilewski's successor, but she was responsible for keeping the line going for 41 years. Although ICU searched for a suitable replacement, as of Wasilewski's retirement no one had been hired. Wasilewski thought it possible that a replacement from Asia would be found and that would be appropriate given the changing geopolitical world and Japan's place in it.

Although the relationship with the United States is still important, Japan's relationships with its Asian neighbors are also important. Many more Chinese and other Asian students have come to ICU in recent years either for short exchanges or for degree study. It is possible to view this end of the line of invited American scholars as an indication of the strong presence and influence of American scholars[197] in the

development of the Intercultural field coming to an end. In that way, this end of an era coincides with the maturing of the field and the reframing that is going on within the field in Japan that will be discussed in Chapter Six.

Before moving on to the next topic, taking a look again at the more complex Figure 9 The Invisible College Depicting Central Figures and Generations (Invisible College – Generations), there are two other names connected to ICU to note. Both are Japanese professors. Yoshikazu Hongo, having had a long career in interpreting, joined ICU several years ago and took the position that Saito used to hold. As he took the position years after Saito left ICU, his line of connection to her is shown in white.

Richiko Ikeda has a critical theory or cultural studies approach to her research and teaching of Intercultural Communication topics since her return from the University of Oklahoma and joining the ICU faculty in 1995. She is very active in CAJ as she feels her approach differs from the SIETAR Japan membership scholarship. A comment about her approach will be presented in Chapter Six – Conclusions.

In addition, it is easy to see in Figure 9 that Ishii was connected to Saito. He contacted her before going to study in the United States in the 1960s and asked for her advice on where to go. She recommended Northwestern so he applied to Northwestern. After returning to Japan, Saito arranged for him to teach Public Communication class sections as a part-time instructor. Ishii met Condon while at Northwestern and once they were both in Japan, they met often. These are some specific examples of the near-peer, colleague, type of relationship within the interpersonal channels in the invisible college. These are specific examples of how and where these individuals met one another and the

collaborations they conducted together; there were many such collegial relationships that started through meetings at the venues for exchange.

Some of the individuals in Figure 5 Line of American Scholars Invited to Teach at ICU may be identified as central figures for the introduction and development of the Intercultural Communication field in Japan. For the introductory period of Intercultural Communication, in addition to Saito, Barnlund, despite his relatively short times in Japan, and Condon played key roles. For the development stages and events of Intercultural Communication, Stewart and Wasilewski played key roles although Saito and Condon continued to be involved.

Japanese Study for Higher Degrees in the United States

Japanese with an interest in something resembling Intercultural Communication and seeking a higher degree sought an opportunity to study in the United States. Figure 2 Places Where Educated Outside Japan (shown earlier in this chapter) shows the universities where most of the individuals who were informants for this study studied for their higher degrees. Some individuals were on exchange programs or obtained their undergraduate degrees outside Japan also, but this graphic does not address that. This figure is intended to demonstrate the breadth of the array of university choices of the central figures and informants for this study. It is clear that all Japanese did not follow each other to one or two universities even though they had similar interests. Rather than asking other Japanese where to study, among the informants only Ishii said he asked Saito, others found their own way and often it was a matter of scholarship opportunities or where their application was accepted.

The arrows on the figure are intended to indicate whether the individual was a student by an outward pointing arrow or a professor by an inward pointing arrow. For example, looking at Northwestern University, Saito was a student, Barnlund was a student and then a professor, and Hall was a professor. The length of the arrows for people at the same university is intended to indicate generation. For example, Toyama, Sueda, and Torikai graduated from universities in the United Kingdom, but Toyama attended in the 1960s and that is indicated by a short arrow; Sueda attended in the 1990s, Torikai obtained her degree recently so their arrow lines are longer.

Although the emphasis of this figure is on the Japanese scholars, it also indicates Americans who were early key figures and associated with some of the places where Japanese key figures also studied, for example, Hall, Barnlund and Condon. However, Clarke at Stanford University was not included. Note also that Barnlund and Condon are shown twice as they changed schools and attracted Japanese students to attend those places. Other Americans for example, connected with the University of Minnesota, who have been involved with the development of Intercultural Communication in Japan through, for example, CCTS workshops, are indicated with parentheses around their names; more details about them will be the following section.[198]

One scholar who was not an informant, Yoshitaka Miike, was included and is shown as a graduate of the University of New Mexico. He is presently teaching at the University of Hawaii but may some day return to Japan to teach. Before going to the United States, he studied under Ishii. Despite being in the United States, Miike has continued his adviser's research in being critical of the American-centric foundation for Intercultural Communication and suggesting a Japanese or Asian approach. Generally,

the figure indicates some passage of time through the generations from the top to the bottom but it is not exact. Also, it will be noted that two of the informants studied in the United Kingdom.

It will also be noted that one key figure, Gyo Furuta, is not shown in this figure. The reason for that is that Furuta came into the Intercultural field via his work on the Kodansha Encyclopedia after he returned to Japan after studying abroad for a long time in both the United States and Europe but in an unrelated field, European medieval religious thinkers and translations of some of their works. After his retirement from KUIS, and a career in Intercultural Communication for nearly 20 years, Furuta returned to his earlier research endeavors. Kunihiro was included in the graphic as a graduate of the University of Hawaii. He was instrumental in bringing Hall's *The Silent Language* to Japanese. However, an informant not found to be within the mainstream of Intercultural Communication development in Japan, Mushakoji, was not included in this graphic.

Many informants remembered when they first heard of the term *intercultural communication*. Generally, it was when they were studying at a university and came across it through a book such as by Hall, through a professor, or through an assignment. Even before hearing about Intercultural Communication, the informants had an idea of what they wanted to study and searched for what would fulfill their purpose. They found a variety of departments and programs including linguistics, English literature, speech communication, rhetoric, Teaching English as a Second Language, counseling, comparative literature, and others.

Until the late 1970s, the yen to the dollar exchange rate made travel and study to the United States very expensive for Japanese. Even so, beginning with Saito as

described earlier, some people were able to find a way to go to an American university. Informants from the earlier years had not, of course, heard of something called Intercultural Communication that could be studied. Although no degree was yet offered in it, a few professors were teaching Intercultural Communication courses or a course with some Intercultural content at their universities. Some of those professors and universities will be discussed below.

Influential Americans in the United States. The meaning of this heading title is that there were American scholars and professors who were indirectly influential in the development of the Intercultural Communication field in Japan by the fact that they taught and advised Japanese who then returned to Japan and have been very involved in the field in Japan. Some of those identified scholars are shown in parentheses. Americans who studied at those same universities and either taught many Japanese later or came to Japan periodically, Janet Bennett is one example, are also shown in parentheses.

I already discussed how Saito and Ishii went to Northwestern University. Saito came to know Barnlund there. Ishii studied under Condon while there. Kume chose to study at the University of Minnesota in the 1970s where William Howell was one of the first professors in the United States to teach Intercultural Courses. While there, Kume also studied with Stewart who was there as a Visiting Professor and later Kume translated Stewart's book. Chizuko Tezuka also attended the University of Minnesota but about a decade after Kume and to study psychology and counseling. She returned to Japan to teach at Keio University and be involved in advising international students. Two other scholars, Shoji Mitarai and Toshio Kobayashi, went to the University of Portland in the

1970s and studied with LaRay Barna, a pioneer of teaching Intercultural Communication in the United States who is still active at SIIC.

Venues for Exchange

The third topic to be discussed is places that provided venues for exchange among scholars thereby supporting formal and informal contact within the invisible college. The exchange of ideas occurs at sponsoring venues such as universities, academic associations, and other institutions within conferences, meetings, and seminars. This aspect of the diffusion process within the invisible college is so important that without it, diffusion could not proceed.

Venues for exchange enable individuals to find one another, discuss, collaborate, and further their own and their discipline's body of knowledge. Venues provide the means of contact and communication. Even in this age of email and other electronic ways to stay in contact with others or even to hold virtual meetings, there is no substitute for periodic face-to-face meetings and sharing of experience within a structured format that also provides free time for sharing and brain-storming. Hall, the founder of Intercultural Communication, who named the field, uncovered his major concepts through observations day after day and daily freewheeling conversations with colleagues at the FSI. Discussing ideas with others is one of the best ways to advance knowledge.

Universities by region. Figure 10 Universities by Region in the Invisible College represents the names of universities where individual scholars who were informants for this study have taught or are now teaching courses in Intercultural Communication.[199] Some of these institutions also have departments, divisions, and even programs in Intercultural Communication. Figure 10 also categorizes all of these universities by

region of Japan. To see the regions of Japan, refer to Appendix C Map of Japan Showing Regions. Naturally, the largest population center, Metropolitan Tokyo, has the highest number. However, this mapping is a conscious attempt to avoid being too Tokyo-centric. As I chose to include only those universities where informants have taught or are teaching, this is a representation of universities that recognize the field to some extent although there may be others that do not appear in this graphic.

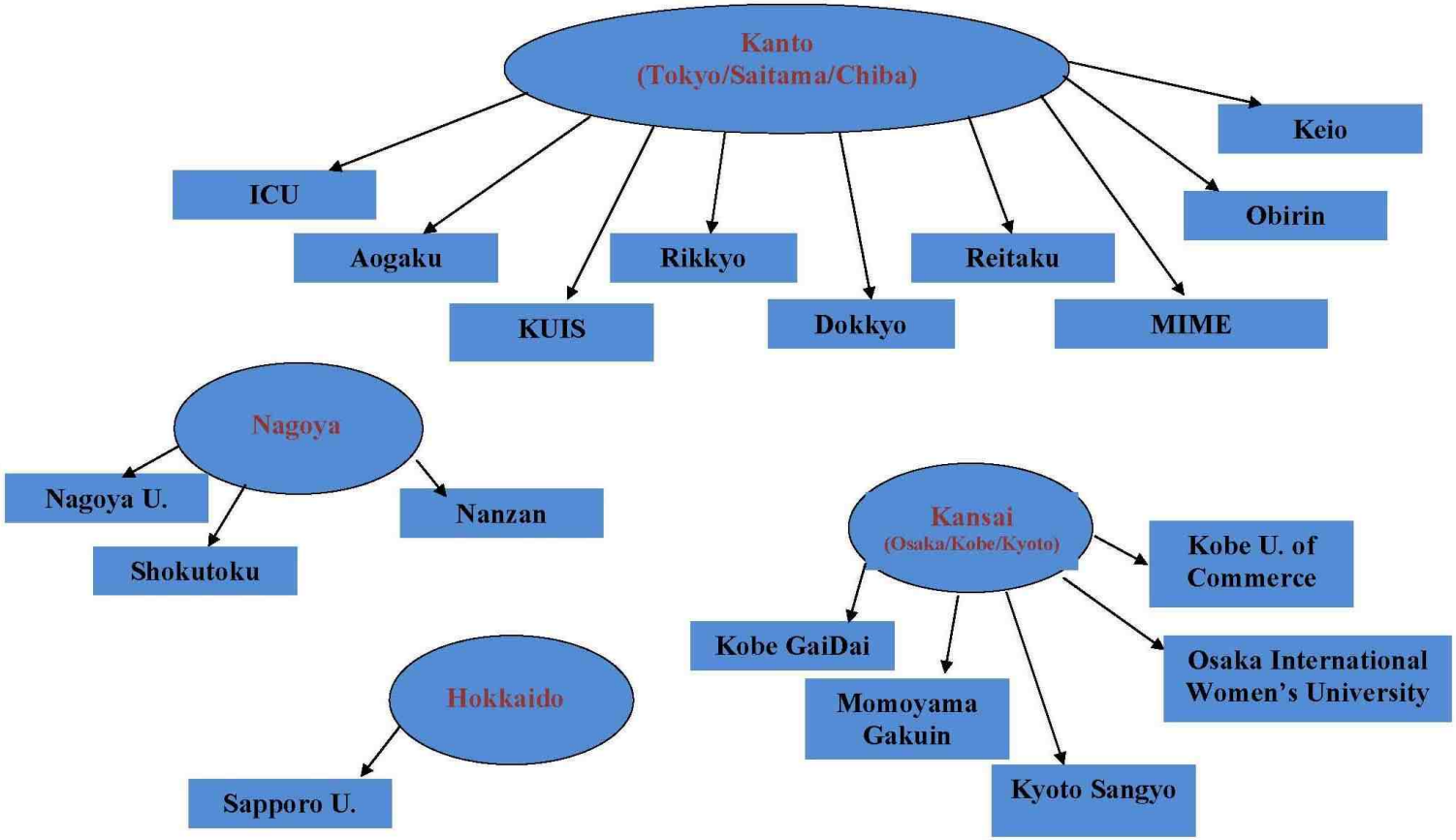


Figure 10. Universities by Region in the Invisible College

Note: Some nicknames or shortened names of universities are used. These are well-known nicknames in Japan. The point of this figure is to demonstrate the numbers of universities where Intercultural scholars have been teaching. Some of the universities shown here are discussed in the study as places of innovation, venues for conferences and other exchange, and institutionalization of the Intercultural Communication discipline.

This figure clearly shows that at this point in time, considerable institutionalization of Intercultural Communication has occurred. That in turn is a strong indication of the maturation of the field. This number and variety also demonstrates that the field is on a growth trajectory and on its way to sustainability. Some of these universities have been highlighted in the text above in relation to major developments in the development of Intercultural Communication such as ICU, KUIS, and Rikkyo University (refer to Table 3 Major Events in the Development of Intercultural Communication in Japan). To cross reference what universities informants are associated with, refer to Table 1 Central Figures of the Four Generations. The professors associated with these institutions have 1) taught courses or content in Intercultural Communication, 2) established and helped to lead the academic associations (*gakkai*), 3) collaborated on publishing projects conferences, workshops, etc., and 4) mentored students

Whereas the earliest courses with Intercultural content were taught by professors who were able to choose their own content for their seminar or other courses, starting with Saito, as time passed, courses titled Intercultural Communication and its related specializations such as Nonverbal Communication, Communicating Across Cultures, etc., came to be offered within the curriculum. Then, departments, divisions and even programs at the graduate level were created. The latter was explicated for Rikkyo University's graduate programs that as of 2008 became the College of Intercultural Communication.

The movement and growth has a self-perpetuating effect; if charted it would follow the diffusion curve. As individual professors offer courses, students are attracted to them; in turn, university administrators notice and formally offer courses with the title

that in turn attracts more student interest. The interest spirals until somewhere a university makes the leap to offer a degree, even a graduate degree in Intercultural Communication. It will be interesting to see if any other university decides to offer an advanced degree in Intercultural Communication and what its specialization would be compared to Rikkyo's program.

University venues. Another function of universities is to offer their venues for conferences, meetings, workshops, and other formats for exchange. Refer to Figure 11 University Venues in Metropolitan Tokyo for Intercultural Communication Exchange. This figure shows only universities in Metropolitan Tokyo. As discussed earlier, most conferences are held in the Tokyo (Kanto) region.[200]It was not evident from the research that any regional university emerged as a significant venue. Some of those occasions have been highlighted above, such as ICU hosting the 1972 and 1976 first conferences ever to focus on Intercultural Communication and Rikkyo hosting the 2005 SIETAR Japan 20th anniversary conference. For those two early conferences of 1972 and 1976 held at ICU, a look at the names of the prominent, or soon to be prominent, individuals in the list within the published proceedings is evidence of the superior level of innovative presentations and important exchanges that transpired. Condon talked at length about some of the encounters and meetings that occurred at the 1972 conference and resulted in collaborations of many kinds within lifelong relationships. Bennett talked about her own transformational turning point that happened because she was there as detailed earlier. Clarke talked about how the 1972 conference inspired him to organize the 1974 Nihonmatsu Workshop. Many of the encounters among students with established scholars or with other participants can only be imagined.

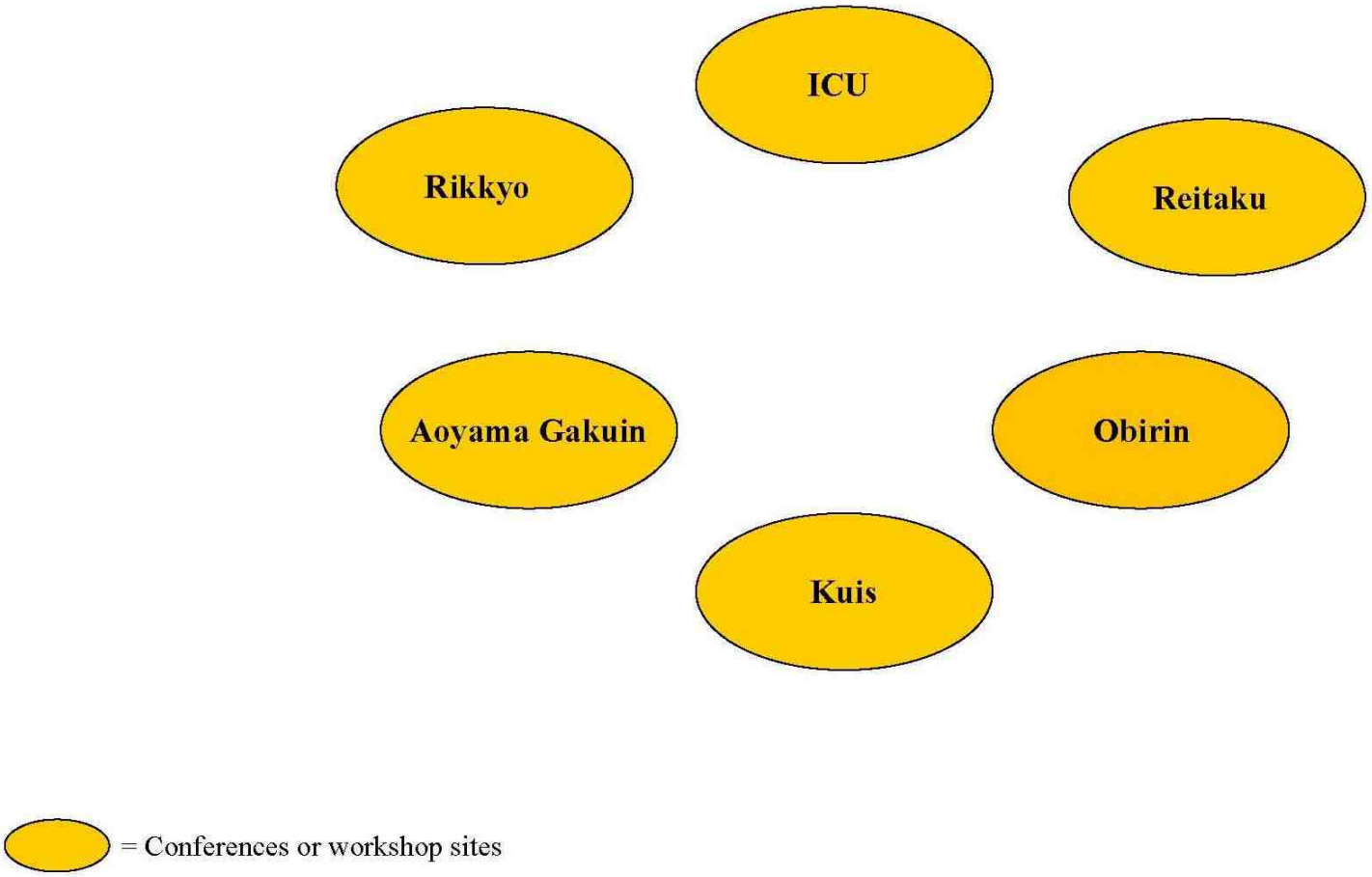


Figure 11. **University Venues in Metropolitan Tokyo for Intercultural Communication Exchange**

SIETAR Japan always needs a venue for its regular meetings and its annual conferences. Aoyama Gakuin (Aogaku) provided space during the time Hayashi was president; Reitaku University supports SIETAR Japan by allowing it to use its central Tokyo space and also provided the campus space for the 1998 International Congress that included a dining hall, performance spaces, and a guesthouse. That started from the time Yashiro was president of SIETAR Japan in the mid-1990s. Obirin University has hosted other SIETAR Japan annual conferences due to Araki's position and during the time she was president of the organization. Rikkyo University provided the space for the 20th anniversary conference of SIETAR Japan in 2005 at the time Nagata was finishing her term as president, with the support of Kume and Torikai who was asked to be the keynote speaker. All of them were faculty in the graduate program for Intercultural Communication Studies. These venues were all made possible due to the leaders affiliation with the respective institution.

Academic associations do not have large budgets. Without the generosity of the universities, it would not be possible to hold conferences because hotel space is too expensive. At some points in SIETAR Japan's history, other community spaces have been used for either a nominal fee or free of charge. Other *gakkai* such as Tabunka Kankei (JSMR) must also make arrangements for space. Rikkyo established its own gakkai, RICS, for faculty, graduates, and current students of its Intercultural Communication College plus any other interested individuals and provides rooms for its meetings and annual conferences.

There are other regularly scheduled meetings and conferences scheduled by organizations that are for profit and not-for-profit business. For example, other venues

have been found at I-House, the commonly used name for International House (Bunka Kaikan) in the center of Tokyo, for CCCTS workshops.

University leadership. An important point about the history of development is to consider the role of three major universities and how their involvement has shifted through the decades. First, ICU was the major venue of support and teaching. As a new university, it was open to new ideas and had a policy in place that allowed invitation of overseas scholars to teach for short times. Saito used that policy to invite Barnlund to come to teach for one term. Then, she arranged for Condon to come for a ten-year period. The two groundbreaking conferences of 1972 and 1976 were held at ICU.

In the 1980s, another new university, Kanda University of International Studies, KUIS, was conceived and established. As a new university, it also was open to new ideas and even depended on Furuta, an individual with an unorthodox background, to envision the new curriculum and structure. KUIS was unique in its emphasis on Intercultural Communication, even requiring all students to take that course. Its Institute for Intercultural Communication became the center and sponsor of many offerings that advanced the field in the 1990s. It was Furuta, based at KUIS, who standardized and used the Japanese term of choice Ibunka Komyunikeishon for all naming and therefore its diffusion was assured. Furuta and Kume, faculty at KUIS, were central figures in the invisible college.

Then, in the 2000s, Kume left KUIS and went to Rikkyo where he and others conceived and implemented the first graduate program in Intercultural Communication. Thereupon, Rikkyo University appeared to become the leading university in the field. ICU's last invited American scholar, Wasilewski, retired and left Japan in 2008. KUIS

changed its focus as an institution after Kume left so it no longer leads in the Intercultural Communication realm. It will be interesting to see how Rikkyo carries forward its leadership and whether other universities will emerge as leaders.

An informal group. Another group called the Japan Intercultural Institute (JII) was started by Joseph Shaules (affiliated with Rikkyo University) a few years ago, meets regularly and just held its first conference in October of 2009. This organization is not a *gakkai*; it is more like a study group. Its purpose is to provide a setting where various topics of interest about culture and intercultural relations can be discussed. Sometimes the group enjoys a seasonal field trip or invites a speaker. JII provides an ideal informal venue for people, both Japanese and non-Japanese, to find out about and discuss topics of interest. Sometimes the topics are very practical such as work related; other times discussion is about a cultural pattern or to have a Japanese cultural experience with the group. Not formal like a *gakkai*, not like a friendship society of which there are still many, JII fits in that in-between place and seems to serve a need for many people, especially those who are working in fields where they must practice Intercultural skills for success. JII has diffused Intercultural concepts to non-specialists.

Shaules was an informant for this study; his original background was in TOEFL, but he has had a deep interest in Intercultural Communication for years and has also experienced living and working in several cultures. He published a book *Deep Culture: The Hidden Challenges of Global Living* in 2007 that he described as being " a direct extension of Hall's teachings and ideas" (personal communication, July 22, 2009). Shaules also developed an instrument, PICO Profiler, for discovering deep culture and one's own attitudes towards interacting with people from other cultural backgrounds.

Three academic associations. The last part of this section is to point out the major academic associations for exchange of knowledge. Refer to Figure 12 Three Important Academic Associations – *Gakkai* showing the three most important academic associations for Intercultural Communication; all are official *gakkai* in Japan. (They all have open membership; for JSMR and CAJ, participation is open to anyone sufficiently proficient in Japanese.) Surrounding each of the three associations are the names of individuals, all informants, which indicate those individuals have been or are leaders of that *gakkai*.

The three *gakkai* are: SIETAR Japan shown in the center with its Nagoya/Chūbu affiliate and Kansai Chapter shown to either side. (Refer to Appendix C Map of Japan Showing Regions) SIETAR Japan was established in 1985, the Kansai Chapter in 1991, and the Nagoya/Chūbu members, already a study group, decided to became an affiliate in the mid-1990s. SIETAR Japan was originally a branch of the organization in the United States. Coinciding with the time SIETAR International reorganized in order to reduce American dominance around the world, in 1998, SIETAR Japan applied to become an official Japanese *gakkai* under the name Ibunka Komyunikeishon Gakkai. However, SIETAR Japan attempts to have a balance of Japanese and English in all its programs and publications.

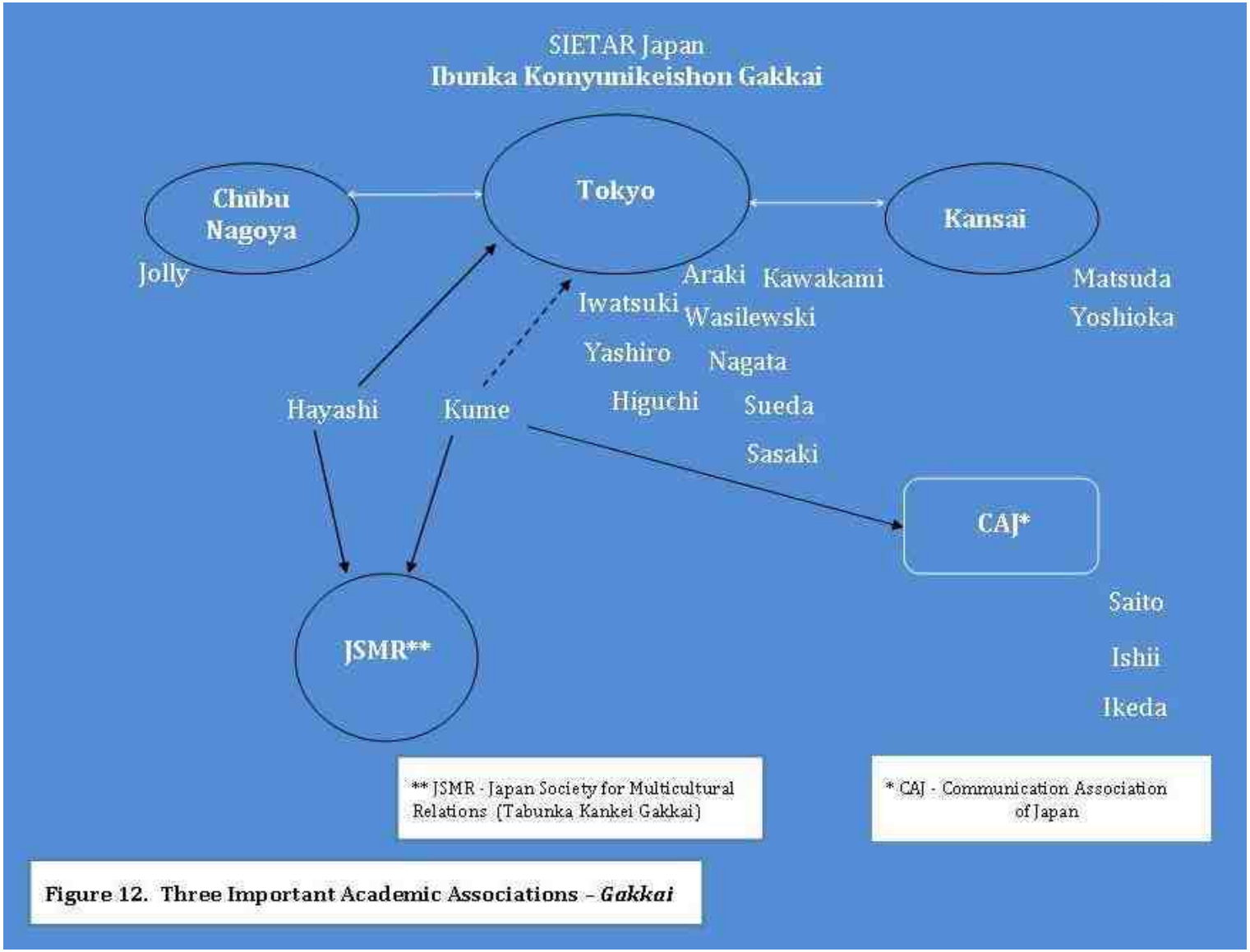


Figure 12. Three Important Academic Associations – *Gakkai*

On the bottom left of the figure is JSMR (Tabunka Kankei Gakkai), established in 2002. On the bottom right is CAJ. CAJ is not specifically focused on Intercultural Communication, but as was noted in a section above, it is the oldest communication association, established 1971, in this iteration since 1985. It has a division that focuses on Intercultural Communication, and many members of SIETAR Japan and JSMR are also members of CAJ. Some scholars within Intercultural Communication prefer the CAJ format. There is a lot of overlapping for all three memberships among Japanese. Although there are other *gakkai* that Intercultural scholars may belong to and attend their conferences (some of them were noted in passages above), these three are most representative of where Intercultural scholars belong.

Looking at this mapping, Kume and Hayashi stand out as central figures. This graphic representation illustrates relationships among scholars in the invisible college who have been and are closely connected through their leadership roles. Note that being an active leader in more than one of the three associations is indicated by converging lines to their names.[201] Kume and Hayashi are shown connected to more than one organization. Hayashi has led both SIETAR Japan and JSMR. Kume has led or been instrumental in all three associations. The dotted line between Kume and SIETAR Japan indicates that Kume has not had a leadership position but has been involved and a participant.

Of the three, SIETAR Japan, in addition to scholars, welcomes corporate trainers, business consultants, and other interested persons for membership although in recent years their number has decreased as the number of scholars has increased. Many of the leaders names are shown in Figure 12 Three Important Academic Associations – *Gakkai*.

Some have already been mentioned such as Yashiro, Araki, Hayashi, and Nagata who have been president of SIETAR Japan and Wasilewski who was president of SIETAR International during the time she was in Japan.

In addition, Kazuko Iwatsuki was very active in the early years. Yoshiko Higuchi has been active in many positions for many years and also has experience living in many countries as she followed her husband's corporate assignments. She has used her Intercultural expertise and curiosity at the local level in Viet Nam and Nepal by cultivating opportunities for small businesses to link with businesses or markets in Japan, and also to initiate student exchanges. Kiyoko Sueda taught outside Tokyo in Hokkaido for some years and then returned to Tokyo. She was placed in the Heisei Generation and in more recent years has begun to take leadership positions in SIETAR Japan. Some of the main figures in SIETAR Japan regional chapters are also named: Yukiko Jolly in Nagoya and Yoko Matsuda and Miho Yoshioka in Kansai.[202]

Many of the other informants have been active members of one or more of these organizations; they are the near-peers, the colleagues, who attend, present, and assist in other ways to support these associations. Their number has been growing. Peers are *homophilous*, with similar attitudes, interests, and backgrounds. Within the interpersonal channels in the invisible college, the "transfer of ideas occurs most frequently between two individuals who are similar, or homophilous" (Rogers, 2003, p.19).

And as activities unfolded, proximity for better exchange added to their influence. I identified clusters of peer colleagues in the invisible college such as the textbook collaborators and leaders of SIETAR Japan, which have continued for years. As colleagues meet and collaborate, they advance knowledge through exchange of

information and form alliances around new ideas. As their number grows, they establish more venues and opportunities for exchange thereby creating a virtuous cycle. The near-peers contribute momentum towards the eventual institutionalization of a new discipline.

One other point is that all of the individuals surrounding SIETAR Japan, except Hayashi and Kume, are women. Intercultural Communication has been and continues to be a predominately female discipline. The majority of members in SIETAR Japan and the majority of scholars in the field are female. The majority of students studying it at all degree levels is also female. The Rikkyo program is headed by a woman. The Rikkyo program attempts to gender balance the students admitted to the Intercultural degree programs, but receives more applications from women.

