

PH.D.-THESIS

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EDUCATING FOR THE FUTURE:
A CRITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS OF THE ACADEMIC
FIELD OF *INTERCULTURAL BUSINESS COMMUNICATION*

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Abstract

The present investigation analyzes critically the discursive and generic make-up, the conceptual base and educational goals of a new interdisciplinary academic field of enquiry called *Intercultural Business Communication* as it is pursued in the context of the Germany higher education system. Its purpose is twofold: Firstly, it attempts to bring to light and debate the actual validity claims made by these authors in respect to socio-economic changes and the educational promise of intercultural understanding through *intercultural training*. Secondly, it shows how aspects of context (e.g. interdisciplinary relations, disciplinary intricacies, hegemonic discourses, changes in the higher educational system and its relation to other social spheres) can impact upon the discourse and genre of social science in general and this particular field in particular.

By drawing upon *Critical Discourse Analysis* as a theoretical stance and a methodological path, a corpus of 24 academic articles published in this area is analyzed in relation to the recontextualization of socio-economic changes (presences and absences of social actors, processes and evaluation), the legitimation of educational goals through reference to these changes, the conceptualization of key terms (like *culture*, *the other* etc.), the implications of these theoretical decisions for the possibility of increased, mutual understanding and the form of academic writing (argumentation, debate, genre change). While the thesis aims to identify specific discursive and generic patterns, open them to contestation, and to explain their presence in these texts, it is also strongly normative and discusses questions related to the changing understanding of the nature, form and function of academic knowledge production in society.

Declaration

I declare that this thesis is my own work and has not been submitted in any form for the award of a higher degree elsewhere.

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The ideas of economists and political philosophers, both when they are right and when they are wrong, are more powerful than is commonly understood. Indeed the world is ruled by little else. Practical men, who believe themselves to be quite exempt from any intellectual influence, are usually the slaves of some defunct economist. Madmen in authority, who hear voices in the air, are distilling their frenzy from some academic scribbler of a few years back.

John Maynard Keynes (1883-1946)

The General Theory of Employment, Interest and Money, ch. 24 (1936)

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

The present investigation analyzes critically the discursive and generic make-up, conceptual base and educational goals of a new degree programme and interdisciplinary field of investigation called *Intercultural Business Communication* (IBC). This academic and applied area is at the forefront of socio-educational change in two main respects: Firstly, it sets out to train students and external clients (e.g. managers) for the exigencies of an allegedly ‘globalized’ world. By recontextualizing ‘globalization’ as a legitimization for its educational goals, i.e. the advancement of *intercultural competencies* attuned to the perceived exigencies of the economic world, the field plays a decisive role in the production of new identities, social relations, values and worldviews. By drawing institutionally closer to the business domain through the provision of commercial services (consulting, training and research), IBC contributes, secondly, to institutional change and, concomitantly, a changing view of the nature, role and function that knowledge should serve in and for society. Both aspects are by no means uncontested and concerns with the political and ethical implications of the training of so-called ‘global players’ *and* of current forms of restructuring in higher education (HE) have motivated this investigation. The thesis is conceived as a contribution to debates about how to integrate current international (economic, political, cultural) processes into foreign language education and, albeit to a minor extent, to the debate about changes in HE in Germany. It aims to show how political and economic discourses, values and (changing) institutional contexts can shape academic writing and how conversely academic discourse can play a role in

shaping and reshaping relations in and between institutions, social spheres and domains. To this end, a corpus of 24 articles written by academics have been analyzed; texts which figure not only as a means of communication and debate between colleagues with the final aim of academic advancement, but also as central resources in the formation of students and the training of participants in commercial workshops, thus reaching either directly or indirectly a wide variety of audiences. By recourse to *Critical Discourse Analysis* (CDA), these texts are regarded as discursive instances of wider social practices (e.g. educating, researching, publishing, training and consulting), which partly overlap and mutually influence each other. They are characterized, as I will argue, by *generic hybridity* bearing traces of and feeding back into socio-institutional change. I will identify and map both their *discursive make-up* (about ‘globalization’, ‘culture’, and ‘the other’, the political and ethical values perpetuated and the consequences these conceptualizations entail for the possibility of intercultural understanding) and their *generic* properties (the make-up of these texts, the purposes and functions they are employed to serve). While the most general aim of the investigation is “a contribution to the theoretical explanation of a complex situation” (Titscher, Wodak and Vetter 1998: 35), the discourse-oriented view of academic texts proposed is of immediate relevance to the academic formation of foreign language teachers. By calling for meta-reflexivity and a cautious and well informed approach to interdisciplinary it has also strong implications for their pedagogic practices which are, unavoidably, based upon and influenced by theories or concepts of *culture* and *otherness*, interrelated with discourses of national and global economic and political structures, processes and change.

1.1. SETTING THE STUDY IN CONTEXT

In the last two decades, foreign language education at higher education institutions has increasingly come under institutional, economic and political pressure (Grix and Jaworska 2002¹, Kramersch 1991). Departments teaching so-called ‘small’ languages like French, German, Russian, Japanese and others, in particular, have had to face a variety of difficulties ranging from the reduction of courses and staff, the shrinking of support or funding, the introduction of income generating requirements, a general decrease in numbers of student enrolment and a subordination and marginalization to English in the context of its exponential growth and extension as a global lingua franca². In the wake of this development, foreign language departments seem to have begun to ‘diversify’ for a “number of intellectual and pragmatic reasons” (Grix and Jaworska 2002: 2), including the hope of attracting more students as well as financial and institutional support³. Therefore many institutions have moved away from the traditional *language/ literature* combination⁴ with its focus on ‘high culture’ and the interpretation and criticism of a national canon of authors, towards an emphasis on everyday communication and (popular) culture, geography, politics and business. New strands of interdisciplinary and applied courses, seminars, modules, diplomas and whole degree programmes like *Area Studies, French/ German/ British/ American* (or

¹ Grix and Jaworska (2002) focus on the cause of the decline of traditional German Studies at British universities but report that this development is similar for French, Russian, Spanish, and other languages. Moreover, the same holds for the institutional situation of languages other than English in many other countries worldwide.

² For the difficulties modern language departments in Britain face, see Beckett (2002: 3). The author quotes a report by the *University Council of Modern Languages* stating that since 1999, 130 teaching posts have been lost in a sample of only 30 universities. For the case of departments devoting themselves to the teaching of English as a Foreign Language at the expense of other languages due to its higher income raising capacity, see Plomin (2001: 1).

³ The ascendancy of new academic fields, disciplines and teaching programmes, is, of course, not only a matter of external demands or pressure. Scholarly debate, internal academic development and further disciplinary fragmentation are of great importance and will be analyzed at a later point.

⁴ In practice, the combination has often been institutionally split into *literature* as an academic subject taught in the faculty of Arts and/ or Humanities and foreign language instruction in ‘quasi-academic’ foreign language institutes or centres (cf. Theobald 2002: 79 and Kramersch 1991: 236).

other) *Cultural Studies, Language and Business, Intercultural or Cross-Cultural Business Communication* and others have been established⁵, fusing foreign language teaching with different aspects of contemporary life; a tendency that mirrors – on a theoretical level - the now widely recognised perspective of the interrelationship between language and context. In the attempt to reverse the loss of territory, some departments of ‘smaller’ languages even merge into regional studies programmes, for instance, *European Studies* or *European Languages*. Often, these degree courses integrate internships for their students in companies and institutions, studies abroad and practical, project oriented teaching methods. In addition to this, new forms of co-operation between institutional and private partners have been generated: Third parties, such as companies, funding bodies and other external institutions provide financial support⁶ for specific programmes, internships and academic research projects and are, in exchange, able to instigate investigation relevant for their specific interests. This trend echoes the quest from the business world and their representative institutions to align education in general, and higher education in particular, with the demands of the economy, for instance through more vocationally oriented studies. Viewed from a wider perspective, these processes hence entail changes in the perception and role of higher education in society.

One of these newly established academic fields is at the centre of the present study: the interdisciplinary area of *Intercultural or Cross-Cultural Business Communication* as it has become established at a variety of university departments in Germany as a

⁵ For the case of Britain see, for example, *Teaching English for International Business* (at the B.A. and M.A. level) *Intercultural Communication* and *English for International Corporate Communication* (B.A.) at the University of Lancashire, *Language and Intercultural Studies* (B.A.), *Language for International Business* (B.A.), *European Language and Intercultural Studies* (M.A.) at Anglia Polytechnic University and *Intercultural Communication* (B.A., M.A., M.Phil. and Ph.D.) at the University of Luton.

⁶ The University of Luton, for instance, hosts the national centre for the European ADAPT project (*Language and Culture for Business*) which is fully funded by the European Social Fund and has the objective of increasing the volume of British trade overseas by improving the foreign language skills of business people (for further reference see <http://www.lcb.org.uk/nlcb.asp>).

consequence of the “Praxisdruck, unter dem Wirtschafts-, Kommunikations- und Kulturwissenschaften stehen” [pressure to be more practically-oriented exerted on business, communication and cultural studies] (Bolten 1999: 300). Academically, it developed out of one of the key educational concepts of the 1980s in the field of foreign language teaching and pedagogy – *intercultural communication* – which was subsequently applied to the business domain. *Intercultural* or *Cross Cultural Communication* refers, in most general terms, to the interaction between members from different cultural backgrounds⁷ and, at the same time, the overcoming of the ills of misunderstanding, stereotyping, ethnocentrism, and prejudice. In a chapter called “Developing productive global managers” Black, Morrison and Gregersen (1999, see also Koester and Wisemann 1993: 329 and many others), for example, suggest that individuals need to accept that knowledge and perceptions are influenced by cultural backgrounds. They should avoid pre-judgements about and be respectful towards others, display empathy, sensitivity to difference, the willingness to listen to others and the capacity to admit mistake and non-understanding if this is the case. Foreign language education has, in this way, been extended to a competency training aimed towards broadening the social and communicative abilities of future business men and women. It is generally assumed that these competencies, attitudes and understandings do not emerge automatically from interpersonal international experiences abroad, indeed contact, it is argued, might enhance stereotyping and ethnocentrism⁸, hence the need for education:

⁷ The term *culture* and hence *interculture* (respectively *cross-culture*) is, evidently, highly controversial and needs definition and precision. A discussion of different perspectives and delineations of the term follows in chapter 3.4.

⁸ Ethnocentrism refers to the idea that one’s norms, values, ways of communicating, being and acting are universally valid und superior to others: “Other cultures are readily interpreted in terms of one’s own concepts. In other words, one’s own (culture-specific) experiences are seen as maximally representative of the corresponding universal experience.” (Blommaert and Verschueren 1991: 3)

... all personnel who are not already bicultural (by birth or early enculturation) in the culture of the country to which they have been assigned need intercultural training. (Kohls and Brussow 1995: 15)

The trend towards intercultural education for managers is, unsurprisingly, related to an internationalisation of business activities often subsumed under the buzzword of *globalization*:

Several factors have contributed to the popularity of the subject of cross-cultural business communication in recent years. Chief among these factors was the phenomenal growth in the volume of international trade. (Limaye and Victor 1998: 217, see also Ehnert 2000:1 and Halsall 1998: 67)

Although the nature, causality, agency, effects, limits and even existence of the alleged phenomenon are highly contentious and heatedly debated, many authors seem to agree that higher educational institutions have to respond in one way or another to the internationalization and interweaving of cultural, economic, technological and other practices in order to prepare students for the exigencies of an ever more rapidly changing world⁹. For the case of management education, Earley and Singh (2000: 2) report, for instance: “The popular press decries the need for management education to reflect the complexity of a ‘global village’.” Interacting appropriately and successfully in an international or global economy – meaning generally a more complex and uncertain environment – allegedly implies transcending linguistic, national and cultural borders. Brake, Walker and Walker (1995: iv) thus express the need for culturally literate, open-minded, mobile and flexible *global players*¹⁰:

⁹ See for example the Technical University of Munich who claims for the case of engineers: “In den letzten Jahren haben sich die Anforderungen an Ingenieure verändert. Aufgrund der Globalisierung müssen sie nicht nur umfassende Fachkenntnisse haben, sondern auch Fremdsprachen beherrschen und interkulturelles Verständnis mitbringen. In der aktuellen Ausbildung werden diese Aspekte bisher jedoch kaum berücksichtigt.” [In the last years the profile for engineers has changed. In the context of globalization, engineers have to be able to speak foreign languages and be interculturally sensitive. Currently, these aspects hardly figure at all in higher education.] (http://www.iwb.tum.de/iwb_page_6467.html)

¹⁰ The term *global player* can refer to organizations (e.g. a transnational company) or to the level of the individual.

A key to success in the global market is the development of global managers who can cross geographic, functional, and cultural boundaries and maximize synergies.

Some authors envisage disastrous consequences if ‘culture’ is either not taken seriously into the (business) equation or not dealt with adequately. Usunier (1999: 1, see also Kessler 2003: 33), for example, calls for cultural awareness since “[o]ne of the most important obstacles to effective international business negotiation is the ignorance of all or at least the basics of the other party’s culture.” Failure or ignorance of underlying cultural assumptions supposedly “tend to inflate the cost of negotiating internationally” (ibid) or might lead to complete failure. Harris and Bargiela-Chiappini (2000: 3) argue in more linguistic terms¹¹ that

... misinterpretation and negative evaluation of language acts and other types of interactive behaviour are all too common and can jeopardise the success of an intercultural business encounter.

Especially international joint ventures, mergers and acquisitions and other forms of strategic alliances, such as, for instance, between the formerly independent companies BMW (Germany) and Rover (Britain) or Renault (France) and Volvo (Sweden), have been or are allegedly in danger of failing for reasons of miscommunication, incompatibility of management philosophies, or lack of integration of personnel from different cultural backgrounds with different values, beliefs and behaviour (Schnapper 1992: 269–270, Usunier and Ghauri 1999: 145, Strübing 1997: 24). In Germany, one of the leading export nations of the world, the public discussion about international competitiveness is particularly prevalent. In the so-called ‘Standortdebatte’ [debate about advantages and disadvantages of a specific location], it is often argued that managers, employees as well as workers lack intercultural preparation, flexibility and adaptability which puts the competitiveness of German industries and service-

¹¹ Again, whether differences in communication and hence miscommunication are due to cultural factors is a contentious claim which will be discussed at a later point.

providers in a global market place at risk. Bittner and Reisch (1993: 2) frame the exigencies of the situation in the following terms:

Gesucht: der *Global Player*.
Der Bedarf an interkulturellen Managern wächst.