Channels of Exchange

The fourth, and last, topic to be addressed here is the channels of exchange such as journals, books, and workshops that serve to distribute and diffuse ideas among scholars with common research interests within the invisible college. This is another type of channel of exchange; rather than the venue, this type is the material or the data itself which is packaged in some way, for example through the printed word, presentations, interactive workshops, or other forms of media.

In giving examples of developments through the generational periods, I already referenced some of these channels of exchange. Some examples of the printed word are the series of textbooks introducing Intercultural Communication (refer to Table 4 Textbook Series Authored by Japanese Scholars), the SIETAR Japan Journal with balanced content in both Japanese and English, books authored by Americans, translations of books by Americans, and books, both textbooks and topic books, by both

Japanese and Americans. Refer to Table 3 Major Events in the Development of Intercultural Communication in Japan to pinpoint the years of the many firsts and when ongoing channels started. Refer to the four Figures 3, 6, 7, and 8 to view the Timelines for the four historical periods and the Intercultural developments that occurred within each of those contexts.

Examples of presentations include those given by scholars and students at the 1972 and 1976 ICU conferences. Although the proceedings are not available, before those conferences would have been numerous lectures and presentations given by Saito, Barnlund, and Condon for students and various audiences from the academy and business. Through the years, many presentations have been given at meetings, conferences, and other venues. Some of those have also been published. An example of a presentation that was later published is Barnlund's presentation on his pioneering work regarding comparison of public and private space between Japanese and Americans. He gave his first presentation on that research at the 1972 conference.

Examples of interactive workshops abound. The experiential method being used to teach and explain content was pioneered and structured by Stewart and a few other Americans for early training. For example, at every conference, many meetings, and many special workshops, SIETAR Japan members have been introduced to American-created role plays and simulations, original role plays and simulations, and asked to create their own role plays and simulations to produce a way to understand a concept, a mindset, or to induce change of behavior or perception. Some of these methods and results have been published; others have not. One example is the Contrast Culture interactive performance, part presentation – part workshop, that people have participated

in, sometimes with Stewart and other times without him. Stewart and others also conducted seminars and workshops through the CCTS sponsorship that created the venue and opportunity. Most of the well known and lesser-known simulations have been included in SIETAR Japan schedules of programs so that there is a lot of familiarity with the same ones that SIETAR International members would know and also some that are Japan-based and created.

Other forms of media that act as channels to carry the exchanges would include videos, movies, television programs, and more recently all of the media channels available for use on the Internet. An example from a British Hills Zemi was the closed circuit television hook-up that connected some Zemi participants with Australian students for discussion. Thinking about television programs, assigning a program viewing as a class project has been used by many instructors including myself. Movie viewing has also been used for many assignments as part of a lesson plan. Also, many individuals in the invisible college have appeared on television frequently or regularly. In the 1980s, living in Kansai (Osaka – Kyoto – Kobe), I was asked to appear on television frequently. I did not have my own program however. Saito, Kunihiro and Torikai all hosted educational programs that conveyed information about communication for the general public. Shaules also was a regular contributor to a television program on English conversation.

Conditions for an Invisible College Fulfilled

The role of the invisible college was the topic for Research Question III. Throughout this section dimensions of the interpersonal relationships within the invisible college were mapped and described to reveal the findings from this research. Evidence for the development of an invisible college that facilitated the introduction, development,

and diffusion of the Intercultural Communication discipline in Japan was found. To respond to Research Question III, the focus in this section was on the interpersonal links among people, how those links were facilitated among them, and examples of the types of exchange that occurred. For summarizing the qualities and features of the of the invisible college of scholars in Japan, I refer again to Figure 9 The Invisible College Depicting Central Figures and Generations (Invisible College – Generations) for a holistic view of the findings.

Four Necessary Factors

By segmenting several aspects of the invisible college, it was possible to document the necessary proximity, long-lasting relationships, and opportunities for exchange that generated the development of the invisible college. In addition to these necessary factors for successful formation of an invisible college (Crane, 1972), the other necessary factor is new challenges for scholars to solve (Rogers, 2003). There were clearly new challenges in the Postwar Period and challenges continue to the present time in Japan. The four critical questions that Japanese faced and continue to face were identified as Japan's place in the world, identity, and how to deal with Americans and other foreigners through language and behavior. The contextual details were discussed in the first two sections of this chapter. These challenges have continued to evolve throughout the decades and are still challenging Japanese at the present time. Therefore, all the conditions necessary for the early formation of an invisible college were present and then found to be ongoing.

The invisible college started as described by Crane (1972), a starting point of informal, interpersonal relationships using informal channels of communication.

Eventually, institutionalization gradually took take place as scholars with similar interests and questions found one another through the opportunities for exchange and venues provided for exchange. Focus in this section was on four mappings of links in the invisible college. I detailed aspects of links among individuals and the respective institutions including Americans in Japan and Japanese studying abroad. Then I turned attention to the two aspects of channels of exchange, venue and medium, were detailed and explained. Each aspect was illustrated with one or more corresponding graphic illustrations.

The invisible college started from the time that Saito, with her many qualities that contributed to its formation, invited American scholars to ICU. Many Japanese scholars were drawn in and the invisible college advanced so that at the present time it is robust and dynamic, likely to continue. A summary of how the necessary conditions and characteristics of an invisible college correspond to those identified in the invisible college in this study follows.

Six Characteristics

To return to the six characteristics essential for an invisible college as discussed by Crane (1972), all of these were fulfilled by the invisible college for Intercultural Communication in Japan. The first characteristic regarding central figures is that for this invisible college there have been several central figures and many other supporting individuals rather than a formal leader. Each of the central figures has had numerous people surrounding him or her, has been linked to other networks, and has had links that proceeded through generations. Refer to Figure 9 The Invisible College Depicting Central Figures and Generations (Invisible College – Generations) If this study's perspective

were to shift focus to the training area of Intercultural Communication, a different picture with other central figures might emerge.

Hall was placed at the top of the graphic Figure 9 as the founder of the field and the source of early concepts that informed the paradigm of Intercultural Communication. Hall was linked to his own invisible colleges and networks, not illustrated here. As can be observed in this figure, Saito stands out as a central figure. I identified her as the first central figure and most influential for many years. In addition, Furuta, Kume, and Ishii are also revealed as central figures. Torikai is emerging as a central figure because of her role as dean of the (now) College of Intercultural Communication at Rikkyo University. If a follow-up graphic were produced in the near future, Torikai and perhaps others would be shown to be central figures. Therefore, it is important to keep in mind the timeframe of all of these graphics and that the passage of time has effects. Following is a detailed account of the findings for each of the characteristics.

Linkage among central figures (number one). Whether the key figures know one another and maintain communication with one another through both formal and informal means is a critical element of an invisible college as it is this feature that connects all the members of an invisible college (Crane, 1972, p. 49). It is evident by looking at this figure that these central figures all were connected and there are examples of their formal and informal communications. Ishii knew Saito before he studied in the States; he asked for her recommendation about where to apply. Furuta, Kume, and Ishii have collaborated on the textbook series and other projects. Furuta knew Saito well during the time he taught classes as a part-time instructor at ICU in the early and middle 1980s. Kume told me he was deeply influenced by Saito's early publications. All of these individuals have

been active in CAJ for many years; Saito and Ishii have held leadership positions. Through CAJ conferences and meetings they all would have had opportunities to hear one another's presentations and to have informal discussions.

Although not members of the invisible college are shown in this figure, it is observable that individuals are connected through the central figures. It is through the main links of the central figures that respective groupings learn about new developments and share information. When I interviewed the informants, it was striking how many people referred to the same story, the same information, and chronicled the same details. This can be taken as evidence that all of those informants were well linked within the invisible college. Referring to the other graphics for this section will further illustrate and confirm the same linking through central figures.

An invisible college is not static; therefore, its features change over time. In consideration of her contributions, it may be concluded that Saito was the central figure for the early period, 1958 to 1976, of introduction and development of Intercultural Communication. Her many contributions, her pioneering innovations and spirit, and her affiliation with numerous networks have been documented above. Her influence continued until her death in 2004 although she was less active.

For later periods, 1980s through the 1990s, Furuta, Kume and Ishii may be recognized as the central figures. Furuta's major contributions in the later 1980s identify him as a central figure; he retired in 1999. Kume emerged as a central figure in the 1990s as he assumed responsibilities from Furuta for the Institute, textbooks, and Makuhari Zemi. Kume's leadership continued into the 2000s as he joined Rikkyo University in 2000 to help establish a new graduate program in Intercultural Communication and was

the principal organizer for the new association, Tabunka Kankei Gakkai (2002). Ishii, over his long career, is shown to be connected to the other central figures and was a collaborator with other key figures named in this graphic starting in the 1980s. He has also offered a new direction for the Intercultural Communication paradigm in Japan with his research starting from the early 1990s. Both Kume and Ishii recently retired; however, they may still publish research and continue involvement in academic associations. It must be noted that this graphic figure shows only one possible, static view. Other ways to segment the data for the invisible college might reveal additional pictures; however, the graphics shown here would not, I think, be disproved.

Many of the informants who have made major contributions and had leadership positions in SIETAR Japan, among other places, are not shown on this graphic. However, some other informants are shown on other graphics here such as Figure 12 Three Important Academic Associations – *Gakkai*. Therefore, it is essential to view these figures and consider what is revealed by each one in combination in order to understand the fuller picture of the dynamic nature of this invisible college. It is also important to mention here that it is likely other central figures are already emerging. One example is Torikai who as dean of the College of Intercultural Communication at Rikkyo University and keynote speaker for the SIETAR Japan 20th anniversary conference, and her many contacts in other networks, may be expected to be identified as leader and central figure for the continuing development of Intercultural Communication as a discipline.

Direct and indirect channels of communication (numbers two, three, four). To continue through the list of six characteristics of an invisible college, the second is that there are both direct and indirect channels of communication, the third that all individuals

do not necessarily know all others, and fourth, that it is possible to be influenced even by those not known directly. Considering these three together, it is evident that this invisible college fulfills these characteristics also. As I focused above on the two aspects of exchange through the various channels of communication, examples were given of both direct exchange such as conferences, meetings, and workshops, and indirect exchange such as printed work that includes newsletters, journals, books, and textbooks.

Another aspect of this point is the *social circles,* members of a group that communicate face-to-face (Crane, 1972), and form part of the fabric of the invisible college. Because of the number of possible opportunities for face-to-face exchange, social circles have formed. These social circles consist of scholars with similar interests as well as being based on geographical location. Intercultural Communication scholars do take advantage of all conferences, retreats, and workshops available through the various associations, organizations and SIGs. It is common to hear participants say that despite being busy and being able to use electronic means of communication, it is important to schedule in these opportunities so that they can attend the formal presentations and, very importantly, keep in contact with colleagues, especially those who live in other cities.

Although Japan is geographically small and the number of scholars within this invisible college makes it feasible to know everyone, whereas most do know one another, not all individuals have known one another. The central figures up to this point have known one another. Usually, people at least know of others and eventually most have the opportunity to meet face-to-face. However, the Millennials Generation does not and will not know some of the earlier figures except indirectly through their publications and other people's memories. It also remains to be seen how the Millennials individuals will

integrate themselves into the already established academic associations and other opportunities for exchange that have been created. The fourth characteristic has already been answered by the evidence of the number of publications that can appear in journals and newsletters, and the many books and textbooks authored by the informants in this study.

Collaboration (number five). To address the fifth characteristic regarding collaboration, throughout the documentation of the developments earlier in this chapter were examples of major collaboration, not only for publications but also for research, workshops, and organizing. The earliest example of collaboration in this text was the translation of *The Silent Language*, published in 1966, and translated by a group of three who were organized by Kunihiro. Another example of collaboration was the series of textbooks that now stands at six, first organized by Furuta and then led by Kume. That collaboration has had a core group of scholars with others brought in for each volume dependent on the topic.

An example of collaborative research and subsequent presentation and publication that I was involved with was the Media Watch group based at KUIS. The cycle of research that we followed was to decide on a topic, have everyone research it in their own countries, combine the findings, and then prepare for public presentation and publication. We followed that pattern for several topics over six years.

There have been many collaborations that have occurred for producing workshops and seminars. Many of the examples of collaborations exemplify the collaborative groups that Crane (1972) talked about. One example is the Workshop on the Contrast Culture Method given for SIETAR Japan members in 1999. I was one of the group of about ten

who studied with Stewart and then produced the workshop. We went on to produce a similar workshop for the IBC conference. Then, the SIETAR Japan SIG was formed and continues to the present time to offer opportunities for workshops and study. Condon and I collaborated to offer a workshop for the 24th Congress on Kinetic Communication that was well received; even Saito participated in that session.

One other early collaborative seminar is worth mentioning here, as it may not have any other documentation. Both Ishii and I remember attending this program. An early program of SIETAR Japan around 1986 or 1987 was to invite a panel of scholars, led by Saito, to discuss a topic of Japanese communication style that would draw an audience. The topic was *haragei*;[203] the venue was a large hotel banquet room, many attendees filled the room. The format was panel presentations and discussion followed by questions from the floor. Hayashi was also on the panel. That program drew attention to SIETAR Japan and enabled it to grow its membership and attain some legitimacy.

Another kind of collaboration has occurred for organizing and leading. SIETAR Japan's leadership, for example, progresses through a collaborative model. The two-year organizing task that led up to the successful hosting of the 24th SIETAR International Congress in Japan was an example of collaborative organizing, and all involved were volunteering their time and efforts. Certainly these collaborations would be the collaborative groups that Crane (1972) explained were the building blocks of the invisible college. Indeed, the large number of members working on the planning and organizing of the International Congress for two years solidified the interpersonal relationships among them and also served to strengthen all the channels for exchange.[204]

Advancement of knowledge (number six). To address the sixth and final characteristic regarding evidence of the growth of knowledge in the field of study, ample evidence has been exemplified in the course of this text. The number of publications, courses, academic programs, academic associations and their respective offerings, and the innovative research and materials that informants have produced over the years and continue to produce have advanced the field of study, and not only in Japan. Many of the publications and some workshops have been in English or were bilingual. Some of the members in this invisible college have been elected to academic association positions and been honored by awards. Some examples of recognition by government officials and people from other disciplines were detailed for the last period, Global Soft Power.

Conditions for Diffusion Fulfilled

The story of Intercultural Communication discipline in Japan is also the story of its diffusion. At some point in time, according to my findings it appears to be in the early 1990s, there was a tipping point when familiarity with the term itself, the numbers of scholars, membership at SIETAR Japan, numbers of courses, and Japanese publications all converged to create enough momentum that exponentially disseminated Intercultural Communication to a new level of diffusion. Several informants commented on that change; in memory it seemed to have happened quickly, seemingly from one month or year to the other.[205]

Discussion of the growth of the invisible college explained much of the way, the *how*, of the diffusion process for Intercultural Communication in response to Research Question III. Referring again to Research Questions I and II regarding why Intercultural Communication studies found a home in Japan and then developed into an

institutionalized area of study, reference to three concepts within diffusion theory is instructive and serves to connect many elements of the contextual backdrop with the progress of the field in the academy. The three concepts are relative advantage, compatibility (both attributes), and re-invention (a separate concept). These concepts were defined and discussed in Chapter Three – Theoretical Perspectives as possible explanations according to diffusion theory for why Intercultural Communication found a home in Japan soon after its introduction in the United States

Relative Advantage

Relative advantage is the degree to which an innovation is perceived as better than current practice (Rogers, 2003, p. 229). In responding to the research questions of why the new intellectual paradigm of Intercultural Communication resonated with Japanese and why the new discipline could establish in Japan, one answer is the connection to the relative advantage that was observed. That is, when compared to past ideas and practices, Intercultural Communication appeared to have better answers to meet the new challenges and societal needs of the day.

In the Postwar Period, Japanese were looking for answers after a devastating defeat. The society sought a new way forward to be on the world stage and also the best way to successfully interact with the conquerors, the Americans. In the economic realm, in order to be successful exporters, more Japanese needed language and cultural skills. Although few individuals would know anything about Intercultural Communication as a discipline for years, the context was laid for the new intellectual paradigm.

Even when few courses were offered in the United States, informants either found the few available or (refer to Figure 2 Places Where Educated Outside Japan) found a

course of study that was related to Intercultural Communication. Saito and others returned to Japan to make a difference through their course content, publications, and involvement in new academic associations. Intercultural Communication as a discipline served to offer new approaches that resonated with Japanese in terms of language, international relations, economics, and business dealings. Informants in the earlier generations were seeking something based on their interests and knowledge of the needs of society. Gradually, scholars within the invisible college facilitated the diffusion of the new intellectual paradigm as a new approach to societal needs.

Compatibility

The second attribute, *compatibility*, means the degree to which an innovation is perceived as consistent with an individual's or a society's values, past experiences, and needs (Rogers, 2003, p. 240). An innovation that is compatible with cultural values and beliefs is more likely to be readily adopted because it easily fits into the existing fabric of belief and practice. On the individual level, new adopters find it easier to adapt the new idea to their own meanings or applications. Potential adopters may not consciously realize they have a need for a particular innovation until it is presented to them.

Intercultural Communication concepts did not disrupt or oppose Japanese cultural values and beliefs. The definition itself of communication among those who are culturally different was of interest to Japanese. Japanese culture focuses on the HOW for behavior; it is procedural and practical (Stewart, 1995). The concepts such as out of awareness communication, nonverbal means of communication, and high and low context seemed to fit with Japanese worldview and values. Hall was interested in patterns,

in the power of observation, and in deductive, practical solutions, all of which resonated with Japanese patterns and practices.

Starting with Saito's focus on intercultural concepts and merging of culture with language, her ability to use intercultural concepts as the core for related topics, interpreting, intra-communication, range of communication topics, and language, set the stage for using the breadth of the paradigm. Hall, who in the beginning was searching for solutions to assist his trainees, did not present a dogmatic method. He presented a way to find solutions based on observation and agreement with existing patterns. Therefore, topics and solutions were very open-ended. The early American scholars, Barnlund and Condon, followed empirical methods for research and saw value in observing Japanese communication patterns. Intercultural Communication was not dogmatic; there was no right way.

That open quality and the concepts resonated with Japanese and made it easy to incorporate the paradigm of Intercultural Communication into Japanese ways of thinking. The Rikkyo University degree programs, each with four tracks, confirm that all the threads of the field that have proceeded from the beginning are valid and interrelated within the paradigm. Using the framework of Intercultural Communication, scholars could Japanize the concepts in meaning and application. More documentation of the adaptation, the Japanization, of Intercultural Communication, is called for from scholars with an interest in this area as the details were outside the parameters of this study. Indeed, this topic would be an Intercultural assessment.

Re-invention

Re-invention is defined in diffusion theory as the degree to which an innovation is modified by users so that it more closely matches the norms of a culture and becomes more acceptable to potential adopters (Rogers, 2003, p.17). Rogers stated three generalizations that are all relevant to the present study. The three are: "re-invention occurs at the implementation stage for many innovations and adopters, a higher degree of re-invention leads to a faster rate of adoption, and a higher degree of re-invention leads to a higher degree of sustainability" (p. 183).

Re-invention of the Intercultural Communication field in Japan occurred from the time of Saito's introduction and proceeded as Japanese applied the paradigm and concepts to the local context. Saito was described as both innovative in introducing what she had learned in the United States and traditional in that she used Japanese examples, concepts and methods. The scholars in the invisible college have blended American scholarship with Japanese thought and gradually modified the original methods and concepts of Intercultural Communication to have them become more Japanese, more relevant to the local context, a process that has intensified in recent years. Examples are the re-framing that Japanizes (localizes) the field, the movement away from the focus on Japan/U.S. comparisons, and the textbook series that turned to focus on Japanese needs. Evidence of the Japanization process is further discussed in Chapter Six -- Conclusions.

Robust, creative re-invention is part of the process of social construction (Rogers, 2003, p. 179). Re-invention may be pointed to as one reason for the accelerated diffusion of Intercultural Communication and its apparent sustainable status at this time. As

another area for research, detailed documentation of re-invention examples would add knowledge to the field and contribute to the understanding of diffusion of a paradigm.

Critical Question of Inclusion

A critical question that should be raised about the invisible college is whether any groups have been left out of it or any group or region has been marginalized. Despite my attempt to avoid being Tokyo-centric, the invisible college may still appear to be Tokyo-centered. There is one personal response and one cultural response to that question.

I did interview a number of scholars outside of Tokyo, most of the interviews arranged by my traveling to their sites. If I had not done so, most of those interviews would not have taken place. I was sensitive to including regional scholars because of my experience living in Kansai in the 1980s. I believe I included some individuals, especially outside of Tokyo, who would not have been included by others doing this study because I knew them and knew of their careers; therefore, they are included in the invisible college. Although I solicited interviews with individuals outside of Tokyo, two scholars I wanted to interview were not available during my scheduling periods. However, I listened to a presentation by one and met the other briefly at conferences (in Tokyo).

In looking over the findings such as central figures and major interpersonal relationships that fostered diffusion, it appears that most of the scholars cited for each aspect were or are in Metropolitan Tokyo (Kanto). The institutional venues and channels of exchange were also largely based in Metropolitan Tokyo.[206]Much of the reason is owing to numbers; there are far more universities and population in Metropolitan Tokyo; over ten percent of the entire population lives in Kanto.

It is also true that thinking back to all of the interviews, the individuals mentioned most often by others and therefore included within their personal networks were scholars in Tokyo. Conversely, scholars in Tokyo rarely mentioned anyone outside Tokyo. Two of the textbook authors, Okabe, based in Nagoya, and Toyama, based in Kansai, were exceptions, but they have had very long careers and it is possible that they were brought in to the core group by Kume who was originally from Kobe in Kansai.[207]

I am satisfied that the findings have told the true picture of development of the invisible college and that the list of informants reveals the major scholars in most of the regions as derived from the research.[208] A further step would be to create smaller scale invisible college branches for each region, as it is reasonable to suppose that the regional scholars have their own interpersonal networks relevant to Intercultural Communication. There surely are scholars in other regions who are teaching Intercultural Communication; however, they were not found to be central figures for the overall diffusion of the discipline. Another step in research would be to search for and interview scholars, for example, in Kyushu, and then construct their networks.

Making a point on the cultural side, everything such as universities and institutions is ranked in Japan. Tokyo, as the center of the population and all walks of life in Japan, is at the top. Regions and universities outside Tokyo are considered the hinterlands. As is the case with SIETAR Japan, an institution established in Tokyo may have regional branches. It is conceivable that even with all the electronic accessibility available now, scholars outside Tokyo have a difficult task keeping up to date with developments; they miss the continuous contact and communication that takes place informally. They attempt to overcome that deficit by attending conferences.

It is probable that someone from a regional university may not receive as much recognition as someone who belongs to a highly ranked university for their research and publications, although the specific ranking of every institution and other factors would also come into play.[209]Scholars in other parts of Japan, such as Nagoya and Kansai, have first established their own Intercultural study groups and then become affiliated with Tokyo associations. So far, the findings did not reveal a separate or island invisible college outside of Tokyo.[210]Although the gap between Tokyo and the rest of Japan is an issue in Japan, academic associations seemed to have recognized the problem to the extent that SIETAR Japan, JSMR, and CAJ regularly hold conferences at locations outside Tokyo. Although Japanese are aware of these tendencies as a fact of life, I do not think that Japanese scholars see them as impediments or worthy of critical review. However, it might be of interest to a critical scholar in Japan to respond to this question.

In addition, there is the entire question of how non-Japanese scholars within the Japanese academy and academic associations are ranked, if they are ranked at all, and whether they receive serious consideration. Compared to society and even other disciplines, Intercultural Communication is more inclusive and non-Japanese have played a big part in its development. Also scholars within it know that its antecedents are from the United States and as has been shown, most have received degrees in the United States. This is a topic that is outside the scope of this study but also one worthy of research within the Intercultural Communication field.

Summary of Invisible College Section

Before beginning this research, based on my own career in Intercultural Communication in Japan, I could identify a key network that began in the early decades

of the field at ICU. I created a single diagram that showed many of the linkages among individuals and institutions over decades for the preliminary study, largely based on my own knowledge and input from a few preliminary interviews, but I knew that the network diagram would expand in an unknowable way. Research Question III asked about the role of the invisible college, the interpersonal network of individual scholars, which facilitated the introduction, development, and establishment of Intercultural Communication as a discipline in Japan almost parallel to its introduction and establishment in the United States.

Based on the findings gained through in-depth interviews with key individuals and examination of archival materials, I proceeded to fill in the details of the growth of that original network. The invisible college of scholars emerged spanning decades and generations, with far more complexity than the first diagram. All the conditions and all the characteristics of a definitive invisible college were fulfilled as outlined above. For an invisible college to form, scholars with common research interests find one another and maintain contact through informal channels and then establish formal channels for exchange. I categorized the individuals who were informants and emerged as playing important roles in the field's development into four Generations, including both Japanese and Americans.[211]

The response to Research Question III focused on segmenting and mapping some aspects of the complex and dynamic interpersonal relationships that formed the invisible college. The major links among people, institutions, and formal and informal venues and channels for exchange were exhibited by graphic representations tied to the text. The four major aspects introduced were the line of scholars at ICU, the phenomenon of Japanese

scholars receiving advanced degrees outside of Japan, and the channels of exchange of knowledge and opportunities for collaboration.

At the center of an invisible college is at least one scholar who both takes advantage of situations and creates opportunities to foster a line of study and teaching that is a departure from a dominant paradigm, even if a separate discipline has not yet emerged. Qualities of that first scholar and other early scholars include personal attributes, research interests, and being in the right place at the right time. For the Intercultural Communication discipline in Japan, Mitsuko Saito is identified as the early central figure, opinion leader, and cosmopolite who introduced Intercultural topics at ICU. It appears that she placed intercultural exchange, interaction, and relations at the center of all teaching and endeavors (interpreting, translation, conference organizing, other ICU courses), in other words, Intercultural Communication as the core paradigm for all she taught, a broad interpretation rather than narrow.[212]

Saito's interest in and perspective of Intercultural Communication was typical for the development of scholarship in this discipline. Intercultural Communication has always had a close connection to language education; business training and conference interpreting concurrently developed with the discipline in the academy. An interesting finding is that these interrelated facets of Intercultural Communication in Japan appear to have merged in the Rikkyo graduate programs. Three of the four tracks represent facets that existed; the new addition was environmental communication.

Saito began teaching communication topics at the newly established ICU in Tokyo in 1958. As far as is known, Saito was the first person in Japan to incorporate Intercultural topics and even teach a course entitled Intercultural Communication.[213]She

then proceeded to invite a series of American scholars to teach at ICU, a line that lasted for over 40 years. Other individuals such as Furuta, Kume, and Ishii, each connected in some way to Saito, were also revealed to be central figures because of their contributions for textbooks and towards institutionalization. Leaders in the academic associations SIETAR Japan and JSMR were revealed as other individuals who played key roles.

According to diffusion theory, transmission of a new intellectual paradigm requires an invisible college. Then, it is the nature of the information exchange relationship that most determines the degree of success of transmission (Rogers, 2003, p.18). Within an invisible college, if opinion leaders and near-peers (colleagues) actively established venues and vehicles for exchange, diffusion proceeds. The interaction among scholars in the invisible college in this study was found to be responsible for the steady diffusion of Intercultural Communication, the maturing of the field that occurred in the 1990s, and the leap towards institutionalization that was realized with the establishment of the Rikkyo Intercultural Communication degree programs (since 2008 the College of Intercultural Communication).

The response to Research Question III focused on mapping some of the findings for the invisible college of Intercultural Communication scholars. It was the exchanges among the scholars based on their interpersonal relationships that advanced the diffusion of Intercultural Communication. Other possible ways to arrange the data and view the findings for this invisible college may be topics for future research. Further findings may be found by segmenting other aspects of this invisible college and asking different questions or by extending the timeline into the future to reveal now hidden aspects. The findings here present evidence that the invisible college in Japan has advanced

knowledge in the field of Intercultural Communication, the major goal of diffusion of an intellectual paradigm. Sustainability has been achieved by virtue of the institutionalization of Intercultural Communication as a discipline, as shown by development steps initiated by central figures in the invisible college.

Chapter Summary

This chapter presented findings to respond to the three research questions posed for this study. Research Questions I and II asked why the new intellectual paradigm and discipline of Intercultural Communication entered Japan in the Postwar Period and thrived, almost directly parallel to its development in the United States. The method for studying the context and relevant developments in the Intercultural field was to detail the various aspects of each period and then tie those trends and changes with specific events and developments of the Intercultural Communication field. There was some overlapping of response to Questions I and II. The meta-level context details of historical, political, and economic events responded more to Question I. The psychological context responded more to Question II.

The meta-level context of the Postwar Period was detailed in order to document the receptive context available for the new paradigm. In the aftermath of war and in the midst of recovery, Japanese were asking four critical questions regarding the new world order and Japan's place in it: how to behave, how to get along with Americans, how to communicate, and how to be successful taking a different direction in the world. These fundamental challenges continued to be critical throughout the decades, changing in detail as time passed. Early introduction and events of the Intercultural Communication

emergent field were documented for this early period and demonstrated to address the critical issues.

To respond to Question II regarding what about Intercultural Communication resonated with Japanese, the context highlights of the succeeding decades continued. The years after 1976, after the Postwar Period, were divided into three other periods: Japan, Inc., The Lost Decade, and Global Soft Power. For the purposes of this study, the ending year was 2006 except for some additional notes for events that occurred until publishing in 2009. The context of each period with its emerging, specific issues and trends was tied to developments within the Intercultural Communication field.

Research Question III asked how Intercultural Communication took root and developed in Japan by researching the invisible college of scholars. Having conducted in-depth interviews with individuals thought to be key figures, and with individuals who knew deceased key figures, it was possible to clearly identify an invisible college that was instrumental in the diffusion of the new discipline. This invisible college fulfilled all the conditions and characteristics described by Crane (1972) and also other elements expected for successful and sustainable diffusion (Rogers, 2003). There are many possible ways to view the findings of the invisible college. I chose some aspects regarding the interpersonal relationships of people, their institutions, and the venues and means of exchange. Central figures emerged; it was clear that all central figures were connected and that many collaborations had occurred. I also discussed conditions for diffusion of an intellectual paradigm, such as relative advantage, compatibility, and re-invention, and traced how those affected the diffusion that occurred.

Institutionalization, the hallmark of successful diffusion of a new paradigm, occurred in several steps including the precise naming of the field in Japanese, the establishment of the first Institute of Intercultural Communication, the first required courses in Intercultural Communication, and the first graduate programs in Intercultural Communication. Development of the Intercultural Communication discipline in the academy followed a clear diffusion pattern with the tipping point for recognition coming in the early 1990s as the term Ibunka Komyunikeishon was adopted, many more courses with that title were offered in universities, and the membership of SIETAR Japan multiplied. The diffusion of the interest in, the knowledge about, and the numbers of people and programs involved with Intercultural Communication in Japan multiplied through the decades facilitated by scholars in the invisible college.

The key central figure of the early years was Mitsuko Saito, professor of communication topics and interpreting program at ICU who had returned from the United States with a doctorate in speech communication in 1958. Saito started to introduce Intercultural topics in her groundbreaking communication courses that were well received. Her approach to communication was holistic and included Intercultural topics, intra-communication assignments, and emphasis on language and interpreting skills. She balanced her new-found scholarship with the wisdom of traditional Japan. Former students still remember her lessons; many of them trace their careers back to her introductions and recommendations.

Saito's approach of combining language and other aspects of communication with Intercultural Communication continued. Her holistic approach that fit the needs of her students may have materialized in the Rikkyo University graduate degrees in Intercultural

Communication. Both the master's and doctorate programs offer four tracks, all based on the core of Intercultural Communication concepts and principles. Saito would find familiar the tracks of language education, interpreting and translation, and intercultural communication. The fourth is environmental communication, which appears as a timely selection to meet 21st century needs and challenges. Current trends in research and directions for the field will be discussed in Chapter Six – Conclusions including some that might be traced back to Saito and appear familiar to her.

The scholars in the invisible college were organized into four Generations with their names suggesting their themes and also coinciding with the historical periods used for contexting. The idea for generational categorization came from two of the central figures, Kume and Ishii, and was supplemented by many other informants. The first Generation, including Saito, was the Pioneer Generation, 1958 to 1976. The succeeding Generations were named Inheritors, Heisei, and Millennials.

The Inheritors Generation, 1977 to 1988, included Furuta, Kume and others who were the second generation to receive higher degrees abroad, then return and begin the process of establishment of the field. The Heisei Generation, 1989 to 1999, was named after the new imperial era when Japan fell from economic heights into a slump. For Intercultural Communication, it was the time of maturation, when critical mass in numbers and events advanced recognition of the field. The Millennials Generation, 2000 to 2006, includes some scholars who recently came into Intercultural Communication from other fields and will continue with the graduates of the new Rikkyo programs as they enter positions in the academy. It will be interesting to see how scholars trained in

Japan might differ in perspective or research interests from previous generations of scholars.

The decades following 1958 when Saito began teaching at ICU included the highlights summarized here in the development of the Intercultural Communication field (also refer to Table 3 Major Events in the Development of Intercultural Communication in Japan). The 1960s can be viewed as the years of foundation that included translated publications and the first two scholars in the line of American scholars coming to ICU. The 1970s highlights were the two conferences held at ICU, the first to ever focus on Intercultural Communication as a discipline.

In the 1980s came steps towards institutionalization with the establishment of a new university, KUIS, that required all students take an Intercultural Communication course, its Institute of Intercultural Communication with its channels of exchange, and the establishment of SIETAR Japan. In addition, the first Japanese authored Intercultural Communication textbook was published that initiated the series of six volumes. American scholars at ICU and elsewhere supplemented the efforts of Japanese scholars and were involved in the ongoing exchanges, but Japanese scholars led the steps in development. Indigenous research interests emerged that were either a result of societal trends and needs or based on a Japanese-oriented perspective.

At the start of the 1990s, the Japanese term Ibunka Komyunikeishon diffused among scholars in the field and even into the public sphere. This was the decade of maturation as the critical mass of interest necessary to reach the tipping point gained recognition for the field. SIETAR Japan membership multiplied, the number of courses with the name Ibunka Komyunikeishon proliferated, and the Makuhari Zemi annual

started. There was public recognition and adoption of the term Ibunka Komyunikeishon even if most people did not know its deeper meaning and still thought culture and language were the same. In the beginning years of the 21st century, the momentum continued as the first master's and doctorate programs in Intercultural Communication were established by Rikkyo University, both offering four tracks with Intercultural Communication at the core. The new academic association, JSMR, was an indication of the broadening application of Intercultural concepts to meta-level issues.

Three closely intertwined theoretical perspectives were selected for the present study. They include network theory, the subsystem of invisible colleges (a network of scholars), and diffusion theory. Characteristics of all three perspectives were useful for examining the findings for this study and for answering the three major research questions. These perspectives provided a structure for analyzing the narratives collected for this study that enabled the tracking of the development of the Intercultural Communication field and the mapping of the invisible college that facilitated that development.

It is difficult to know how anything begins and develops; with hindsight, however, it is somewhat possible to identify a progression of actions and events. With that hindsight, it may seem that all was smooth and purpose-driven towards a goal; however, it should be kept in mind that along the way there were many false starts, detours, and factional conflicts. Certainly no one, including myself, was acting as a conscious participant observer to record the progression of development. It is only years later, when a field has sufficiently grown and developed, that someone may attempt to make sense of its development and look back to find its roots.

The story of the establishment of the Intercultural Communication discipline in Japan is the story of the diffusion of new ideas as they were imported from the United States and then re-invented within Japan. Institutionalization, the hallmark of recognition and sustainability in the diffusion process of an intellectual paradigm, occurred in steps of development (Rogers, 1995, 1997). The co-current threads, language and interpreting, always evident in the acceptance and development of the field in Japan combined in the Rikkyo graduate degree programs represented in the four tracks. Institutionalization continues to progress. The dynamism of growth is evident. Further description of the trends and new directions for the field will be discussed in Chapter Six – Conclusions.

---

[1] 2006 is the terminal year for this study except for the inclusion of several facts that extend the present study to mid-2009.

[2] There were a small number of Japanese scholars who became interested in and advanced Intercultural Communication as a discipline; they are the scholars noted in this study. There is no intention of saying that many scholars or Japanese in general knew anything about the field of Intercultural Communication.

[3] The additional layer of my personal narrative as an individual involved in the Intercultural Communication field's development in Japan since 1981 also provided insight and perspective, and led me to value the importance of the historical and social context.

[4] There is some overlapping of events in 1989 for the two periods.1989 was a year of transition; some events belong more to the Japan, Inc. Period and others belong more to The Lost Decade Period.

[5] The current study ends at 2006 for major events but the historical period and Generations continue until such time as someone else delineates an ending and a beginning of a new period or generation based on their own thinking.

[6] Although other languages could be useful as well, it was English that was needed because the Americans spoke English and English was becoming the international language for business and diplomacy. It must be remembered that at the end of World War II, the United States emerged as the top power in the world both economically and politically. The other Allied nations were also devastated by war. For Japanese, even today, a foreigner generally equals Americans; the outside world generally means the United States.

[7] The Nihonjin-ron publications by both Japanese and non-Japanese boomed in the 1970s. The term can be translated as "essays about the Japanese." The real purpose was to explain Japanese culture and character.

[8] The Constitution has often been referred as the "blue-eyed Constitution" because it was largely written by members of the Occupation and then translated into Japanese. The writers tended to be young idealists who incorporated their values for a liberal society into the new Constitution including denunciation of military solutions to conflict. Japan has a Self-Defense Force only.

[9] The Occupation's was also known by The acronym SCAP that stands for Supreme Commander of the Allied Powers and was the title given to General MacArthur. The Occupation personnel were also referred to as SCAP. Japanese also used the name GHQ (pronunciation of the letters) that actually meant General Headquarters.

[10] Japan and the Soviet Union, now Russia, have never signed a peace treaty. There are still outstanding issues of controversy over ownership of islands off the northern coast of Japan that have not been resolved.
[11] The European powers, Britain, France, and Germany, dominated the world. The United States was still a young nation in the late 19th century. Japan sought to learn from the top powers, sent delegations to the United States and invited some American scholars to teach in Japan. The American Admiral Perry, with his Black Ships, is credited with breaking open Japan in 1854, something the European powers had not been able to do.
[12] Chinese history includes references to the island's people earlier than 1300 years ago. Waves of people from the Asian continent occurred several times in ancient history but would not be considered occupiers.
[13] The diffusion of these three products and subsequent consumer products showed a perfect diffusion curve according to the concept of clustering. In neighborhoods and apartment buildings, as soon as one household purchased a product, the neighboring households followed quickly.
[14] Apparently, Nixon did not discuss with or inform his State Department or the International Monetary Fund either so his announcement to the public on a Sunday evening was a shock to all.
[15] The *Jack and Betty* series of early readers are as familiar to Japanese baby boomers as the Jane and Spot series is to American baby boomers. Evanston, Illinois served as the model of a typical American town used for this series. In reality, Evanston was and still is an upscale suburb on the outskirts of Chicago and happens to be well known for its Northwestern University campus.
[16] Some scholars in the Pioneer and Inheritor Generations specifically talked about their early experiences with Americans in the Occupation and their first opportunities to learn English.
[17] Historically, in the late 16th century, and in the Meiji Era, Christians in Japan were a small but influential minority. Christians have never been more than 2% of the population and are thought to be about 1% of the population today. They have no connection with and are not to be confused with the current Christian right or born-again Christians in the United States who profess Christian values. Christian missionaries in the 19th and early 20th centuries, mostly from various Protestant sects, established many schools in Japan including those for higher learning and for girls but had faced restrictions imposed by the governments of those eras.
[18] Mitaka is a city with its own city government that is within metropolitan Tokyo. When ICU was established, that location was far out in the countryside; now it is completely built up and one cannot see any difference to the rest of Tokyo. The land purchased for the ICU campus was about 365 acres (Iglehart, 1964, p. 43).
[19] The date for the establishment of ICU depends on which event is being recognized. The first committee to meet in Japan convened shortly after the end of World War II. The formal proposal for the establishment of ICU was drawn up in 1949. The first classes for The Language (English) Institute opened in 1952. The first freshman class of the four-year university entered in 1953. (Iglehart, 1964; Takeda, 2003).
[20] Hereafter, ICU will be written without periods; pronunciation is of each letter, making it sound like "I see you." Over the years, ICU students have had fun thinking of other meanings for the initials I.C.U.
[21] According to a veteran of World War II who stated that he was a gunner on the present-day ICU site, and his son, that site or nearby was also an air base where gunners attempted to shoot down American B-29 bombers (personal communications with I. Kawakami and C. Kawakami).
[22] The Japanese planning committee traveled to see various suitable sites; one of the leaders, Yamamoto, pushed for purchase of the Mitaka site on the Musashino plain as the best possible site for the future university. It was not an easy task. The committee had to maneuver through layers of local Japanese bureaucracy, the Occupation bureaucracy, and beat out other would-be purchasers as well as deal with squatters on the property.
[23] The usual term for a foreigner or non-Japanese is *gaijin*, literally *outside person*. Another term is *gaikoku-jin*, literally *person from an outside country*. The latter term may sound more polite to some people, including myself.
[24] Many faculty and others at ICU have identified themselves as Churchless Christians, often colloquially referred to as "no-church" believers. (*No-church* is the literal translation of the Japanese term.) Many Japanese Christians at ICU followed the *mukyōkai kurisuto-kyō* movement, espoused by Kanzo Uchimura in the earlier 20th century, who believed that Christian believers could learn sufficiently from scripture and

mistrusted church organization and forms (Iglehart, 1964, p. 285). ICU eventually built a chapel but services and religious classes tend to be non-denominational.

[25] ICU's main building, University Hall, was actually left over from the Nakajima Aircraft Company and was used for all classes and offices in the early years. One of the few large buildings on campus, it was the hub of the campus for a long time. It is still known as Honkan, meaning the main building. Although an early idea was to tear it down and rebuild, it was discovered to be too thoroughly reinforced to easily tear down so it was decided to modify the building for re-use. ICU added a fourth storey to the building.

[26] ICU campus is so spacious that most students and faculty use bicycles or motorbikes to get around. I remember my first visit to ICU in 1981, at the invitation of Edward C. Stewart, one of the informants for this study. He advised me to take a taxi from the nearest train station. It took some time to reach the impressive entrance and then I was amazed at how the taxi continued and continued through the woods until the driver finally stopped in the middle of the woods in front of a house. I had never seen anything like it in Japan, or even in the United States. I also learned that those woods are ancient and that archeological digs on the premises have yielded artifacts of the earliest people of the Japanese islands, the Jōmon people, going back in time perhaps 27,000 years.

[27] Two other principals were Katsuo Tamura, president of Simul Press and Masumi Muramatsu, an interpreter who led Simul International that focused on conference interpreting and other services.

[28] I well remember the glass windows of the offices of Simul Press that faced the American Embassy in Tokyo. A front of glass was unusual and caught the attention of passers-by who could then view the many books on display.

[29] An exact establishment date for Simul Press could not be verified even though I interviewed one of the principals, Masao Kunihiro, but it was definitely between 1966 when *The Silent Language* was published by Kunihiro and Saito with another publisher and 1972 when I found evidence that Simul Press published Condon's book *Living in a World of Words* as a Japanese translation, *Kotoba no Sekai (The World of Words)*. At the back of that book was a long list of already published Simul books but without any publishing dates. Two of those books were by Mitsuko Saito and one was by Masao Kunihiro. Simul Press went into bankruptcy around 1991; it could not survive in the economic downturn. Kunihiro told me in his interview that Simul's textbook publishing assets were sold to a textbook publisher in Okayama.

[30] Kunihiro became a celebrity with face recognition in 1970 because of his live television broadcast of simultaneous interpreting as the Apollo 13 mission's drama unfolded. His interpreting partner at that time was Sen Nishiyama, also well known in Japan. For about ten years, during the 1970s, Kunihiro hosted an all-English program, called Talk, on the NHK educational channel. He called in all the high-ranking officials, scholars, and authors he had come to know including Hubert Humphrey. Of interest to interculturalists, Edward T. Hall and John C. Condon were also his guests. Some of the interviews were transcribed and then translated into Japanese for later publication, but it is unknown whether NHK preserved the original programs. (Oliver, 2001; Kunihiro, 1977; Kunihiro interview, January 2007).

[31] These two companies are still operating, now wholly owned by Benesse, a large company based in Okayama, Japan.

[32] The original name was Communication Association of the Pacific-Japan; the current name was adopted in 1985.

[33] The Speech Association in the United States has undergone several name changes. It is now the National Communication Association, NCA.

[34] That policy is generally true for all the Japanese academic associations and organizations, with the exception being a presentation by an invited foreign scholar. Recently, Chinese or Korean scholars who are living in Japan have become involved to a certain extent; at times a Chinese or Korean scholar is invited to present. Each organization decides on interpretation facilitation according to its own policy.

[35] SCAP broke up all the *zaibatsu*, conglomerates, and separated them into distinct companies in order to foster free and unhindered enterprise.

[36] W.Edwards Deming (1900-1993) (Aguayo, 1990) was invited by Japanese corporations to teach statistical process control to help them improve quality, productivity, and therefore business success. Japanese had observed how well American arms had performed on the battlefield and wanted to learn the secrets of American manufacturing prowess. American business was not interested in Deming's methods until Japanese products were out-selling and performing American products in the 1980s. Systematic total

quality control, QC circles, and zero defects were some of the best known methods and ideas of this quest for quality. Ironically, these systems were then reverse imported to American corporations. The name *Deming* is widely revered in Japan and there is a business prize named after him.

[37] In fact, Japan is still trying to negotiate a different relationship with the United States. The most recent election forced out the LDP party that almost exclusively led Japan since the Postwar Period. The new Prime Minister, Yukio Hatoyama, and party in power, Democrats, campaigned saying they want a more equal, different relationship with the United States.

[38] The term *men* is used intentionally here as all, or nearly all, people doing business were men, whether Japanese or American.

[39] Condon said the intention was to offer Intercultural Communication seminars but because businessmen would not take to that kind of title, the seminars were named after the Mobile Oil retreat house named Pegasus that was the location for the seminars. It was in Izu, a couple of hours outside Tokyo; in a beautiful mountainous setting.

[40] Hall, born 1914, died as this paper was being completed, at the age of 95, at this home in Santa Fe, New Mexico. Over the years, many colleagues in Japan have asked me to convey their appreciation and gratitude to him once they learned that I knew him personally and visited him in Santa Fe periodically. Upon hearing of his death, many colleagues in Japan wrote tributes and sent them to me so that they could be collected in his memory and presented to his family.

[41] John C. Condon, who knew Hall since the 1960s, presented on Hall at the SIETAR Japan seminar in May 2009. Condon was also an informant for this study and belongs to the Pioneers Generation.

[42] During the same period that Hall was formulating his concepts and writing, other anthropologists such as Ray Birdwhistell and Gregory Bateson contributed to thought about nonverbal communication

[43] According to my research, Saito began teaching in April 1958, at the start of the school year in Japan (Iglehart, 1964, p. 184). She may have returned to Japan in 1957.

[44] One of the many borrowed English words that retain most of their meaning in Japanese usage but are sometimes colored in nuance to fit Japanese understanding. It has basically the same meaning in English but may be colored for Americans by association with the pioneers of the 19th century who traveled across country to the west fulfilling the concept of Manifest Destiny.

[45] ICU has reorganized several times. By the time Condon arrived in 1969, he said he was in the Communication Department and that was in the Language Division. The other two people in the department were Saito and an American who taught journalism and had been in Japan since the Occupation. In 1990 when ICU reorganized into divisions, the Linguistics and Social Science Departments were included in the new International Relations Division.

[46] At the end of her life, Saito was hospitalized for treatment. When she had visitors she pointed to her hospital robe that had the letters "ICU" on it. The letters stood for Intensive Care Unit, but everyone knew she was pleased to have the letters of her university, ICU, next to her heart.

[47] Shortly after Jacqueline Wasilewski arrived to teach at ICU, Saito took her on one of her frequent trips to rural Kyushu, to the district her husband represented. Wasilewski related that Saito was treated like a queen and held court from morning into the night like one. Anyone with a request or complaint could wait to talk with her and she saw them all. During the Postwar Period, when people were still recovering from wartime especially in the rural areas, Saito paid special attention to the Fujin-Kai, the women's associations that sprang up to assist women in the Postwar world. Many of the women were widows. Saito assisted them in many ways, one of the most interesting was that she used her corporate contacts to help the widows' group package and market their local crafts or food products for sale in big department stores. Once Saito returned to Tokyo, in between all her other activities, she spent time following up on all the requests she had received from people in Kyushu.

[48] I first learned the Japanese language via the same methods Japanese have used to learn English. There is an emphasis on grammar, many drills, and almost no attention to real communication with people or the cultural context of the language.

[49] Information gathering through the written word, in other words without interaction and in a passive manner, was always the stated goal for English language learning by the Ministry of Education. Very recently, that policy has started to change.

[50] This content of this article was also part of a speech that Saito delivered to the United Nations Meeting of Non-Governmental Organizations (NGO) in 1985.
[51] I was fortunate to be able to discover this article (see Appendix E). It was fairly easy to scan the article and isolate the image of the *hōshū no tama*. I noticed when I read the article that part of Saito's name in the form of a stamp or chop was legible in the lower left corner. The American publisher was apparently unaware of it as part of it was cut off. I could read the first *kanji* of her given name, the *mi* of Mitsuko, so I knew it was hers. Other examples of *hōshū no tama* in the article were not hers and not signed; they must have been examples of her students' work.
[52] These public comments by Ishii as part of the panel for the Memorial session were made in Japanese. The translation is mine.
[53] Dean Barnlund obtained his doctorate from Northwestern University in 1951. He returned to teach from 1953 to 1962. Therefore, Barnlund and Saito were definitely at Northwestern at the same time although it is not clear whether Saito took any of Barnlund's classes.
[54] Although I did not study under Barnlund, I heard him lecture both in the United States at SIIC and at SIETAR Japan. I also enjoyed spending time with him when, on one of his many visits to Japan, in the late 1980s, he came to visit Miho Yoshioka after she had been back in Japan for about a year. She invited me to spend informal time with them.
[55] The course at that time would not have been connected with any of Hall's definitions or concepts. It is possible that someone teaching a course for ICU would have taught something like comparative culture, conflict resolution or any of a number of topics and approaches.
[56] Akira Kurosawa was a well known film director whose films included *Rashomon, The Seven Samurai*, and *Ran*.
[57] The story of John Condon's opening remark for the conference deserves telling simply because the remark itself is well known and has been used by countless people, both American and Japanese, to open a talk to a mixed, bi-cultural audience. However, few people know that it was an original remark that Condon used to open the 1972 conference. "If this were an American audience, I'd start with a joke. And if this were a Japanese audience, I'd start with an apology. I'll start with an apology for not telling a joke." Even an ambassador to Japan used it. It has always been well received.
[58] An attendee at the conference, Masaaki Imai, was president of the Cambridge Corporation, a prominent management consulting firm. Perhaps he was inspired by the student's presentation to publish his book called *Never Take 'Yes' for An Answer.* In the late 1990s, when President Clinton referred to being careful about Japanese saying *yes* when they mean *no*, he may well have been referring back to Imai's work and indirectly to Ueda's work.
[59] My first stay in Japan was in the summer of 1977 for two months. I was in a taxi in Tokyo when I heard the news that Elvis Presley had died.
[60] The complete title was *Japan as No. 1: Lessons for America*. This book was the best-selling translated book in Japan of all time. In addition to being extremely flattering, it was written by an established scholar and was part of the phenomenon of *Nihonjin-ron* books that attempted to explain Japanese people and culture. Japanese were fascinated with the mirror held up to themselves. Whereas many of such books were by Japanese and came out of a longer tradition, many books were also by foreigners as in the case of Vogel. The genre continues but the peak was from about the mid-1970s through the Japan, Inc. years. Depending on the time and author, *Nihonjin-ron* skirts nationalism and ethnocentric superiority. The main beliefs are: Japanese uniqueness including culture, behavior, language, and even Japanese as a race, thereby making Japanese unaltered throughout history. Other traits emphasized are that Japanese are homogeneous and Japanese language is so unique that certain words/concepts cannot be translated. (See Dale, 1986.)
[61] I have often lamented that what American wartime planners saved in Kyoto from bombing was destroyed by speculative greed. At the end of the economic bubble, the old capital was scarred with open lots where irreplaceable traditional homes had stood.
[62] This danger level is even truer presently. Only 4 percent of the population works in farming. The average age of farmers is over 60. For a long time, young people have been leaving the farms (Fackler, 2009). Japan has to import food, including traditional foods, which are grown by Japanese agribusinesses in other countries.

[63] Named after the Plaza Hotel in New York City, five nations agreed to depreciate the U.S. dollar against the yen and West German mark. The dollar fell by 51% until it was reined in to remain fairly steady against the yen to the present day. This Accord marked the recognition of Japan as a major player in the global economy. Japan became one of the managers of international monetary policy along with the United Kingdom, France, West Germany, and the United States.
[64] MITI stands for Ministry of International Trade and Industry. It was the real force behind and the face of Japan, Inc. Its influence waned after the economy collapsed also leading to a reorganization of ministries. Now the ministry is METI, Ministry of Economy, Trade and Industry.
[65] JETRO stands for Japan External Trade Organization. It has a Japanese name but Japanese tend to use the acronym. It was organized under MITI originally to assist Japanese companies with exporting and doing business overseas.
[66] I was engaged by MITI and JETRO to travel with these opinion leader groups during their week outside of Tokyo. I decided the itinerary, explained sights and culture, answered their cultural questions, and assisted them in their free time.
[67] An interesting side note about Nintendo is that it was founded in 1889 as a Japanese game playing card company in the old capital of Kyoto.
[68] I published an article titled *The 'Ugly Japanese' Try to Find Their Way* that was about the poor image of Japanese abroad and the many incidents of arrogance and ignorance perpetrated by officials, corporate managers, and tourists. The title of my article was taken from the book, later made into a movie, *The Ugly American.* My article was published in English in a non-scholarly publication. Although critical, the tone was also sympathetic and therefore well received by Japanese who read it.
[69] Most of this population is the descendents of the original conscripted laborers brought to Japan during the period of colonization of Korea and the War years. Korea was annexed as a colony of Japan in 1910, ending only with Japan's defeat in 1945. The Japanese government required Koreans forcibly brought to Japan to adopt Japanese names. Descendents born in Japan are considered a foreign population in the government count and therefore the largest group of "foreigners" in Japan. Discrimination against this group is well documented; many jobs and neighborhoods have been closed to this group.
[70] Okinawans had a separate kingdom of the Ryūkyū Islands until the late 19th century. The Tokugawa Shogunate gradually subordinated it as a tributary nation until it was completely annexed under the Meiji government in 1879. Okinawans are a separate ethnic group with a distinct language and culture closer to Taiwanese than to Japanese. They have also faced discrimination. The United States governed Okinawa after the War until returning the territory to Japan in 1972.
[71] The Ainu people are the indigenous inhabitants of Japan. Recent DNA evidence suggests that they were the original Japanese in prehistoric times, the Jōmon people. Continental and Japanese invaders gradually pushed the Ainu north until a small population came to reside on the northernmost island of Hokkaido. The Meiji government, in the late 19th century, prohibited Ainu culture and language, and forced assimilation. In recent years, there has been a revival of cultural practices and language saved from extinction in the nick of time by relying on the few surviving elderly people with any knowledge. The Ainu people are still struggling to have Japan recognize them as a separate ethnic group.
[72] The Japanese *yakuza is* very similar to the mafia.
[73] Some of these traditional arts are tea ceremony (*chanoyu* or *Chadō* meaning The Way of Tea*)*, calligraphy, dance, and flower arrangement. Some of the crafts affected were ceramics, bamboo ware, swords, and lacquer ware. It was from Japan's unique lacquer ware, called japanning, that the name of the country for Europeans was taken.
[74] The Mombushō (Ministry of Education) was reorganized in 2001 to be the Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology, known by the acronym MEXT or Monkashō in Japanese.
[75] JET Program stands for Japanese Exchange and Teaching Program. Although changes and additions have been made, the program continues to the present time.
[76] As a non-Japanese fluent in Japanese, I was recruited for many media appearances and to be on numerous governmental and corporate committees and councils.
[77] I was one who rode the wave of increasing opportunity in the 1980s by dividing my time between university teaching, corporate training, and both corporate and governmental consulting. The field of Intercultural Communication was considered a curiosity at best at universities, but many of us who were

teaching were able to control the content of our classes and thus able to include Intercultural content. I studied Intercultural Communication with Robert Moran at the Thunderbird School of Global Management (current name) with an emphasis on diversity and managing across cultures. The program included an option for exchange in Japan.

[78] I was an early member of FCC in Tokyo in 1981. After I moved to the Osaka-Kyoto area (Kansai), I established FCC-Kansai as a branch of FCC in 1982. The kick-off event on the topic of non-Japanese working for Japanese corporations attracted about 100 attendees. Upon moving back to Tokyo in 1992, I became the vice-president and then president of the organization. Involvement in this organization benefited my business and government contacts rather than academic connections. The annual English language advertising awards was and is a gala event that draws many guests and V.I.P.s

[79] *Kaisha* is a word meaning *company* in Japanese.

[80] There are many universities in Japan with a place name and the same "foreign language university" in the name and they are generally older than the Kanda University. Only Kanda Gaigo Daigaku was initiated with the vision of incorporating Intercultural Communication in its offerings and as part of its requirements alongside language. Kanda was the first university to establish an institute specializing in Intercultural Communication. It continued to be the only school with such an institute until Rikkyo University, a far older school, started up its Graduate School of Intercultural Communication that included an institute in 2001.Until about 2004, a search on the Internet listed the Kanda Institute at the top. Under new leadership, Kanda revamped its priorities in 2001 in order to concentrate on language and established the Academy of Language Excellence and a student exchange program.

[81] The requisite Introduction to Communication was later dropped and offered as an elective course.

[82] This reasoning has to do with the Japanese writing system in which so-called borrowed foreign words that are used in Japanese are written in the *katakana* script. In the Japanese context, this reasoning makes sense.

[83] I met Dr. Furuta in 1982; he was introduced to me by Edward C. Stewart, another informant for this study. He told me about the planning for a new university, and when I visited Tokyo (I was then living in Osaka), I met him at his tiny office staffed by one person and filled with papers. After I moved to Tokyo, he engaged me to teach courses in Intercultural Communication and International Organizational Communication at Kanda starting in 1993 where I remained until 2000.

[84] This was the first library devoted to Intercultural Communication. Books in both Japanese and English were on the shelves.

[85] All of these activities were conducted or published in Japanese, with the occasional exception of an article in English. Non-Japanese who could participate, or present, in Japanese, such as myself, were welcomed to attend.

[86] NHK stands for Nippon Hōsō Kyōkai and may be translated as Japan National Broadcasting. It is very similar to the BBC.

[87] My translation for the thoughts Oshin expressed. I was one of the millions who watched it.

[88] Living in Japan at that time, as I did, it felt like a never-ending spiral of progress and opportunity. Thinking back on it, it seemed a longer period than it was. I knew that something would change but the bubble lulled most of us into expecting something like it to continue forever.

[89] Known as Emperor Hirohito to Americans and the Western world, Shōwa was the name of his reign and became his posthumous name upon death. The Shōwa Era was from 1926 to January 7, 1989. Shōwa is written with two characters and is usually translated as "Enlightened Peace." Unfortunately, it did not live up to its meaning until perhaps in the Postwar years.

[90] Heisei is the reign name that was decided upon for the new era. Heisei has two characters and is usually translated as "Peace Everywhere." The first year of Heisei was 1989. Japanese use the reign years for traditional arts and practices, sometimes for government, whereas the Western years are used in most cases. However, the era names are meaningful as delineations of historical periods.

[91] It is said that the Emperor (Hirohito) or the Imperial Household Agency chose Vining as the Crown Prince's tutor, not General MacArthur. Vining was in Japan teaching at universities including Gakushuin, the peers school where the young prince attended. She returned to the United States in 1950 and authored the book *Windows for the Crown Prince* about her experience as his tutor.

[92] The American Occupation abolished the Japanese aristocracy, leaving only the Emperor's immediate family as royalty.
[93] The traditional Shintō ceremonies for the Emperor ascension took place in November 1990, almost one year after the bubble economy popped.
[94] A word derived from the English word *freelancer,* but with a unique Japanese nuance.
[95] The common acronym used for *non-governmental organizations* that provide services around the world to people in emergency or poverty situations.
[96] I was shocked to know that one of the subway lines attacked was one I used regularly. I happened to be away from Japan about to board a return flight when I learned of the attacks.
[97] This law was updated in 1997 and again in 2006. Whereas this law opened up new opportunities for women and removed some barriers, it also ended some special treatment regulations for women regarding late working hours, etc.
[98] This explanation may lose something in the translation. For many decades, Japanese have enjoyed pretty cakes, usually shortcake with butter cream frosting, on Christmas Eve. Taking that date, the idea was that a woman should be married by age 25 or be like a Christmas Cake, something left over that no one wanted.
[99] DINKs is a commonly used term in the United States where it is from originally. DINK stands for "double income—no kids" and describes a married couple who indefinitely delays having children or never has children by choice. One assumed reason was that a DINK couple could continue to enjoy their lifestyle and both could develop their careers..
[100] S*alariman* is actually the Japanese term used for all male, salaried, company workers.
[101] If the present rates continue, government and think tank reports state that Japan's population could be cut in half, to about 65 million, in the latter half of the 21st century. An entirely different issue is whether immigrants would be allowed in, the numbers, and if they would be counted in the population.
[102] Many rural prefectures and communities invited young people to either return to try out rural living with two ideas backed up by incentives. The U-Turn idea was for people who had had to move away to find employment and would make a "u-turn" back to their original community. the I-Turn idea was for people who wanted to move from a city to the countryside, therefore a one-way trip that visually looked like an "I". Participating communities produced fairs in urban areas and offered perks for moving. Another idea was to attract retirees or people planning to retire with various community ideas that included gardens or light farming. By 2004, only 4% of the population was involved in agriculture and most were over 60. Contract workers, usually from China, were being brought in twice a year for planting and harvesting. That necessity created the unwelcome shock of intercultural communication to the conservative rural communities.
[103] During this period, the idea of the husband and father moving alone to take up a post decreed by his company, whether domestic or international, became a common practice with its own term, *tanshin funin*. In these cases, whether within Japan or abroad, the rest of the family, mother and children, stayed in the family home and continued their usual routine. The father returned home when he could and kept in touch the rest of the time by letter or telephone. In the 1990s, phone calls were often short because tolls were still extremely high. Legal competition started in the 1990s and prices started to drop. When the Internet and email started to become popular to use, after 1996, high prices for connectivity were the rule. Gradual competition started to make reasonable prices the norm.
[104] Depending on the family circumstances, many younger children were also returnees and had their own set of challenges in being accepted back in Japan. If a father were dispatched more than once to a foreign country, it was common to move the entire family when the children were young and in elementary school, but when the children started middle school, they then stayed in Japan with the mother.
[105] "Most parents" here refers to people solidly in the middle class or upper middle class who were the managers (men) sent abroad and their wives. Of course, there were exceptions to these choices and patterns, but I also saw that pattern and the differences in expectations for sons and daughters through knowing the many Japanese students I taught in my university classes.
[106] This mindset continued even after the revelation of many scandals at large corporations and banks, and some bankruptcies.
[107] In fact, some parents took their daughter(s) abroad and left a son(s) in the care of a relative in Japan so that he would continue in the Japanese school system.