Ein neuer Typ ist im kommen [sic]: Der Global Player, der international versierte Manager, der fähig ist, deutsche Unternehmen zu globalisieren, strategische Allianzen mit exotischen Partnern zu schmieden, wirtschaftliche und politische Entwicklungen in fremden Kontinenten vorherzusehen, in einem multikulturellen Führungsteam Synergieeffekte freizusetzen. Doch Global Player sind rar.

[Wanted: the *global player*
The need for intercultural managers is on the increase.

A new type is on high demand: the global player, an internationally versatile manager who is capable of globalizing German companies, of initiating and developing strategic alliances with exotic partners, of previewing economic and political developments in foreign continents, and of freezing [sic] up synergy-effects in multicultural teams. However, global players are still hard to find.]

The educational sector has, according to Apfelthaler (1998: 65) already responded to the perceived need to educate managers and employees for an international context and has adapted and restructured itself accordingly:

Erstaunlich rasch haben sich einzelne Betriebswirte und ganze Hochschulen mit wohlklingenden, modernen Konzepten für die Bewältigung der im Rahmen der Ausdehnung der [internationalen] Unternehmenstätigkeit aufgetretenen Anomalien zur Stelle gefunden.

[Individual economists and whole universities have amazingly quickly responded to the anomalies which emerge from international business activities with nice sounding and modern concepts.]

Claes (2000: 3), the president of SIETAR Europe (the *Society for Intercultural Education, Training and Research*) makes the connection between the field of IBC and the global business world even more explicit:

The global business world, with its financial, social and international imperatives, has moved to a network model of functioning, which allows access to any kinds of resources all over the world, be they people, money, products or knowledge. Intercultural Communication as a discipline may facilitate the working of this global network. [...] the merger-manager that is

needed is a professional and emotional generalist and communicator, a qualification that is hard to find. Intercultural Communication is taking the bend in its road, towards a bright and rich future.

In response to these exigencies, an “academic cottage industry” (Theobald 2002: 82) has evolved with its own conferences, methodologies, thematic subsets and journals dedicated to the international business arena and the cultural diversity therein. However, not only academics are engaged in helping organizations to “save time, excessive costs, employee turnover and labour dissatisfaction that often result from interaction between cultures in collision” (Schnapper 1992: 275). An innumerable number of consultancies, companies and popular literature flood the market worldwide targeting managers, engineers or others who work internationally. Apart from packaged training courses, individually tailored workshops are offered to companies¹² and multicultural teams - often including instruments measuring and assessing intercultural competencies (or the lack of it) for an initial needs-analysis and subsequent progress assessment. Instructional methods and even goals vary within and across institutions ranging from guidelines and prescriptions of how to do business in a specific cultural context to experiential and emotive-interactive workshops alongside individual tutoring or coaching *on-the-job*. Research proliferates on single cultural contexts, as well as on comparisons between countries and studies of face-to-face interaction.

¹² Some companies count within their own adjunct training center with a department dedicated to intercultural training. In 2001, the training center of the Siemens AG offered, for instance, the following workshops: *Internationale Kommunikation für Global Players* [International Communication for Global Players], *Interkulturelles Know-How für Fachassistenz* [Intercultural Know-How for Specialists], *Internationale Zusammenarbeit Indien* [International Cooperation with India] and *Internationale Geschäftskompetenz und Sprachen* [International Business Competence and Languages] (<http://intranet.sqt.siemens.de>).

1.2. RATIONALE FOR THIS STUDY

Despite the institutional, methodological and institutional heterogeneity, this network of discourses and educational practices exerts a considerable influence¹³ on how to conceptualize, relate to and interact with ‘others.’ Academic authors in the field as well as teachers, consultants and trainers thus shape to a significant degree ideas, values, discourses and practices of intercultural interaction by providing cognitive and discursive resources for classifying, interpreting, framing, and experiencing oneself, the communication/ negotiation partner, the communication process itself as well as business practices, goals and desirable outcomes. It is this unquantifiable discursive power and conceptual influence the field of IBC exerts - particularly through the confluence of theory and practice in form of teaching, consulting and training - that has been the main impetus for the present investigation. This project raises questions of the discursive make-up of the respective academic texts, the construal of globalization and otherness but also of the ethical and political implications this kind of educational discourse and practice entails.

Subjecting academic texts to linguistic analysis presupposes a specific perspective on the nature of social science, or in more general terms, on notions of *truth*, *knowledge* and *values*. The position adopted here is obviously in stark contrast to an objectivist¹⁴ understanding, presupposing direct and neutral access to the (material and social)

¹³ The private training and consulting company *International Cultural Enterprise Inc.* in Illinois, for instance, lists among its clients Motorola, Dunkin Donuts, General Electric, Xerox, Coca-Cola, Federal Express, Arthur Anderson, Hilton, Eastman Kodak etc (www.businessculture.com/ice.html). The German *Institute for International Management* claims that in 1996 more than 1000 managers participated in their intercultural seminars and trainings among them CEOs from ABB, Audi, BASF, BMW, Bertelsmann, DaimlerChrysler, Deutsche Lufthansa, Deutsche Telekom, Henkel, Hewlett Packard, Mannesmann, Robert Bosch, Volkswagen and others (www.ifim.de/if-vorst.htm).

¹⁴ *Objectivism* is understood here as composed of a positivist epistemology, a correspondence theory of truth, the unmitigated belief in scientific progress and an axiology of disinterest (Fay 1996: 204).

world ‘as it is’ and hence assuming that facts ‘speak for themselves.’ I draw, in a first instance, on a substantial body of literature, informed predominantly by postmodern and poststructuralist perspectives, which has called this objectivist notion of science (Gilbert and Mulkay 1984¹⁵, Latour and Woolgar 1979¹⁶, Latour 1987, and Myers 1999) and social science (Back 1998: 286, Fay 1996, Sayer 1999, 2000, Silverman 2000, Harré 1986) into question. Although the methodologies, aims and institutional functions of the natural and the social sciences differ significantly, this metadiscourse¹⁷ about knowledge in general and academic knowledge in particular emphasizes the social construal and discursive mediation of our conceptual tools and knowledge claims. It is argued that the social sciences do not “... merely discover and name practices which already exist but can be implicated in the construction of practices, thereby bringing new ones into being” (Sayer 2000: 44, see also Cameron et al. 1999: 141). Taking this discursive mediation of social scientific knowledge as a point of departure, the educational discourse of IBC is understood as an interpretive and evaluative moment which

... governs the way a topic can be meaningfully talked about and reasoned about. It also influences how ideas are put into practice and used to regulate the conduct of others. (Webster 2003: 5)

Acknowledging this entails unavoidably a quest for self-reflexivity which is constituted, in turn, to a great extent by language reflexivity. Furthermore: While being of great importance in the social sciences in general (Collier 2000: 2), reflexivity is *the* key concept in the field of IBC as well as its fundamental educational

¹⁵ Gilbert, N. and Mulkay, Michael (1984): *Opening Pandoras's Box*. Cambridge: Cambridge University.

¹⁶ Latour, Bruno and Woolgar, Steve (1987): *Laboratory Life: The Social Construction of Scientific Facts*. Thousand Oaks: Sage.

¹⁷ Prior to this so-called *linguistic turn* brought about by postmodernism, hermeneutics challenged objectivist approaches to the social sciences on the same grounds, emphasizing its intrinsically interpretative nature and advocating the aim of ‘Verstehen’ [understanding] instead of prediction, law-seeking and control.

method¹⁸. Despite many differences between various approaches, the common denominator is that every communicative act is intrinsically bound up with cultural presuppositions and values which can potentially, if taken-for-granted, lead to misunderstandings and misinterpretation. Self-reflection (and ultimately, relativization or abandonment) of ethnocentric, taken-for-granted assumptions is hence "... demanded by the special subject of intercultural communication" (Schneider 1991: 64)¹⁹. Given the centrality of the concept, many authors have begun to call for a greater self-reflexivity and self-scrutiny of their own academic practices. However, as Schweitzer (1994: 5) argues:

Eine systematisch-kritische Erörterung der kulturanthropologischen, politikwissenschaftlichen, soziologischen, sozialpsychologischen, sozialisations- und identitätstheoretischen sowie letztlich sprachlichen Grundlagen interkultureller Lernkonzepte gibt es bislang erst in Ansätzen.

[A systematic and critical analysis of the influences from anthropology, political science, sociology, social psychology, socialization and identity theory, as well as linguistics of intercultural concepts, still hardly exists.]²⁰

Some academics have even come to think that the meaning of the term *intercultural* itself differs interculturally²¹: "Eigentlich war es vorauszusehen und zu erwarten: auch

¹⁸ As will be argued at a later point, reflexivity is also central to the practice of higher education in general and its role in society in particular.

¹⁹ As important as the notion of *reflexivity* is the concept of *value* to the majority of approaches to intercultural communication (Davis and Halsall 1998: 162). It is assumed that people bring values into communication which shape the interpretation of the ongoing interaction, the relationships and identities involved and might, at times, even hinder or block communication or understanding. Some frameworks even focus exclusively on cultural differences as expressed in different value systems (Hofstede 1998, 1993, 1991, Trompenaars 2003, 1997 among others). In addition to this, the discourse of intercultural communication in general is particularly value-laden and appeals, either implicitly and explicitly, to beliefs about flourishing and suffering. Being to a large extent humanistic and pedagogic responses to ethnocentrism, xenophobia and racism, Humanistic terms and concepts like understanding, respect, tolerance, acceptance, openness, empathy, respect of difference, and role-distance are abundant in the literature (see for instance Rost-Roth 1995: 172, Krumm 1995: 160, Davis and Halsall 1998: 163, Bennett 2000: 20, Paige 1996: 149, Kohls and Brussow 1995: 25, Götze 1994: 264, Schweitzer 1994: 2, Ehnert 2000:7, Otto 1998: 435 and Dahl 1995: 37) and seem to constitute the ultimate aim of this kind of education.

²⁰ See also Chang and Holt (1997: 227): "The training literature contains virtually no discussion of the primary characteristic shared by all intercultural training: that programs accomplish not merely the 'facilitation' of intercultural communication but also the placing of frames of reference for business professionals in their future encounters with members of the host culture."

²¹ These discourses and theories are partly influenced by specific histories of majority-minority relations in particular nation-states, a point that will be further elaborated in chapter 3.

das Konzept *interkulturell* variiert interkulturell” [In fact, it was to be expected: the concept *intercultural* varies interculturally, as well] (Barkowski 1998: 6; see also Augustin 1998). Knapp-Potthoff (1997: 182, see also Brenner 1991: 35) argues that concepts and theories such as *intercultural communication* or *intercultural learning* have been developed in specific social contexts, under particular conditions and endowed with particular purposes. They should therefore not naively be imposed on students who learn and live in other institutional, cultural and political backgrounds. The present study can be understood as responding to these quests for reflexivity. It is argued that only a close analysis of each respective discourse of *intercultural business communication* can reveal the particular perspectives, values and meanings perpetuated. I thus go along with Blommaert (1995: 5) who demands that

... we should not only worry about intercultural communication per se, but also about the way in which it is perceived, interpreted, construed, and structured by all kinds of people, including ourselves. In short, we should be committed to investigating the ideologies surrounding intercultural communication.

1.3. RESEARCH QUESTIONS

The academic subject area of *Intercultural or Cross-Cultural Business Communication* (henceforth abbreviated as IBC or CCBC respectively) is taken to be a prime example of an increased awareness of, and perceived need for, a greater orientation towards international contexts. Many educationalists (The New London Group 1996²², Guilherme 2002, Young 1996) argue – and I agree fully - that only an

²² This group consists of international academics working in the field of language education and has published educational guidelines and recommendations for a revised national educational policy in the face of shifts and changes in the international economic, cultural and political arena. Their so-called *multiliteracy* project is based on two assumptions: firstly, that contemporary societies are linguistically

integration of diverse perspectives on contemporary changes in national and international structures and relations will offer students an adequate preparation for future requirements, contexts and challenges²³. Knowledge of other languages as well as intercultural experiences and understanding should be among the core elements of such pedagogy.

Legitimizing pedagogies through reference to social change in general and the exigencies of ‘globalization’, in particular, is, however, not as straightforward as put forth by many authors. Contexts of social change are not self-explanatory but a matter of interpretation and socio-political perspectives. The term *globalization*, for instance, is highly contentious and the actual nature and even existence of the designated phenomenon as well as its causes, forms, and desirable outcomes, are heatedly debated amongst academics, politicians and the general public. The vast amount of literature on this phenomenon that has been produced in the areas of political science, international relations, economics, sociology and others, gives testimony of the prevalence of this topic as well as the multitude of perspectives that characterize the debates. Furthermore, specific diagnoses of contemporary social change in terms of globalization are generally linked to a prognosis, that is, an image of a potential future society and its desirability. In this sense, the application of discourses of globalization is normative presupposing “a discernible difference between what ought to be and what is” (Sayer 2004: 5). In the case of pedagogy, references to and narratives of, social change are employed to justify specific content areas, educational methods and curricula which, consequently, do not only shape the very pedagogical process itself but also feed back into wider perceptions and dynamics of the social change in

and culturally plural and hybrid, and, secondly, that current meaning making practices are increasingly multimodal, i.e. linguistic, visual, auditory etc. (Fairclough 2000b).

²³ Furthermore, only by incorporating the international perspective into higher education can educationalists make a constructive, critical and self-reflexive contribution to the social change underway.

question (Pennycook 1994: 225). It is in this engagement with the project of social change that the field of IBC is, according to Young (1996: 20)

... a political-ethical act which is not independent of history but occurs in the full blood of history's law, bound by its urgency, and specifically, by the urgency of our current, global problems.

Given the fact that there are many competing definitions of 'globalization', it is thus crucial for an understanding, appreciation or critique of any pedagogical approach towards intercultural communication to look at the specific perspective adopted and recontextualized by different authors. To this end, I will subject the texts under investigation to the following first set of research questions:

- How is the context of international business/ socio-economic change construed and recontextualized? How do academic authors in the field of IBC position themselves in respect to alleged politico-economic change? What kind of ethical or political questions and concerns arising out of current processes are raised and addressed?
- What kind of educational goals are derived from the presumed present and future exigencies of a 'globalized' world? How are these educational pedagogies and trainings justified? Are pedagogical alternatives taken into consideration and discussed?

The fact that educational texts such as in the field of IBC can play a key role in changing people's discourses and values also has ethical implications: Through their regulative and normative aspects, these discourses contribute to the conceptualisation of the 'other' which makes them powerful tools and resources for differentiating between people, for exclusion and inclusion, group membership and rules for

appropriate action. Furthermore, authors in the field do not only conceptualize the nature, processes and possible outcomes of communication but try to intervene and improve, i.e. they are normative and prescriptive. As Paige and Martin (1996: 35) put it: “Our concern with ethics is based on the belief that intercultural training is an inherently transformative form of education, for learners and trainers alike.”²⁴

The authors extend their ethical concerns to the goals and purposes trainees have in mind and for which they want to put their competencies to use, that is, “the welfare of those with whom their learner will eventually come into contact” (ibid: 37). In the context of the international economy this includes, as will be outlined in detail in chapter 4, workers, employees and other stakeholders. As a consequence Paige and Martin

... urge trainers to convey the ethical dimension of intercultural relationships so that those who are acquiring new skills will use them in an ethical manner. This is an imperative for those who will be working in change agent roles (ibid: 45)

Again, as Blommaert and Verschueren (1991: 4) argue,

... the ‘problem’ [diversity] consists to a large extent in the way in which it is put into words, or that the language in which these issues are tackled about is far more than just a neutral vehicle of meanings and attitudes.

Deconstructing the specific forms of *othering* is therefore regarded as particularly important for an applied field that exerts such a huge impact on how others are seen, characterised, talked about, evaluated, classified and treated. In order to deconstruct the specific forms of *othering*, I will subject the text to the following questions:

- Who is represented and who is omitted in the alleged process of globalization?

Whose perspective is taken into account and to whose benefits are intercultural

²⁴ As Cameron et al. (1999: 150, see also Kincheloe and Steinberg 1997: 97 and Fay 1996: 218) rightly argues, it is always important to consider “how the findings are put to use, not only in a direct sense for agencies or governments but also for general social control or regimes of truth”

competencies advocated? Is diversity seen as problematic and if so, in what ways?

- How are key concepts like *culture* (and by implication *language* and *communication*) and *otherness*, i.e. possible subject positions, identities and interrelationships, theorized and construed? Are alternative accounts and theories taken into account or discussed? Is it probable that this particular form of education can contribute to intercultural understanding, i.e. fulfil the aim the academic authors and practitioners set themselves?

The last point leads to a further set of questions related to the role and function of higher education in society. Apart from recontextualising ‘globalization’ conceptually and pedagogically and providing categories for the ‘other,’ IBC figures as one social practice in terms of wider institutional and social change, a point addressed through the notion of *genre* (ways of interacting or acting in their textual instance²⁵). While I focus on *discourses*²⁶ in relation to the first set of questions (the discourse of globalization, the legitimization and promotion of intercultural competencies as an educational goal, the construal of the other), the texts will also be analyzed in terms of their generic features according to the following research questions:

- What kind of generic structures do the texts display? Do these comply with features commonly found in academic genres such as the research article or do they include other generic characteristics?

²⁵ I draw upon Fairclough (2003) and Bhatia (2004) conceptualizations of this term to be outlined in greater depth in chapter 2.

²⁶ I am using the term *discourse* here going back to Fairclough (1992: 128) as designating both a relevant area of knowledge *and* the particular way it is constituted, for example, “techno-scientific medical discourse.” A specific discourse thus construes a particular representation of certain social practices related to certain domains and areas of social life and can be drawn upon as a resource in different sorts of genres (political speeches, scientific articles, conversations, consultations etc.), it can be enacted in social practices and “inculcated in identities (e.g. new managerial identities connected to new forms of knowing and valuing). They can be specified in terms of their basic grammar, subjects, processes, actions, relations, objects and texture (Chiapello and Fairclough 2002: 202).

- What kind of disciplines, voices and perspectives do the authors draw upon and find relevant? Are other perspectives brought in? To what extent is dissent tolerated? What kind of epistemological and ontological stances are adopted?

After having analyzed the texts according to these guiding questions, I will tie the various threads of the investigation together and discuss the normative and educational-political issues involved in the teaching of IBC. To this end, I will draw upon the literature about the role of higher education in society and ask:

- What kind of cognitive, practical, social and ethical knowledge, values and practices are worth promoting in a field that poses intercultural understanding and reflexivity as its main educational goals? How do these particular goals relate to the role of higher education in society given that IBC is institutionalized at universities?
- Which disciplines or academic field can help to provide an insightful, ethical and reflexive approach to field of intercultural communication? How should interdisciplinarity be approached in the field in order to do justice to the role and function of higher education in society?

1.4. THE CORPUS

In order to answer the questions outlined above a corpus of articles produced by academics as a contribution to scholarly debate²⁷, has been assembled consisting of all publications in reviewed journals or edited collections²⁸ in the field of *Intercultural*²⁹

²⁷ The term *academic article* is, obviously, very broad and can include a variety of genres. For the moment, however, I do not want to make any further claims about the nature of these articles since it is precisely their very form, content and purposes that constitute the focus of this investigation; hence, I have simply categorized them according to the institutional affiliation of their authors and the

Business Communication and Intercultural Management from 1977 till 2002. With the aim of investigating the specific intricacies and patterns in the construction and dissemination of this kind of educational knowledge at a specific point in time, I limited the corpus to texts published by scholars working in Germany. The texts thus share the same social and institutional context with its particular history of change; they are tied to specific educational and organisational practices and policies, research traditions, orders of academic discourses (e.g. in terms of interdisciplinarity) and genres. Through a keyword search in German academic data bases, an initial corpus of over 994 articles, representing probably the complete accessible research and publication output, has been assembled. In order to include all potentially relevant articles, several data bases³⁰ have been searched:

- The internet-based *Datenbank zur Interkulturellen Wirtschaftskommunikation* [Data Base for Intercultural Business Communication] published by the European University Viadrina (Frankfurt/ Oder)³¹;
- *WISONet*: a database that enlists all publications in German related to economics from 1970 until present;
- *Psyndex*: an extensive database focusing on psychology-related publications between 1977 and 2000;
- *SozioNet*, a database for social science publications in German (similar to WISO).

(academic) context they are produced, published, consumed and distributed in. Articles produced in, for instance, the semi-academic SIETAR (*Society for Intercultural Education and Training*)-Newsletter were necessarily excluded.

²⁸ Relatively few monographs have been published in this area and contrary to common practices in the UK and the U.S.A., there is almost no use of textbooks for the introduction of students into a discipline. A considerable number of doctoral theses have been written, but since these are rarely read by other students or academics apart from supervisors and examiners and hence exert little educational influence, they have not been taken into consideration.

²⁹ Respectively *cross-cultural*, although this term is less frequent in the German context.

³⁰ These data bases include bibliographical references and abstracts.

³¹ <http://ego.euv-frankfurt-o.de/bibliography/pub/view.asp?db=?=2>, [http://viadrina.euv-frankfurt-o.de/~sw2/Forschung/Interkulturelle Wirtschaftskommunikation/Welcome.html](http://viadrina.euv-frankfurt-o.de/~sw2/Forschung/Interkulturelle%20Wirtschaftskommunikation/Welcome.html)

Whereas the smaller and specialized database of the Department for Intercultural Communication at the Viadrina-University was searched item for item, the search in *WISOnet*, *Psyndex* and *SozioNet* was conducted via the following truncated keywords: “interkulturel*,” “cross-cultural,” “transkulturel*,” “kommunikation*” or “kultur*” combined with “wirtschaft*” or “manag*.” The rather general nature of these keywords offered the advantage of covering all potentially relevant articles, i.e. literature focusing on intercultural issues related to the business world. In addition to this, bibliographies of articles were retrospectively searched for further references. The resulting, rather large corpus was consequently reduced to 150 articles through a refined manual search based on whether the bibliographical keywords, the title or the abstract displayed a focus on one of the following 4 relevant topics:

- a presentation of the field of IBC in general;
- reference to issues of intercultural communication in the context of socio-economic change and/ or the international economy;
- the nature and goals of intercultural training;
- intercultural competencies as related to the international business environment.

Publications which were excluded from the corpus made either only cursory reference to socio-economic change or were for example not directly related to intercultural training for the business environment but to international marketing or advertising, diversity issues inside of national companies, company internal communication, small or medium sized companies and their international aspirations and producer-client relationships in international business. Articles which focused on comparisons between two or more specific countries were only considered if they referred specifically to socio-economic changes and/ or educational goals.

After this selection process, the database was further restricted to a manageable size of 24 articles with respect to the institutional and academic background of the respective author. As outlined before, I was interested in how academics in the Arts and Humanities and the Social Sciences³² work in interdisciplinary ways in the context of institutional change. Articles from authors with a background in business or management studies were therefore not integrated into the corpus³³.

Naturally, some authors publish more widely than others and thus exert a greater influence both in theoretical and practical terms. Since the aim of this investigation is not to show individual or disciplinary³⁴ (chronological) development, the number of articles per author was restricted to two. The texts are regarded as individual instances of broader shifts in academic discourses and genres, not faithful accounts of personal academic output.

In order to yield an accurate picture of the political stance and values promoted, precisely those sections of the texts were coded for analysis which referred explicitly to socio-economic change, the definition and alleged role of higher education in general and IBC in particular in the context of these changes as well as the definition of key concepts such as *culture*, *language*, *communication*, *intercultural competencies* and *otherness*.

³² This mirrors the fact that most intercultural trainers in Europe have a background in the humanities or the social sciences (Draganis 1995: 18).

³³ I nevertheless included authors who came from a Social Sciences' or Humanities' background and complemented their studies at a later stage through a further degree in business or management.

³⁴ The field itself can also be regarded as too young for such an approach with the vast majority of articles and books being published at the end of the 1980s and in the 1990s.

1.5. STRUCTURE AND CHAPTER OUTLINE

The structure outlined below follows the general framework for *Critical Discourse Analysis* (Fairclough 2003, to be further described in chapter 2) that proceeds from identifying the social problem to be investigated in its specific social context (in this case changes in the German higher education system and wider society), through an analysis of the specific role semiosis plays therein (changes in the order of discourse of academia, exemplified by the new field of inquiry IBC) to an exploration and discussion of potential alternative perspectives and discourses on the respective (in this case academic and educational) practices. The investigation thus attempts not only to *describe* and *explain* particular discursive practices in relation to other social practices but aims ultimately to contribute to their *transformation*.

CHAPTER 2 outlines the theoretical and methodological framework I will use in this investigation. I principally draw upon *Critical Realism* (henceforth abbreviated as CR) as a socio-ontological perspective that brings into focus the nature of academic knowledge in relation to issues of truth, truthfulness and validity. *Critical Discourse Analysis* (henceforth abbreviated as CDA) which is based on similar philosophical assumptions will be employed in order to understand academic writing as a socio-discursive practice related to the context of wider social and institutional change. As a method, CDA thus brings into focus how social change is partly brought about by specific changes in the *order of discourses*, i.e. the configuration and re-configuration of *discourses* and *genres*. Further important analytical concepts to be employed (such as *genre integrity* and *hybridity*, *intertextuality* and *interdiscursivity*) will also be explained.

The second part of the same chapter introduces some of the key terms and concepts every approach to intercultural communication employs and has to address, namely the relationship between *culture*, *interculturality*, the *other*, *values* and *critique*³⁵. This discussion will serve as the theoretical background against which claims to these terms made in the academic articles under investigation will be assessed.

CHAPTER 3 provides a description of the historical emergence of the interdisciplinary and applied academic field of IBC in both its country of origin, the U.S.A. and in the context of the German higher education system. It thus answers the question of what kind of discourse and professional communities, expectancies and interests are involved and interact in the respective genre system under investigation. The account will at the same time show the widespread establishment at universities and the particular institutional relationship of the field with the business sphere. It will likewise present main strands and approaches and highlight disciplines that authors in this field respond to, draw upon and combine in their interdisciplinary academic work. Particularly salient in this context is the relation with neoclassical economics: IBC responds to the two main shortcomings this predominant school of thought displays: the inability to account for the socio-cultural embeddedness of the economy and the socio-cultural nature of human beings. The last section therefore attempts to unearth the theoretical and institutional entanglement of the two fields³⁶.

³⁵ By making the epistemological, ontological and normative assumptions and conceptual categories used in this investigation as clear and explicit as possible this chapter attempts to comply with the quest for reflexivity as established in the preceding section.

³⁶ Mainstream or neoclassical economics is, at the same time, related to the current hegemonic discourses of neoliberalism (to be analyzed in chapter 4.2.) with which it shares a host of economic and political presuppositions and value assumptions. Neoliberal discourse will play an important role in the forthcoming analysis and argument. Central to this study will be the question of whether academics in the field of IBC are actually 'buying into' and thus contributing to the neoliberal project of change.

CHAPTER 4 focuses on the particular context intercultural theories are applied to and recontextualize, namely the international economy. The chapter unfolds as follows: For analytical reasons outlined in chapter 2, I will refer here to two distinct but dialectically interrelated levels: the *discursively construed* and the *discursively mediated* but *fundamentally material* reality of current socio-economic changes. In terms of discourses, I will outline main perspectives that are available in (mostly) sociological debate; in terms of material reality, I will engage in depth with current neoliberal policies³⁷ and the serious political and ethical concerns these processes raise for intercultural contact in general and the cultural politics of the field in question in particular. While chapter 3 had provides the background of the analysis in terms of *genre* by showing the links between and interests of different audiences and writers, chapter 4 establishes the necessary framework for an analysis of the *discourses* employed in the respective texts.