[108] ICU also allowed students to start classes either in the spring as traditional in Japan or in the fall to accommodate those returning from the United States and other countries. ICU also developed its own terms as code for describing students who appeared to be Japanese but had various backgrounds. One of the terms was *jun-jappa* meaning a Japanese student who had no experience living abroad. The term was derived from the word for *pure* and a shortened form of *Japanese* in English.
[109] The Japanese Parliament.
[110] The twice yearly exoduses from Tokyo and Osaka made these normally crowded metropolises pleasantly quiet and empty.
[111] Outside pressure is known as *gaiatsu* and is often referred to as the only way to change something in Japan.
[112] Unlike West Germany, Japan never differentiated itself from its fascist, militarist leadership to make a clear break. Japan never apologized for war crimes, and never took responsibility for the policies in Asia.
[113] The biggest controversy over word changes occurred in 1982 when the word meaning "invaded" was approved to change to "advanced into." That textbook was not used. A Japanese historian, Saburo Ienaga, sued the government numerous times from 1965 to 1997 to protest the systematic distortion of historical facts in textbooks. Ienaga's cases brought the issue of textbook distortion and historical facts to public attention but he never won a case. The most recent textbook controversy occurred in 2000 over a textbook issued by right-wing scholars that downplayed all Japanese aggression in the 20th century.
[114] There is always a memorial ceremony that is televised to the nation on August 15th. It is presided over by the prime minister and attended by all top government officials and the Emperor and Empress. Prime Minister Murayama's statement can be easily found on the Internet.
[115] The curator in charge also resigned.
[116] In 1995, two U.S. marines and one sailor abducted and raped a 12-year-old Okinawan girl. In 1998, one marine confessed to a hit-and-run incident of an 18-year-old girl. By that time, agreements with the United States had changed to the extent that he was tried and sentenced in a local court. In 2008, a marine raped a 14-year-old girl. That case may still be pending.
[117] Japanese ball players are normally known by their family names, such as Nomo and the others in the list above. "Ichiro" is the given name of Ichiro Suzuki. In 1994, his manager had the idea to place his given name on his uniform for publicity. "Suzuki" is the second most common family name in Japan so his manager thought that was a way to bring the player to the public's attention. And it worked. In Japan, he went so far as to have his name written in *katakana*, which is normally used for foreign names and words, another distinguishing mark. Ichiro continued the practice of using his given name in the United States; he joined the Seattle Mariners in 2001.
[118] These words happen to be all '*d*' words in English. The actual words in Japanese are *kitsui, kitanai,* and *kiken.*
[119] The convenience store, *conbini*, started by 7-11 and soon copied by a number of Japanese companies, is ubiquitous on street corners. After a series of laws that incrementally increased hours, the *conbini* were able to open 24 hours a day and offer the variety of goods and services that people wanted, all in a small space. In fact, they are a prime example of sought after business practices: just-in-time inventory and careful recording of popular sales so that unpopular goods are quickly replaced. 7-11 stores came to be owned by a Japanese corporation.
[120] Japanese like to shorten borrowed words such as personal computer and word processor so that the former became *pasa-con* and the latter became *wa-pro.*
[121] *Anime* is the Japanese word for "animation," shortened from the English term as usual. It no longer needs to be written in italics as it has become part of the English language, and indeed, many other languages, especially for young people.
[122] Intercultural training programs continued but were hit hard by the continuing recession of The Lost Decade. Corporations were belt-tightening and often the first thing to cut as non-essential was training programs. Intercultural trainers were faced with declining budgets and requests for more in less time. Many non-Japanese trainers who had been working solo, or in small consulting firms, left Japan or took other jobs. At the same time, corporations wanted more business oriented trainings rather than the cultural approaches that had been offered. Those individuals or firms that could combine solid business training with

Intercultural applications so that business and management success would be enhanced were the ones to find and keep training contracts. That trend has continued to the present time.

[123] I also was able to present my early work on kinetic communication

[124] The idea for British Hills was primarily to employ staff that would all be from the United Kingdom or one of the Commonwealth countries where British English was spoken. Their primary job, whether posted at the front desk or beside the pool, was to speak to people as if they were all in Britain on holiday. As soon as a guest arrived, they were given fake British pounds in exchange for their yen and had to use those for anything they purchased on site; in order to receive service guests had to practice their best English. The architecture was a mixture of Tudor and Victorian styles. Furnishings, décor, and fixtures had all been imported and transported to the top of the mountain – ordered at the height of the bubble economy. The Regents plan was to rent out the facilities for corporate retreats and meetings. As the recession of the 1990s deepened, they looked for other ways to make a go of their boondoggle. They began offering the space to junior high and high school campers with the same English-speaking staff in place, with the selling point of being able to practice English. The entire experience was as far removed from an authentic intercultural encounter as any Interculturalist could imagine, but all Zemi participants, Japanese and non-Japanese, passed the time with good humor. The isolation certainly served to bind us more closely together.

[125] ICU was reorganized in 2008 into new divisions and departments, but there is still no department, or division, named *intercultural communication* or the Japanese equivalent. Although ICU was at the forefront of the introduction of Intercultural studies, other universities have taken the lead in fostering the field.

[126] During my years in Japan when I began to work as a trainer and then teach in higher education, when I started explaining that I was not an English teacher and my specialty was Intercultural Communication, all I received was blank looks. Not being able to conceptualize what Intercultural Communication was, even after my attempts to explain in either Japanese and English (according to whom I was speaking with), the other party inevitably stuck to the assumption that I was talking about language teaching and learning because there was no general conception of any difference between language and culture.

[127] I joined the Bunka Koryū Gakka that may be translated as the Department of Cultural Exchange, in 1985 at the then named Teikoku Joshi Tanki Daigaku. This was one of many two-year colleges for women and was located in a suburb of Osaka. As it was a two-year college, the Ministry of Education was not as strict in its regulations compared to four-year colleges or universities. Two-year colleges of the time were able to innovate more quickly and this department, Bunka Koryū Gakka was an innovation. The fact that I was invited to be part of the new department as the only non-Japanese in it was also innovative. All other non-Japanese instructors/professors were in the English Department. In the mid-1980s, of course, the term of Ibunka Komyunikeishon (Intercultural Communication) was barely on the radar; Furuta had just started using that term in Tokyo. That two-year college changed to a four-year women's university in the early 1990s after going through a protracted application process with the Ministry of Education. The new name was Osaka International University for Women (Osaka Kokusai Joshi Daigaku). It was under the same Riji (Board) as the Osaka International University (Osaka Kokusai Daigaku), a new co-ed university established in 1988, at a nearby location where I also taught. The motto for these universities was "Global Mind." The two universities merged in 2002.

[128] Kodansha is a major publishing house in Japan. It publishes many books about Japan in English, including some bilingual formats. The Encyclopedia had a bilingual format.

[129] It must be kept in mind that the Japanese writing system is completely different from the alphabet; in fact, there is no alphabet. There are various possible ways to alphabetize Japanese, that is, to write its sounds in the English alphabet. Different scholars in different periods have chosen their own methods. I faced some of the same challenges in this paper and therefore, stated some decisions regarding the Japanese language in the Author Notes.

[130] Before his retirement from Kanda University of International Studies in March of 1999, Furuta wrote an article for the Institute's Newsletter about his thoughts behind his decision to choose the term *ibunka komyunikeishon.*

[131] Furuta thought that it was Saito who created the term with *kan;* she certainly advocated for it. Needless to say, the term was known only among a small number of scholars. It never caught on in earlier days as a term of general use.

[132] I was invited to be the only non-Japanese presenter at the annual conference in 1997. As I was listening to other presenters, one young presenter was publicly scolded by the chair of the session for not using the approved term and instead using the shortened term, as told here, initiated by Furuta, and by that year used generally in the discipline. Although in the minority, that association and some scholars stick to their belief that the inclusion of *kan* is best. Furuta did tell me that one scholar who was adamant about using *kan* had let go of the *kan* term and changed to the shortened term around 2001 or 2002.

[133] The final vowel is long in pronunciation but that has not been indicated because is a proper noun and the university does not show the elongated *o* in any of its English literature or website pages. The standard way to indicate a long vowel is to place a straight line on top of the vowel. However, the elongated consonant is indicated by the double *k*.

[134] Another way that the term itself, without perhaps any understanding of its meaning, was diffused into general society was through advertisements for a nation-wide English language conversation school (*eikaiwa gakkō*) Nova. Their ads were catchy and memorable and used the term *ibunka komyunikeishon.* Scholars in Intercultural Communication lamented that the term was being co-opted for its cachet by a for-profit language school. Nova declared bankruptcy in the mid-2000s. Its owner was accused of not paying teachers and staff before bankruptcy but paying himself royally.

[135] Asahi Shinbun started publishing in 1879, has both morning and evening editions, and an English language edition jointly with the Herald International Tribune. The company also owns a broadcasting channel. Asahi publishes an annual new vocabulary list that is of great interest to the public. I could not find any evidence that Asahi included *ibunka komyunikeishon* in its list, however. "Nikkei" is the shortened name for this newspaper that while similar to the Wall Street Journal and the Financial Times has a far higher circulation. It started in 1976. It also broadcasts financial news. And it created and monitors the Nikkei Average, similar to the Dow Jones Average but holding 225 companies.

[136] In Japanese writing of course. In Japanese, this term is written as 異文化コミュニケ--ション. The first three symbols are *kanji* (*characters*) originally from Chinese many centuries ago. The other symbols are part of the *katakana* syllabary, sounds without ideograph meanings. *Katakana* is generally used to write borrowed words and foreign names. Here, the *katakana* syllables stand for the phonetic sounds of *communication* to Japanese ears. It was this practice of using a word in *katakana* that prevented the Ministry of Education from approving the term for a department in the newly established Kanda University of International Studies in 1987 and for several years after. I was amazed to suddenly see this term*, ibunka komyunikeishon*, in a non-academic, mainstream publication.

[137] According to the JALT website, the roots of JALT started in 1974 when a group of teachers formed a study group to discuss teaching methodologies. That is considered the first conference. Groups in different parts of Japan with similar interests joined together to form JALT. JALT now includes language teachers for all ages and other languages besides English including teachers of Japanese as a second language. The official Japanese name of JALT is Zenkoku Gogaku Kyōiku Gakkai; the English equivalent that is used is All-Japan Language Education Academic Association. Note that JALT is an official *gakkai.* The website is http://jalt.org/

[138] At the time of finishing this study the JALT website did not list a SIG for Intercultural Communication. However, there was a SIG for Global Issues in Language Education that "promotes the teaching of world problems (peace, human rights, environmental issues) as content for language education.

[139] These are the two, bilingual titles so I wrote them together. It has been published annually except for 2000 when there was no publication.

[140] All of these individuals were informants for this study.

[141] I was the chair of the Cultural Contexting Committee (the 3C), which evolved from the entertainment committee. My idea was to provide numerous and various opportunities for education and better understanding of Japanese culture on many levels, and some for better understanding of other Asian cultures. I worked with volunteers, members, and students for two years to gather performers, lecturers, presenters, tour guides, and craftspeople from one end of Japan to the other, including minorities of Japan, with the purpose of providing a window on the complexity and breadth of Japan that was not possible from study afar. For the entire conference, including breakfasts and evenings, there was a schedule of 3C events concurrent with the academic presentations. I also led a group for an after-conference tour to Kyoto. Those who attended knew they were in Japan and learned a great deal about Japan and Asia at a deep level. I also

served on the SIETAR Japan steering committee in the earlier 1990s as Director of International Affairs and Vice President.

[142] Both of these textbooks have English titles although the text is entirely in Japanese. In other words, I did not translate these titles.

[143] Furuta was ill during this period and so for that reason also he handed responsibilities to Kume who was the Vice-Director of the Institute of Intercultural Communication at Kanda.

[144] Even Japanese who are fluent in English are generally at a disadvantage in a group with Americans because all will be using English as the common language. Americans, and especially in the business world, are advantaged as the native speakers but also because of the reliance on verbal skills and lack of awareness of nonverbal messages. Japanese are disadvantaged, even when fluent in English, because of speaking their second language, and because of other American communication norms with which they cannot compete.

[145] I also developed and choreographed kinetic exercises to use in the classroom to teach about Intercultural Communication concepts and to serve as simulations. I was fortunate to be able to offer a couple of these exercises to the class that Hall taught in the spring of 1999 at the University of New Mexico. That would turn out to be the last class he taught. I was thrilled to have him participate and make comments about the experience. The most memorable comment from him was "It was liberating! I feel liberated!"

[146] After his retirement from ICU and prior to his appointment at the University of Nagoya, Dr. Stewart had been in Tokyo only briefly to give a workshop on his Cultural Trilogy for CCTS and a keynote address at an annual SIETAR Japan conference.

[147] The true name of this method was Contrast Culture but as it was always used in training programs for American businessmen (the male gender is used here intentionally because at that time, there were only men), it became known as Contrast American (Stewart, 1979).

[148] Stewart's background was in experimental psychology. He used his knowledge of sociopsychology and such concepts as perception combined with Intercultural concepts to create the Contrast-American method. Of all well known methods for use in Intercultural education and training, the Contrast American, or the Contrast Culture, method, has longevity due to its usefulness, freshness, and spontaneity within a well tested structure. Stewart experienced intercultural contrasts from an early age. He was born in Brazil and then moved with his parents to the United States at a young age.

[149] The Contrast Culture method had been well received within the American international business community for years and was well known within the American SIETAR membership.

[150] Stewart thought that the Institute of Intercultural Communication at Kanda University of International Studies, headed by his old colleague Furuta, would become the home of Contrast Culture. However, the Institute was not eligible or equipped to offer training programs for corporations.

[151] According to the website, International Business Communicators (IBC) is an organization founded in 1988 to meet the needs of professionals involved in corporate training in language, intercultural, and business communication skills in Japan.

[152] The Japanese name for Japan is pronounced either as Nippon or Nihon, both of which mean "land or source of the sun." That idea was first promulgated by China in ancient times because the Japanese islands were east of China, from where the sun rises.

[153] Although technically the 21st century began with 2001, the start of the new millennium was celebrated on January 1, 2000. In addition, the Y2K scares brought a lot of attention to the start of 2000.

[154] This phenomenon was very evident to me at the beginning of 2005 when I observed my nephew, then 18, huddled together with a Japanese young man of the same age who I had introduced to him through friends of mine. There they were, knowing only a few words of each other's national languages, perfectly capable of interacting for hours in a language incomprehensible to any of the adults. My friends, the young man's mother and aunt, looked at one another in amazement and a recognition that here were the roots of a new world. Later, we three waited at a coffee shop while the two young men went out into Akihabara, the famous electronics district in Tokyo.

[155] There is no telling at this point whether 2000 begins a period or when such a period might be seen to transition to another. This study ended at 2006. I did not find that there was any consensus for how to name this period in Japan yet, but some of the trends gave me hints for a possible naming. I considered something having to do with global or globalization such as "global challenges" and "global mind." The term "soft

power" was first conceived by Joseph S. Nye, Jr. in 1989 to rebut the impression of the demise of American power (2008, p. ix) by extending its meaning to refer to the cultural soft power of countries. As a name for this historical period, I considered such terms as "soft power" itself, "soft transformation" that would refer to the transition from the hard goods of the earlier decades to the "soft goods" of the new century. I had already named the Generation as Millennials and did not think that it was descriptive of a period. Other ideas came in from a Japanese elder who has been involved in international business since the 1950s who, focusing on the economic trends, suggested "slow growth" and "decelerating growth" that focused on the economic aspect and "swing" or "yo-yo" to evoke the uncertain ups and downs of the Japanese economy, even before the worldwide economic collapse of late 2008 (Y. Nishi, personal communication, June and July 2009). A combination of some of these possibilities led me to "Global Soft Power" as my term of choice.

[156] Aso was Minister of Foreign Affairs (Gaimu-daijin) from October 31, 2000 to August 27, 2007 and established the International Manga Award during that time. He became Prime Minister of Japan in September 2008 and stepped down in September 2009 and also held other Ministry leadership posts previously. Aso studied at the graduate level at both Stanford University and the London School of Economics. While working for his family's mining company, he lived in Brazil long enough to become fluent in Portuguese. Aso came from a political family of industrialists in Kyushu that belongs to the Roman Catholic faith. He is also related to the royal family through his sister. Facts regarding his family's mining business practices during World War II have come to light recently; he himself has made a number of controversial or cultural insensitive remarks.

[157] I learned this clearly from my university students in Japan.

[158] Ishihara, born 1932, won Japan's most prestigious literary prize for his first novel written while still a college student. He also spent years acting before turning to politics. At the time of publication of this study, Ishihara is still governor of Tokyo. (The Japanese title is governor, not mayor, for Tokyo and Osaka.)

[159] The Japanese title was '*No' to ieru Nippon*.

[160] I labeled the student perspective, that in my classes increased year by year until I stopped teaching in Japan in mid-2000, as becoming *chikyū-jin*. The direct translation is "earth person" but could be translated as "global" or even Gaia-oriented. The point was that the students' personal identities were shifting from being Japanese in a wide world populated by foreigners to feeling personal connection with the peoples of the world. They were also expressing care and concern for the global environment.

[161] The American English term for the game is *soccer*. In the rest of the world, it is called *football*.

[162] For a long time, the Japanese government did not give credence to families who reported abductions and it was impossible to have any discussion with the North Korean government. At the time of Koizumi's first visit in 2002, the Japanese government recognized 16 abductions; Kim admitted to 13. There could be many more. Five abductees were allowed to return to Japan, on the agreement of a short stay, but Japan reneged on that agreement. Their children, born in North Korea, were allowed to come to Japan after Koizumi's second trip to Pyongyang in 2004. There are many twists and turns to this horrific story.

[163] Although a Japanese academic association, the leadership gave it an English name as well, as shown, including initials. Hayashi told me this association planned to have an English link for content on its website but I did not find it had happened. Literally translated, *tabunka* means *many cultures* or *multi-cultural* and *kankei* means *relations.* It is interesting that the English name has *society* in it much like SIETAR's name, rather than *association* as is usually used for an academic association in English.

[164] All the scholars named here were informants for this study. Kume and Araki were placed in the Inheritors Generation. Hayashi and Matsuda were placed in the Heisei Generation.

[165] I was one of the founding members and served as Treasurer for several years.

[166] The academic organizations referred to in this section do not have official English names. The English translations in parentheses are those suggested and used by Yoko Matsuda during the interview.

[167] There was no English translation for the name of this course. Matsuda did not volunteer any idea of one. This explanation of the meaning and possible translations is mine.

[168] Rikkyo University (Daigaku) has also been known as St. Paul's University as its origins was a school established by a missionary of the American Episcopalian Church in 1874. In recent years, all publications in English and its English website use the Rikkyo name. The name Rikkyo was also used almost from the start of the first school. It may be translated literally as *correct teaching* (the two names are not equivalent

and no explanation of the meaning of *Rikkyo* appears on the website). The *correct teaching* meaning probably originally referred to the religious meaning.

[169] ICU has never offered a degree specifically in Intercultural Communication. I understand that Waseda University recently initiated a new graduate international program, but I could not find any reference to it on that website. I do know if it has Intercultural Communication content. I know that in the past, some courses on Intercultural Communication have been taught at Waseda. One American professor, Fred Harris, taught Intercultural classes for many years until his retirement in the mid-1990s. Waseda has also offered various exchange programs. Also, Jochi University, English name is Sophia, has generally offered courses with Intercultural content at the undergraduate level. Several of the informants for this study, Iwatsuki, Suzuki, and Torikai, attended Sophia. Sophia also has offered exchange programs. These comments are in a footnote because these universities were not central to the development of Intercultural Communication in Japan.

[170] The announcement was made on the Rikkyo University website, only on the English side. It may be that for purposes of clarification and publicity in English, meaning internationally, the Graduate Program status was elevated from a program to a college. I could not find any evidence that the change had been made in Japanese. I noticed this announcement just before publication of this study and therefore was not able to contact informants at Rikkyo.

[171] As a follow-up to this study, it would be interesting to meet again the seven individuals of the focus group who at the time of the interview in mid-2006 were about half way through their studies, to find out about their current positions, research interests, and future plans.

[172] This language track is also variously entitled in English as TESOL (Teaching English to Speakers of Other Languages) or English Language and Education.

[173] This translation was found within Noda's article; perhaps something was lost in the translation. I could not find the original Japanese title of this grant.

[174] One of the major events of the Postwar Period as shown in the Timeline.

[175] The interpreting profession has an established school of thought that interpreters are transparent vessels who do not interject or supplement information or cultural content. During the interview for this study, Torikai gave examples from well-known interpreters and interpreter education that confirm the attitude that interpreting is about language, not about culture. However, individuals with the belief that culture matters and that the real test is to interpret meaning effectively, have tended to launch their own method of interpretation. Torikai identifies with the latter school of thought.

[176] TESOL stands for Teaching English to Speakers of Other Languages, but is often thought of, especially in the United States, as Teaching English as a Second Language.

[177] Ken-ichi Noda was not an informant for this study.

[178] Although environmental communication is a specialty within the communication discipline in the United States and has a separate division within NCA, it has not drawn many scholars and the number of conference presentations is small. In any case, neither Torikai nor the other Rikkyo faculty appeared to be aware of that interest among some communication scholars in the United States. Noda's approach was through literature rather than communication. They forged their own way through discussion. I personally believe that the future of Intercultural Communication must include environmental communication meaning a shift from solely a human-centered perspective to include the perspective of human-nature beliefs and values. In addition, the various cultural perspectives regarding nature and the environment must be brought in to any discussion or negotiation about the serious environmental issues facing the global community today.

[179] According to Torikai, the Columbia University TESOL degree program included no courses in communication or Intercultural Communication. I do not know how that program may have changed in the intervening years.

[180] I do not know about the policy of acceptance after 2006. On the Rikkyo website, information of numbers and gender of students in each program is listed but not nationality information.

[181] It was not clear whether Voltaire Cang had obtained his degree from Waseda by writing his thesis in English or Japanese, but he had Japanese language skills and was also working at a research institute in Tokyo. Cang was in the focus group. Time for that session was short and everyone had to leave

immediately so I was not able to interview him further. Waseda University is another top private university in Tokyo with an old history.

[182] The *kenkyū* part of this term means research (the same word used for the Kanda Research Institute) and *ka* may be translated variously as course, department, faculty, or college – the spectrum of the academic hierarchy. Knowing that *ka* may have such a wide variety of meanings, it is understandable that although the English title was recently changed from *graduate school* to *college*, there was no need to change the Japanese title as the word ka already encompassed the meaning of *college*. In fact, I surmise that the change in English was a matter of catching up to the Japanese meaning because there is a separate word in Japanese that means *graduate school* that is *daigaku-in*. Rikkyo never used *daigaku-in*; *kenkyū-ka* was used from the beginning.

[183] Matsuda and Torikai were representative of the general dismay of Intercultural scholars. Refer to an earlier footnote on this topic by searching for Nova, the name of the language school.

[184] I was able to be in Japan and participate in this conference although unable to be an organizer. I was a recorder and summary reporter for one of the break-out sessions led by panelist Shoji Mitarai. He was also an informant for this study.

[185] Hayashi and Mitarai were informants. Kubota was one of the individuals who could not be scheduled but I was able to listen to her presentation.

[186] *Gairai-go* literally means a word(s) that come from outside, foreign languages. Those are precisely the words that are written in *katakana* such as *komyunikeishon* from *communication*.

[187] No more funding was available at that point. Wasilewski retired from ICU in March 2008. She reported to me that no one at ICU was able to take over the Project. However, her colleague, Paul Hays, in the Department of Applied Informatics in the School of Policy Studies at Kwansei Gakuin University in Kobe who was an adviser for the First Dialogue is still involved on the technical side. He continues to supervise a group of students who participated and built the website NEAD Virtual Space www.nead.kscmedia.net . Hays and the students have the goal of constructing a multilingual website which presents the results of the Dialogues, archives the narratives, and provides a virtual meeting space for further dialogue across boundaries of geography, history, and culture in Northeast Asia.

[188] Some of these returnees were not the *kikoku shijo* explained above. They were descendents of Japanese who had migrated to Northeast Asia during the 1930s and 1940s and then were forced to abandon their children at the end of the war. Some of those people have been repatriated to Japan in recent years and reunited with their Japanese families. Although, as I explained above, Japanese think of identity as blood, the scars of the past that these returnees broke open plus the fact that they had no Japanese socialization or acculturation or language skill tested Japanese beliefs about themselves.

[189] It is widely believed, except by some politically far right Japanese groups, that the Japanese military blatantly massacred Nanjing citizens as a step in the take-over of China in the 1930s. Japanese textbooks have tended to soften the description of those acts, as was mentioned above regarding the periodic textbook controversies. Many Japanese do not know anything about that massacre or the invasion and takeover of China.

[190] It should be clearly stated, however, that all possible segments of the invisible college are not represented here. Additional mapping that may emphasize other aspects or reconfigure the data is waiting to be done by other scholars.

[191] An interesting idea would be to color code individual names with the designated Generation within this study. It was not possible to carry out this idea at this time.

[192] Gladwell used the term *salesmen* for the third term, but he used the word *persuader* as a synonym for *salesmen*. I chose to use the term *persuader* in order to be gender neutral and remove the meaning of sales.

[193] Much can be said about Saito and all who knew her have many stories and divergent opinions. This study is not about her individually but rather focuses on her contributions as the central figure in the early history of the Intercultural Communication field in Japan. Saito was a strong personality. Combining many of the comments about her, it may be said that she was a force to be reckoned with, could change mood and demeanor from moment to moment, was as gracious and thoughtful as she was argumentative and capricious. She was a memorable teacher and mentor who took care of her students but also expected complete loyalty forever. As was noted above, she focused on teaching and all of her other professional roles so that she did not publish very much. Although she could be difficult to get on with, the consensus

among those who knew her was that "she had the gift of communication." She was really a producer on a grand scale, an organizer. "As she traveled around the world in the 1960s and 70s when few Japanese were abroad, for those who met her she represented Japan" (J. C. Condon, from comments at CAJ Memorial Session, June 2004).

[194] These three scholars were her students. The latter two were not informants for this study.

[195] When universities in Japan reorganize, they must submit a list of proposed professors and want to include some well known senior scholars who will join the newly formed organization. This was also done for Rikkyo University's new graduate program. A university I belonged to, Osaka Women's University, wanted to place me on their list when they reorganized.

[196] While Condon was discussing the possibility with ICU, the president of ICU at that time came to the University of New Mexico (UNM) to meet the president of UNM and ask for permission for Professor Condon to be loaned to ICU for a period of time. Condon enjoys the story because of the totally different cultures it represents and the amazed reaction of the UNM president.

[197] Of course, ICU has had and continues to have professors from the United States and other countries but they are in other disciplines.

[198] I indicated myself as connected to the University of New Mexico in wavy brackets, as I was involved in the development of Intercultural Communication as a discipline in Japan, in the Inheritors Generation.

[199] All the universities shown in this Figure are connected with individuals who were informants for this study and therefore are considered to be within the mainstream discipline of Intercultural Communication. There may be other individuals and their institutions that form their own islands separate from the mainstream. I did not come across reference to that during my study. If someone or a university should have been included but was left out, in this or any other graphic, I appreciate hearing about it. I also encourage another scholar to make additions and other changes to continue the process of mapping the field.

[200] One of the challenges for associations (*gakkai*) such as SIETAR Japan is to periodically at least hold conferences outside of Tokyo.

[201] These were the findings according to my interpretation. There may be additions or other interpretations.

[202] I was active and held leadership positions in SIETAR Japan throughout the 1990s. I started as International Relations Director which included liaison with the newly formed Kansai Chapter since I had lived there in the 1980s, then was elected to Vice President. I then became one of the main organizers for the 1998 SIETAR International 24th Congress that was held in Japan for the first time and became the chair and creator of the Cultural Contexting Committee (3C).

[203] *Haragei* is a concept in Japanese communication that relies on high context and nonverbal understanding to deduce or infer meaning and intention (my definition). A volume on *haragei* was published by Michihiro Matsumoto (1984). Of interest is that the preface of many pages to this publication was by Edward T. Hall.

[204] I partially credit the access I had to some of the informants for this study to the collaboration for the SIETAR International Congress and various other collaborations I have been involved in over the years.

[205] I also observed that evidence as I explained in a section above.

[206] For the purposes of this study, Metropolitan Tokyo means the Kanto region and includes Saitama, Chiba, and Kanagawa Prefectures with all of their cities. Many of the informants were in Kanto but not in central Tokyo. Central Tokyo is a smaller area. Strictly speaking, Metropolitan Tokyo includes other cities such as Mitaka where ICU is located. The entire Kanto region has been developed and built up in the last decades.

[207] As I discussed above, I interviewed some individuals who have had extraordinary international careers, but were not found to be within the invisible college for Intercultural Communication. It occurs to me that those individuals might fit well with the mission and programs of the more recently established Tabunka Kankei Gakkai (JSMR).

[208] No informant recommended interviewing any scholars in Kyushu; therefore, none were contacted. One earlier scholar, a contemporary of Saito, was mentioned by one informant; that individual long since retired and at any rate was not involved in any of the major developments of the field.

[209] As a new university with a peculiar philosophy, ICU itself was not highly ranked until decades later. A benefit of not being in the top ranking is to be allowed more flexibility for innovation, something seen at ICU.

[210] In Japan, everything is conducted and accomplished through groups and most influence is interpersonal and through networks, exactly as described for the best flow of information for diffusion within an invisible college. If there were any separate or island invisible college, it would be expected that each group would have its own characteristics and socialization process.

[211] If other informants are added or other aspects are searched for, emergent findings could be added.

[212] That perspective of placing Intercultural Communication as the core paradigm for all related communication topics has been, in my opinion, usual in Japan. I also have that mindset and perspective. That approach might be different (I think that it is different) from the mainstream course of study in the United States.

[213] There is evidence that an American professor taught a course of the same title at ICU from the time it opened, probably 1953. Condon told me he heard that; however, he did not know what discipline that earlier professor was from. It was not possible that the early course was based on the content of Intercultural Communication as a field because that was before Hall's groundbreaking book and the recognition of a new field of study. That early course probably fit with ICU's philosophy of intercultural communication as communicating well with others, or content along the lines of comparative culture.

CHAPTER SIX – CONCLUSIONS

In this final chapter, the conclusions found from conducting this study are presented and discussed. Having documented the history up to 2006 with the addition of a few very recent details, I conclude with a view to the present trends and speculation about future directions of the Intercultural Communication field in Japan. The conclusions are divided into the following parts: reframing the paradigm, trends and directions of scholarship, implications of the diffusion theory, and speculation about the invisible college and institutionalization going forward. The directions for research scholarship section are divided into two parts: the reframing of the paradigm that has been taking place and the global/holistic/sustainable directions that have been evident. Within those two parts are several points to be made. After stating evidence and the initial points for each major direction, I discuss the implications and applications for each.

The conclusions are largely a compilation of the many comments from the informants, both those who were identified as central figures and others who were identified as near-peers (colleagues), and articles by several of the scholars that address their views for directions to be taken. There are also comments on the limits of this research and suggestions for future research.

Reframing the Paradigm – Trends in Scholarship

Reframing of the paradigm is a major trend in Intercultural scholarship in Japan that began almost twenty years ago. Some scholars in the invisible college were dissatisfied with aspects of the paradigm that, after all, was imported from the American academy. Following the pattern of historical indigenization or Japanization, some scholars have proposed a variety of new directions for the paradigm without losing its

essence. That process also involves the continuing re-invention so important to the diffusion progression and the evolving relationship with the United States at both the meta and personal levels.

Japanization and Pan-Asian Perspective

A major trend in Japanese Intercultural Communication scholarship is the localization, also referred to as Japanization or indigenization, of the paradigm that started and has been taking place since the early 1990s when Satoshi Ishii began presenting his ideas. He subsequently published on his ideas to reframe the Intercultural paradigm to take a Japanese or Buddhist values perspective (1997, 1998, 2001, 2004). I heard what might have been his first presentation on this topic at the first Makuhari Zemi in 1991. It was a memorable presentation and discussion as I heard him outline his ideas for a reframing of the field according to Buddhist perspectives and principles.