CHAPTER 5 analyzes the corpus using CDA as a method. This chapter concentrates on three aspects: First, the appropriation and recontextualisation of (discourses of) socio-economic change (including for instance actors, processes and evaluations) and how these are in turn used to legitimate the academic subject area itself, its institutionalization, educational goals, methods and concepts. Related to this is, secondly, an analysis of the theoretical position towards the key notions of *culture*, *interculture* and *otherness*. In a third step, I will investigate whether, and if so how, the specific textual make up of these articles displays generic changes. In terms of

³⁷ I will focus on three supranational forces pushing for these changes: strategic alliances such as mergers and acquisitions operating on an international scale, supranational organization (the *International Monetary Fund*, the *World Bank* and the *World Trade Organization*) which bring about the general legal framework (or its lack) these alliances work in and with and the international financial world that impact upon organizational structures and practices through the *shareholder model* of ownership.

textual analysis (to be outlined in more detail chapter 2), I will, for instance, look at how presuppositions are built up in time, how a ‘common-sense’ background is constructed, which particular meanings are mobilized through the textual organization, how the authority of the author is established, which discourses or genres are drawn upon, which purposes are pursued, if and how the text displays ambivalence and unresolved contradictions, and, last but not least, what is absent, unsaid or silenced.

CHAPTER 6 answers the question why the discourse of IBC and its associated meanings, values and purposes have become so dominant. It thus moves towards establishing a framework that explains how the discursive and generic patterns and strategies, paradoxes and tensions found in the texts are related to context IBC operates in, in particular the changes the German higher education system is currently undergoing. In addition, I will analyze the design and commodification of communicative practices through IBC in terms of Habermas’s *Colonization of the Lifeworld* and raise the question whether these ‘intercultural competencies’ can, in fact, improve mutual understanding. Through critically reflecting upon the nature of this form of knowledge production and the concomitant educational practices, I will, finally, invite a reexamination of the role of higher education in society.

CHAPTER 7: This final section will draw the findings together, point out the relevance and contribution of this study and discuss normative issues and alternative perspectives. While the main part of the investigation tried to recover the kind of world intercultural competencies are tailored to and targeted for through the field of IBC, this last chapter addresses the question of how we want to imagine our social

futures and the kind of educational goals and methods following from this. It indicates alternative theoretical pathways to understand economic issues which allow the reconciliation of the relation between structure and agency, bring into focus the social embeddedness of the economy, take the conflictive nature of socio-economic relations into account and are, hence, able to integrate political-ethical concerns important for any understanding of intercultural communication. The aim here is not to bring closure to a debate but to open up avenues to arrive at an increased reflexive interdisciplinarity that is attuned to fulfilling the role higher education is to play in society. I will argue that to this end, the historical contextualization of academic discourse needs to be a central element of higher education and that CDA can be effectively employed to contribute to a critical awareness.

CHAPTER 2

THEORY AND METHOD

Whereas the first chapter has outlined a specific perspective on social science research in general, the first part of the following chapter will focus more concretely on the epistemological and ontological stance³⁸ adopted here, strongly informed by *Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA)* and *Critical Realism (CR)* and their specific account of the role language/ semiosis plays in social life. On the basis of these considerations and further conceptual clarifications, I will define academic writing as a form of socio-discursive practice in the context of other social processes, structures and relations. At the same time, I will rearticulate and refine the research questions and outline the methodological tenets that will guide the analysis.

While, as argued in the previous chapter, no social science research can be value-free or neutral, a CDA-analysis is by its very nature always normative, committed and critical, a stance that is in no way obvious or uncontested in the context of intercultural communication. In the second part of this chapter I will therefore outline my particular perspective on such key concepts as *culture*, *interculturality*, the *other*, *normativity* and *critique*. The discussion will likewise serve as the background to assess claims to these terms made in the texts under investigation.

³⁸ Whereas ontology refers to the actual existence of things, epistemology asks how we can know about the things and relations the world is, according to our respective ontological position, composed of.

2.1. CDA AS A THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVE

2.1.1. THE SOCIAL ONTOLOGY OF DISCOURSE

CDA has been developed out of a critique of structuralist approaches to language, which analyze language as an abstract system devoid of contextual considerations. As such, CDA is part of a wider strand in applied linguistics³⁹ and other human and social sciences that indicate a profound shift in thinking about the relation between language and context and hence the role of language in social life⁴⁰. The focus in CDA is thus not on “... language or the use of language in and for themselves, but upon the partially linguistic character of social and cultural processes and structures” (Fairclough and Wodak 1997: 271).

In the context of the so-called *linguistic turn*⁴¹ the term *discourse* gained great currency and has been used in a vast number of vague and at times rather obfuscatory ways. Most generally, discourse might be understood as language in use, or “talk and text in context” (van Dijk 1997: 3), a perspective that acknowledges how the contexts of production and reception influence the internal constituents, processes and make up

³⁹ The notion of *context* has been widely discussed in all areas of applied linguistics. At the same time, however, the perspectives and approaches differ in terms of how they conceive the relation between language/ semiosis and the social world, i.e. in their ontological and epistemological perspective. This also includes authors writing from a CDA perspective who take a variety of stances towards key issues like the relation between *structure* and *function*, *text* and *context* and the question of what is to be regarded as the relevant context for specific communicative and textual instances. Among the various strands of CDA, I will refer mainly to the work of Fairclough (2003, 1995, 1992a, 1989) as one of the most sociologically oriented approaches with his particular focus on issues of social change, power and politics.

⁴⁰ Some authors might object to this broad definition of applied linguistics and would argue that it is rather *linguistics applied*. Authors such as Widdowsen (1998, 2005), for instance, would refute the view that a scientific approach can also be critical and claim that a linguistic analysis is nothing more than a ‘pretext’ for reading ideologies into the material. To him, linguistic analysis should be apolitical. I comply, however, with de Beaugrande (2001, see also Pennycook 2001: 170) who argues that there is no normative free social science and the claim to be apolitical in itself is ideological.

⁴¹ As outlined in the introductory chapter.

of the respective texts including not only linguistic elements⁴² but also other forms of social semiosis⁴³.

The above mentioned shift has to a large extent been brought about by the French philosopher Foucault who developed a theory of discourse in his attempt to overcome the rather crude Marxist view of economic relations (structure) as primary to every other cultural formation (superstructure), thereby denigrating culture to an ideological distortion of consciousness: generated by specific social conditions culture serves the interest of a particular, allegedly homogeneous social class. One of Foucault's main contributions was thus to break with the dualism of a false consciousness and an underlying or hidden truth. To him, 'truth' itself was a contentious and problematic category and dependent on certain formations of knowledge consisting of specific categories and views of social reality, social relations and the self - claimed to be 'true,' a perspective that is particular relevant in the present context of investigation. He understood these discursive formations or *regimes of truth* as to be internalised, embodied and enacted: "... practices that systematically form the objects of which they speak" (Fairclough 1992: 42). The view that discourses are systematic and unavoidable, has implications for the concept of power: rather than assuming power to be exercised purposefully and intentionally by particular individuals who can, through recourse to material or relational resources, pressure other individuals or groups towards specific actions, Foucault emphasized its social distribution cutting across social divisions, relations, subjects and discourses in complex ways⁴⁴. As a

⁴² Most elaborated is this in Kress' and van Leeuwen's (1996) work on the multimodality of the new media and its effects on literacy practices in contemporary societies.

⁴³ More recently, Fairclough (2004, 2001) has started to use the term semiosis instead of discourse in order to describe more adequately the totality of meaning-making processes including non-linguistic elements.

⁴⁴ On the basis of these considerations, Foucault was equally sceptical about the notion of freedom. For him, the 'freedom' we mean to exercise is rather an effect of specific forms and exercises of self-government and -regulation resulting from the adoption and incorporation of specific discourses. The individual is thus an object and an agent of his or her own subjectification. Consequently, even those

consequence and in contrast to the negative view of power, he stressed that it cannot exclusively be equated negatively with constraint and oppression but have to be seen as also enabling social life.

Although highly acclaimed, Foucault's concept of discourse displays several shortcomings. One reservation authors writing from a CDA perspective have with Foucault concerns his underlying social ontology where the difference between discourse and extra-discursive (material) reality is not made sufficiently explicit. Approaches following his ontology seem to regard power as embodied in each individual actor but lack a satisfying perspective on how it is embedded on an institutional or societal level. In other words, the focus on micro aspects of power marginalizes an in depth analysis of relevant macro aspects. It thus remains unclear where it emanates from and, consequently, how resistance, struggle and social change (and by implication agency) could possibly emerge⁴⁵. As a consequence, Foucault's view appears rather static bearing a "heavily structuralist flavour" (Fairclough 1992: 45, for a similar argument see Eagleton 1996 and Sayer 2000a: 44). By either refusing to make any statements about the relationship between text and context (ontology) or by assuming that we can apprehend reality only discursively (epistemology), strong postmodernist writers in the Foucauldian tradition tend to equate the totality of social life to discourse⁴⁶. In their attempt to avoid universalizing and allegedly ethnocentric

who might benefit from or have limited control over certain discourses might themselves be subjected to them and be unaware of the practices, values and politics they themselves perpetuate.

⁴⁵ In acknowledging agency to a far greater extent, CDA draws upon the Italian philosopher Gramsci and his concept of *hegemony* as a block of values held in place not only by a small ruling or rule-aspiring class, but also by many other social forces that co-opt and identify with it, including intellectuals. Again power is not understood as domination but as including consent and compliance. Contrary to a Foucauldian approach, though, a Gramscian perspective emphasizes the potential instability of these hegemonic discourses and can thus account for conflict, struggle, resistance and change. I will come back to this theoretical perspective in the discussion about culture (ch. 2.2.).

⁴⁶ See Laclau and Mouffe (1985) for the case of social theory and Shotter (1993) for the case of discursive psychology. Howarth (2000: 9) disputes this accusation in the first case by arguing that the assumption that everything is discursively perceived (*epistemological relativism*) does not reduce the social to language (*ontological relativism*) nor does it "entail scepticism about the existence of the world". In his view, Laclau and Mouffe would simply argue that we cannot apprehend reality other than

perspectives (so-called ‘grand narratives’)⁴⁷, thus refuting the supposedly ‘modern’ idea that access to the world ‘out there’ is possible, postmodernists flip⁴⁸ from naïve objectivism to the other extreme (idealism) and replace the “restrictive social ontology of essences with an implicit ontology of social ephemera” (Sayer 1999: 31, Sayer 2000a: 67)⁴⁹. As an effect, “discourse swallows up all other phenomena, social, political, ideological“(Eagleton 1996, quoted in Holborow 1999: 6). Their scepticism towards material existence is described by Harvey (1996: 11) as a “new idealism” that marginalizes questions of “real oppression, real suffering and pain, the very things that make politics so important.” In fact, this kind of discursive determinism is in danger of rendering the question of critique almost obsolete and resistance or social change unaccountable. In contrast, CDA emphasizes that discursive practices

... are constrained by the fact that they inevitably take place within a constituted, material reality, with preconstituted ‘objects’ and preconstituted social subjects. The constitutive processes of discourse ought therefore to be seen in terms of a dialectic, in which the impact of discursive practice depends upon how it interacts with the preconstituted reality. With respect to ‘objects’, it is perhaps helpful to use both the terms ‘referring’ and ‘signifying’: discourse includes reference to preconstituted objects, as well as the creative and constitutive signification of objects. (Fairclough 1992: 60)

discursively so that the denial of this fact becomes “logically impossible” (ibid). Ultimately, however, this ontological skepticism might entail either a hesitance to make any fallible statements about the nature of social reality and causal relations or lead to totalizing ontological and epistemological assumptions which it claims to deny in the first place.

⁴⁷ The very idea of ‘objectivity’ is regarded by Lyotard (1984), for instance, as ideological, i.e. as totalizing one particular perspective as universally valid. He and other postmodernists emphasize instead the local production, the relativity of truth claims and incommensurability of different kinds of knowledge. Rendering questions of referentiality, truth or adequacy as irrelevant is, however, tautological as Harré and Krausz (1996: 3) argue: “If relativism is true there are no propositions that are true in all contexts. But that proposition must be true in all contexts. There is then a proposition that is absolute in the sense that it expresses a universal truth. If there is a universal truth, relativism is false. So if it is true, relativism is false.” (For similar arguments see Hacking, Ian (1999): *The Social Construction of What?* Cambridge: Harvard University).

⁴⁸ The term *pomoflip* has been coined by Sayer (1999: 68) who identifies three philosophical components: the turn from foundationalism to idealism, the shift from so-called grand narratives to local knowledges and, in terms of morality, from universalism to cultural relativism.

⁴⁹ See also Bhaskar (1975, quoted in Harré and Krausz 1996: 120) who draws attention to “the persistent fallacy in the reasoning of relativists” in drawing “a negative ontological conclusion from the demonstration of a certain kind of epistemological limit.”

The CDA perspective followed here differs significantly in this point from other discourse theories by adopting a stratified ontology of the social (Sayer 1999: 11–12) combined with a more “ground-level approach to language than Foucault” (Mills 1997: 134). Language is regarded as *one* element of social semiotic practice (Fairclough and Wodak 1997)⁵⁰ assuming that there is a world ‘out there’ “regardless of what we happen to think about it” (Sayer 1999: 2):

All construction uses materials, and a necessary condition for the success of attempts at construction is that they use the materials according to their properties – properties that exist largely independently of the constructors and are not merely a product of wishful thinking, though they may be products of earlier incidents of social construction, which in their turn were constrained and enabled by the properties of the materials used. (Sayer 2000b)⁵¹

Although discourse plays a crucial role in social life it has no miraculous power to create reality and depends in its effectiveness on other contextual features and powers to be actualized. In order to capture these processes and interrelationships better, Chouliaraki and Fairclough (1999: 8) draw in their social ontological view upon Harvey’s (1996) understanding of discourse/ language as one of six deeply interrelated but distinctive- even though not discrete - elements of social life in (the order they are listed in is not significant):

- language/ discourse
- power
- beliefs, fantasies, values and desires
- institutions, rituals
- material practices
- social relations

⁵⁰ See for example Sayer (1999: 32–33): “Whereas naïve objectivism and realism reduce this [meaning] to a matter of reference, and idealism reduces it to intradiscursive relations in abstraction from reference and practice, critical realism argues that meaning is a product of both intradiscursive and referential relations.”