Since that first presentation in Japanese, Ishii published several English articles and continues to present at English language venues, recently at the Pacific and Asian Communication Association 2007 biennial conference where he gave a Special Lecture and appeared on a panel (2007a, 2007b). The conference theme was *The Limits of Western Communication Theory* so it may be understood that the trend of reframing is taking place across Asia, not only in Japan and not only within the Intercultural Communication field, but as a reframing of the entire communication field. (In fact, it may be said that the reframing has been taking place in other regions around the world and for a longer time than in Asia as evidenced by the Afro-centric approach.)

The titles of Ishii's presentations at this conference indicate the themes he has been thinking and writing about for many years. His lecture was titled Rethinking West-

Centric (sic) Communication Studies from [an] East Asian Perspective. His, and other scholars, ideas explain the localization of Intercultural and general communication studies as indigenization or Japanization based variously on Buddhism, Shinto, or other concepts from Japanese culture.

Shinto, meaning literally *way of the gods*, is the indigenous spiritual belief system that has continued from pre-history. Buddhism is pan-Asian; it originated in India and traveled through China before entering Japan in waves of teachings starting in the 6th century. Buddhism has a number of sects, some of which are also the result of indigenization of the basic teachings.

Other concepts explicated for indigenization were taken from some basic concepts in Japanese relational communication that have rarely been explicated in English, for example, *sasshi, enryo*, and *amae.*[1] Brief definitions for each are respectively: anticipation of others' needs and emotions, modest restraint, and relational dependence and care for others. These three concepts are central to Japanese relational communication and are played out in behavior and language. Whereas it is outside the scope of this study to detail these concepts and the arguments made for the paradigm reframing, the reader is referred to the original articles by Ishii (1997, 1998, 2001, 2004) and Miike (2003b).

Ishii's other contribution for the Pacific and Asian Communication Association conference, on the panel, was titled Promoting Interreligious Communication Studies: A Rising Rationale. In this panel, Ishii presented what he had also shared with me in our interview. He advocates Intercultural Communication reframing to the extent that it becomes a paradigm that includes inter-religious comparison, conflict resolution, and to

"propose the urgent implementation of systematic interreligious communication studies" (2007b).

Yoshitaka Miike, who studied with Ishii before going to the University of New Mexico in the United States for his higher degree, has added to Ishii's ideas and particularly advocated an Asian-based paradigm (2001, 2002, 2003a, 2003c, 2007). He has given many presentations and published articles on his ideas that appear to focus more on an Asia-centric approach, with however, some points of Japanese perspective along the same lines as Ishii (2003b). It may be that Miike's approach is to focus on Asia-centric rather than Japan-centric because he is based in the United States and talking about Asia as a whole is more acceptable and comprehensible to an American readership.[2]

Reinvention Points

This reframing that is progressing may be tied to several findings from this study. As Kuhn theorized, any paradigm is subject to a cycle of questioning, new ideas, division and eventual creation of a new paradigm. Indeed, that is what occurred to create Intercultural Communication in the first placed when Hall realized he needed something different than the anthropology paradigm to meet the needs of his trainees at FSI. And, in the diffusion process, it is normal for a paradigm, or any idea or product, to be reinvented in order for it to be more compatible and useful for the new environment (Rogers, 2003). I discussed the re-invention meaning extensively in Chapter Five --- Findings. In fact, the cycle of questioning, re-invention, and new directions is evidence of a dynamic and growing field.

From the early days of the Intercultural Communication field, at the time of its introduction into Japan, there was recognition that it was largely, and quite naturally, an American perspective from a particular point in time that served particular needs. Although Hall's concepts and definitions were flexible and open-ended, thereby allowing for transplantation to Japan and around the world, from the local point of view, much was too American and outside local perspective and needs. However, by virtue of the fact that Intercultural Communication could be re-invented the process started and continued. It may also be recalled that, as stated in Chapter Five, Japan has historically gone through periods of wholesale borrowing following by reflection and indigenization. From that viewpoint, the pulling back and indigenization may be seen as a natural and recurring process. In addition, that process fits with diffusion theory. In the case of Intercultural Communication, Japanese scholars could take what was meaningful for them and develop those parts.

The diffusion process includes localization or indigenization whereupon any idea, in this case, intellectual paradigm, once introduced and rooted with early adoption, begins to be localized. When that occurs it is re-invention, which in turn both speeds up the process of diffusion and makes the idea more compatible. Localization goes hand in hand with re-invention. Re-invention produces more familiarity and adaptability to the local environment and needs that then draws more people to it, thus, a virtuous cycle of adoption, re-invention, and further adoption occurs. According to this study's development and institutionalization findings, re-invention did occur. In turn, re-invention attracted more people to the field so that tipping point of critical mass appeared to be reached in the early 1990s.

Shifting of Japan-U.S. Relationship

Another trend related to the indigenization process regards the bilateral Japan-U.S. relationship and the weight of research interest in Japanese-American interpersonal interactions. Within the outlines of both The Lost Decade Period (1989-1999) and the Global Soft Power Period (2000-2006), I included the shift of public interest to other parts of the world, particularly other Asian countries and to Latin America. That shift was caused by several factors, partly by the start of professional soccer in Japan, partly by a boom of interest in Korean culture, partly by the J-wave export of Japanese soft culture which has served to tie young people in Asia together and the resulting imitations by other countries which are shared with Japanese youth, and partly by geopolitical challenges. In the political realm, the recent election of the Democrat Party and the new Prime Minister Hatoyama whose platform stated seeking a more equal relationship with the United States and ridding Okinawa of some of the American bases may be seen as the culmination of changing interests and Japanese identity after almost 65 years since the end of World War II.

As I detailed, owing to Saito's connections and ICU's policy, a line of American scholars were invited to teach Intercultural Communication at ICU starting in 1967. That line lasted for 41 years, but with the retirement of the last scholar in that line, Wasilewski, in 2008, no other scholar has taken her position. Saito is no longer on the scene to invite someone. ICU did not ask Wasilewski to recommend a successor. ICU conducted interviews with a number of candidates but no decision was made. Wasilewski thought a former doctoral student of hers who is Chinese but has been teaching in Japan since his

graduation would be an ideal choice in order to reflect growing interest in China and to foster better understanding with China, but that action was not taken either.

The fact that the line of American scholars has come to an end is further evidence that the Japan-American relationship, while still important, is not paramount, rather it is of continuing interest as one among equals. The indigenization of the Intercultural Communication field fits with that meta-level societal trend.

In addition, Wasilewski related that ICU graduate student interests have a wide range and few recently focus on the Japan-U.S. relationship or interpersonal interaction. The three-year research project, Northeast Asia Dialogue, that Wasilewski headed involved a number of her ICU students, both Japanese and non-Japanese (a couple of those students had connections to an area and people of Northeast Asia), further evidence of the shift away from the United States and towards Asia. The Rikkyo University doctoral students also expressed their research interests; none of them talked about a plan to research the Japan- U.S. relationship or Japanese-American interpersonal relationships.

Implications and Applications

There are four main implications and applications to be concluded from the reframing towards Japanization that has been occurring in Intercultural Communication in Japan. The four to be addressed here are the emergence of critical voices, emergence of a Cultural Studies approach, a turning inward to address the many internal questions of diversity and multiculturalism in Japan, and the fact that Rikkyo University is now graduating Intercultural scholars who have obtained their higher degrees in Japan instead of having to go outside Japan. These trends are all are occurring owing to the localization and Japanization of the field. Although critical voices have emerged and one or another

academic association is preferred by some, there was no evidence of a split from the mainstream field.

Unity Continues with No Split in Sight

All of these applications within the field have been induced by the trend of indigenization. Some Japanese scholars, who were always aware of the pronounced American stamp on Intercultural Communication, and particularly on SIETAR Japan, have become critical scholars and called for a different approach. Some scholars have also called for a look towards other places, domestically and internationally, for Intercultural issues of importance to study, away from the Japan-U.S. dyad that was long the main focus.

Although some scholars, such as Miike and Ikeda, have offered critical voices, I did not find that any Intercultural scholar, who was an informant or referred to in this study, proposed a split from what has already become the Intercultural Communication field in Japan. I did not find evidence that there is a mainstream field with minor branches or separate schools of thought. Considering Japanese cultural norms, it is usual for people to converse, co-exist, and reach consensus in order to continue together. The individuals in Intercultural Communication have values and skills so that they would be expected to try to keep conflict to a minimum and to resolve conflict as it arises. However, it will be something to look for in future years whether any separate branches break off from the main established trunk of the field.

Once a rupture occurs among Japanese, however, the tendency is for it to continue and never come to resolution. Within Chapter Five, instances were mentioned of individuals reaching a point of no return with no resolution of differences later. It might

have been that those examples involved personality clashes or interpersonal quarrels that were too difficult to reconcile rather than philosophical or theoretical differences.

One example was when Okabe broke off from CAJ in its early days and then convened his own small, annual meeting of scholars. Both CAJ and Okabe's meetings have continued steadily to the present time, completely separately. Part of Saito's reputation was that she was known to disagree vehemently with certain others on the ICU faculty and those with whom she co-founded businesses. Those conflicts at ICU continued throughout her career and even into the next generation. She broke off from Simul International to start her own independent business.

Synergy of Two Academic Associations

Although I found no evidence or indication of a split in the Intercultural Communication invisible college, that does not mean that there could not be one in the future. The two major academic associations, SIETAR Japan[3] and Tabunka Kankei Gakkai,[4] have much in common but emphasize different aspects of Intercultural Communication. Membership[5] for these two *gakka*i largely overlaps as it does also for CAJ. However, there are some Japanese scholars who prefer Tabunka Kankei Gakkai because it is entirely conducted in Japanese and with its Japanese membership has a Japanese perspective. Other Japanese scholars told me that SIETAR Japan always seemed too "American" for their tastes; it was not a language issue since all of them were fluent in English, it was the perspective, the research interests, and the ties to the American organization.

For some Japanese scholars, they have preferred to participate in CAJ, long before Tabunka Kankei Gakkai was established in 2002. Although CAJ covers the spectrum of

communication, with one of them being Intercultural Communication, those scholars found that it matched their interests and perspective more closely and they felt more comfortable there. On the other hand, some scholars like to belong to more than one of these associations in order to gain different perspectives.

As Yoko Matsuda explained, there are nuanced differences in approach between SIETAR Japan and Tabunka Kankei Gakkai so that a scholar can find something of value at both. From her point of view, SIETAR Japan focuses on interpersonal interaction between people who are culturally different whereas Tabunka Kankei Gakkai focuses more on the meta-level of geopolitical and historical issues among people from different backgrounds. There is not an absolute line so it may be expected that both will allow members to interpret those boundaries for themselves. The large overlapping membership must be finding a synergistic relationship that suits their perspectives.

Hayashi said that he, Kume and others wanted to see a Japanese-style academic association for Intercultural Communication. The original idea was to convert SIETAR Japan but then the leadership of SIETAR Japan applied for it to become an official *gakkai*. Kume, Hayashi and others then founded Tabunka Kankei Gakkai. Perhaps it was an easier task to establish it as a Japanese organization from the beginning; it was granted *gakkai* status immediately.

Another observation regarding SIETAR Japan and the issue of Japanization is that the membership has been gradually becoming far more of a Japanese majority. Since the organization is in Japan, that is not strange. It might have been happening also because previous American members have left Japan and have not been replaced. SIETAR Japan always has had a good balance of Japanese, Americans, and a few other nationalities on

its steering committee but recently the majority has become Japanese. SIETAR Japan has always struggled with the idea of bilingualism for meetings and publications; thus far, that policy is still in place. Certainly in order to provide international access to articles, there must be some English although in future, it could be limited to an Abstract. On the other hand, Tabunka Kankei Gakkai does not have English pages on its website and so far appears to be concentrating on communication in Japanese.

Cultural Studies

Another critical voice is the Cultural Studies perspective. Richiko Ikeda, of ICU, an informant for this study, represents that approach. Cultural Studies itself, with its origins in the United Kingdom and expansion to the United States, has barely entered the Japanese academy. When I asked several informants, their understanding of cultural studies was of scholarship that studied about various aspects of cultures, nothing about a critical viewpoint or emphasis on power dynamics or feminist viewpoint. However, Ikeda who studied at the University of Oklahoma, was interested in power dynamics.

At the time of our interview in 2005, she was preparing a textbook that would present and emphasize that viewpoint in order to introduce it to students. She said that Intercultural Communication appeared to be goal-oriented in its approach and she wanted to introduce the concepts of power communication in Japanese society. Although Ikeda generally participated in CAJ events, Tabunka Kankei Gakkai might also have matched her interests as it emphasized systems and the inequality of relationships at the meta-level. Two of the seven Rikkyo doctoral students in the focus group said they were pursuing a critical perspective in their research interests so it is possible that some Rikkyo graduates will go in the Cultural Studies direction.

Rikkyo University's Indigenous Degrees

Another application of the localization/Japanization direction is to be seen in the establishment of Rikkyo University's College of Intercultural Communication and its offering of both master and doctorate degrees. As the first time to offer indigenous degrees, it may be expected that those graduating from its programs will have a Japanese perspective of Intercultural Communication and will have conducted research that is focused on Japanese issues although that remains to be seen. The same four critical issues that emerged after World War II are still challenging Japanese society; these are questions of national identity and navigation of international relationships including language and behavior. The Rikkyo tracks address all four ongoing questions with theory and skills.

The Focus Group doctoral students, in the Millennials Generation for this study, talked about a variety of research interests; other scholars echoed their thoughts. One topic was the coming multicultural society of Japan; another was about the importance of communication with nature, and another the relationship of environmental education and Intercultural Communication. Others envisioned how Intercultural Communication will be integrated into many fields and will be socially contextualized. Kumiko Torikai, dean of the Rikkyo program, and Miho Yoshioka, informant in Kansai, also talked about that direction.

The students also talked about taking a more critical perspective, to look at the meta-level to understand what is behind ethnic conflicts and complex ideologies. The Tabunka Kankei Gakkai takes that perspective; Ikeda and others are exploring this area. The doctoral students also looked forward to new ways of measuring Japanese

Intercultural competence and how to connect theory to practical applications in the real world.

It appears that these young Interculturalists, and others in the Millennial Generation, will focus on Japanese approaches for the Intercultural paradigm and society's needs for solutions emerging from the paradigm

Holistic Trend: Whole Person and Globalism

The other major direction I identified through this study was the convergence of examples of what may be termed a holistic approach. There are several types of applications at both the personal and global levels, both the local and global levels, that will be explained in this section with examples. Whereas the Intercultural Communication field originally was focused on interaction between people from different countries, it then broadened to include many kinds of cultural differences that are domestic, gender, age, profession, etc.

The earlier American perspective largely focused on verbal expression, with little attention paid to the nonverbal realm of communication or the emotional side of relational communication although recently that has been changing. Americans in Japan emphasized empirical methods, which suited their students. Later, quantitative methods came into Japan through publications and collaborative research, as it was the primary mode in the United States. Starting around the mid-1990s, both Japanese and non-Japanese with long-term residence and commitment to Japanese society started exploring a holistic approach that took several directions.

Two Major Directions

The holistic trend proceeded in two major directions, one was to address the whole person and the other was global sustainability. I identified these directions as including both inward and outward concerns, and both local and global interests. This trend is holistic at every level – personal, interpersonal, and global. There is a recognition of interconnectedness; Japanese are reaching out to the rest of the world in a way not seen before and led by younger people. This trend with its two intertwining applications fits with the "Think Global And Act Local" movement.

There were three major implications and applications for this trend: the four tracks and holistic approach including environmental communication of the Rikkyo graduate degrees, more inclusive and holistic approaches such as the bodymindfulness referred to in Chapter Five, and in training, exploration of alternative methods and realization of the multidimensional person, away from recipes. In Chapter Five, I outlined the research of Nagata, Hayashi, and myself as examples; several more examples are here.

The Four Tracks Includes Environmental Communication

In Chapter Five, I outlined the four tracks of the Rikkyo degrees, for both master's and doctorate degrees, that are based around the Intercultural Communication core perspective and include English language education, interpretation and translation, and the unique environmental education. These four tracks appear to combine all the strands of Intercultural Communication originally of interest to Saito and continuing through the decades. They also serve to respond to those same four crucial questions that emerged in the Postwar Period and continue for Japanese regarding how to interact on the

world stage. The Rikkyo program combines theory and application by teaching the actual skills for interaction, much like Saito did in her interpreting program at ICU in the 1960s.

Rikkyo's mission is to provide educators and researchers for Japanese society who will continue to respond to those crucial questions. The Rikkyo program itself is a harmonious blend of important elements for the 21st century. Rikkyo takes a decidedly holistic viewpoint as was expressed by Torikai and Noda in their articles (see Appendices H and I) that the program's mission is to educate future leaders with the skills to bring cultures together over crucial global questions concerning the environment and peaceful co-existence; especially the concern for sustainability.

It will be interesting to see whether other Intercultural graduate programs in the United States are influenced by the Rikkyo mission and program to go in the direction of environmental communication.[6]

The Whole Person

Another way that this holistic direction appears to have come full circle is that it ties up with Hall's original observations of the nonverbal, out of awareness, communication, and to attend to the whole person. Hall emphasized acknowledgement of ourselves as a physical instrument that takes in information through all of our senses and proceeds to perceive reality through the cultural filter. Hall emphasized not only the five senses, but also the sensing of heat, energy, and the unspoken. Hall attempted to create new vocabulary or to borrow concepts from other languages in order to explain to Americans what was missing in their communication spectrum.

Some scholars in Japan have taken a deep interest in focusing on certain nonverbal means of communication and the bodymindfulness approach, which I

explicated in Chapter Five as overlapping while also having some differentiation. In addition to some of the pioneering research directions discussed in Chapter Five, others have also been proceeding, some for years. Some models and methods have been forthcoming and continue to emerge. As with some other examples, these are holistic, multi-dimensional, and include the meta-level. Here are two examples of individuals within the invisible college who have been searching outside the discipline and paradigm for what might be helpful and useful in Intercultural Communication; somatic and emotional communication and consciousness studies are introduced here as applications of a research trend.

Some Intercultural trainers have taken an interest in a holistic approach that includes the whole person as a multidimensional being with emotional and personal histories facets without forgetting the organizational communication and skills needed for successful business across cultures. Jimmy Niblock, a corporate trainer in Japan for about 20 years, particularly talked about his interest in somatic work and what he terms "emotional branding. " He has searched for ways to facilitate training beyond the cognitive level, to open up the emotional level in order to facilitate connections among people across cultural boundaries who are working together.

Niblock's description of his holistic approach was to "stretch them [trainees] …and allow their boundaries to be dissolved through various activities; that's the connecting part." He and others, in their search, have brought in methods from other fields such as Appreciative Inquiry. As with many practitioners or scholars searching for new methods, Niblock said he sees what works and then searches for a theory to support it.

Kichiro Hayashi, a central figure in the invisible college, has been developing and refining his Six Lenses Model for a number of years. After retirement, he set about creating an instrument that would measure six aspects that are three pairs of mindsets, analog/digital, subject/object, and future/past. Hayashi explained the analog mindset as "to perceive, to communicate, and to develop systems in the analog way" and so on (www.sixlenses.com website is under construction).

Hayashi has also been interested in pursuing consciousness studies and quantum physics, as have others within the invisible college. Note that he says it is another method of reframing reality and circumstances for practical applications. His explanation below, although brief, explains how the Six Lenses model can be used to artificially create contradictions that lead to higher creativity. Hayashi also was working on the steps to create an assessment instrument for measuring these mindsets. It will be interesting to see how Hayashi's model and research continues to unfold.

> I have been placing my Six Lenses Model on three levels, which I call the first floor, the second floor, and the third floor. The first floor means the Neutonian/Cartesian level; the second floor is quantum, or constructivist, or interpretive. These are some of the terms that are used with somewhat different nuances but they all go back to quantum physics. And the third floor is rapidly developing currently but still within the activity of a few highly developed seers, or observants...Such as Ken Wilbur… you may include the Dalai Lama. One key word would be spirituality; another key word would be non-duality; another key word would be unified energy field.

> My Six Lenses Model can be made into practical operations on the assumption of the first floor, or the second floor, or the third floor. My Model in one sense is a re-framing model. If one is analog, future-oriented, and object referral, then by helping that person see reality from a perspective which is a different combination; for example, instead of being analog maybe being digital, instead of being object-referral maybe subject-referral, instead of being future-oriented maybe past-oriented. Then his/her reality starts to look very different and the person ends up reframing his/her problem or vision or whatever it may be which will be conducive to a very interesting change in him/herself. [This process] may be helpful in solving whatever problem that person is facing or helping that person become very creative. When one is exposed to serious differences, one has the greatest opportunity to be newly creative.

Conclusions for Diffusion Theory

This story of the establishment of the Intercultural Communication discipline in Japan may be seen essentially as a diffusion story. A new intellectual paradigm, Intercultural Communication, was introduced into Japan very shortly after its launch in the United States. Mitsuko Saito was interested in passing on to her students what she had learned in her speech communication studies that happened to correspond to Hall's major concepts and approaches as they came out. Saito was one of three translators for Hall's groundbreaking book, *The Silent Language*, that was published in Japanese only seven years after its debut in the United States.[7] Saito then invited a Northwestern University scholar, Barnlund, to teach at her university, ICU. That started a line of American scholars that lasted over 40 years and greatly influenced the growth of the field.

The conditions leading to ideal diffusion steps were present for Intercultural Communication as were discussed in Chapter Five. The tipping point, after continuous development in the first three decades, seemed to occur in the early 1990s, and produced a leap in diffusion both in the academy and into the public. Although it is difficult to pinpoint an exact tipping point and conceivable to note more than one tipping point, evaluation of impact, consistency, resiliency, and continuation over time, all factors in this narrative, leads to the identification of a tipping point.

Diffusion in terms of institutionalization continued in incremental steps through the decades as listed and discussed at length in the text. Those steps included institutions, academic associations, publishing, and venues for exchange all established and promoted by scholars within the invisible college. The establishment of the Rikkyo graduate programs in 2002 and 2004 assured the sustainability and continued growth of the Intercultural field in Japan.

Most important, the paramount impetus for diffusion of an intellectual paradigm, interpersonal contact and communication among colleagues with similar interests, was and continues to be present and practiced. Therefore, even more big events and institutionalization can be expected. Recognition of the Intercultural Communication discipline by other fields and by the government is also a prime example of the extent of diffusion that has taken place. Diffusion to non-specialists who may be interested in obtaining skills for their professional endeavors has also been achieved; that type of diffusion might accelerate. Even the public at least knows the term if not the concepts of the field. The critical examination of the field's paradigm, new directions taken, and

growing numbers of researchers and students all point to the dynamism and health of the field into the future.

Conclusions About the Invisible College

Rogers' history of the communication field (1994, 1997) identified Wilbur Schramm as the institutionalizer of communication in the United States. Although I identified several central figures in Japan, especially Saito for the early years, I did not find anyone analogous to Schramm as the institutionalizer of Intercultural Communication in Japan. The finding was more that Saito started the introduction, called in American scholars, then circumstances pushed forward Furuta, Kume, and Torikai as institutionalizers because of their visions and the opportunities in the academy that they took advantage of.

Given the cultural tendencies of Japanese, it makes sense that no one individual would emerge as the only institutionalizer. Although Saito was an early leader at ICU, she never rose higher than chair of a small department and therefore never had the opportunity to do what Furuta or Torikai did. And ICU never has had a department, division, or degree named Intercultural Communication.

There were many other individuals who were connected to these key scholars and contributed in many other ways. Refer to Figure 9 The Invisible College Depicting Central Figures and Generations and Table 1 Central Figures of the Four Generations. Without their dedication and skills, the field would not have moved forward as it did. One of those individuals was Masako Sano, in the Pioneer Generation, who was a real pioneer as one of few women to be in the very first ICU class that matriculated in 1953 and graduated in 1957. She must be present in the early ICU photos included in Appendix

K. She also translated Barnlund's books into Japanese and taught English to all the ICU students for decades. Yoshiko Higuchi has been active in SIETAR Japan for many years, fulfilling all the positions below president, some many times. She has been motivated to create avenues for exchange with Vietnamese and Nepalese. There have also been leaders in regions outside Tokyo and many supporters so that academic associations have expanded and many universities offer Intercultural Communication courses.

I talked about the expansion of the invisible college that includes some branching off and specialization, but no sign of a split or completely separate island yet. As the number of scholars grows, it can be expected that those trends of branching directions will continue. That is a sign of healthy, dynamic growth. As is necessary for an invisible college, branches and nodes did communicate and foster collaboration; the textbook translators group is good example. In the 1960s there were the three translators for *The Silent Language*. Both of these examples were cited as unusual in Japanese academia. It appears that the basic respect, collaborative mind-set, and seeking for mutual understanding that underlies the paradigm of Intercultural Communication itself has been well practiced by those in the field.

Limitations and Future Research

At many points in this text, I talked about the limitations of this study and ideas for future research. I discussed the parameters of this study and that it was necessary to largely leave out the training, consulting, and media areas of Intercultural Communication in Japan. Only some highlights of the training were mentioned, mainly what was connected to the business context, and some mention of scholars who have spanned both areas.

Also, individuals with international careers that focused on a related area such as high-level interpreting or meta-level geopolitical issues did not take major roles in the mainstream Intercultural Communication development so they were included only in a minor way. Individuals, also scholars, such as Masao Kunihiro and Kinhide Mushakoji have had extraordinary careers and influenced Japanese society. Another study could feature these and other individuals who focused on related areas of Intercultural Communication in order to fill out its full history in Japan.

Although I contacted and included many scholars outside of Tokyo and I interviewed almost everyone I had hoped, I was not able to include everyone. It is possible that I missed contacting someone or a significant group of scholars although I did not find that evidence from my interviews. If anyone has that evidence, I hope they will bring it forward. On the other hand, it was not possible to incorporate all the stories and anecdotes that the informants told me. I also could not detail the many contributions of all of the informants and instead concentrated on major events and steps towards institutionalization. Other publications could focus on the stories and interpersonal connections to a greater extent.

I also did not focus on the many research topics and articles that scholars have written on during these decades. I isolated what appeared to be new and unique directions that appeared in the last twenty years or so in order to find what was emergent in the field in Japan, rather than what was similar to previous years or to American scholarship. For a summary of recent, mainly 1990s, research topics, refer to Takai's article of 2003. He divided the trends he found into areas of Japanese communication patterns, cross-cultural communication, intercultural interaction, intercultural adjustment, and intercultural

communication training. Takai is based on Nagoya; it was unfortunately not possible to schedule an interview with him.

Rikkyo University Graduates

It will be interesting to see how scholars trained in Japan might differ in perspective or research interests from previous generations of scholars. Up to 2006, scholars in the Intercultural Communication invisible college obtained their higher degrees outside Japan (or at an American university's branch in Tokyo). How will the Rikkyo graduates take their places in the field? Some of them will enter the academy and some will use their education in other professions, will they be more "Japanized" than the earlier Generations? Will they be isolated from American scholarship? Will they connect with other Asians? I hope that someone follows these graduates and documents their perspectives and contributions.

Female Majority

The Intercultural Communication field has been and continues to be a predominately female discipline. The majority of students studying it at all degree levels is also female. This is the same as in the United States and Europe; however, the implications for Japan are unique. In Chapter Five, I pointed out that the first individual to incorporate Intercultural topics in course was Mitsuko Saito, a woman, that the leadership of SIETAR Japan has been and continues to be female, and that the dean of Rikkyo's College of Intercultural Communication is a woman. On the other hand, the Tabunka Kankei Gakkai leadership is largely male which was also discussed.

For future research, a scholar taking a feminist viewpoint could focus on the women who built Intercultural Communication and trace their contributions. In male-

dominated Japan, questions might be the reasons for female leadership, what that means for the field, and how it is a reflection of the changes and phenomenon of women's lives in Japan, points discussed in Chapter Five.

Differences in Development in Japan and the United States

I was not able to focus on addressing how the major relevant contexts for the development of Intercultural Communication studies in Japan compared with the United States. Refer to Appendix J History of the Intercultural Communication Field (1945 - 2005) that is a table of the information gathered by Cliff Clarke, now resident of Hawaii, regarding the history in the United States. It is interesting to find parallels and overlapping items as well as to notice how different the development has been. The major contexts for consideration would be historical, sociological, psychological, educational, political, and economic including business, much the same as I outlined for Japan in order to reveal both the similarities to and differences from the development of Intercultural Communication studies in the United States.

I invite and encourage others to take up a variety of possible topics for future research. As I stated in the methods chapter four, I acknowledge that my personal experiences and contacts influenced the outcome of this research.

Other Conclusions

During the interviews, when asked about future directions of the Intercultural field, there were several views that have not yet been referred to in the sections above. Toyama and a couple of other scholars lamented that Intercultural Communication has lacked a strong theoretical base and hoped that emerging scholars would devote their

attention to theory. They thought that the discipline cannot truly mature and be recognized without a robust theoretical foundation.

A couple of informants speculated that the future of Intercultural Communication was to enter and combine with other fields and professions, briefly mentioned above.

Matsuda gave the example of the association for teachers of Japanese having to pass a section on Intercultural Communication as part of their new certification process. Other examples given were the medical field imagining that physicians and nurses would have Intercultural courses in order to communicate better with patients of various backgrounds. Moreover, what was interesting was that the informant, Yoshioka, who is married to a physician, was not thinking of a future multicultural society but rather of generational and personality differences so that the medical personnel would communicate better, have a better bedside manner.

Yoshioka also hypothesized on schoolteachers benefiting from Intercultural Communication courses in their teacher training so that they could better communicate with children and teachers. Again, she was not imagining a multicultural future, but thinking about an all-Japanese population. Japanese society has not been diverse in the sense of immigrant countries such as the United States, Canada or Australia. Japan does not recognize its ethnic groups and the number of foreigners is still small. However, as a more multicultural society emerges, Yoshioka's ideas for expansion of Intercultural basic concepts and skills may prove beneficial, something like how Intercultural training has been beneficial to the business world.

Another comment from Matsuda was important in consideration of the mounting institutionalization of the Intercultural Communication field in Japan. Matsuda is based in

the Kansai region. In talking about the recent Rikkyo University graduate school degrees, she wondered if any universities in Kansai were contemplating Intercultural graduate degrees. As of 2009, I have not heard of any plans in Kansai or other regions. Matsuda said that without a graduate program in Kansai, the field would not be able to progress further in Kansai. She was hoping that a university in Kansai (Osaka, Kobe, Kyoto, or Nara) would plan a graduate program, first a master's degree, followed by a doctorate degree, and be as innovative in its concept as Rikkyo had been.

The Intercultural Communication Field in Japan

The story of the development of the Intercultural Communication discipline in Japan is the story of the diffusion of new ideas as they were imported from the United States and then re-invented within Japan. Diffusion would not have occurred without the invisible college of scholars who, linked together by the new and evolving intellectual paradigm of Intercultural Communication exchanged knowledge through their interpersonal channels, the optimal way for diffusion and growth to occur.

Even in the United States, Intercultural Communication is a relatively new discipline; in Japan, the introductory years began the same year as the publication of *The Silent Language* (Hall, 1959), and accelerated into the 1970s. Scholars within the invisible college, of course, organized each event but a look at the seminal events chronicles the growth and diffusion of the field. The 1980s saw the beginnings of formal structures and institutionalization. The early 1990s appeared to be the tipping point for a leap of growth that was also the time when the Japanese term, Ibunka Komyunikeishon, became the standard term and diffused even into the public sphere.

In the 21st century, Rikkyo University's innovative vision advanced the institutionalization of the field, definitely the hallmark of recognition and sustainability in the diffusion process of an intellectual paradigm. The field of Intercultural Communication diffused to the extent that it has become institutionalized and widely recognized by other disciplines and by government officials charged with approving new programs; the field reached the critical point of maturity.

From the beginning, related studies of language education and interpreting were always evident in the acceptance and development of the field in Japan, somewhat different from the United States. These threads combined into holistic Rikkyo programs represented in the four tracks that include the innovative one of environmental communication. Saito would recognize those four tracks; her diverse professional network included those and more.

Three theoretical perspectives that are closely intertwined and overlapping were selected for the present study: network theory, the subsystem of invisible colleges (a network of scholars), and diffusion theory. My approach for this research was to use the narrative paradigm and to interview a number of key individuals regarding the development and current practices of the Intercultural Communication field in Japan.