⁵¹ As Fairclough (1992: 65) argues, discourse is thus “firmly rooted in and oriented to real, material social structures.”

According to Harvey (1996: 74)⁵² each of these elements is actualized in specific social *moments* in social processes internalizing dialectically⁵³ other elements to varying degrees:

The social process as I conceive of it, flows in, through and around all of these moments and the activities of each and every individual embrace all of the moments simultaneously. (ibid: 79)

Through this internalization of other elements, discourses are linked up with other moments in social life:

Discourses express human thought, fantasy, and desire. They are also institutionally based, materially constrained, experientially grounded manifestations of social and power relations. By the same token, discursive effects suffuse and saturate all other moments within the social process (affecting, for example, beliefs and practices as well as being affected by them). But to privilege discourse above other moments is insufficient, misleading, and even dangerous. [...] Errors arise when examination of one 'moment' is held sufficient to understand the totality of the social process. (Harvey 1996: 80)

In line with this reasoning, the academic articles under discussion, can be described as distinctively different from other forms of social semiosis or practices (such as, for example, teaching, consulting, lecturing, administrating etc.) but at the same time draw upon and are articulated simultaneously in relation with these different discursive or extradiscursive elements – sometimes in an ambivalent or contradictory way. It is the linguistic and, in fact, material realisation of a certain moment in social and cultural life (here: in higher education). Fairclough, Jessop and Sayer (2001: 10) draw attention to

... the relative weight of these different elements within the overall configuration of a social action is bound to vary from case to case. In this regard it is worth noting that there is a range of 'semioticity' insofar as different social actions, events, or orders may be more or less semiotized. Indeed, one might be able to construct a continuum ranging from technological

⁵² By speaking of *moments* Harvey attempts to avoid reifying processes discursively into permanencies like 'systems', 'things' and 'entities.'

⁵³ Dialectical means that each element "internalizes the others without being reducible to them" (Fairclough 2001: 232).

systems through to religion in terms of the relative weight of semiosis and materiality in their overall logic. (Fairclough, Jessop and Sayer 2001: 10)

In comparison with other social practices (e.g. selling a car, being a nurse), academic practices are to a much larger degree discursive in nature, i.e. texts and discourse constitute the core of social scientific work.

Although Harvey provides a fruitful and sophisticated perspective on the nature of social elements, it seems difficult to operationalize their concrete interrelationship, effects and flow in specific social moments on the basis of his rather broad outline. It is here where *Critical Realism* (Sayer 1998, 2000a, Archer 1995⁵⁴, Bhaskar 1986⁵⁵), a philosophical tradition which is based on the ontological assumption that the world consists of phenomena with distinctive properties and powers, can offer not only ontological depth but also orientation towards more concrete methodologies. CR differentiates between the *real* as naturally existing objects, their structure, nature and potential causal powers or “generative mechanisms underlying empirically observable phenomena” (Sealey and Carter 2004: 68) which are independent from the observer or their actual instantiation; the *actual*, as those powers in their activated forms and the consequences this activation has as the *empirical*, i.e. the domain which can be observed and experienced by actors. Although the real has causal powers and distinct properties, these need not always be activated⁵⁶. The tripartite view thus

... allows us to distinguish between what causes things to happen in the world, which we often cannot observe (the *real*), and the instances of experience of which we are immediately aware (the *empirical*). This intervening domain, the *actual*, is that part of reality – events – which actually happen, as distinct from all those things which might have happened but did not. The reasons why the real does not inevitably coincide with the actual are attributable to the fact that the world is an ‘open system’, and the social world, in particular “is not a mechanism with fixed, indispensable parts and determinate relations between

⁵⁴ Archer, Margaret (1995): *Realist Social Theory: the Morphogenetic Approach*. Cambridge: Cambridge University.

⁵⁵ Bhaskar, R. (1986): *Scientific Realism and Human Emancipation*. London: Verso.

⁵⁶ Sayer (1999: 11-12) mentions as an example a plane that can fly even though it is landed, the unemployed who can potentially get employed etc.

parts, pre-set preferred states and pre-programmed homeo-static mechanisms”. (Archer 1995: 165, quoted in Sealey and Carter 2004: 70)

Causation refers to those features of the social world which produce change. The cause-effect relation, however, does not have to display regularity, it ranges from necessary to contingent, given that contexts differ and differently interrelate with the particular realization of agency in each specific case:

Causes – that is whatever produces change – should be understood as causal powers possessed by objects (including individuals and social structures) that may or may not be activated. Whether they are depends on contingently related conditions, and if and when they are activated, what results also depends on contingently related conditions. (Sealey and Carter 2004: 88)

A critical realist perspective thus allows a different perspective on the relation between *causes* and *effects* (causality) in the social world. Even though it is agreed that we can apprehend reality to a large extent discursively, i.e. through meaning making processes, it is not concluded that all elements are discursive in nature⁵⁷; in other words, we might ‘construe’ but not ‘construct’ the world by means of our theories (Sayer 1999: 11, Ackroyd and Fleetwood 2000: 6). The crucial explicatory notions of agency as the self-conscious reflexive actions of human beings and structure as “the enduring, affording and constraining influences of the social order” (Sealey and Carter 2004: xiii) are retained. The realist view

... is committed to an explanatory model in which the interplay between pre-existent structures, having causal powers and properties, and people, possessing distinctive causal powers and properties of their own, results in contingent yet explicable outcomes. (ibid: 12)

Applied to the present context, this means that individual (academic) texts by individual authors, even though they might display similar characteristics do not by

⁵⁷ At the same time, realists would refute empiricist or positivist views that reality can be known simply by occupying an objective viewpoint.

themselves bring about social and institutional change (in higher education)⁵⁸, although they might be indicative of and contribute to it. Their potential for effectiveness depends on other discursive and extradiscursive, supporting or inhibiting social factors. My hypothesis is that the specific intricacies and patterns, generic changes and appropriation of discourses can to a large extent be explained in relation to changes in the institutional context they are embedded in. On the other hand, “[t]exts would be redundant if they changed nothing” (Fairclough, Jessop and Sayer 2001: 2). The task of research from this perspective is to come to adequate theoretization and explication about these different (but not distinct) levels of reality, how they interrelate and interplay in the context of social and institutional change:

Since we are not seeking to generate covering laws, but rather to develop an explanatory account of social action, we are not confounded by inconsistencies across replicated and near-replicated studies; instead, the next move is a return to the theoretical drawing board. The challenge at this point is to refine the causal hypotheses, to try to explain what contextual features are operating to suppress the realization of those properties and powers identified as causally effective ... (Sealey and Carter 2004: 208)

2.1.2. OBJECTIVITY AND FALLIBILITY

By taking the theory- and concept-dependence of academic and every other form of reasoning seriously and assuming that there is a world ‘out there’ independent of our understanding of and discourses about it, Critical Realists allow *fallibility*, the possibility to be mistaken, into the production of knowledge⁵⁹ (Sayer 2004: 4). The

⁵⁸ For the sake of brevity, I will discuss the relation between *structure* and *agency* here only in relation to the object of investigation. At a later point in this investigation it will be necessary to review these complex issues and sociological debates in more depth.

⁵⁹ This applies equally to a CDA analysis which is always and unavoidably an interpretive exercise that cannot reflect reality or claim to represent objective truth. As Fairclough (CDA: 1994) argues, validity is a matter of degree and by being contextually dependent bound to be evaluated intersubjectively and historically.

reference to something outside of itself⁶⁰ thus guarantees that, although knowledge is always an act of interpretation relying on some prior theorization and is thus “historically specific and socially located” (Sealey and Carter 2004: 15), there can likewise always be a discussion about its truth status and adequacy⁶¹. Knowledge is thus not reduced to mere subjectivity, opinion or incommensurable islands of discourses specific to a particular group, ‘culture’ or in this case scientific community or discipline⁶². It is debatable on the basis of real-world objects and relations which we can refer to:

As propositions about reality, these [theoretical] descriptions can be assessed in terms of their truth or falsity, their consistency, their evidence and so forth. The importance of a realist ontology is critical here. It provides us with a firm view of the reality to which our theoretical descriptions refer; our descriptions are descriptions of *something*. Indeed, along with Devitt and Sterelny (1987: 190), we would argue that one cannot theorize about anything, least of all language, without implicit commitment to a view of the world. How things seem to us, in other words, depends *both* on the world *and* our descriptions of it. (Sealey and Carter 2004: 125)

The stratified ontology and the possibility of “getting things wrong” (Sayer 1999: 2), conceptually as well as practically thus allows for a “modest objectivity” in the social sciences (Sealey and Carter 2004: 125)⁶³. This does not entail

... that our statements about their nature are objective in the sense of ‘true’: on the contrary, the fallibility of knowledge and truth claims derives from the very independence of objects from what we think about them. If the objective world in the sense of the world of objects were to be collapsed into our subjective states of mind, so that there was nothing outside knowledge or discourse, then

⁶⁰ This position includes explicitly social entities such as markets, class, gender, discourse and others even though there is no unmediated access to them. Social relations are socially constructed but that does not mean that they can be changed through voluntary individual action. To the contrary, they are often not only durable but also resisting social change since people might be unaware of their existence. What makes them particularly stable is their relation with extradiscursive patterns and elements.

⁶¹ As Brumfit (1997, quoted in Sealey and Carter 2004: 105) frames it, theory-making is a form of social practice but cannot be reduced to it since it always entails validity claims. Claiming otherwise would be both unconvincing and somewhat disingenuous.

⁶² As Sealey and Carter (2004) argue: “... we do not think that ‘competing discourse’ constitute an explanation, and indeed in the discussions to which linguists have themselves contributed there is usually a recognition of the need to distinguish between ‘fact’ and ‘opinion’.

⁶³ *Objectivity* is consequently different from *objectivism* as the one true point of view (from nowhere) from which reality can be apprehended: “it goes without saying that such a view cannot be found; knowledge is always knowledge from a particular place and time and cannot provide us with a ‘complete’ view of the world.” (Sealey and Carter 2004: 15)

these would be infallible, for there would be nothing external to them about which they could be mistaken. Consequently, far from implying privileged access to the truth, the insistence on the objective or object-related dimension of valuation renders fallibility comprehensible (Sayer 2004: 9)

Objective knowledge or “knowledge without a knowing subject” is thus

... capable of refinement and methodological development. The social practice of knowledge production has this as an aim, albeit one which is often imperfectly and only partially realized. Without objective knowledge it is hard to make any case for improving theoretical understanding or for the epistemic authority of research. (Sealey and Carter 2004: 15)

The fact that our semiotic representations of the world can be wrong or fallible entails that some theories are necessarily better, i.e. more adequate and explanatory than others (Sayer 1998: 122, see also Ackroyd and Fleetwood 2000: 11)⁶⁴. With reference to objects or entities outside of our own discourses, academic discussion and debate assess knowledge claims which either remain contested or will intersubjectively agreed upon, a procedure and kind of objectivity in the social sciences best conceived as “critical intersubjectivity” (Fay 1996: 213, drawing upon Habermas 1984, 1987):

If there is a ‘gold standard’ for social and cultural research, it should be: have the researchers demonstrated successfully why we should believe them? And does the research problem tackled have theoretical and/ or practical significance? (Silverman 1998c: 274)

One crucial dimension of objectivity is hence, according to Fay (1996: 216), accountability: “Accountable social scientific inquiry is one which takes into account both its cognitive commitments and its positionality,” for instance, through the reflexive analysis of the respective conceptual presuppositions, evaluative commitments, theoretical alternatives, social effects and positionality in relation to other investigations, audiences and subjects to be studied. One of the crucial criteria for any evaluation of academic practices is meta-reflexivity, the awareness of the

⁶⁴ It is thus important, as Young (1992: 12) outlines, to come to terms with “... judgments about which faults in a theory are worse than others. Unless we are prepared to come to grips with judgments and criteria of judgment in theory, we cannot choose between theories on any basis other than our mood on the day.”

value-ladenness and perspectivity that shape our theories, concepts and methodologies.

It is on the basis of these considerations that I will in the present context not only engage with the respective academic texts as specifically constructed discourses or knowledge embedded in a particular historical and institutional moment but I will also go into depth with and discuss the precise claims made about the social world and the changes therein. It is for this reason that I will draw extensively on social and economic theory in order to illuminate the validity of truth claims made in IBC texts about the nature of the ‘globalizing’ economy, of culture and of education:

In so far as discourses have an informative function, CDA can show in what respects they are untruthful, insincere or inappropriate [...]. This implies that CDA can never be a self-contained activity, for it must always engage with and assess the specific scholarly knowledge regarding the issues addressed in the discourse in question. Thus a CDA of political discourses on immigration has to be cognisant of research and data on this topic in order to assess whether they are truthful etc. In addition, on the basis of our discussion of valuation and significance we can suggest that critique can go further and analyse and assess how discourses identify or impute significance, value and well- or ill-being by making assumptions or claims which are simultaneously positive and normative. (Sayer 2004: 13)

The investigation includes hence two forms of analysis or critique: *explanatory* in that I am identifying an educational problem, its causes, and alternatives and *normative*, i.e. in terms of the truthfulness and rightness of these approaches. This brings us to back to the relation between social science and values as introduced in chapter 1. Whereas before, I have made the more general point that there can be no value-free theory or perspective and that every social science is positioned historically and politically, I now want to add further ontological and normative aspects to the discussion.

2.1.3. ONTOLOGY AND NORMATIVITY

As I have argued before, the split between normative and positive thought in social science is at best misleading⁶⁵, at worst logically incoherent since it assumes that academic reasoning can be stripped of values and thus achieve objectivity in the sense of true statements about the world. As Sayer (2004: 6) explains, “[v]alue-ladenness and truth are not necessarily inversely related, hence neutrality is not the same thing as objectivity.” In fact, in recasting descriptions in ‘neutral’ terms we might misdescribe it.

For example, using terms like ‘arrogant’, ‘condescending’, ‘vain’, ‘oppressive’, or ‘humiliating’ in describing social behaviour need not be a problem. We may sometimes use them mistakenly, but then we can also be mistaken in our choice of non-evaluative descriptions. (ibid)

Values are crucial to and inseparable from our perception and assessment of the world, they have a referent and thus subjective *and* objective aspects. Obviously, our evaluations can be misguided and should therefore, particularly in the social sciences, be moved to the center of debate and evaluated as either appropriate to the state of affairs they refer to or not.

The notion of social science as responsive to social and historical change involving objective, subjective and normative issues includes, naturally, CDA analysis, too.

CDA is foremost an interpretative and explanatory exercise that is “never finished and authoritative [...] [but] dynamic and open, open to new contexts and new information” (Fairclough and Wodak 1997: 279). Like any other social science

⁶⁵ According to Sayer (2005, chapter 9, p.13) there are basically three inadequate views on the relation between values and facts: Idealists might argue that problems only exist in the mind of the beholder, relativists would argue that there are no grounds for choosing among competing claims, and crypto-normative ones are concerned with problems of recognition or well-being, but refrain from judgments of what is good or bad and why. In each case, values and well-being are reduced to be either purely subjective and based on personal preferences or relative to culture.

approach it requires self-reflection, openness and explicitness about epistemological, ontological and normative perspectives:

... that is to say, it must reflect the interests on which it is based – and it must take account of the historical contexts of interaction. (Titscher, Wodak and Vetter 1998: 144)

In the sections to follow, I will attempt to make my standpoint on these issues as explicit as possible.

2.1.4. THE NOTION OF CRITIQUE

As has been outlined so far, both perspectives, CDA and CR, are based on the claim that social and political processes are *partly* discursive in character. By drawing attention to the interrelationship of language with the production and reproduction of social life in concrete discursive instances, CDA attempts to open up textual practices for contestation and change. It sees itself not as a “dispassionate and objective social science, but as engaged and committed” (Fairclough and Wodak 1997: 258). It is hence based on a critical agenda and addresses in particular, ideological hiding places and is thus “a theory of how things come to be taken for granted” (Stubbs 1997: 105). Again, critique is not seen here as coming from an allegedly objective outsider perspective (Eagleton 1991: xiv) but as a positioned and fallible perspective that can draw attention to contradictions and inconclusiveness.

To make a critical analysis always implies an assessment of flourishing and suffering. Any form of critique entails ontological (and by implication ‘objective’ in the sense described above) and normative statements about people, objects, relations or processes in the world which are regarded as relevant in a given context:

The point of valuation and critique is often to assess whether some situation involves flourishing or suffering, or well-being or ill-being. When we evaluate discourses critically, part of what we are doing is assessing what they say about import or significance. (Sayer 2004: 2)

Flourishing and suffering are objective states in the sense that they are “forms of being that are largely independent of our recognition of them, and hence states that we may struggle to identify and achieve” (Sayer 2004: 9), even though our assessment of them might be wrong.

In the present context I will attempt to show on what terms knowledge is articulated, whether these accounts are adequate to the nature of the objects, relations, structures and processes referred to and what this implies for the well-being of subjects being implicated, both in concrete terms of pedagogic intervention (trainees and those affected by them) as well as in more general terms related to educational-political values and changes being promoted (the social function of higher education in society). A CDA perspective, though, produces not only “analyses of discourse which differ from, and hence are critical of, lay understandings of discourse” (Sayer 2004: 12) but moves beyond the critique of the discursive elements of social events towards a projection of possible alternatives and an explicitly emancipatory agenda (De Beaugrande 1997: 59):

There is no point in critique if it doesn't contribute or at least point towards the reduction of illusion and improvements in well-being. (Sayer 2004: 12)

The question of how critique and by implication normative judgements can and whether they should be formulated *across* cultures, in other words, whether values and forms of well-being are culturally dependent or can be in any form legitimized universally, is of utmost importance to any approach to intercultural or multicultural education. It cannot be dealt with adequately, however, without a clear definition of what is meant by *culture*. Subchapter 2.3. (following the methodological one)

therefore delineates this concept before turning to the issue of critique in a multicultural context. The discussion serves at the same time as an overview of the most prevalent perspectives on culture in social theory and thus as a point of reference for the analysis to follow.

2.2. CRITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS AS A METHOD

Given the fact that academic practices are substantively discursive in nature, there is a clear rationale for using CDA as a textually oriented method and form of analysis. In the following section I want to address the question of how the dialectical relationship between language and social reality is translated into analytical tools in order to address the research questions posed.

2.2.1. CDA AND SYSTEMIC FUNCTIONAL LINGUISTICS

CDA with its historical and dialectical view of language and society will be used as a theoretical framework and a method (Chouliaraki and Fairclough 1999, Fairclough 2004, 2003, 2002⁶⁶) in order to analyze *discourses*⁶⁷ (representations of social practices from a specific perspective) and *genres* (interaction in its textualized form)

⁶⁶ I also draw upon Fairclough's (2001, 2000, 2000a, 1995, 1999, 1992b, 1989) earlier work, although his approach has undergone change.

⁶⁷ In addition to the rather confusing spread of the term *discourse*, Fairclough developed further subcategorical meanings: *discourse* as an abstract noun is used for language use conceived as part of social practices. *Discourse* as a countable noun refers to ways of signifying or representing experience from a particular perspective, such as in *the discourse of Thatcherism*. He refers to genres, discourses and styles that are drawn upon in actual discourse as *discourse types* and "to the 'discourse practices' of particular institutions, organizations or societies (in contrast to 'discursive practice' as one analytically distinguishable dimension of discourse)" (1992: 4-5).

in academic publications in the field of IBC in the context of wider social and educational change. This dual application of CDA is based on an understanding of social scientific research as always conceptually and theoretically driven (as outlined in the preceding chapters), i.e. research objects are unavoidably approached (and construed) through methodologies that follow from implicit or explicit theoretical assumptions. Authors writing from a CDA perspective therefore try to avoid both “theoreticism – ‘theory for its own sake’ - and methodologism – seeing methods as a theory-free means of achieving results” (Chouliaraki and Fairclough 1999: 16) by developing both simultaneously in a reflexive manner. The term *method* is therefore not employed here in the sense of a unique set of tools for linguistic analysis. The specific CDA approach adopted here (Fairclough 2003) generally proceeds from the *description* and *analysis* (already in part interpretive) of what happens in a text to an *interpretation* and *explanation* of these findings in relation to the immediate situational and the wider social and institutional context the text occurs in, their semiotic counterpart, the *order of discourse*, and back in a hermeneutical circle while drawing on a variety of methodological resources. Researchers might develop new conceptual and analytical tools in order to refine the analysis and do justice to the specificity and complexity of the objects under investigation (Titscher, Wodak and Vetter 2000: 11, see also Fairclough 1992: 125).

The CDA-approach developed by Fairclough is methodologically informed, above all, by a functional systemic form of linguistic analysis developed by Halliday (1985, 1994) and Halliday and Hasan (1985), Eggins (1994) and Thompson (1996). *Systemic Functional Linguistics* (henceforth SFL) classifies and interprets linguistic features in relation to their meaning making function in specific contexts and thereby draws

“attention to what language ‘does’” (Poynton 2000: 36). Language is viewed as a system of phonological, lexico-grammatical, semantic and textual/ organizational resources which are chosen and assembled in order to achieve different effects in the respective social context (Halliday 2000: xvi). Choices between linguistics resources are hence regarded as significant and meaningful (otherwise there would be no point in having alternatives) and related to the social circumstances speakers and writers encounter, the communicative intentions they bring to the situation and those they develop therein. Language in use is thus

... a continuous process of semantic choice, a movement through the network of meaning potential, with each set of choices constituting the environment for a further set. (Halliday and Hasan 1985: 10)

Hallidayan linguistics takes semantics as its base and regards descriptive categories as particular to each language in question. It is argued that three types of process or so-called *meta-functions* (*interpersonal*, *experiential* and *textual*⁶⁸) go on simultaneously in a given text. These are on the one hand understood as being *universal* but at the same time as being realised in a variety of ways (Halliday 2000: xxxvi). Conversely, the same linguistic forms can have different communicative effects depending ultimately on the con- and co-text they are employed in, the meaning they are endowed with and the available alternatives. Fairclough (2003) speaks similarly of the *texturing* of a specific text, i.e. the production of cohesion through elements such as for example connectives, repetition, argumentative structure, references etc. but also draws attention to the incoherencies and contradictions that still prevail as well as to the unsaid and silenced aspects in specific instances of representations (often hiding places for ideological presuppositions). He describes the *ideational* function as

⁶⁸ The term *interpersonal* refers to the semantic metafunction of negotiating social relations in the text, *experiential* stands for the representation of events either in relation to their physical, mental or social aspects and the *textual* metafunction designates, in metaphorical terms taken from the textile industry, the “weaving together of the experiential and the interpersonal strands of meaning” in the actual text (Poynton 2000: 31).

referring to the way the world is represented (for example through *transitivity* including *processes* and *participation*) and differentiates the *interpersonal* dimension further into the enactment and representation of *social identities* and *social relations*, that is the way the (ideal) reader and the writer are construed *and* related to one another (potentially expressed for example through *mood*, i.e. through for example the choice between declarative sentences, questions and commands, the choice of pronouns (e.g. *we* versus *they*) or modality (through, for instance, the use of modal verbs) showing commitment to a statement) among others. In order to answer to the first two set of research questions (related to the representation of globalization, the present and absent actors and processes, the evaluation of these processes and the legitimation of educational goals derived from these interpretations, the specific theoretical tools (*culture*, *otherness* and *language*) employed) I will draw apart from Fairclough's (2003) and Fairclough and Thomas (2004) work on representations of neoliberal discourse as well as on van Leeuwen's work (1996, 1995) who, departing from Halliday's theory, developed a semantic categorization of different types of social actions and actors and their typical grammatical realization.

An SFL framework, however, does not coincide in all conceptual and methodological aspects with a CDA-perspective. While both frameworks include a variety of different approaches represented by different individuals or groups of academics, the relation between micro-textual and macro-social aspects of a given communicative instance are generally viewed differently. SFL leans, as Chouliaraki and Fairclough (1999: 143) argue, strongly towards textually orientated analysis lacking a satisfactory social theoretical background. The concepts used in order to relate texts to context - for instance *field* (what is happening), *tenor* (who is taking part in terms of roles and

status), *mode* (the channel) and *register* (the specific linguistic choices and textual realisations dictated by social setting and purpose) - are based on a fairly static view of social interaction where agents instantiate the social through language instead of reworking the resources they draw upon in a creative way. The CDA view adopted here conceptualizes the interrelationship between micro and macro in a complex fashion on the basis of the stratified ontology outlined in the preceding subchapter. It regards *hybridity* and *mixing* of discourses and genres⁶⁹ as normal features of language in use and has developed several concepts in order to operationalize this perspective more concretely.

2.2.2. THE CONCEPTS OF *GENRE*, *GENRE CHAIN* AND *ORDER OF DISCOURSE*

While the term *discourse* refers to the representational function of language, the term *genre* (used in a Bakhtinian way) describes the conventionalized forms of language use and interaction associated with (and authorized by) particular social institutions and communities of practice (Bathia 2004: 186)⁷⁰, for example job interviews, buying

⁶⁹ Bathia (2004: 104) mentions e.g. *advertorial*, *infotainment*, *infomercial*.

⁷⁰ In recent years there has been a growing body of research in cross-cultural differences of academic research articles, their orientation towards specific contents and topics, epistemological presuppositions, textual conventions, style, argumentative structure etc. (Duszak 1997, Clyne 1987, Bathia 1993: 37). In the present context, I will not adhere to the notion of a nationally unified academic community or *culture* on a number of grounds. Firstly, I believe that academic disciplines are not monolithic, static and homogeneous but contested spaces where different discourses, perspectives, interests and theories overlap, conflict with and contradict each other. Secondly, the growing 'internationalization' of academia through for instance, greater access to information via the internet, increased interpersonal exchange between different locations via conferences and travel, dominance of English as a lingua franca and of Anglo-Saxon journals and publications as the standard for academic achievement, has surely lead to a larger interpenetration and to a certain degree homogenization of academic work and practices. I therefore agree with Gibbons (1998: 72) who argues: "By contrast with most industrial sectors, the area where globalization seems uncontested is in the sphere of knowledge production." To some extent, these developments have freed academics from the necessity to align themselves with only one (national or regional) group of researchers. Combined with the increase in

goods in a shop, a poem, a scientific article or textbooks (Titscher et al. 1998: 148; Fairclough 1992: 126 and 1997: 147)⁷¹. Their most important aspect is hence that they are recognizable, sufficiently standardized and “based on a set of mutually accessible conventions which most members of a professional, academic or institutional organization share” (ibid: 115). In relation to particular, professional communities such as lawyers, academics and others, genre can be further defined as a

... rhetorical strategy used within a professional culture to organize knowledge in the form of professional action to achieve the objectives of professional communities (Bathia 2004: 179)

Genre-analytical perspectives range from close linguistic description focusing on choices of lexico-grammar and discursive structures to broader investigations relating occurring linguistic features to the respective institutional or professional communities, their practices, purposes, values, and conventions. Having identified particular patterns of linguistic textualisation associated with and realized through a specific genre, this research can, for instance, be used to improve professional education⁷².

For the texts under investigation I will, in a first step, start from the hypothesis that there are specific conventions and standards, i.e. text-internal criteria applied to academic writing in research articles, for instance the employment of particular

disciplinary specialisation, academics can affiliate themselves on the basis of intellectual commitments and in addition to this, be members of multiple “communities of practice” (Lave and Wenger 1991) although, as Duszak (1997: 27) points out, these processes are heavily influenced by “... integrative or isolative tendencies within an academic community [which] have to do with the level of conservativeness it cultivates” as well as with “the size of the regional community, its location, and its contacts with other communities” (ibid: 31). My reason for confining the present investigation to the German context lies in the fact that this group of writers shares a common *institutional* context and the specific dynamics and changes therein.

⁷¹ The term refers not only to a particular text type associated with specific situations “but also [to] particular processes of producing, distributing and consuming texts” (Fairclough 1992: 126).