The individual narratives told during the course of this study all shared similar and complementary overarching themes, similar story lines, and convergence of facts and memories about events. While there are emerging directions research interests, generational viewpoints, and attitudes towards American scholarship, perspectives, and methodology, there is convergence in terms of purpose and motivation of the field as a whole, and personal interest and motivation for involvement in the field.

The three Research Questions that were posed asked *why Japan*, *what in Japan*, and *how did it happen* were answered as follows. The first two questions were answered together through a look at the ongoing Japanese context. Both the meta and personal, multi-layered historical and social contexts of the Postwar Period created a welcoming context for the new concepts of Intercultural Communication as they unfolded. This new paradigm conceived responses to the crucial questions facing Japanese society of identity and how to interact on the world stage that have continued to be of concern. The new ICU university and new young faculty, Saito, provided the micro-context for starting the transfer of the new paradigm.

Although the start was very small and did not merit a footnote in the two histories of ICU, Saito as facilitator created a center of interest in Intercultural Communication that then spread, diffused, to other places and drew more people. Those people, the invisible college of scholars, built the structure, formalized the field, and took advantage of opportunities to institutionalize it.

As the focus of this study was on the history with some attention to present trends and future directions, study of this dynamic and growing discipline should continue. Although far from complete, this inaugural study may encourage others to further document, from their own perspectives and knowledge, the maturing of the field and bring to light what is not included here. This is one version of the mapping of the field with its twists and turns smoothed out and documentation of the highlights.

The 20th anniversary conference of SIETAR Japan in 2005 mapped the field and looked forward to new directions; the leadership knew that without documentation, we do not have a continuing institutional memory. To reflect on how the field started and where

we have been also helps those of us in the field to better explain ourselves to those coming into the field, those with close relations to Intercultural Communication, and those at the periphery who are working outside the academy to make a difference in the world.

The ultimate goal, the pursuit and growth of knowledge within the paradigm, has been successful. The Intercultural field continues to expand into new and multiple directions. It may be expected that research in the future will stand on the foundation of the past as scholars explore new directions and expand, even change, the paradigm as it develops out of the Japanese context to address issues facing educators and practitioners in Japan.

Fifty years after both the introduction of Intercultural Communication to Japan and the publication of *The Silent Language,* the classic that established the field, it appears that Intercultural Communication in Japan has diffused to a sustainable level and continues its dynamic growth. It is an optimum time to both document its history and reflect on its legacy.

---

[1] *Amae* is a concept well explicated by Takeo Doi who was a presenter at the 1972 conference held at ICU. He gave his first, or one of his first, English presentations on *amae* at that time (1974). Later, he published in English as *The Anatomy of Dependence* (1992, 2002).
[2] I was unable to make contact with Miike and therefore unable to have him as an informant for this study.
[3] The Japanese name for SIETAR Japan is Ibunka Komyunikeishon Gakkai (literal translation of Intercultural Communication Academic Association).
[4] The English name for this academic association is Japan Society for Multicultural Relations (JSMR). Although the English name appears on its website, there are no English web pages and all proceedings are in Japanese. Although I chose to alternate the names of this association in the text, here I refer to it by its original and generally used Japanese name.
[5] Membership for Japanese scholars.
[6] This is the direction I would like to see taken by Intercultural Communication in the United States. I believe the direction taken by Rikkyo is at the cutting edge of the field and the most meaningful direction to

be taken. Environmental issues cannot be solved without attention to cultural context and beliefs; resolution must coincide with cultural values and behaviors.

[7] By today's standards, seven years may seem like a long time, but for the 1960s, to translate a relatively obscure book internationally was very fast.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A LIST OF INFORMANTS **401**

APPENDIX B CONSENT FORMS **406**

APPENDIX C MAP OF JAPAN SHOWING REGIONS **413**

APPENDIX D THE SIMUL PRESS IDEAL **415**

APPENDIX E MITSUKO SAITO, LEARNING TO COMMUNICATE ARTICLE **417**

APPENDIX F MITSUKO SAITO, GENERAL SEMANTICS AND INTERCULTURAL COMMUNICATION ARTICLE **423**

APPENDIX G SIETAR JAPAN MISSION STATEMENT **427**

APPENDIX H INTERCULTURAL COMMUNICATION STUDIES FOR A SUSTAINABLE FUTURE BY KEN-ICHI NODA **430**

APPENDIX I INTERCULTURAL COMMUNICATION AS A BRIDGE BETWEEN JAPAN AND THE WORLD BY KUMIKO TORIKAI **434**

APPENDIX J HISTORY OF ICC IN THE U.S. 1945-2005 ..... **438**

APPENDIX K EARLY AND CONTEMPORARY PHOTOS OF ICU GROUNDS, BUILDINGS, PEOPLE, AND CAMPUS **444**

APPENDIX A

LIST OF INFORMANTS

Listed by country and region of residence during the interviewing period of 2004 to 2008. Additional information shown in columns for gender, generational category as decided for this study, and affiliations. The starred individuals indicate non-Japanese.

	Kanto Region – Greater Tokyo Metropolitan area, Chiba, Yokohama, Kamakura, Saitama			
	Name	**Gender**	**Generation in this study**	**Affiliation(s)**
Japan	1. Shoko Araki	F	Inheritors	Obirin U.
	2 Gyo Furuta	M	Inheritors	Kanda U. of International Studies (retired)
	3. Kichiro Hayashi	M	Heisei	Aoyama Gakuin U. (retired)
	4. Yoshiko Higuchi	F	Heisei	Independent, community level
	5. Yoshikazu Hongo	M	Millennials	ICU
	6. Richiko Ikeda	F	Heisei	ICU
	7. Satoshi Ishii	M	Inheritors	Otsuma Women's U., Dokkyo U. (retired)
	8. Kazuko Iwatsuki	F	Inheritors	Independent trainer
	9. Toshio Kobayashi	M	Inheritors	MIME
	10. Teruyuki Kume	M	Inheritors	Kanda U. of International Studies, Rikkyo U.
	11. Masao Kunihiro	M	Pioneers	Interpreter, Media Host, Chuo U.
	12. Kinhide Mushakoji	M	Pioneers	United Nations U., research institute
	13. Adair Linn Nagata*	F	Millennials	Rikkyo U. (retired)
	14. Jimmy Niblock*	M	Heisei	Independent trainer, consultant

	Name		Gender	Generation in this study	Affiliation(s)
Japan	15.	David W. Rackham*	M	(Outside of Intercultural)	ICU
	16.	Masako Sano	F	Pioneers	ICU
	17.	Diane Walsh Sasaki*	F	Inheritors	Independent trainer, consultant
	18.	Joseph Shaules*	M	Heisei	Rikkyo U.
	19.	Chizuko Tezuka	F	Heisei	Keio U.
	20.	Kumiko Torikai	F	Millennials	Rikkyo U.
	21.	Jacqueline Wasilewski*	F	Heisei	ICU
	22.	Kyoko Yashiro	F	Inheritors	Reitaku U.
	Focus Group of 7 – doctoral students at Rikkyo University, Tokyo				
	23.	Voltaire Garces Cang*	M	Millennials	Rikkyo U.
	24.	Takeshi Enomoto	M	Millennials	Rikkyo U.
	25.	Yoshie Kubota	F	Millennials	Rikkyo U.
	26.	Tomokazu Nagai	M	Millennials	Rikkyo U.
	27.	Mino Saito	F	Millennials	Rikkyo U.
	28.	Ikuko Yabunami	F	Millennials	Rikkyo U.
	29.	Masahiro Yoshida	M	Millennials	Rikkyo U.
	Kansai Region – Osaka – Kobe – Kyoto				
	30.	Yoko Matsuda	F	Heisei	U. of Hyogo, Kobe U. of International Studies
	31.	Kazuo Mizuta	M	Inheritors	Kyoto Sangyo U.
	32.	Jun Toyama	M	Inheritors	Momoyama Gakuin U. (retired)
	33.	Miho Yoshioka	F	Heisei	Momoyama Gakuin U.

Japan	**Chubu Region – Nagoya**			
	Name	**Gender**	**Generation in this study**	**Affiliation**
	34. Yukiko S. Jolly	F	Heisei	Aichi Shukutoku U.
	35. Roichi Okabe	M	Inheritors	Nanzan U.
	Hokkaido			
	36. Shoji Mitarai	M	Inheritors	Hokkaido U.

	Name	**Gender**	**Generation in this study**	**Affiliation(s)**
United States	37. Janet M. Bennett*	F	(Inheritors regular visitor to Japan)	Portland State U., independent trainer/consultant
	38. Clifford Clarke*	M	Pioneers	Stanford U., independent trainer/consultant
	39. John Condon*	M	Pioneers	Northwestern U., ICU, U. of New Mexico (retired)
	40. Edward C. Stewart*	M	Inheritors	ICU, U. of Nagoya (retired)

* Non-Japanese

Other Notes:

1. The meaning of Generations is according to my estimation of when that individual became active in the Intercultural Communication field and has no relation to an individual's chronological age. Some individuals were active in other fields before becoming active in the Intercultural Communication field.
2. Some individuals were interviewed for their specialized knowledge, such as David Rackham for his knowledge and archives about early ICU, or their general

knowledge at the periphery of the discipline such as Masao Kunihiro and Kinhide Mushakoji.

3. The doctoral students in the Focus Group may have graduated and become affiliated with another university after 2006, the closing year for this study. Several interviews were conducted after 2006 but no follow-up interviews or correspondence were conducted with members of the Focus Group.
4. Kazuo Mizuta changed his family name from Yoshida; therefore, his earliest publications were published under the name of Kazuo Yoshida.
5. Affiliations here start with the earliest major university affiliation unless university affiliation appeared to be more minor than other activities in that individual's career.
6. Only individuals whose major affiliation in the field has been training and consulting have that included in Affiliations. Other who added training and/or consulting to a university career periodically or who transitioned to that after retirement do not have it included under Affiliations.

APPENDIX B

CONSENT FORMS

CONSENT FORM for INTERVIEWEE

CONSENT TO PARTICIPATE IN RESEARCH

INTRODUCTION
You are asked to participate in a research study conducted by Holly Siebert Kawakami, Ph.D. Candidate, from the Department of Communication & Journalism at the University of New Mexico. Your participation in an interview will contribute to my dissertation. You were selected as a possible participant in the study because you are a key scholar in the intercultural communication field.

PURPOSE OF THE STUDY: The purpose of my research is to document the beginning of the intercultural communication discipline as a field of study in Japan and its subsequent development, trends, similarities and differences to the field in the United States from 1950 to the present time. I will also identify and explain the differences and similarities of the perspectives and directions taken in the U.S. and Japan. Finally, I will provide an overview of current trends and predictions for future trends based on current research of key individuals.

The purpose of the interview is to ask you about 1) your earliest exposure to the concept of intercultural communication and how you chose to pursue this field as your career, 2) your thoughts on the development of the field in Japan, 3) highlights of your career, 4) your research interests, 5) your thoughts on current and future trends in the intercultural field in Japan.

PROCEDURES
I am requesting your time for an interview at your convenience in both time and place. I request your permission to record the interview by field notes and audiotapes. The interview will be conducted in English as I will be writing the dissertation in English. The interview will take approximately one hour but if more time is required or if the interview needs to be cut short, I will request another time to meet.

There is no payment for participation.

At the time I am writing my dissertation, if I plan to quote you directly or paraphrase your statement, I will send you that section for your appraisal to be sure that your statement has not been taken out of context or misunderstood.

Please note the section below regarding confidentiality.

POTENTIAL RISKS AND DISCOMFORTS
I do not anticipate any risks, discomforts, inconveniences in your participation, but if at any time you experience discomfort, tell me to stop immediately. It is entirely up to you whether to participate and to proceed until the end of the interview. After the interview, if

you wish to withdraw from participation, tell me and I will destroy the notes and tapes of your interview.

POTENTIAL BENEFITS TO PARTICIPANTS AND/OR SOCIETY
The potential benefit to you is to be included in a comprehensive documentation of the development of the intercultural communication discipline in Japan. Included may be portions of your narrative regarding your career, research, and contributions to the field of intercultural communication. Also included may be your part within the process of the development of the field as shown by your connections with others in the "invisible college" of scholars.

In the United States, there is presently interest in non-U.S. perspectives and theories of intercultural communication. Some scholars have concentrated on, for example, Afro-centric perspectives, but only recently have U.S. scholars begun to pay attention to Asian perspectives. I am interested in examining and bringing to light Japanese perspectives and approaches for understanding by Americans.

My dissertation will serve as a historical reference for a field that is approaching maturity, as a bridge of knowledge between Japan and the U.S., and perhaps lead to further collaboration among American and Japanese scholars.

CONFIDENTIALITY
Due to the nature and purpose of the interview, information obtained in connection with this study and that can be identified with you may appear in my dissertation. Any part that you wish to be confidential and/or be entirely deleted from the tapes and notes you may tell me during or at any time after the interview until the dissertation is finally completed and submitted.

As stated above, for any quotes or paraphrasing of your statements that I include, I will send you the section for your review.

No one else will have access to the audiotapes without your permission.

PARTICIPATION AND WITHDRAWAL
You can choose whether to participate in this study or not. If you volunteer to participate, you may withdraw at any time without penalty or loss of benefits to which you might otherwise be entitled. You may also refuse to answer any questions you do not want to answer and still remain in the study. The investigator may withdraw you from this research if circumstances arise which warrant doing so.

IDENTIFICATION OF INVESTIGATORS AND REVIEW BOARD
If you have any questions or concerns about the research, please feel free to contact: Holly Siebert Kawakami. My name card is attached to this sheet and shows my address, phone number, and email address. Or, you may contact Dr. Glenda Balas, chair of my dissertation committee at the Department of Communication & Journalism, Yale and

Central, University of New Mexico, Albuquerque, NM, 87131, U.S.A., (505) 350-9040, email address: gbalas@unm.edu

If you have other concerns or complaints, contact the Institutional Review Board at the University of New Mexico, 1717 Roma NE, Room 205, MSC05 3180, Albuquerque, NM 87131, (505) 277-0040.

SIGNATURE OF RESEARCH PARTICIPANT

I understand the procedures described above. My questions have been answered to my satisfaction, and I agree to participate in this study. I have been provided a copy of this form.

_____	_____	_____
Name of Participant (please print)	Signature of Participant	Date

SIGNATURE OF INVESTIGATOR

In my judgment the participant is voluntarily and knowingly giving informed consent and possesses the legal capacity to give informed consent to participate in this research study.

_____	_____
Signature of Investigator or Designee	Date

FOCUS GROUP PARTICIPATION CONSENT FORM

CONSENT TO PARTICIPATE IN RESEARCH

INTRODUCTION

You are asked to participate in a **focus group** as part of the research study conducted by Holly Siebert Kawakami, Ph.D. Candidate, from the Department of Communication & Journalism at the University of New Mexico. Your participation in a focus group will contribute to my dissertation. You were selected as a possible participant for the focus group because you use concepts of the intercultural communication field in your professional career, and you are graduate of ICU or studied under a prominent intercultural scholar at another institution.

PURPOSE OF THE STUDY: The purpose of my research is to document the beginning of the intercultural communication discipline as a field of study in Japan and its subsequent development, trends, similarities and differences to the field in the United States from 1950 to the present time. I will also identify and explain the differences and similarities of the perspectives and directions taken in the U.S. and Japan. Finally, I will provide an overview of current trends and predictions for future trends based on current research of key individuals.

The purpose of the focus group is to ask you about 1) your memories of universities courses, including instructors, about intercultural communication, 2) your thoughts on the development of the field in Japan, 3) whether you use knowledge and concepts from courses about intercultural communication in your career, 4) your thoughts on current and future trends in the intercultural field in Japan.

PROCEDURES

I am requesting your time in an focus group that will last for two hours. I request your permission to record the focus group proceedings by field notes and audiotapes. The focus group will be conducted in English as I will be writing the dissertation in English. However, you are always free to express your thoughts in Japanese first.

There is no payment for participation, but refreshments will be provided.

Please note the section below regarding confidentiality.

POTENTIAL RISKS AND DISCOMFORTS

I do not anticipate any risks, discomforts, inconveniences in your participation, but if at any time you experience discomfort, tell me to stop immediately. It is entirely up to you whether to participate and to proceed until the end of the interview. After the interview, if you wish to withdraw from participation, tell me and I will destroy the notes and tapes of your interview.

POTENTIAL BENEFITS TO PARTICIPANTS AND/OR SOCIETY
The potential benefit to you is to be included in a comprehensive documentation of the development of the intercultural communication discipline in Japan. Your comments or portions of your comments during the focus group may be in the dissertation.

In the United States, there is presently interest in non-U.S. perspectives and theories of intercultural communication. Some scholars have concentrated on, for example, Afro-centric perspectives, but only recently have U.S. scholars begun to pay attention to Asian perspectives. I am interested in examining and bringing to light Japanese perspectives and approaches for understanding by Americans.

My dissertation will serve as a historical reference for a field that is approaching maturity, as a bridge of knowledge between Japan and the U.S., and perhaps lead to further collaboration among American and Japanese scholars.

CONFIDENTIALITY
Your comments or portions of your comments during the focus group may be included in the dissertation; it is unlikely that anyone's comments in the focus group will be directly identified although participants may be identified as graduates of a certain university or students of a certain professor during certain years. If there is any part of your comments that you wish to be confidential and/or be entirely deleted from the tapes and notes you may tell me at any time after the focus group until the dissertation is finally completed and submitted.

PARTICIPATION AND WITHDRAWAL
You can choose whether to participate in this study or not. If you volunteer to participate, you may withdraw at any time without penalty or loss of benefits to which you might otherwise be entitled. You may also refuse to answer any questions you do not want to answer and still remain in the focus group. The investigator may withdraw you from this research if circumstances arise which warrant doing so.

IDENTIFICATION OF INVESTIGATORS AND REVIEW BOARD
If you have any questions or concerns about the research, please feel free to contact: Holly Siebert Kawakami. My name card is attached to this sheet and shows my address, phone number, and email address. Or, you may contact Dr. Glenda Balas, chair of my dissertation committee at the Department of Communication & Journalism, Yale and Central, University of New Mexico, Albuquerque, NM, 87131, U.S.A., (505) 350-9040, email address: gbalas@unm.edu

If you have other concerns or complaints, contact the Institutional Review Board at the University of New Mexico, 1717 Roma NE, Room 205, MSC05 3180, Albuquerque, NM 87131, (505) 277-0040.

SIGNATURE OF FOCUS GROUP PARTICIPANT

I understand the procedures described above. My questions have been answered to my satisfaction, and I agree to participate in this study. I have been provided a copy of this form.

_____	_____	_____
Name of Participant (please print)	Signature of Participant	Date

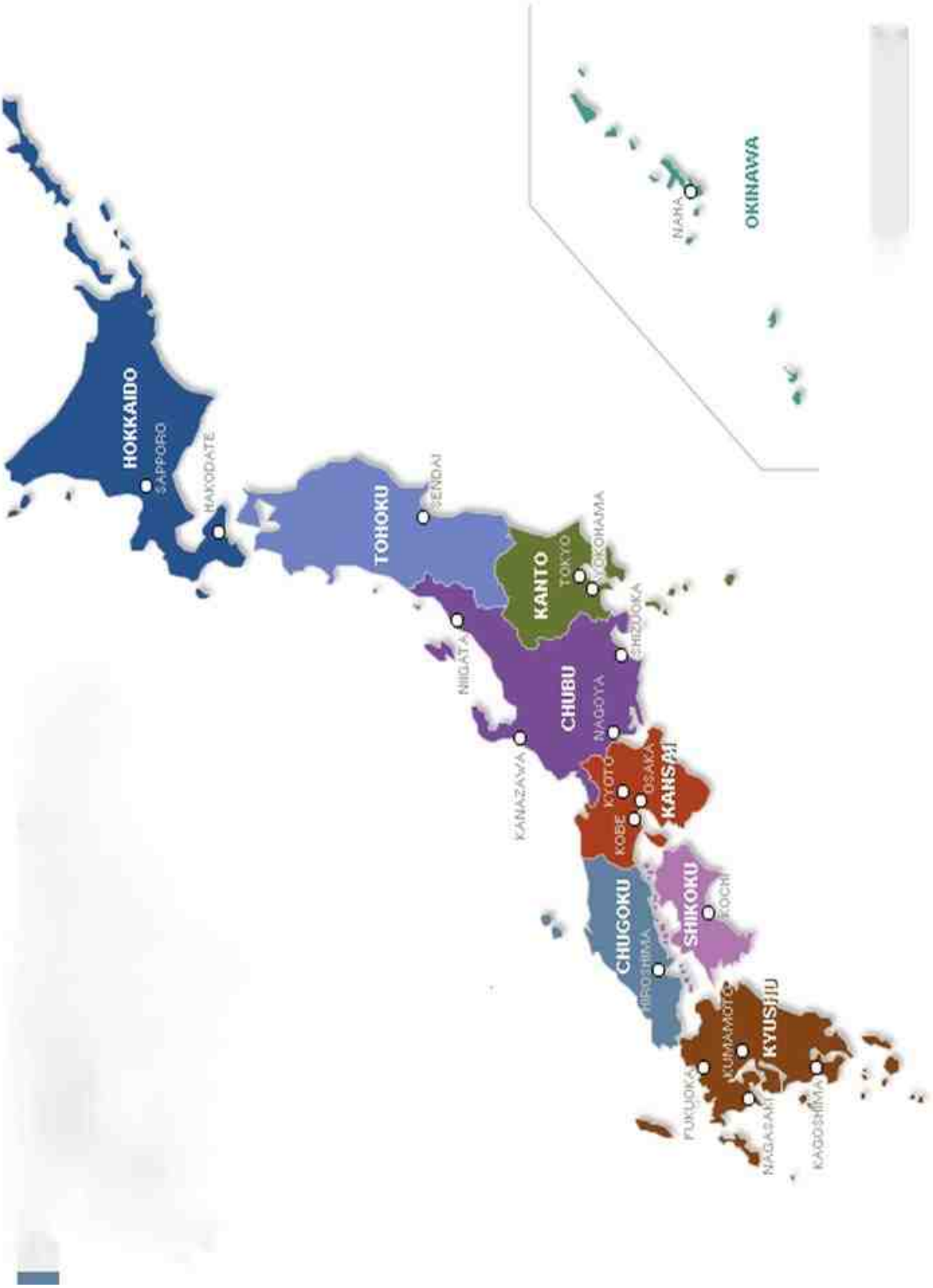
SIGNATURE OF INVESTIGATOR

In my judgment the participant is voluntarily and knowingly giving informed consent and possesses the legal capacity to give informed consent to participate in this research study.

_____	_____
Signature of Investigator or Designee	Date

APPENDIX C

MAP OF JAPAN SHOWING REGIONS


HOKKAIDO
SAPPORO
HAKODATE
TOHOKU
SENDAI
KANTO
TOKYO
YOKOHAMA
NIIGATA
CHUBU
NAGOYA
SHIZUOKA
KANAZAWA
KYOTO
OSAKA
KOBE
KANSAI
CHUGOKU
SHIKOKU
KOCHI
KYUSHU
KUMAMOTO
FUKUOKA
NAGASAKI
KAGOSHIMA
NAHA
OKINAWA

APPENDIX D

THE SIMUL PRESS IDEAL

The Simul Press Ideal[1]

サイマ出版会のめざすもの

The Simul Press, Inc. was founded upon the concept of launching international publishing activities by participating with readers in forging the history of our turbulent times.

Mankind has ceaselessly waged war in pursuit of peace and divided against itself while wishing that the world were one. Scientific advances have brought about an electronic-communication[2] era. But the very simultaneity of information availability tends to elicit identical and simplistic responses throughout the world, in turn subjecting mankind to the distress of yet new misunderstanding.

To remove the roots of conflict spawned by such misunderstanding and to enrich international qualities of Japan, once again a leader of nations, we present the raw materials, both from the past and the present, which will help identify various domestic issues as well as deepen international understanding. It is our earnest desire that through our efforts we may contribute to recovering the essential conditions of humanity and unifying all peoples as one world of peace. May this lofty ideal to which we humbly dedicate ourselves be blessed with the support of our readers.

---

[1] This is the mission statement for Simul Press that was prominently printed within the front and end pages and covers of all books it published, in both English and Japanese regardless of the language of the book. The Japanese is not shown here, but the title is under the English title. It may be assumed that the founders, Mitsuko Saito, Masao Kunihiro, and their colleagues wrote the statement. Although written in the 1960s, it was used throughout the company's existence until the early 1990s when it went into bankruptcy. Only its textbook section was sold off.

[2] This must refer to telephones and television considering the time period, but it certainly is a prescient statement that refers to the present time even more than the 1960s.

APPENDIX E

MITSUKO SAITO, LEARNING TO COMMUNICATE ARTICLE

LEARNING TO COMMUNICATE

Mitsuko Saito-Fukunaga
International Christian University, Tokyo

The Japanese character for learning tells us a great deal. The bottom part signifies white, clean or unprejudiced; the upper part refers to the flapping of a bird's wings, especially a baby bird as it is first learning to fly. Implicit in this dual form is the notion of repeated action. (Illustration I)

There is a Zen story which illustrates well the meaning of the bottom of this character. Two university students went to a Zen master saying, 'Master, we have come here to listen to you.' The Master stared at their faces for a moment and then said, 'One moment.' He went into the kitchen and came out with a tray holding two tea cups full of tea and a teapot, which he placed in front of them. When the students thanked him for his trouble, he started to pour more tea into the already full cups, and of the course the tea overflowed. The students wondered what he was doing and asked, 'Master, what are you doing?' He paid no attention. The second time they asked him he answered, 'Do you now understand what I mean?' They answered, 'No.' The Master replied, 'Then you'd better go home.'

This is a simple story but it has a profound message. The Master said that the students were not ready to listen - their cups were full. Full cups will hold no more tea, just as full minds will hold no more knowledge. The message of the Master was for them to empty their cups so that they could let in or receive. One does not have to agree in order to receive. To listen is to be receptive to people or people's opinions, whether one likes them or not. So when one is listening, he has to forget himself. That is, he has to empty his cup. This demands a change in a communication situation, or a change in behavior.

How can listening as a skill be developed? I am reminded of the advice handed down by Dogen, the Zen Buddhist Master, who said, 'The way to Buddha is to learn about oneself. And to learn about oneself, one has to forget oneself. When one forgets himself, he can be one with everything.' He can then communicate with every existent thing in the world, and Dogen was saying that this is the way to find Buddha.

Totally outside the religious implications here, I have sought to apply the Dogen methodology to the teaching of listening skill. The particular technique involves exercise in a certain way of Zen painting called hoshu no tama (a circle with the top suggestive of flames.) (Illustration II) In the exercise one is to find out how to forget himself in order to learn about himself. Essentially this is a kind of mirror act - one sees in his instantaneous drawing of the circle a reflection of his condition, his state of being, at that particular moment. He confronts himself. Drawing involves 'doing', and through action one discovers himself. The 'doing' is nothing more than training, and it is sheer repetition.

My students in undergraduate classes at International Christian University and in executive training programs at the Fuji Film Company have been put to drawing circles and flames as a step toward becoming better communicators. It is amazing what this simple exercise can do. Of course, it is not so simple as it appears. The inner state is all-important, with the goal of achieving 'no-mindedness' by emptying oneself, forgetting oneself.*

*'No-mindedness' may be roughly but inadequately described by such terms as 'no-thought', 'no-form', 'devoid of striving', 'free from deliberate effort', 'non-interfering', etc.

1970. *General Semantics Bulletin: Yearbook of the Institute of General Semantics, 37,* 14-18.

Illustration II.

Through repeated drawing of the hoshu no tama the students and young executives discovered that their drawings were unpredictable. When they tried to produce better drawings, to impress people, they were not able to bring out their best. But the closer they got to no-mindedness, the better were the results, and the individual was himself the first to recognize this.

In Zen, the self is being expressed in every action, and even in the most mundane aspects of life the self-expression becomes an art. A Zen Master typically evaluates a person by looking at the way he walks as the person is going away from him.

There is another Zen story about a monk who was serving an apprenticeship for three years, but who did not learn anything about Zen. One day he went to the Master and asked why he did not get anything out of his life in the temple. 'What is Zen?' he asked. The Master answered, 'Did you eat your breakfast?' The disciple answered, 'Yes.' 'All right, then go and wash your dishes,' was the Master's answer. The point, of course, was to stress discovering himself through doing.

It is important to understand that no-mindedness can only be found in action. Though it is not the same as washing dishes, through drawing hoshu no tama one can learn and acquire skills to be one, even with inanimate things. This is the ultimate goal of Zen, and I find that it is the ultimate goal of communication also.

If you wish to try the experiment, use some white paper, brush and black ink. First draw a circle in one stroke. Next, draw flames coming out of the circle as a symbol of infinite power or strength. Now you have executed hoshu no tama, which means human beings are like precious jewels. In repeated execution of the drawing you find that you are learning more about yourself. With each picture you are expressing a new self-understanding. In the state of no-mindedness, effortlessly, a strength emerges from within you, your true self. This is both satisfying to you and appealing to others.

The first attitude of students before they move into action is a fear of expressing themselves. They have to force themselves to do it. Next they discover that the circle differs each time, that they are never able to express the same one again. Each one is a unique product. Third, they realize that they cannot foresee what kind of self-expression they are going to come up with, and they realize that they cannot control themselves. The students find that when they feel irritable and tired it shows plainly on the paper. Every mental and physical condition is revealed in the drawing in the form of total expression. For instance, the drawing itself lacks vitality when the person is tired. After many attempts the student comes up with a pleasing and satisfying drawing. He cannot analyze why he likes it, why it is so pleasing as a totality.

These insights emerge: The drawings are like mirrors, they reveal the self. The human being is changing, never the same at any moment. He is unable to control and therefore to predict himself, since he has no fixed form. When a pleasing product is made it impresses not only himself, but also others. Discovery has moved from the particular to the universal.

When does the student produce pleasing results? When he forgets himself, when he is not self-conscious, when he has achieved no-mindedness. It becomes clear to him that when he empties himself,

16

power is felt coming out. However, the duration of no-mindedness is short: in the flash of a second other thoughts creep in, so that when he tries to remind himself to be of no-mindedness, he is at that very moment being of 'mindedness'.

A little experience at this teaches him that he cannot force himself; too much effort prevents him from forgetting himself. Students who have practiced the exercise soon realize that to forget oneself is a skill, the resultant of much training.

Once they produce a pleasing drawing they become motivated to repeat, and do not mind repeating the drawing because the reward is so refreshing, which amazes them. Interestingly enough, they do not know how and when they come out as 'themselves'. As with a good golf shot, one does not know how the drawing was produced, but it simply came out of him as a total performance in the flash of a moment. It is through repetition of an act that one gains the experience of no-mindedness. This repetition takes time, but the more it is done, with attention, not just mechanically, the oftener a satisfactory product is likely to come out.

Now a strange thing happens. The student learns to stop in the midst of his enjoyment. He does not stop because he is tired, or bored. His nervous system tells him when to stop in order not to become too attached to the enjoyment or the product. This sense of restraint, the denial of obsession, is a by-product of the exercise.

In the next stage the student wants to make a change, usually a very minor one, such as a different brush, size of paper, or quality of ink. The effect is astonishing. The smallest variation in technique seems greatly exaggerated in the total impression. Fascinated, he pursues his own devices and proceeds to establish his own style. This I call creation. By 'creation' I mean changes in one's productions which are according to one's own desire but are not made deliberately. It is important to understand that creativity can come only after arduous training with the fixed form. After the form has been mastered, creativity will inevitably emerge. I have witnessed this with students who never thought of themselves as artists, and who probably don't have that talent in the usually accepted sense. But in accordance with the Zen sense, once one has realized his power of self-expression he is considered an artist. The discovery of such potential brings a quiet and deep kind of joy.