⁷² Genre theory has developed in two, partly overlapping directions. One strand focuses on the discursive make-up of professional genres and the way these are employed to achieve specific aims in particular institutional or occupational contexts. This research (see for instance Swales 1990) is connected with and its results are often applied to the teaching of languages for specific purposes to both mother-tongue and foreign language speakers. The other strand, adopted here and outlined in detail in chapter 2.1, is more concerned with the role of discourse in social life and its relation to power.

lexico-grammatical resources (interlocking definitions, technical taxonomies, special expressions, lexical density, syntactic ambiguity, grammatical metaphor, semantic discontinuity etc.)⁷³. Furthermore, academic writing is generally highly intertextual and interdiscursive, i.e. texts relate and refer directly or indirectly to other texts, authors and discourses, texts usually share a similar immediate and general context of production (higher educational institutions) and reception (academics and students) and similar communicative purposes (mainly argumentative, partly informative and persuasive). In terms of the latter I will particularly draw upon Lewin, Fine and Young (2001) for their account of moves in the introduction and discussion section of social scientific research texts.

As Fairclough (2003: 71, see also Bathia 2004: xiv) argues though, there is a tendency in the existing literature to assume that genres are generally stable and pure, serve specific communicative purposes in specific professional (or other) communities⁷⁴ and are therefore structured in a staged, goal-oriented way (see for example Swales 1990). Although there is, of course, a strong relation between a particular text being realized in a specific way, its communicative purpose and the situation or context it is produced in the *integrity* of genres understood here, according to Bhatia (2004: 123) as “a socially constructed typical constellation of form-function correlations representing a specific professional, academic or institutional communicative construct realizing a specific communicative purpose” is not as straight forward as commonly portrayed. To begin with, “the status of communicative purpose, which is often used as a ‘privileged criterion’ (Swales 1990: 46) appears to be fuzzy and sometimes subjective” (Bhatia 2004: 113). Moreover, the functional view of textual structure as linked to and allegedly determined by the respective intention appears

⁷³ See Halliday (1994)

⁷⁴ Although genres are generally associated with disciplinary domains, they can also cut across them but will then generate disciplinary differences.

rather rigid and static. Generic integrity seems to be rather contested “depending upon the communicative objectives, nature of participation, and expected or anticipated outcome of the generic event”⁷⁵ (ibid: xvi). In particular *expert* members (such as for example academics) can employ and mix generic and discursive resources in order to integrate “additional private intentions within the socially accepted and shared communicative purposes” (ibid: 130). Since the aim of this investigation is precisely to explore whether, and if so how and why discourses, disciplines and genres are brought together, transformed or transcended and what kind of new forms of knowledge are created in the case of the relatively new, applied and interdisciplinary field of IBC, the concept of *hybridity* is, as a matter of fact, particularly relevant to the genre-texts under discussion⁷⁶. Although, text-internal factors (related to the construction and interpretation of the text) are hence acknowledged to be important

... for the identification of communicative purposes, they can give misleading insights when used on their own. Textual factors typically depend on their form-function correlation and it is not always possible to have one-to-one correlation in this area. There are linguistic forms that can attract several discursive values; on the other hand, a particular discursive value can be realized through several syntactic forms. However, it is not as chaotic a situation as it may seem. Linguistic forms do carry specific generic values, but the only way one can assign the right generic value to any linguistic feature of the genre is by reference to text-external factors. Similarly, any conclusion arrived at purely on the basis of text-external factors needs to be confirmed by reference to text-internal factors (Bhatia 2004: 119). Much of the evidence to confirm such identification will come from the understanding, awareness and background knowledge of the established conventions of the disciplinary and professional community, in this case the academic research community, most

⁷⁵ The degree of creativity depends, however, on the openness or stability of the respective social situation and context the text is articulated in. The main challenge facing genre thus comes “... with the changing times. In the face of extensive and pervasive hybridity in terms of textual realization and modes of representation, a stable notion of generic integrity belies the evidence. [...] The suggestion that genres are clearly demarcated and closely and identifiably attached to particular communities of practice can hardly be maintained. This is in large measure a consequence of the extraordinary contemporary flux in certain communities of practice as their own boundaries become less secure in response to social pressures and to changes in their own institutional, professional and organizational structures, or simply because of the sheer accretion of knowledge.” (Bhatia 2004: 113, see also Titscher, Wodak and Vetter 2000: 151)

⁷⁶ One example of a genre cutting across disciplines in the humanities, social and natural sciences are textbooks.

of which will be essentially external to the text being analysed. (Bhatia 2004: 121)

With the aim of remaining sensitive to generic change and hybridity, I will therefore address both “text-internal and/ or text-external or a combination of such features” (ibid: 123). In order to account for text-external criteria, Bhatia (ibid: 124) proposes the following procedure: In a first step, the disciplinary or professional community, their shared objectives, ways of doing business, concerns, audience(s) and the social (and thus institutional) relations between them are identified in order capture the often implicit conventions and norms associated with the professional or *disciplinary culture*⁷⁷ the text belongs to. Conventions and norms which in turn constrain the discursive practices, (professional) identities, intentions and forms writers are allowed to employ and exploit,

... especially in the way they approach disciplinary knowledge, the way they present arguments, the kind of evidence they consider valid in that discipline, and also the strategies they find more useful to make difficult concepts accessible to learners. (Bathia 2004: 32)

A second and inexorably related step consists in analyzing the conceptual-theoretical history and development of the discipline in order to generate an awareness of external relations with actors in other social (economic, political, administrative) domains, “the network of surrounding texts” (ibid) and the disciplinary background that may have some impact on the construction and interpretation of the specific texts. While these aspects will be dealt with in chapter 3 where I focus on the socio-historical and institutional context and development of the respective field in the U.S. and Germany, the interaction between these two academic communities, their goals,

⁷⁷ I go along with Bathia’s use of the term *disciplinary culture* here although I would like to add a cautionary note: Some authors describe disciplines in terms of culture as sealed off entities sharing values, norms, practices and conventions that hold them together and separate them from others (Myers 1995: 5), a perspective that emphasizes homogeneity and discards dissent. I agree with Fays (1996: 220) argument that “[n]either scientific communities nor cultures themselves are enclosed entities internally fixed and externally walled off from one another. Instead, they require critical appropriation by their members to continue, and they are essentially permeable.”

links to the business domain, theoretical perspectives and main educational methods, chapter 5 analyzes the respective academic texts in terms of their text-internal indicators that might reveal the ways expert users exploit and manipulate generic resources to reconfigure or create hybrid genres or break with conventionalized forms in the context of their respective communicative purposes⁷⁸.

While I have so far focused on hybridity as brought about by changes in the wider social or institutional context (here: higher education), the reverse holds as well: Social change is partly brought about by changes in conventionalized interaction, in other terms through changes in genres, "...the drive belts from the history of society to the history of language" (Bakhtin 1999: 129). In these instances, not only genres change and become internally hybrid but likewise the specific configuration of discourses and genres (the *discourse types*) or *order of discourse*, i.e. the "totality of discursive practices of an institution and relationships between them" (Titscher et al. 1998: 148). The term *order of discourse*⁷⁹ mirrors the concept of social order on the semiotic level. It links discourse to social structure⁸⁰ and emphasizes the relational and dynamic nature of discursive practices (Fairclough 1995: 62) including the drawing and redrawing of (external and internal) boundaries. The notion of *internal relations* of orders of discourse describes the actual mix of genres and discourses in a particular social moment, whereas *external relations* refers to adjacent orders of discourses (for instance bordering disciplines like neo-classical economics) which might serve as

⁷⁸ In chapter 3, I will identify "the topic/ subject/ extra-textual reality that the text is trying to represent, change or use and the relationship of the text to that reality" (ibid: 125), namely the international economy.

⁷⁹ *Interdiscursivity* relates in a more process oriented view texts and context, namely the "shifting articulation of different discourses, genres and voices in interactions and texts" (Chouliaraki and Fairclough 1999: 45). The concept applies at various levels: "... the societal order of discourse, the institutional order of discourse, the discourse type, and even the elements which constitute discourse types." (Fairclough 1992: 124)

⁸⁰ Different types of discourses may coexist and compete within the same institution. Thus the term does not mean that the configuration is necessarily 'ordered'.

resources for new assemblages. Social change is hence related to and partly brought about by shifts in discourses (representations), genres (forms of interaction) as well as changes in these internal and external relations of orders of discourse:

On the level of orders of discourse, relationships among and boundaries between discourse practices in an institution or the wider society are progressively shifted in ways which accord with directions of social change. (Fairclough 1992: 9)

The notion of *genre chain* (Fairclough 2003, Fairclough and Chouliaraki 1999) or *genre colony* (Bathia 2004)⁸¹ is of great importance in this context as it relates academic internal and external networks of genres. While acknowledging that academic knowledge production in the social sciences is predominantly a textual or discursive activity, relying on written texts as the basis of interaction, it is not confined to it. Academic texts are not isolated instances or expressions of specific authors but specific moments in *chains* of dialectically interrelated academic practices and events with a greater or lesser degree of material or semiotic elements⁸². These include for instance the organisation of and presentation of papers at conferences, graduate and undergraduate teaching and tutoring (in seminars and lectures), grading, examining, research and discussion groups, dissertation defences, investigating and researching in other social domains, publishing, editorial work, and on the administrative side departmental colloquia, staff meetings, reports. In the present case of IBC negotiations with and reports to financing and rating bodies, design and

⁸¹ Both concepts incorporate two related meanings (Bathia 2004: 57). Firstly, they represent constellations or groupings of closely related genres, which to a large extent share their individual communicative purposes, but will be different in a number of other respects such as their disciplinary and professional affiliations, contexts of use and participant and audience relationships. Secondly, they can bring into focus the crossing of professional and disciplinary boundaries, their *colonization* or *commodification*, in sum an "... invasion of the integrity of one genre by another genre or genre convention, often leading to the creation of a hybrid form, which eventually shares some of its genre characteristics with the one that influenced it in the first place." (ibid: 58). The latter issues and their consequences for the role of knowledge and HE in society will be addressed in chapter 7.

⁸² As outlined before, there is a danger in conflating discourse with practice. The stratified ontology CDA is based upon allows us to differentiate between academic *practices* and academic *knowledge* and acknowledge their distinctive properties: While Practices are more strongly tied to structure and agency discourses are mainly resources people can draw upon in their practices.

implementing of training and consulting, market research and others add to the list. All of these partly overlap, influence and mutually constitute each other (research, for instance, feeds into teaching and vice versa). The notion of genre chain or colony can thus bring into focus how the former are being influenced and changed by dynamism in wider social spheres and practices, such as for instance national educational politics, international agreements about the liberalization of the higher education system, demands by society or the local, national and/ or international economic sphere⁸³ etc. Again, although macrosocial structures and processes are dialectically related to discursive change, i.e. discursive practices can potentially have causal effects, the relation itself is not straightforward and therefore cannot be read off unambiguously from texts. Textual analysis, though, can help “to give firmer grounding to the conclusions arrived at”, it can show how they “might be elaborated or modified, and occasionally suggests that they are misguided” (Fairclough 1999: 183). A CDA analysis can hence “act as a counter-balance to overly rigid and schematising social analyses, and is a valuable method in studies of social and cultural change“(ibid: 204). This implies a dual perspective on texts, as both a *product* in the sense that it is temporarily and spatially distant from the moment of writing and a *process*, a social interaction involving different (anticipated or not anticipated) readers and ongoing processes of interpretation⁸⁴.

⁸³ These changes raise, naturally, not only more social philosophical questions of the role of knowledge and reflection in society and thus the creation of autonomous or semi-autonomous spaces, but also questions of power (who has a saying in the decisions about the directions and content of research and investigation, for what aims and by what methods), issues that will be discussed in chapter 6.

⁸⁴ Although acknowledging the importance of investigating audience reception and interpretation, i.e. how texts are actually appropriated or contested by students, trainers or business people, the present research focuses on the production side of this specific kind of academic knowledge. Given the fact that (academic) discourses can enable as well as constrain perspectives and interpretations of the world sometimes in ideological ways, it seems important to me to come to a comprehensive understanding of the properties and processes of these particular texts (see Fairclough 1995: 16). In addition to this, access to actual training and material is severely impeded by their commercial nature. Training institutes guard their teaching material heavily in fear of competitors who might use their newly acquired knowledge in their own teaching, training or consulting design.

Having so far focused on the general concepts of genre and hybridity, I want to come back to the specificity of the genre under investigation, namely its *academic* nature.

As I have argued above, there are some discursive indicators of academic writing. At the same time, though, these do not constitute a necessary precondition for what counts as valuable academic work and writing. In Bathia's words, there is

... nothing like a universal form of discourse for structuring knowledge. There can only be a 'consensus or an agreement' (Bruffee 1986: 777) among the members of specific disciplinary communities to express their concerns in specific discursive forms (Bathia 2004: 185)

The critical realist position adopted here calls for modest objectivity in the social sciences based on intersubjective, argumentative academic debate about and thus accountability for the respective validity claims a theory or academic discourse makes. While I will, as outlined before, draw upon sociological and economic theory in order to assess the actual validity claims made by the respective authors, I will also draw on argumentation theory (Andrews 2001, Michell 2001, van Eemeren et al. 2001 and Damer 1995) to bring to light the nature of academic reasoning and dialogue.

2.3. CULTURE, INTERCULTURALITY AND CRITIQUE

The term *culture* is one of the most elusive, unclear and "tantalisingly diffuse" (Fenton 1999: 8, see also Blommaert 1995: 16) ones in social theory. Often it is employed in rather vague, ambiguous, even contradictory ways and laden with a host of associative baggage:

The discourse of culture has been notorious for blending themes and perspectives which scarcely fit together in one cohesive, non-contradictory narrative. [...] it is difficult to conceive of a discourse which would better illustrate Foucault's point about the capacity of discursive formations for generating mutually contradictory propositions without falling apart. (Bauman 1999: xii)

Among the myriad of definitions from humanist, semiotic, anthropological, sociological, and other perspectives⁸⁵, its actual use is at times politically motivated, which makes some authors wary of it, while others try to avoid the term altogether. On the other hand, this functional variability and conceptual ambiguity seems to be a promising starting point for an analysis of epistemological and ontological claims of political presuppositions and values. For this reason, I will scrutinize the particular understandings in each given instance of use in the texts under investigation according to the following questions: *How is culture defined implicitly and explicitly? Who is defining it for what purposes?*

In the present section, I will sketch out various perspectives on *culture* and contextualize them historically since many of its definitions are closely bound up with developments and conceptions of the nation state and (national) identity. At the same time, and despite the fact that I am using past tenses, these perspectives not only endure but are still widespread in public, political and even academic discourses. On the basis of the discussion and clarification of the term *culture*, it will then become viable to address the question whether critique is desirable or even possible in intercultural contexts.