As they continue to produce drawings of the hoshu no tama students come to a stage where they can accept any and every result. The drawing is not a conscious effort, but a mirror image. To recognize that and thus accept the results involves total acceptance of self. Every product becomes, indeed, a precious experience which has value to the person at that moment. Even if during the course of training the student feels discouraged with one of his drawings, he can still accept it because he can see in it the progress he has made in self-expression since his first drawing. (Illustration III)

The acceptance of each performance helps the student to learn how important it is to be imperfect. This is a most relaxed inner state, when he gains a love of performance regardless of the result. Finally the student learns to become one with the drawings that emit from his brush, that is, at one with himself.

Yet there is more that happens. The paper he uses becomes precious to him. He wants to show reverence to the paper. It becomes more than just a 'substance'; he realizes that he has an intimate relationship with it, and with the brush and the ink. And then it is the desk, chair, floor, or anything else around him. Everything becomes precious to him, and he wants to show reverence to everything. Now

he has come to a total acceptance of those objects because he sees them as mirrors which reflect his formless self.

The student feels that he can be one with anything. If he saw a cricket, he could become one with it. He thoroughly enjoys the little creature, no matter how insignificant it may appear to others. The cricket 'is everything' - the whole world - at that particular moment. In Zen this means to communicate with the cricket. Such power derives from awareness of one's real self, the formless self. One who has achieved this may sense communication with any and all things. He becomes acute to the marvelous world he lives in, and all things come alive. The diversity is astonishing, because it exists in unity. All things in the world are connected like knots of a fishing net. When one knot is lifted other knots are lifted too. Everything is interrelated; nothing exists in isolation. Thus, if he can communicate with one object, then he should be able to communicate with any other object.

Communication in Zen means to be one with the other. An awareness of 'oneness' develops from emptying oneself and accepting the other. This is perhaps easier said than done. Zen trainees spend years at it. For us all it may also be said that learning to become a good communicator is not easy; it requires a long continuing process of training.

The four skills of communication - listening, speaking, reading and writing - all have to be learned, and we are introduced to them in that order. The child's efforts to speak are polished by instruction, as is his ability to read and write. Thus the encoding skills are rather fully covered; so is one of the decoding skills, reading. But, strangely, the other important decoding skill, which happens to be the first naturally exercised by the infant, seems to be left to chance. Rarely is any training given to develop the skill of listening. Yet this is the most difficult of the four, calling for the most subtle form of training.

Listening is a most positive action. It requires acceptance of others - total acceptance for a good listener. As illustrated in the story of the Zen master's tea cups, the listener must empty himself, achieving the state of no-mindedness. This state is not merely passive; on the contrary, it involves an action of the 'whole self' directed toward becoming one with the other.

The total acceptance involved in this act means to me to love. It surmounts the apathy, or lack of understanding, or even lack of respect that we might have for another. To do good for others is fine, and is an indication of love. But in the hurried age we live in, it is a more genuine expression of love merely to listen to persons we encounter, to be one with them. Then we will know what to ask, what to say, and what to do. In the jargon of communication study, we have learned 'feedback'.

To the Western proverb 'Silence is golden' a Japanese counterpart adds, 'and speech is silver.' Both imply that listening is the more precious of the two communication skills. That, I believe, is because listening is more difficult. It is also commonly said that a good speaker becomes so by being a good listener. Some people do work at this, but it is the rare individual who has empathy with his audience thoroughly, who becomes one with his listener. If all of us received training in listening from an early age, as we do in the other communication skills, how much better we would understand one another.

When I came upon the Dogen practice of Zen painting it naturally occurred to me that here was something aimed at the results that I had been attempting to achieve in my communication skill courses. It seemed perfectly designed for that most needed of all the skills, indirect though the method might appear. After ten years of experience with students I can confidently say it works.

A part of my work has been to train young people for the very difficult task of simultaneous interpretation, which I have attempted myself to do on any number of occasions. This has taken me into many halls in Japan, the United States, Canada and countries of Southeast Asia, Europe and Africa where international conferences were conducted. In Tokyo alone there are, on the average, three or four such conferences held each week.

The problems of communication through different languages are difficult enough, but it has been my common experience to observe a more serious barrier. The delegates are so concerned about being understood that they forget to make the effort to understand. They want to speak, but somehow cannot listen. Needless to say, without achieving empathy with their audience they are not very successful speakers.

It is possible that we have a hint here of a basic reason for international misunderstanding. Within our own communities, too, and even within the family, the lack is frequently present. We hear but we do not listen. It is like reading a page of text while our attention wanders - nothing is absorbed. Listening differs from reading in that there is a closer human contact, and in this sense it would seem that listening should be easier. Yet for most of us it is not, because our tea cups are overflowing.

18

MITSUKO SAITO-FUKUNAGA was born in Kyoto, Japan, and was a high school teacher in Tokyo before coming to this country. She first learned of general semantics when she studied with Irving Lee at Northwestern University, where she received her MA and PhD degrees. She attended the Institute's seminar-workshop in 1954, then returned in 1962 and 1965.

Mrs. Saito-Fukunaga (or 'Mitzie', as her friends here call her) is very active teaching and writing in Tokyo. She also travels throughout the world in her work as interpreter at diplomatic meetings, and to attend conferences. In addition, she has a busy life as the wife of a Member of Parliament (the Japanese Diet).

As Associate Professor in the Department of Communication at International Christian University, Mitzie now teaches the following courses: Oral Communication, Introduction to the Study of Communication I (Intra-personal Communication), General Semantics, Psychology of Language, Conference Interpreting I, II, and III.

Her published books include: The Science of Spoken Language and Theories of Listening, and in translation, The Silent Language by Edward Hall and Living in the World of Words by J. Condon. There are also numerous articles published in newspapers and periodicals.

STEPHEN TOULMIN is a philosopher, scientist and historian of science. He is the author (with his wife, June Goodfield) of two volumes in Hutchinson's The Ancestry of Science series — The Fabric of the Heavens (1961) and The Architecture of Matter (1962). For many years he was lecturer in the Philosophy of Science at Oxford and a Fellow of King's College, Cambridge. He taught at Brandeis University, and now is teaching in the Department of Philosophy at Michigan State University at East Lansing.

In his article on Ludwig Wittgenstein, Dr. Toulmin gives a historical analysis of Wittgenstein's intellectual development, and shows the continuity in his long Odyssey. It was, of course, his Tractatus Logico-Philosophicus which greatly influenced Korzybski in the early 1920's (Wittgenstein is among those to whom Science and Sanity is dedicated). As Dr. Toulmin points out, Wittgenstein was misread by the 'logical positivists', members of the Vienna Circle, and 'once [he] had been labelled as a positivist men found it hard to see him in any other light.' On reading this fascinating account of his development, we see other important influences in his life. Korzybski, also erroneously, has been called a 'logical positivist', perhaps partly by association because of his interest in Wittgenstein.

APPENDIX F

MITSUKO SAITO, GENERAL SEMANTICS AND INTERCULTURAL COMMUNICATION ARTICLE

GENERAL SEMANTICS AND INTERCULTURAL COMMUNICATION†

MITSUKO SAITO-FUKUNAGA*

SEVERAL YEARS AGO, while conducting some research in my neighboring country, Korea, I heard from an influential Korean journalist about a little incident in Seoul.

At the grand opening of the Lotte Department Store, which is a joint venture of Japan and Korea, Korean sales clerks bowed deeply, Japanese-style, to greet Korean dignitaries. In Japan, department stores train their employees very carefully to treat customers in the most polite fashion; the Japanese managers had trained the Korean employees accordingly. The dignitaries and invitees at the opening felt very strange to see Korean sales clerks bowing deeply in Japanese style. The sight struck them as artificial and distasteful since it was not the Korean way. On the following day in the newspapers, there was a big write-up headed, "CULTURAL INVASION."

Upon hearing this information, I was surprised to learn that the Koreans do *not* bow deeply as a formal greeting at an initial meeting with dignitaries. Since Seoul is only two hours away from Tokyo by air, the Japanese never dreamed that their way of bowing deeply would appear strange to the Korean people.

When I saw the newspaper headline, "CULTURAL INVASION," I felt hurt. To me it was simple ignorance on the part of the Japanese managers, far from a "cultural invasion." I am confident that Japanese business people try to maintain a sincere attitude toward joint ventures in Korea.

Why was I hurt by the newspaper headline? At the moment I forgot to apply one of the basic principles of general semantics: "The map is not the territory." The words "cultural invasion" are just words (a map), not to be confused with the intentions of the Japanese people (the territory to which the words refer).

* A contributing editor of *Et cetera* and author of a number of books and articles on intercultural communication, general semantics and related subjects, Mitsuko Saito-Fukunaga serves as a professor of communication at International Christian University in Tokyo and a communication consultant to business and industry.

† Excerpted from a speech delivered at the United Nations meeting of NonGovernmental Organizations in 1985.

1989. General semantics and intercultural communication. *Et cetera*, Winter, 295-297.

These words did not represent the Japanese managers' intentions. Because I carelessly and quickly identified the map with the territory, my feelings were hurt.

It is our task to differentiate words from nonverbal facts, the map from the territory. If we have awareness, we can observe more accurately, report more objectively and less emotionally. Our knowledge of general semantics principles can help us engage in healthier, saner communication. Had the Korean journalists some knowledge of general semantics, they might have avoided their early conclusion and chosen words other than "cultural invasion."

Fortunately, the Korean telling me of the incident seemed to believe that the Japanese were sincere but just didn't know the Korean culture. At the same time, he indicated that the newspaper headline was a consequence of ignorance of another culture.

How do we react when other people display ignorance of our culture? Usually by feeling unpleasant, disgusted or sometimes a bit hurt. I have found that a knowledge of general semantics principles can play an essential role in understanding and improving intercultural communication.

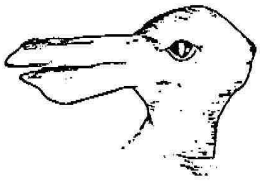
The first basic principle of general semantics – the map is not the territory – means that the verbal world cannot be equated with the nonverbal world, with its complex structures so diverse, heterogeneous and multifarious. Remaining aware of this principle helps insure successful communication at the intercultural level.

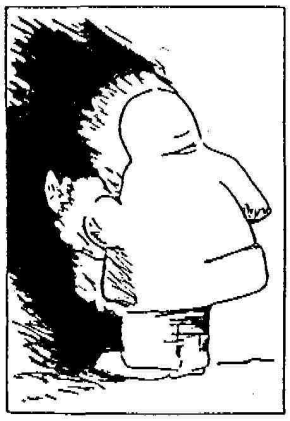
Another principle needing emphasis is that the map does not cover all of the territory. The map, "cultural invasion," could not show us all of what the Korean journalists meant. Looking back to the historical relationship between the two countries, there is much to consider. Remembering that the conclusions we reach, the decisions we make, are based on only part of the relevant evidence will help us keep open-minded, better prepared to discover and accept additional information.

In our age of intercultural communication, the role of listener is very important – just as in baseball the catcher is as important as the pitcher. Listening to people with different cultural backgrounds is not only hearing and evaluating what they say. Intercultural listening means making an effort to understand what we do not understand.

In *Handling Barriers in Communication,* Irving J. Lee tells us how to avoid other possible errors. Instead of searching for what "words mean," look for what "people mean." Instead of "words are containers of meaning," assume that "people are containers of meaning." He emphasizes that it is a mistake to assume that the speaker is using words the same way the listener would if the listener were doing the talking. Words, according to Lee, are just pointers used by individuals because people perceive differently.

Here are some examples that have been used to illustrate individual differences in perception:





In the first figure, some people see a duck, some people see a rabbit, and others alternately see a duck and a rabbit. In the second picture, some see the profile of an Indian while others see the back of an Eskimo walking away, and still others alternately see both.

From responding to these pictures, we can gather that people *see differently* and *evaluate differently.* Such an understanding helps form the basis for successful intercultural communication.

I have learned that what may strike us as the peculiarities of a culture are often the most beloved and precious properties of the people immersed in that culture. They become peculiarities, strange experiences or shocking phenomena to outsiders only when outsiders are not prepared to accept and tolerate them.

In dealing with members of another culture, extensional devices can be used to help enable the listener to distinguish and react to nonverbal realities instead of verbal expressions. The five such devices briefly mentioned below are useful aids in keeping our minds open when listening and speaking.

Use "et cetera" as a reminder that people cannot say or know all about anything; use indexing to show that no two things are identical; use dating to show that no one thing is ever twice the same; use quotation marks as a reminder that a word is not being used in its usual sense; and use hyphens to unite elemental terms to produce non-elemental terms. This summary of extensional devices draws from *General Semantics: An Outline Survey* by Kenneth Johnson.

Using these devices will help improve mutual understanding in intercultural communication.

APPENDIX G

SIETAR JAPAN MISSION STATEMENT

The Mission of SIETAR JAPAN[3]

Former Chairperson[4]: Kichiro Hayashi (Aoyamagakuin University[5])

Former Vice-Chariperson: Bill Kelly (The University of New Mexico)

SIETAR Japan is an independent organization. It is, however, part of the Society for Intercultural Education, Training and Research International Global Network, which is a federation of SIETAR organizations around the world with non-government status at the UN.

The interrelationship is holographic. The parts are reflected in the whole while the whole is reflected in the parts. SIETAR may be an image of the future global community. While it consists of various societies, each society reflects a global ethos based on the intercultural perspective. This is an interactive, reciprocal network.

Being an autonomous local organization, SIETAR Japan pursues a local mission consisting of two main parts. One is to promote and facilitate intercultural communication education, training and research, which is consonant with the outlook of SIETAR Global Network. This comprises monthly lectures, interest group, meetings, annual symposia, retreats, parties and other events where members interact and learn from one another as well as from guest speakers. The other is to promote and contribute to the development of an intercultural perspective within Japanese society as it internationalizes.

The global mission of SIETAR Japan is to provide a Japanese viewpoint that can contribute to and be integrated with the overall dynamic and culturally synergistic philosophy of SIETAR International, as a part is an element of an irreducible whole. This prompts SIETAR Japan to try to synthesize the ideas and visions emerging from Japanese society in order to present them in intercultural communicable forms.

Another important aspect of this global mission has to do with deposing of historical baggage arising from past relations between Japan and the rest of the world. Specifically, it involves overcoming defensive and passive attitude towards the West and a determination to deal with unresolved issues concerning past Japanese aggressive actions

---

[3] Hayashi, K. & Kelly, W. (circa 1993). Mission Statement for SIETAR Japan. From SIETAR Japan Website. Retrieved March 15, 2009. http://www.sietar-japan.org/en/about/mission.html

[4] These titles are equivalent to the current titles of president and vice-president.

[5] This Mission Statement from the Website is longer and more explanatory than the short one found in the SIETAR Japan Newsletter currently. However, some of the statements may not be central to SIETAR Japan's mission at this time. Some of the statements sound more like the Tabunka Kankei Gakkai, Japan Society for Multicultural Relations of which Hayashi was a co-founder in 2001. This Mission Statement was composed before SIETAR Japan became an official Japanese academic association, *gakkai,* under the name Ibunka Komyunikeishon Gakkai.

towards other Asians. Realization of this mission is indispensable to Japan's internationalization agenda and will enable Japan to become an equal partner with the other nations of the world in pursuit of world peace.

APPENDIX H

INTERCULTURAL COMMUNICATION STUDIES FOR A SUSTAINABLE FUTURE BY KEN-ICHI NODA

Intercultural Communication Studies for a Sustainable Future[6]

Ken-ichi Noda

Professor, Rikkyo Graduate School of Intercultural Communication[7]

In 2005, Rikkyo Graduate School of Intercultural Communication was awarded a Good Practice grant from the Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology (MEXT) as part of the Ministry's Initiatives for Attractive Graduate School Education Program. The awarded educational program is entitled "Research Workshop for Sustainable Future: Toward New Challenges in Intercultural Communication Studies." This means that we are re-designing our research and educational programs on the basis of much clearer goal of achieving sustainability-an urgent challenge in current social and environmental issues.

At the World Summit on Sustainable Development held in Johannesburg, South Africa, in 2002, the Japanese government and NGOs jointly proposed "the UN Decade of Education for Sustainable Development (DESD)." The resolution to implement DESD was made later in the same year, and the year 2005 marks its inauguration. This global move toward sustainable future drastically expanded the scope compared to the conventional approaches to environmental issues.

As clear from the fact that environmental issues have come to be known as global (environmental) issues in the second half of the 20th century, we cannot reach any solution for current social issues without having a global perspective. The idea of

---

[6] Noda, K. (2005). Message from the Dean. Rikkyo University Website, English version pages Retrieved October 5,2009. http://www.rikkyo.ac.jp/grad/i-c/english/message.html

[7] I formatted the article into paragraphs.

sustainable development inevitably includes the issue of North-South, and also encompasses the four aspects of environment, economy, politics, and society. It is also seen as a powerful concept to comprehensively deal with the future of the earth, taking a wide range of factors into consideration, such as environmental preservation, appropriate development, democracy, international understanding, peace, equality, and human rights.

Intercultural Communication Studies examines the question, "what happens when different cultures make contact?" We can no longer capture a full picture of diverse communicative phenomena just by using anthropocentric categories of language, society, and culture, because the relationship between human beings and nature also has a large impact on our beings and nature also has a large impact on our communicative activities.

If we define Intercultural Communication Studies as the study of "interaction with the Other," natural environment must be included as a part of this "Other." Traditionally, however, Intercultural Communication Studies has lacked the perspective of nature, or things outside the human world. Intercultural Communication Studies is the field that can most directly contribute to mutual understanding among different cultures in a global sense. That is, as an academic field that inquires into "interaction with the Other," Intercultural Communication Studies is expected to play an important role by taking more comprehensive perspectives toward sustainable future.

Since its establishment in 2002, Rikkyo Graduate School of Intercultural Communication has a sub- major of environmental communication. We also designate development communication as an important element in the field of intercultural communication. Needless to say, the fields of language communication and interpreting and translation both play important roles in international relations and international

understanding. Another uniqueness of our program is the offering of Research Workshops, which function as a bridge between theory and practice. As shown above, Rikkyo Graduate School of Intercultural Communication is aiming at re-structuring Intercultural Communication Studies. We see the selection of our program for the MEXT Initiatives for Attractive Graduate School Education Program as a sign of positive evaluation from society, and we will continue to take on the challenge to establish a new interdisciplinary academic field.

APPENDIX I

INTERCULTURAL COMMUNICATION AS A BRIDGE BETWEEN JAPAN AND THE WORLD BY KUMIKO TORIKAI

Intercultural Communication as a Bridge Between Japan and the World[8]

Kumiko Torikai

Dean and Professor of Rikkyo Graduate School of Intercultural Communication

Better Communication Starts from Accepting Cultural Differences[9]

Intercultural communication is a keyword in today's global society, and it is also a new academic field that focuses on development of international community in this multicultural era. In April 2002, Graduate School of Intercultural Communication was established as one of the independent graduate schools at Rikkyo University, offering daytime and evening classes. Bringing together communication studies for multicultural contexts, interpreting and translation studies-the first graduate-level academic program in Japan-, language communication, and environmental communication, the Rikkyo Graduate School of Intercultural Communication provides an opportunity to explore the most up-to-date academic interests.

The School offers four concentrations that, at first glance, appear to have no interrelation: Intercultural Communication, Environmental Communication, Language Communication, and Interpreting and Translation Studies. However, by adopting the perspective of intercultural communication, they all become indispensable parts of a program that goes beyond the traditional framework.

---

[8] Torikai, K. (2005). Message from the Dean. Rikkyo University Website, English version pages Retrieved October 5, 2009. http://www.rikkyo.ac.jp/grad/i-c/english/message.html Note at the end of this article on Website: "This article appeared in Winds, the Japan Airlines in-flight magazine (today renamed Skyward), in June 2002 and also on asahi.com in January 2004."

[9] I italicized the headings for this article.

When people who have different customs and worldviews communicate, they need to be fully aware of cultural differences that influence their interaction at various levels. Interpreters and translators serve not just as linguistic bridges but also as cultural mediators who ensure mutual understanding of two parties from different cultural backgrounds. In other words, the act of putting something expressed in one language into another is itself a form of communication deeply embedded in social and cultural contexts. If we take this perspective, English language education in Japan has not been very effective precisely because it has missed the link between language and culture. That is to say, true "communicative competence" cannot be cultivated through biased study of English language as a symbolic structure. Also, if we further expand the idea, we should come to see natural environment as a culture that drastically differs from that of human beings. Thus, Intercultural Communication Studies can be a mediator between human beings and the environment just as it creates a link among people from different cultural backgrounds.

How Can Japanese Contribute to the International Community?

Current international community encompasses many civilizations that are based on considerably different rules and principles. Each culture has its own history, and it is closely linked to language, different rules and principles. Each culture has its own history, and it is closely linked to language, customs, ways of thinking, and behavior of individuals, organizations, and even communities or states. For us humans to live together, it is crucial that we fully recognize the importance of culture and reassess it in contexts in which it is situated. Multicultural society is a complex space where so many and different elements coexist. Japanese people need to actively express their ideas on

how they can contribute to development of such society. The era when Japan can simply learn from foreign countries is now over. We need to know our own cultural identity and create our own style of intercultural communication as Japanese. Though it is not an easy path, the very first step for Japanese to become truly international citizens is that each of us strives for his/ her own answers.

APPENDIX J

HISTORY OF THE INTERCULTURAL COMMUNICATION FIELD IN THE UNITED STATES (1945-2005)

Compiled by Clifford H. Clarke

Global Integration Strategies LLC

History of the Intercultural Communication Field

(1945-2005)

- The United Nations was born out of World War II: the need for understanding other cultures was seriously determined by the US Government
- The US Government founded the USIA that became the International Communication Agency for educating the world about the US.
- The US State Department began producing Country Briefings as information resources for their Ambassadors and Attaches overseas.
- The US Foreign Service Institute began educating Overseas Assignees, including Ambassadors and Attaches from the Department of State.
- Edward Hall published the study that launched the field, *Silent Language,* in 1959.
- Foreign Language classes took on new enthusiasm around the country.
- American Anthropologists began expanding their studies of other cultures with works by Margaret Mead, Ruth Benedict, Edward Sapir, and Dell Hymes.
- In the 1960s other social sciences began to study cultural differences and publications of intercultural studies began to mushroom. Many of them were studies of international educational exchange programs.
- The Civil Rights Act and the Peace Corp in the early 1960s focused America's need on understanding peoples of other than Anglo-Saxon heritages.

© 2005. Clifford H. Clarke

Global Integration Strategies LLC

- Peace Corp studies out of the Center for Research and Education, such as those by Michael Tucker, began to focus learning across cultures on the distinctions between cognitive, affective and behavioral realms in order to evaluate the effectiveness of their training.

- In the mid-sixties the Agency for International Development (AID) began training hundreds of grantees in US institutions in mid-winter seminars and re-entry training programs. They were one of 18 agency sponsors of the Re-entry Workshops at Cornell University led by Clifford Clarke from 1969 to 1971.

- The International Educational Exchanges programs mushroomed in the sixties and Foreign Student Advisors in the National Association for Foreign Student Affairs began developing facilitators of Intercultural Communication Workshops at 22 universities all around the country. Clifford Clarke served as the NAFSA consultant who led these projects.

- The Intercultural Communication Network was founded in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania by David S. Hoopes to provide a networking newsletter and training workshops for the members of this new field, which was growing rapidly in educational institutions.

- In 1971 David S. Hoopes in Pittsburgh called together 26 scholars and practitioners in the field to found the Society for Intercultural Education, Training an Research (SIETAR) based on an earlier inspiration to do the same in Colorado at the Center for Research and Education (which became Moran, Stahl and Boyer) headed by Michael Tucker.

- In the 1970s Educational Institutions began widening the field by developing and publishing research and training programs in order to develop resources for the field

© 2005. Clifford H. Clarke

Global Integration Strategies LLC

- In 1972 the International Christian University in Tokyo, Japan, sponsored the first international symposium to focus on Intercultural Communications led by John "Jack" Condon and Mitsuko Saito. Hundreds attended from around the world.

- In 1974 nine institutions in the US and nine in Japan funded the gathering of 72 researchers and practitioners at the first international Intercultural Communications Workshop for attendees from the US, Japan and Europe. Clifford Clarke led the planning with David Hoopes, Dean Barnlund and Dan Smith.

- In 1974 the SIETAR organization moved to Washington, DC, with a new executive director, office space and a mission to grow the field. The NAFSA organization also funded a milestone workshop in Wheeling, West Virginia, where representatives from 12 NAFSA Regions were trained to be ICW facilitators by Clifford Clarke, David Hoopes and George Renwick. Robert Moran, author of many books in the field, was a participant.

- The Intercultural Press, Inc. was founded by David S. Hoopes as the Press for the field of Intercultural Communication. After SIETAR move to Washington, D.C., the Press also moved ultimately to Maine to be led by David Hoopes and Margaret "Peggy" Pusch, the current President of SIETAR.

- Then the International Journal of Intercultural Relations, now managed by the International Academy of Intercultural Research, was founded to become the professional journal in which researchers in the field could publish their work. Dan Landis of Hilo, Hawaii, is the current editor of this Journal.

- In 1971 efforts to bring global businesses into the field were first successful when George W. Renwick secured a contract with Exxon Chemical training Asia members of the company to work with North Americans.

© 2005. Clifford H. Clarke

Global Integration Strategies LLC

- In 1975 in Palo Alto, California, the Stanford Institute for Intercultural Communication was founded by the School of Education under the leadership of Clifford Clarke and grew to become the premiere institute for continuing education for professionals in the fields of teaching, healthcare, counseling, consulting, training, etc. In 1987 Clarke gave the SIIC to Milton & Janet Bennett in Portland, Oregon, who he had trained when they were graduate students at the University of Minnesota in 1969-1971. The Institute in Oregon became the Summer Institute for Intercultural Communication under the leadership of their Intercultural Communication Institute (ICI).

- In 1980 with the founding by Clifford Clarke of the Intercultural Relations Institute on the Stanford University campus, the efforts to bring Intercultural Communication into the world of international business advanced by leaps and bounds in the eighties. Procter & Gamble invested a half-million dollars into managing the cultural diversity of their technology transfer project in Japan. This project enabled the first ROI study in the field in 1982. P&G gained $16 million or 32 times their investment in Clarke's intercultural services.

- By the end of the 1980s interest in the field mushroomed when the purchasing power of the Relocations field (Prudential, Merrill Lynch, Coldwell Banker, Cendent) began buying private organizations that built the training companies around the country, such as MS&B and Bennett & Associates. Since then most of the pre-departure services for corporate expatriates has moved to those companies, which greatly reduced the time and costs required for such services.

- In the 1990s the larger Global Business Consulting Firms and those of the Big Eight Accounting firms began developing internal resources to deal with their clients' needs to better understand the cultures of their subsidiaries and customers around the world.

- In the 21st Century the field was really taking off after President Clinton used the words "Intercultural Communication" in one of his public speeches. In 2005, well over one hundred universities in

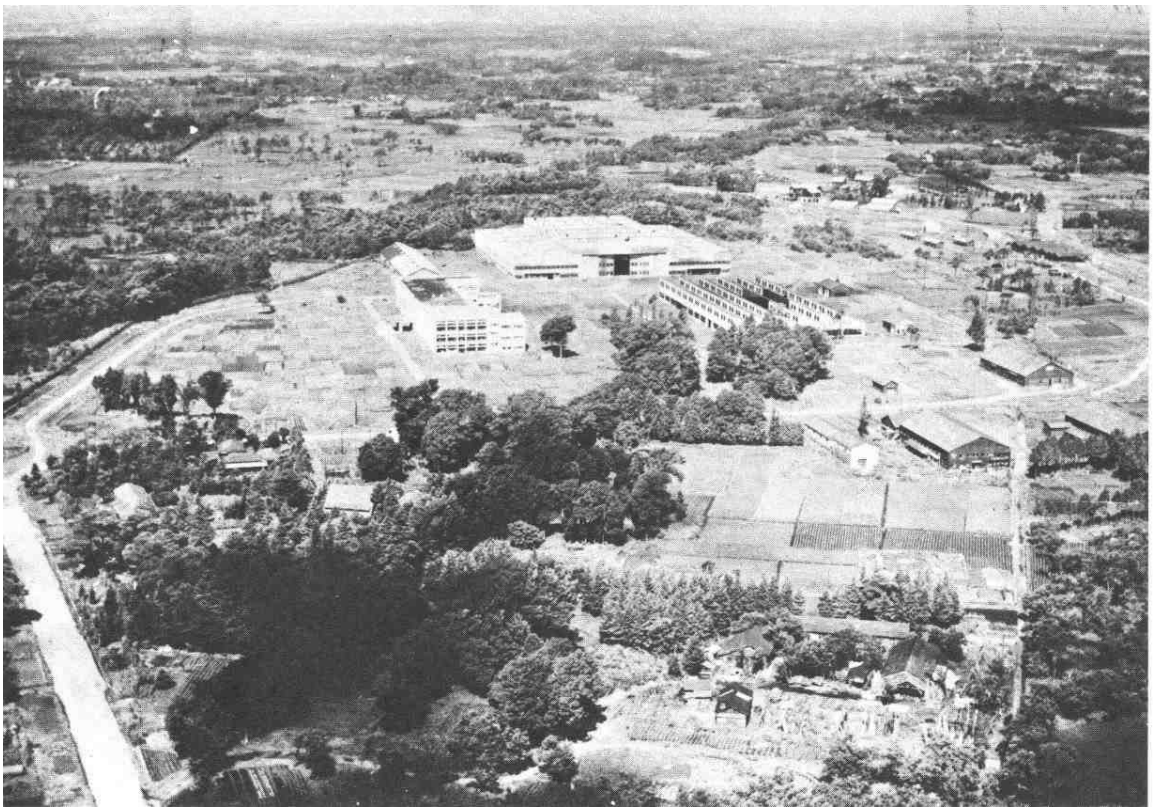
© 2005. Clifford H. Clarke

countries around the world now offer degree programs in Intercultural Communication and SIETAR has become a global federation with thousands of members in many countries.

© 2005. Clifford H. Clarke

APPENDIX K

EARLY AND CONTEMPORARY PHOTOS OF ICU GROUNDS, BUILDINGS, PEOPLE, AND CAMPUS



Aerial view of ICU campus in late 1940s. Note the farming fields still present.

Students and faculty in front of the Honkan (Main Building) in the field – early 1950s.

The Honkan today. H.S. Kawakami

President Yuasa Hachiro welcomes first entering students (April 13, 1953).

In this case, President Yuasa's name is in Japanese order with family name first.

First Graduating Class, March 21, 1957.

Graffiti left at the time of the student movement take-over of the Honkan, late 1960s.

Azalea bushes in the roundabout at the end of the road from the entrance. HSK

This road encircles the campus. HSK

Road from the front gate at cherry blossom (*sakura*) time. HSK

REFERENCES

Abegglen, J. C. (1958). *The Japanese factory: Aspects of its social organization.* Glencoe, Il: Free Press.

Abegglen, J. C. (1984). *The strategy of Japanese business.* Cambridge, MA: Ballinger.

Abegglen, J. C., & Stalk, G. (1985). *Kaisha, the Japanese corporation.* New York: Basic Books.

Aguayo, R. (1990). *Mr. Deming: the American who taught the Japanese about quality.* Secaucus, NJ: Carol Publishing Group.

Aso, T. (2006, April 26). *A New Look at Cultural Diplomacy: A Call to Japan's Cultural Practitioners*. Speech by Minister for Foreign Affairs Taro Aso at Digital Hollywood University. Tokyo, Japan. [English version. Japanese version and power point slides available by clicking on link at this page.] Retrieved July 11, 2009, from http://www.mofa.go.jp/announce/fm/aso/speech0604-2.html

Barnlund, D. C. (1968). *Interpersonal communication: Survey and studies.* Boston: Houghton Mifflin.

Barnlund, D. C. (1974). The public self and the private self in Japan and the United States. In J.C. Condon & M. Saito (Eds.), *Intercultural encounters with Japan: Communication–contact and conflict* (pp. 27-96). Tokyo: Simul Press.

Barnlund, D. C. (1989a). *Communicative styles of Japanese and American: Images and realities.* Belmont, CA: Wadsworth.

Barnlund, D. C. (1989b). *Public and private self in Japan and the United States: Communicative styles of two cultures.* Yarmouth, ME: Intercultural Press.

Barthes, R. (1977). An introduction to the structural analysis of narrative. Trans. L. Duisit. *New Literary History (On narrative and narratives),* 6(2), 237-272.

Bateson, G. (1980). *Mind and nature: A necessary unity.* NY: Bantam.

Belay, G. (1993). Toward a paradigm shift for intercultural and international communication: New research directions. . In S. Deetz (Ed.), *Communication Yearbook/16* (pp. 437-457). Newbury Park, CA: Sage Publications.

Bellah, R. N. (Ed.). (2003). *Imagining Japan: The Japanese tradition and its modern interpretation.* Berkeley: University of California Press.

Benedict, R. (1946). *The chrysanthemum and the sword*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin.

Bowers, J. R. (1988). Japan-U.S. relationship from the intercultural communication point of view [Electronic version]. *The Language Teacher*, 12(5), 17-20.

Brinton, M. C. (1992). Christmas cakes and wedding cakes: The social organization of Japanese women's life course. In T.S. Lebra, (Ed.), *Japanese Social Organization* (pp. 79-107). Honolulu: University of Hawaii.

Bruner, E. M. (1986). Ethnography as narrative. In V.W. Turner & E.M. Bruner (Eds.), *The anthropology of experience* (pp. 139-155). Urbana: University of Illinois Press.

Burke, K. (1962). *A grammar of motives and a rhetoric of motives*. Cleveland: Meridian.

Casmir, F. L. (Ed.). (1978). *Intercultural and international communication*. Washington, D.C.: University Press of America.

Chen, G.-M. & Miike, Y. (Eds.). (2003). Asian approaches to human communication [Special Issue]. *Intercultural Communication Studies, 12*(4).

Clarke, C. H. (2008). Practicing the integration of discipline and compassion. *Journal of Intercultural Communication*, 11, 1-21.

Clarke, C. H. & Lipp, G. D. (2001). *The Way to Global Management: Resolving Conflict in U.S.-Based Japanese Subsidiaries*. Richmond, UK: Curzon Press/Routledge.

Communication Association of Japan/Nihon Komyunikeishon Gakkai Website. Retrieved most recently June 26, 2009: http://www.caj1971.com

Condon, J. C. (1974). The values approach to cultural patterns of communication. In J.C. Condon & M. Saito (Eds.), *Intercultural encounters with Japan: Communication–contact and conflict* (pp. 132-152). Tokyo: Simul Press.

Condon, J. C. (1978). In F. L. Casmir (Ed.), *Intercultural and international communication* (pp. 383-406). Washington, D.C.: University Press of America.

Condon, J. C. (1980). *Cultural dimensions of communication*. [Adapted from J. C. Condon & F. Yousef (1975). *Introduction to Intercultural Communication.* Indianapolis, IN: Bobbs-Merrill]. Tokyo: Simul Press.

Condon, J. C. (1984). *With respect to the Japanese.* Yarmouth, ME: Intercultural Press.

Condon, J. C., & Yousef, F. S. (1974, 1988). *An introduction to intercultural communication.* Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill.

Condon, J. C., & Saito, M. (Eds.). (1974). *Intercultural encounters with Japan: Communication–contact and conflict.* Tokyo: Simul Press.

Condon, J. C. & Saito, M. (Eds.). (1976). *Communicating across cultures for what?: A symposium on humane responsibility in intercultural communication.* Tokyo: Simul Press.

Crane, D. (1972). *Invisible colleges: Diffusion of knowledge in scientific communities.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Dale, P. N. (1986). *The myth of Japanese uniqueness.* NY: St. Martin's Press.

Davis, W. (1992). *Japanese religion and society: Paradigms of structure and change.* Albany, NY: State University of New York Press.

DeMello, C. (1979). Acting the Contrast-American. In D.S. Hoopes & P. Ventura (Eds.), *Intercultural sourcebook: Cross-cultural training methodologies* (pp. 62-65). Chicago: Intercultural Press, Inc.

Denzin, N. K. & Lincoln, Y. S. (Eds.). (2005). *The SAGE book of qualitative research.* Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.

Doi, T. (1974). Some psychological themes in Japanese human relationships. In J.C. Condon & M. Saito (Eds.), *Intercultural encounters with Japan: Communication–contact and conflict* (pp. 17-26). Tokyo: Simul Press.

Doi, T. (1992, 2002). *The anatomy of dependence*. Tokyo: Kodansha International.

Dower, J.W. (1999). *Embracing defeat: Japan in the wake of World War II*. New York: W.W. Norton.

Fackler, M. (2009, March 29). Japan's rice farmers fear their future is shrinking. *The New York Times,* p. A6, and online.

Fisher, W. R. (1984). Narration as a human communication paradigm: The case of public moral argument. *Communication Monographs, 51* (1), 1-22.

Fisher, W. R. (1987). *Human communication as narration: Toward a philosophy of reason, value, and action* .Columbia, SC: University of South Carolina Press.

Fisher, W. R. (1988). The narrative paradigm and the interpretation and assessment of historical texts. *Journal of the American Forensic Association, 45*(Fall), 49-53.

Fisher, W. R. (1989). Clarifying the narrative paradigm. *Communication Monographs*, *56*(1), 55-58.

Fisher, W. R. (1992). Narration, reason, and community. In R.H. Brown (Ed.), *Writing the social text: Poetics and politics in social science discourse.* NY: Adlinede Gruyter.

Gladwell, M. (2000). *The tipping point: How little things can make a big difference.* Boston: Little, Brown, & Co.

Gudykunst, W. B. & Nishida, T. (1984). Individual and cultural influences on uncertainty reduction. *Communication Monographs*, *51*, 23-36.

Gudykunst, W. B. & Nishida, T. (1989). Theoretical perspectives for studying intercultural communication. In W. B. Gudykunst & M. K. Asante (Eds.), *Handbook of international and intercultural communication* (pp. 17-46). Newbury Park, CA: Sage.

Gudykunst, W. B., Nishida, T., & Chua, E. (1986). Uncertainty reduction in Japanese-North America dyads. *Communication Research Reports*, *3*, 39-46.

Gudykunst, W. B. & Nishida, T. (1994). *Bridging Japanese/North American differences* Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.

Hall, E. T. (1959). *The silent language.* New York: Doubleday.

Hall, E. T. (1976). Cultural models in transcultural communication. In J.C. Condon & M. Saito (Eds.), *Communicating across cultures for what?: A symposium on humane responsibility in intercultural communication* (pp 89-102). Tokyo: Simul Press.

Hall, E. T. (1981). *Beyond culture.* Garden City, NY: Anchor Books.

Hall, E. T. (1992a). *An anthropology of everyday life: An autobiography.* New York: Doubleday.

Hall, E. T. (1992b). Context and meaning. In W.B. Gudykunst & Y.Y. Kim (Eds.), *Readings on communicating with strangers* (pp. 82-89). NY: McGraw-Hill.

Hall, E. T. (1992c). Monochronic and polychromic time. In W.B. Gudykunst & Y.Y. Kim (Eds.), *Readings on communicating with strangers* (pp. 187-191). NY: McGraw-Hill.

Hall, E. T. (1994). *West of the thirties: Discoveries among the Navajo and Hopi*. New York: Doubleday.

Hall, E. T. & Hall, M. R. (1987). *Hidden differences: Doing business with the Japanese.* Garden City, NY: Anchor/Doubleday.

Hall, E. T. & Hall, M. R. (1990). *Understanding cultural differences.* Yarmouth, ME: Intercultural.

Han, M. W., Singhal, A., Hanaki, T., Kim, D. K., Chitnis, K. (2007). Forced invisibility to negotiating visibility: *Winter Sonata*, the *hanryū* phenomenon and Zainichi Koreans in Japan. *Keio Communication Review. 29, 155-174.*

Hart, W. B. (1999). Interdisciplinary influences in the study of intercultural relations: A citation analysis of the *International Journal of Intercultural Relations. International Journal of Intercultural Relations. 23*(4), 575-589.

Hart, W. B. (2001, May). *Hidden giant: Ruth Benedict and intercultural communication.* Poster Session presented at the annual meeting of the International Communication Association. Washington, D.C.

Hart, W. B. (2005). Franz Boas and the Roots of Intercultural Communication Research, *The International and Intercultural Annual*, *28*, 176-193. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Herman, L. (2005). *Handbook of narrative analysis.* Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press.

Hirabayashi, L. R., Kikumura-Yano, A., & Hirabayashi, J.A. (Eds.). (2002). *New worlds, new lives: Globalization and people of Japanese descent in the Americas and from Latin America in Japan*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.

Hirai, K. (1988). Sixty books on intercultural communication: A bibliography [Electronic version]. *The Language Teacher*, *12*(5), 21-22.

Hofstede, G. (1984). *Culture's consequences: International differences in work-related values*. Beverly Hills, CA: Sage.

Howell, W. S. (1975). A model for the study of intercultural communication in colleges and universities of the United States. In F. L. Casmir (Ed.), *International and Intercultural Communication Annual*: Vol. II. (pp. 98-101). Falls Church, VA: Speech Communication Association (SCA) and its Commission on International and Intercultural Communication.

Howell, W. S. (1979). Theoretical directions for intercultural communication. In M. F. Asante, E. Newmark, & C. A. Blake (Eds.), *Handbook of intercultural communication* (pp. 23-41). Beverly Hills, CA: Sage.

Iglehart, C. W. (1964). *International Christian University: An adventure in Christian higher education in Japan*. Tokyo: Weatherhill.

Ikegami, Y. (Ed.). (1991). *The empire of signs: Semiotic essays on Japanese culture.* Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing.

International Christian University (ICU). Retrieved October 18, 2003 and March 18, 2009 from the ICU Website: http://www.icu.ac.jp

Iriye, A. & Wampler, R. A. (2001). *Partnership: the United States and Japan, 1951-2000.* Tokyo: Kodansha International.

Ishii, S. (1984). *Enryo-sasshi* communication: A key to understanding Japanese interpersonal relations. *Cross Currents*, *11*(1), 49-58.

Ishii, S. (1988). Intercultural communication: State of the art [Electronic version]. *The Language Teacher*, *12*(5), 13-15.

Ishii, S. (1997). Tasks for intercultural communication researchers in the Asia-Pacific region in the twenty-first century. *Dokkyo International Review, 10*, 313-326.

Ishii, S. (1998). Developing a Buddhist *en*-based systems paradigm for the study of Japanese human relationships. *Japan Review*, *10*, 109-122.

Ishii, S. (2001). An emerging rationale for triworld communication studies from Buddhist perspectives. Human communication: Journal of the Pacific and Asian communication association, *4* (1), 1-10.

Ishii, S. (2004). Proposing a Buddhist consciousness-only epistemological model for intrapersonal communication research. *Journal of Intercultural Communication Research, 33*(2), 63-76.

Ishii, S. (2007a, January). Rethinking Westcentric communication studies from East Asian perspective. *The limits of Western communication theory*. Opening panel

conducted at the PACA (Pacific and Asian Communication Association 6th Convention. Manoa, Hawaii.

Ishii, S. (2007b, January). Promoting interreligious communication studies: A rising rationale. *The limits of Western communication theory*. Special lecture given at the PACA (Pacific and Asian communication Association 6th Convention. Manoa, Hawaii.

Ishii, S. & Bruneau, T. (1994). Silence and silences in cross-cultural perspective: Japan and the United States. In L. A. Samovar & R. E. Porter (Eds.), *Intercultural communication: A reader* (7th edition) (pp. 246-251). Belmont, CA: Sage.

Ito, Y. (1992). Theories on interpersonal communication styles from a Japanese perspective: A sociological approach. In J.G. Blumer, J.M. McLeod, & K.E. Rosengren (Eds.), *Comparatively speaking: Communication and culture across space and time* (pp. 238-268). Newbury Park, CA: Sage Publications.

Ito, Y. (2002). Climate of opinion, *kuuki*, and democracy. In W. B. Gudykunst (Ed.), *Communication Yearbook, 26* (pp. 266-296). Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.

Jain, N. C., Prosser, M. H., & Miller, M. H. (Eds.). (1974). Intercultural communication. *Proceedings of the Speech Communication Association summer conference X*.

Japan Association for Language Teaching (JALT). Retrieved March 25, 2009 and July 1, 2009 from the JALT Website: http://jalt.org/

Japan Center for International Exchange (Ed.). (1976). *The silent power: Japan's identity and world role.* Tokyo: International Specialized Book Service, Inc.

Kanno, Y. (2000). Kikokushijo as bicultural. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, *24*, 361-382.

Kato, H. (1974). *Japanese research on mass communication: Selected abstracts.* Honolulu: University of Hawaii.

Kawakami, H.S. (1996, April). *50th anniversary of the end of World War II: reporting in the U.S. and Japan*. Paper presented at the SIETAR-Japan Conference, Machida, Japan.

Kawakami, H.S. (1998, April). *Reporting of the Okinawa rape case and aftermath in the United States.* Paper presented at the SIETAR Japan Conference, Japan.

Kawakami, H. S. (2001, April). *Tokyo Governor Ishihara's statements in April 2000 regarding foreigners in Tokyo: A comparison of public and media responses using second-level agenda setting and framing.* Paper presented at Unsettling East Asia; Interrogating Communication. Globalization, Marginalization, and (New) Cultural Formations, The University Of Iowa.

Kawakami, H. S. (2001). *Perceptions and meanings of silence during conversation for young Japanese women.* Unpublished manuscript.

Kawakami, H. S. (2003). Movement wo yoita ibunka komyunikeishon training [Movement works well for intercultural communication training]. In H. Yamaji (Ed.), *FD series on English presentation II. Report of seminar discussions* (Vol. 40, pp. 129-140). Chiba, Japan: National Institute of Multimedia Education.

Kawakami, H. S. (2004, November). *A history of the intercultural communication field in Japan.* Paper presented at the Japan-U. S. Communication Association (JUCA) session, National Communication Association (NCA) Conference, Chicago, Il.

Kawakami, H. S. (2005, Fall). Mapping the intercultural field in Japan. [Review of Keynote Speech *Mapping the intercultural field in Japan* for SIETAR Japan 20th annual conference by Kumiko Torikai]. *SIETAR Japan Newsletter*, 10-11.

Kawakami, H. S. (2006, Spring). Pioneers in intercultural communication. *SIETAR Japan Newsletter*, 33.

Kawakami, H. S. (2006). Kinetic facilitation techniques for promoting relationships among members of diverse groups. In L.R. Frey (Ed.), *Facilitating group creation, conflict, and conversation:* Vol. 1. *Facilitating group communication in context: Innovations and applications with natural groups* (pp. 93-121). Cresskill, NJ: Hampton Press.

Kawakami, H. S., Chen, G., Gwangho, E., Itaba, Y., & Kume, T. (1997). Media Watch: activities and case studies. *Journal of Intercultural Communication (Ibunka Komyunikeishon*), *1*, 57-73.

Kelly, W. (2000). *A critical postmodern approach to United States-Japanese intercultural relations.* Unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of New Mexico, Albuquerque.

Kimmel, P. R. (1995). Facilitating the contrast-culture method. In S. M. Fowler & M. G. Mumford (Eds.), *Intercultural sourcebook: Cross- cultural training methods* (Vol. 1) (pp. 69-80). Yarmouth, ME: Intercultural Press, Inc.

Kincaid, D. L. (Ed.). (1987). *Communication theory: Eastern and Western perspectives.* San Diego: Academic Press.

Kingston, J. (2004). Japan's quiet transformation: Social change and civilization in the 21st century. London: Routledge/Curzon.

Kitao, K. & Kitao, S. K. (1989). *Intercultural communication between Japan and the United States.* Tokyo: Eichosha.

Kondo, C. (1980). *Ibunkakan Komyunikeishon: Karucha gyappu no rikai*. [Intercultural communication: Understanding the culture gap]. [Adaptation into Japanese of J.C. Condon (1980). *Cultural dimensions of communication*. Tokyo: Simul Press]. Tokyo: Simul Press.

Kuhn, T. S. (1962/1970). *The structure of scientific revolutions.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Kume, T. (1985). Managerial attitudes toward decision-making: North America and Japan. In W. B. Gudykunst, L. P. Stewart, & S. Ting-Toomey (Vol. Eds.), *Communication, Culture, and Organizational Processes*: Vol. IX. International and Intercultural Communication Annual (pp. 231-251). Beverly Hills, CA: Sage.

Kunihiro, M. (1972). U.S.-Japan communications: dimensions of the problem. In Rosovsky, H. (Ed.), *Discord in the Pacific: Challenges to the Japanese-American alliance.* Washington D.C.: Columbia Books.

Kunihiro, M. (1973). Indigneous barriers to communication. *Japan Interpreter, 8*(1), 96-108.

Kunihiro, M. (Ed.). (1977). *Katarigai gendai.* [Talking together today]. Tokyo: Nihon Hōsō Shuppan Kyokai. [1]

Kunihiro, M. (1982). *Kunihiro Masao jisenshū 1-6* [Self-Collected works of Kunihiro Masao, volume 1-6]. Tōkyō: Nihon Eigo Kyōiku Kyōkai.

Landis, D. & Wasilewski, J. H. (1999). Reflections of 22 years of the *International Journal of Intercultural Relations* and 23 years in other areas of intercultural

practice [Electronic version]. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, *23*(4), 535-574.

Lebra, T. S. (Ed.). (1992). *Japanese social organization.* Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press.

Leeds-Hurwitz, W. (1987). Intercultural communication and anthropology: Understanding their common history [Electronic version]. *Practicing Anthropology*, *9*(2), 4-11.

Leeds-Hurwitz, W. (1990). Notes in the history of intercultural communication: The Foreign Service Institute and the mandate for intercultural training [Electronic version]. *Quarterly Journal of Speech*, *76*(3), 262-281.

Masaki, H. (2007, June 8). Japan's birth rate rises – barely. *Asia Times.* Retrieved June 27, 2009, from http://www.atimes.com/atimes/Japan/IF08Dh01.html

Matsumoto, M. (1984). *Haragei*. (W.J. Ross, Trans.). Tokyo: Kodansha.

Miike, Y. (2001). *Beyond Eurocentrism in the intercultural field: Searching for an Asiacentric paradigm*. Paper presented at the National Communication Association, Atlanta, GA.

Miike, Y. (2002). Theorizing culture and communication in the Asian context: An assumptive foundation. *Intercultural Communication Studies, 11*(1), 1-21.

Miike, Y. (2003a). Beyond Eurocentrism in the intercultural field: Searching for an Asia-centric paradigm. In W. J. Starosta & G. M. Chen (Eds.), *Ferment in the intercultural field: Axiology/value/praxis* (pp. 243-276). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.

Miike, Y. (2003b). Japanese *enryo-sasshi* communication and the psychology of *amae*: Reconsideration and reconceptualization. *Keio Communication Review*, *25*, 93-108.

Miike, Y. (2003c). Toward an alternative metatheory of human communication: An Asiacentric vision. *Intercultural Communication Studies*, *22*, 39-63.

Miike, Y. (2007). An Asiacentric reflection of Eurocentric bias in communication theory. *Communication Monographs*, *74*(2), 272-278.

Miller, R. A. (1982). *Japan's modern myth: the language and beyond.* NY: Weatherhill.

Mitarai, S. (2004). *Tabunka kyosei jidai no komyunikeishon rokyoku* [The age of multicultural communication power]. Tokyo: Yumani Shobō.

Miyoshi, M. (1991). *Off center: power and culture relations between Japan and the United States.* Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Mizuta, K. (1993). *The structures of everyday life in Japan in the last decade of the twentieth century.* Lewiston, NY: The Edwin Mellen Press.

Moon, D. G. (1996). Concepts of "culture": Implications for intercultural communication research. *Communication Quarterly, 44* (1), 70-84.

Mumby, D.K. (1987). The political function of narrative in organizations. *Communication Monographs, 54*, 113-127.

Nagata, A. L. (2002). Somatic mindfulness and energetic presence in intercultural communication: A phenomenological/hermeneutic exploration of bodymindset and emotional resonance. Dissertation Abstracts International, 62 (12), 5999B. (UMI No.3037968).

Nakane, C. (1970). *Japanese society.* Harmondsworth: Penguin Books.

Nishida, H. (1979). *Variations in value orientations and cultural change in Japan and the United States: An intercultural perspective.* University of Minnesota, unpublished dissertation.

Nishida, H. (1981). Value orientations and value changes in Japan and the U.S.A. In T. Nishida (Ed.), *Readings in intercultural communication* (pp. 35-59). Tokyo: Geirinshobo.

Nishida, T. (1996). Communication in personal relationships in Japan. In W.B. Gudykunst, S. Ting-Toomey, & T. Nishida, T. (Eds.), *Communication in personal relationships across cultures* (pp. 102-121). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Nishiyama, K. (1999). *Doing business with the Japanese: Successful strategies for intercultural communication.* Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press.

Nobile, P. (1995). *Judgment at the Smithsonian: The bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki.* NY: Marlowe/Perseus Books.

Nye, J. S., Jr. (2008). Foreword. In Y. Watanabe & J. S. Nye, Jr. (Eds.), *Soft power superpowers: Cultural and national assets of Japan and the United States* (pp. ix-xiv). Armonk, NY: M. E. Sharpe.

Noda, K. (2005). Intercultural communication studies for [a] sustainable future on Message from the Dean page on Rikkyo University's website page http://www.rikkyo.ac.jp/grad/i-c/english/message.html .

Okabe, R. (1983). Cultural assumptions of the East and West: Japan and the United States. In W.B. Gudykunst (Ed.), *Intercultural theory: Cultural perspectives* (pp. 21-45). Beverly Hills: Sage.

Okabe, R. (1988). Intercultural communication: A brief history [Electronic version]. *The Language Teacher*, *12*(5), 5-11.

Okabe, R. (1990). The impact of Western rhetoric on the East: The case of Japan. *Rhetorica*, *8*(4), 371-388.

Oliver, C. (2001). Communication as nation: Kunihiro Masao and the imagining away of Japanese social practice. *Japanese Society*, *5*, 75-91.

Oliver, C. (2004). *Speaking difference*. Unpublished manuscript.

Patterns of communication in and out of Japan: 20 original studies of Japanese communication – in the family, in public and across cultures. (1974). Unpublished manuscript. International Christian University, Mitaka, Japan.

Peng, E. L. (2007). Japan's quest for "soft power": Attraction and limitation. *East Asia*, *24*, 349-363.

Polkinghorne, D. E. (1983). *Methodology for the human sciences: Systems of inquiry.* Albany: State University of New York Press.

Polkinghorne, D. E. (1988). *Narrative knowing and the human sciences.* Albany: State U. of NY.

Polkinghorne, D. E. (1995). Narrative configuration in qualitative analysis. In J. Hatch & R. Wisaiewski (Eds.), *Life history and narrative* (pp. 5-23). London: Falmer Press.

Prosser, M. H. (1978). *The cultural dialogue: An introduction to intercultural communication.* Boston: Houghton Mifflin.

Quinn, N. (Ed.). (2005). *Finding culture in talk: A collection of methods.* New York: Macmillan.

Rikkyo University (Daigaku) graduate program in Intercultural Communication. Retrieved March 6, 2009 www.rikkyo.ac.jp/grad/i-c/english/outline02.html from the English website. [Japanese website also available by clicking link on this page.]

Reissman, C.K. (1993). *Narrative analysis.* Newbury Park, CA: Sage.

Robertson, J. (2003). It takes a village: Internationalization and nostalgia in postwar Japan. In R. N. Bellah (Ed.), *Imagining Japan: The Japanese tradition and its modern interpretation* (pp. 110-127). Berkeley: University of California Press.

Rogers, E. M. (1986). Models of knowledge transfer: Critical perspectives. In G.M. Beal, W. Dissanayake, & S. Konoshima (Eds.), *Knowledge generation, exchange, and utilization* (pp. 30-60). Boulder, CO: Westview Press.

Rogers, E. M. (1994, 1997). *A history of communication: A biographical approach.* New York: Free Press.

Rogers, E. M. (2003). *Diffusion of innovations* (5th ed.). New York: Free Press.

Rogers, E. M. & Shoemaker, F. F. (1971). *Communication of innovations: A cross-cultural approach.* New York: Free Press.

Rogers, E. M. & Kincaid, D. L. (1981). *Communication networks: Towards a new paradigm for research.* New York: Free Press.

Rogers, E. M. & Hart, W. B. (2002). The histories of intercultural, international, and development communication. In W. B. Gudykunst & B. Mody (Eds.), *Handbook of international and intercultural communication.* Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Rogers, E. M., Hart, W. B., & Miike, Y. (2002). Edward T. Hall and the history of intercultural communication: the United States and Japan. *Keio Communication Review*, *24*, 3-26.

Romberg, A. D. & Yamamoto, T. (Eds.). (1990). *Same bed, different dreams: America and Japan – societies in transition.* New York: Council on Foreign Relations.

Rosen, E. (2000). *The anatomy of buzz: How to create word of mouth marketing.* NY: Doubleday.

Rowland, R. C. (1987). Narrative mode of discourse or paradigm? *Communication Monographs*, *54*(3), 264-275.

Rowland, R. C. (1989). On limiting the narrative paradigm: Three case studies. *Communication Monographs*, *56*(1), 39-54.

Saito-Fukunaga, M. (1970). Learning to communicate. *General Semantics Bulletin: Yearbook of the Institute of General Semantics*, *37*, 14-18.

Saito, M.[2] (1974). International conference interpretation in Japan. In J. C. Condon & M. Saito, (Eds.), *Intercultural encounters with Japan: Communication – contact and conflict* (pp. 97-107). Tokyo: Simul Press.

Saito-Fukunaga, M. (1989). General semantics and intercultural communication. *Et cetera*, Winter, 295-297.

Schramm, W. (1976). A note on the building of bridges. In J. C. Condon & M. Saito (Eds.), *Communicating across cultures for what?: A symposium on humane responsibility in intercultural communication.* Tokyo: Simul Press.

Seelye, H. N. & Wasilewski, J. H. (1996). *Between cultures: Developing self-identity in a world of diversity*. Lincolnwood, Il: NTC Publication Group.

Seidman, I. (2006). *Interviewing as qualitative research: A guide for researchers in education and the social sciences* (3rd edition). New York: Teachers College Press.

Simmel, G. (1922/1955).*The web of group affiliations.* Trans. by R. Bendix. New York: Free Press.

Shaules, J. (2007). *Deep Culture: The Hidden Challenges of Global Living*. Bristol, UK: Multilingual Matters.

SIETAR Japan. Retrieved March 5, 2009 and numerous times from the Website. www.sietar-japan.org/

Sims. R. L. (2001). *Japanese political history since the Meiji renovation, 1868-2000.* Hampshire, UK: Palgrave Macmillan.

Simul International chronology. Retrieved June 1, 2009 from the website www.simul.co.jp/en/about/chronology.html

Stewart, E. C. (1978). Outline of intercultural communication. In F. L. Casmir, F. L. (Ed.), *Intercultural and international communication* (pp. 265-344). Washington, D.C.: University Press of America.

Stewart, E. C. (1979). Simulating intercultural communication through role-playing. In D. S. Hoopes & P. Ventura (Eds.), *Intercultural sourcebook: Cross-cultural training methodologies* (pp. 44 – 61). Chicago: Intercultural Press, Inc.

Stewart, E. C. (1985). Culture and decision-making. In W. B. Gudykunst, L. P. Stewart, & S. Ting-Toomey (Vol. Eds.), *Communication, Culture, and Organizational Processes*: Vol. IX. International and Intercultural Communication Annual (pp. 177-211). Beverly Hills, CA: Sage.

Stewart, E. C. (1995). Contrast-culture training. In S. M. Fowler & M. G. Mumford (Eds.), *Intercultural sourcebook: Cross- cultural training methods* (Vol. 1) (pp. 47-58). Yarmouth, ME: Intercultural Press, Inc.

Stewart, E.C. & Ohtake, J. (1999). Culture heroes in intercultural training. In S. M. Fowler & M. G. Mumford (Eds.), *Intercultural sourcebook: Cross- cultural training methods* (Vol. 2) (pp. 241-260). Yarmouth, ME: Intercultural Press, Inc.

Sueda, K. & Fukuda, H. (2003). *Komyunikeishon gaku* [Communication studies]. Tokyo Shōhaku.

Tabunka Kankei Gakkai [Multicultural Relations Association] Japan Society of Multicultural Relations (JSMR) website. Retrieved February 11, 2009 and numerous times (Japanese only). http://www.js-mr.org/

Takai, J. (2003). Current trends of intercultural communication research in Japan. *The Annual Report of Educational Psychology in Japan*, *42*, 240-254.

Takeda, K. (2003). *Higher education for tomorrow: International Christian University and postwar Japan.* (J. Bayliss & S. Covell, Trans.). Tokyo: International Christian University Press.

Temple University Japan Campus. Retrieved June 1, 2009 from the TUJ website www.tuj.ac.jp/default.html

Tezuka, C. (1992). Awase and sunao in Japanese communication and their implications for cross cultural communication. *Keio Communication Review*, *14*, 37-50.

Tezuka, C. (2004, June). Challenges for Japanese communication seen from Japanese psychology of *amae* and *sunao*. For *New Challenges and opportunities of communication in Asia: Korea and Japan, Japan and Korea*. Panel 7 conducted at

the 34th conference of CAJ *Asia and Japan: Toward the construction of a new approach to communication*. Hachioji, Japan.

Torikai, K. (2005), June). Intercultural communication as a bridge between Japan and the world as Message from the Dean on Rikkyo University's website page http://www.rikkyo.ac.jp/grad/i-c/english/message.html. *(*Previously published in *Winds*, now *Skyward*, Japan Airlines in-flight magazine, June 2002 and on www.asahi.com January 2004).

Torikai, K. (2009). *Voices of the invisible presence: Diplomatic interpreters in post-World War II Japan.* Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Vogel, E.F. (1979). *Japan as no. 1: Lessons for America.* Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Vogel, S. K. (Ed.). (2002). *U.S.-Japan relations in a changing world*. Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institute.

Warnick, B. (1987). The narrative paradigm: Another story. *The Quarterly Journal of Speech, 73*(2), 172-182.

Wasilewski, J. (2008). The ICU-COE North-East Asian Dialogue (NEAD) Project. In "Heiwa, anzen, kyōsei" kenkyū kyōiku no keisei to tenkai [Peace, security, and living together: Formation and evolution of educational research][3] (pp. 42-43). Mitaka, Japan: International Christian University.

Watanabe, Y. & McConnell, D. L. (Eds.). (2008). *Soft power superpowers: Cultural and national assets of Japan and the United States.* Armonk, NY: M.E. Sharpe.

Yashiro, K. (1992). On the foreign language maintenance of he Japanese returnee students. *Intercultural Communication Studies*, *2* (1), 57-64.

Yashiro, K. (1995). Japan's returnees. *Journal of Multilingual & Multicultural Development*, *16* (1&2), 139-164.

Yamada, H. (1997). *Different game, different rules: Why Americans and Japanese misunderstand each other.* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Yamanaka, H., Buck, E., Kato, H., & Lyle, J. (1986). *Japanese communication studies of the 1970s: Bibliographic abstracts of studies published only in Japanese.* Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press.

---

[1] Conversations with people from around the world……Nippon, Ibunka Rikai. Kokusai Koryū. John C. Condon February 14, 1975 Ibunka-kan Rikai. Part I approaches, scholarship, meaning of communication, etc. (pp. 178-189). Part II meanings of Intercultural Communication and Cross Cultural Communication, values and culture, the British and Americans, aesthetic values (*biteki kachi*) differences*, tatemae* & *honne*, language & culture (*kotoba to bunka*) human beings (*jinsei-rui*) pp. 190-201

[2] M. Saito and M. Fukunaga-Saito are one and the same person. Mitsuko Saito, a prominent key figure in this study usually used her own name of Saito for her professional identity. Occasionally, for overseas publications, she used her married name, Fukunaga, in hyphenated form with Saito. Considering the early years of publication, she is shown once again to be a pioneer by using a hyphenated name form. In Japan, it was not legally possible to use a hyphenated name form until decades after she used it.

[3] This is my translation into English. There was no English title for this research report.

完