2.3.1. CONCEPTS OF CULTURE AND THE NATION STATE

Culture, in the most general sense, sets humans apart from other beings in the natural world, designating the capacity for social and individual meaning-making processes

⁸⁵ The vast array of relevant definitions of the term can obviously not be reviewed in depth in this context. For the moment, my main aim is to sketch out a framework of reference and indicate my own position in relation to prevalent discourses and perspectives.

through the use of semiotic systems such as language (Ray and Sayer 1999: 5)⁸⁶. On an equally general level, it can also safely be claimed that the term addresses the relationship between the individual and society. However, as soon as we draw away from this broad definition and particularly, if we adopt the plural *cultures* instead of the singular, we enter a complex and heated debate about the relation between culture, society and the nation state revolving conceptually around the key theoretical components of *structure, agency, change, internal properties* and *external relations* (Swingewood 1998).

The use of the plural *cultures* has traditionally been associated the work of the German romantic philosopher Johann Gottfried Herder (1744-1803) who developed a holistic notion of culture as an essential quality attached to a specific group of people and being comprised of ‘its’ particular worldview, values, conventions and practices. Thereby Herder shifted culture from the humanist focus on ‘high’ or ‘elite’ culture to a communal creation, tracing “the countless ways in which it was nourished by popular culture.” (Parekh 2000: 72)

For Herder every culture was uniquely associated with the experiences of a *Volk*, its progenitor and historical bearer, and expressed the way in which its members understood and imaginatively interpreted these experiences. The community’s natural environment played an important part in shaping its culture, not in a directly causal manner [...] but by structuring its world of experiences which the creative human imagination interpreted and ordered. (Parekh 2000: 67)

Culture understood from a Herderian perspective, is a complete and specific way of life and thinking that allows, enables (and constrains) human beings in developing their potential and creativity. Although accredited with viewing culture as a human necessity and capability and stressing the value of a culturally or ethnically diverse world, Herder has also been accused of homogenizing culture, stripping it of its

⁸⁶ See also Fenton (1999: 8) who argues that despite the enormous variety of understandings, “its principal reference is to the symbolic, to valued styles and ways of life, to manners and to ritual and custom.”

internal diversity and critical potential and forms of resistance. As Parekh (2000: 73) formulates it succinctly, Herder cherished “a culturally plural *world* but not a culturally plural *society*.” Indeed his concept is inexorably linked with the historical phase of nation building in the 19th and 20th centuries⁸⁷ which brought together diverse and heterogeneous people⁸⁸ in specific territories of power and reach of national institutions with the concomitant political imperative for its citizens to identify with ‘their’ nation, ‘its’ people, customs, worldviews and relations of alliances and enemies⁸⁹ facilitated through the generation of specific symbols, histories and myths such as about founding fathers or founding events. Nation states did not only attempt to create uniformity in terms of citizenship and the concomitant rights and obligations, they also aimed for ‘cultural’ uniformity through, for instance, language policies such as the imposition of one dialect as the standard national language⁹⁰ paralleled by a marginalization of other dialects and minority languages. Once this policy was in place, language became the prime marker of national homogeneity and was turned itself into a source for national identification: “... nations were essentially groups of people speaking the same language” (Lo Bianco 2000: 95). As a consequence, languages became regarded as discrete and distinct entities, enshrining and expressing in their forms and functions the worldview or mentality of a specific ‘people’ or ‘culture,’ i.e. those confined to the territory of the nation state⁹¹. Cultures and national

⁸⁷ His concept of *Kulturnation* [culture nation] was developed in contrast to the French enlightenment idea of *civilization*.

⁸⁸ Pre-national political entities were usually composed of multilingual, multidialectal and multicultural populations with strong emphasis on religious affiliations.

⁸⁹ As Anderson (1983) and Hobsbawm (1996) have aptly shown, these are ‘imagined communities,’ because their members usually do not know each other through personal contact but imagine them as in some way similar.

⁹⁰ Language standardization throughout large political areas has the advantage of facilitating government through administration.

⁹¹ Herder’s framework was further developed by Wilhelm von Humboldt (1767–1835) and, at the beginning of the 20th century, by Benjamin Whorf (1940) and his student Edward Sapir (1933, 1949) in their comparative study of semantic categories of American Indian languages and English. All three regarded standard languages as the organic expression of national cultures and assumed that differences in languages cause differences in worldviews and perceptions. In its strong version, this so-called

languages, now understood as inexorably linked, were thought of as containers including national citizens and excluding foreigners, which entailed almost automatically a positive evaluation of one's 'in-group' and by implication, a view of the 'others' as not only being different but also deficient. Thus the symbolic, political and linguistic homogenization and unification of the modern state was accompanied by a variety of practices and policies to suppress differences, marginalize, exclude and even persecute 'others' (Bauman 1999: xxvi).

This notion of culture and its spin-off concepts of the 'ideal' monolingual native speaker⁹², culture as a discrete container of specific values and worldviews, the equivalence of nationhood, culture and language etc. have been challenged on a variety of grounds and from a variety of perspectives. Authors writing from postmodernist or poststructuralist perspectives claim for instance that the understanding of culture and language as objective social categories with essential and fixed characteristics not only homogenizes diverse people and thus suppresses differences but is imbricate with power issues such as the power of defining (and excluding) others⁹³.

linguistic relativity hypothesis claims that the structure of languages is primary to both conceptual-cognitive structures and physical perception and that hence thinking varies along linguistic (and by implication) cultural lines leading to the incommensurability of particular ways of life and their allegedly concomitant rationalities. This strong version of the hypothesis has provoked not only widespread (lay and academic) interest but also "grotesque misunderstanding" (Hanks 1996: 172) and would find little support in academia today. Moderate forms of the hypothesis, however - namely that concepts are habitually influenced by the make-up of either respective languages or discourses - are widely accepted. As Hanks (ibid: 173) argues, language does not determine "what people *can* think but that it tends to influence what they routinely *do* think." He stresses though that "the meaning of linguistic categories in use is context-relative and this is logically prior to any relativity between habitual thought and language structure" (ibid: 175). For an outline of the historical development of the hypothesis see Gumpertz and Levinson (1996) and Lucy (1992) who contextualizes the writings of Whorf and Sapir as a provocative reaction to the particular academic context of their time with its strong emphasis on empiricism.

⁹² For a discussion of the implications these perspectives have had on the field of FLT, see chapter 3.2.

⁹³ Attributing specific pre-constituted essential characteristics to others and oneself based on in- and out-group categorizations has also been criticized from a social psychology perspective as inviting

In a similar vein but from a variety of political and philosophical perspectives, it has been argued that contemporary changes such as world-wide mobility and migration, the global reach of cultural industries, media and communication technologies and the economic and political interpenetration and interdependence diminish the force of the national territory and makes the idea of a world made up of separate national monads with clear and fixed borders and concomitant national identities and essential traits obsolete. Since today, many people cross borders and are, either forced by necessity or voluntarily, familiar with living in two or more nation states, they also tend not to exclusively identify with one society or group but belong to and identify with (if they do at all) many different communities and will in turn be influenced by these memberships (Dupré 2001: 108). It is argued that today modern states have to accept this multicultural reality and therefore need to go beyond nation based identifications and politics and embrace hybridity, heterogeneity and difference.

En esta perspectiva, las naciones se convierten en escenarios multideterminados, donde diversos sistemas culturales se intersectan e ínterpenetran. Sólo una ciencia social para la que se vuelvan visibles la heterogeneidad, la coexistencia de varios códigos simbólicos en un mismo grupo y hasta en un solo sujeto, así como los préstamos y transacciones interculturales, será capaz de decir algo significativo sobre los procesos identitarios en esta época de globalización. Hoy la identidad, aún en amplios sectores populares, es políglota, multiétnica, migrante, hecha con elementos cruzados de varias culturas. (García Canclini 1995: 125)⁹⁴

[In this perspective, nations convert into multidetermined scenes, where diverse cultural systems intersect and interpenetrate each other. Only a social science that makes heterogeneity, the coexistence of various symbolic codes in one single culture and even in one single individual visible as well as the borrowings and intercultural transactions will be capable of saying something about the identificatory processes in this phase of globalization. Today identity, even in the broad popular culture, is polyglott, multiethnic, migrant and mixed by elements from a variety of cultures.]

biased evaluation, stereotypes and prejudices which in turn are the feeding ground for inter-group aggression and violence.

⁹⁴ See also Parekh (2000: 8): “The idea of national culture makes little sense, and the project of cultural unification on which many past societies and all modern states have relied for their stability and cohesion is no longer viable today.”

The demands and exigencies of increasingly complex, interrelated and changing societies open a host of legal, political, conceptual, and philosophical questions and constitute a challenge for social philosophers⁹⁵ and politicians alike⁹⁶ many of whom have come to conceive of identities as historically constitutive, imagined and re-imagined in a constant process of hybridization. Street (1993: 23) goes even further in a deconstructivist direction by arguing that culture should be defined not in terms of what it supposedly *is* (as a nominalized and reified entity with a fixed inheritance of shared meaning) but by what it *does*, namely as a an active construction of meaning:

For what culture does is precisely the work of defining words, ideas, things and groups [...] We all live our lives in terms of definitions, names and categories that culture creates. The job of studying culture is not of finding and then accepting its definitions but of discovering how and what definitions are made, under what circumstances and for what reasons. These definitions are used, change and sometimes fall into disuse. Indeed, the very term 'culture' itself, like these other ideas and definitions, changes its meanings and serves different often competing purposes at different times. Culture is an active process of meaning making and contest over definitions, including its own definition. This, then, is what I mean by arguing that *Culture is a verb*.

His point that every account of culture has to be seen as itself a resource in the ongoing signifying process is basic to the present thesis. At the same time, though, approaches that attempt to capture complexity in terms of ongoing processes seem to leave the most pressing questions open⁹⁷, namely what kind of meaning making processes become prevalent in a given society or community and how these are to be related to other social domains such as the economy:

This can be generalized to cover social phenomena more widely. Thus, an interpretation of the content of a society's world-view or its constitutive meanings, though it reveals *what* this worldview is, does not explain *why* the society has the worldview it has, or why this worldview has evolved as it has, or why it reinforces certain social relations and not others, or why people of a certain sort seem to support it more avidly than others. To answer these

⁹⁵ See for instance Habermas (1994), Gutman (1994) and Taylor (1994).

⁹⁶ For an excellent summary of the philosophical perspectives on multiculturalism as well as the heated political debates lead in different states and comparisons between them, see Parekh (2000).

⁹⁷ In order to describe and conceptualize details of a fluctuating process, you usually have to interrupt and hold it still for investigation, which in turn might constitute an act of reification.

questions we need answers which are, broadly speaking, causal. (Fay 1996: 119)

This leads us to considerations about the actual nature or ‘materiality’ of *culture* for the term would be of little use if it encompassed more or less the whole of human life⁹⁸. For it to have explanatory power, it has to be defined as a distinct and separate realm with specific *internal* properties different from internal properties of other domains in contemporary modern societies (Swingewood 1998: ix). The question therefore is whether culture is comprised of social practices, customs, worldviews, language, kinship system, beliefs, values, taken-for-granted assumptions, practices and/ or interpretive frameworks etc. Likewise, an approach to culture should be able to make some valid statements about its *external* relationships, i.e. to other social spheres such as the economical, the political etc. (ibid) which in turn offers theoretical perspectives on how cultural change comes about and thus on the relation between structure and agency. In other words, it has to take into account the nature of modern societies as having developed a semi-autonomous sphere, relatively independent from traditional modes of patronage and dominance as in pre-modern societies but inexorably interrelated with other domains of social life (Swingewood 1998: 41). Taking all these considerations together, I will assume that there is something more permanent to culture than Street’s remarks would allow. I thus agree with Dupré’s (2001: 108) reminder that although cultures in modern society are mutable, complex, and contested “[n]evertheless some degree of integration will surely be characteristic of anything worth calling a culture.” In order to overcome theoretical contradictions and refine the conceptualization of the term I will draw strongly on Parekh (2000) and Sealey and Carter (2004).

⁹⁸ Raymond Williams, one of the founders of British Cultural Studies viewed culture for instance as a whole way of life of a social group or society (Williams 1981: 13).

2.3.2. CULTURE AS A HUMAN NECESSITY

The position adopted here is first of all universalistic in acknowledging the fact that all human beings share a biological heritage, i.e. a physical and mental structure that is common to the species and allows specific capacities of flourishing and suffering. At the same time humans are being born into, raised and deeply shaped by their respective communities or culture(s)⁹⁹ (Parekh 2000: 124). Culture is a human necessity since it gives meaning to life, ourselves and our social relations, offers frameworks to interpret and evaluate and enables us to select behaviour accordingly. It is thus a

... community specific system of common sense which facilitates shared meanings and coordinated actions. It is a system which is interdependently related to human interaction and which includes standards for appropriate and effective human interactions. (Hall 1997: 16)

Being different is hence a crucial part of one and the same common heritage: “we are all humans but we are so in different ways, neither wholly alike nor wholly different.” (Parekh 2000: 124) The author takes into account the impact and power of both structural relations – as preceding us in our existence and having effects on our thinking and behaviour - *and* human agency in terms of acting reflexively upon those pre-constituted resources and conditions:

Human nature is then culturally reconstituted and diversified and subjected to changes by self-reflective individuals. [...] When we understand human beings in this way, we do not automatically assume that others are either basically like us as the concept of cultural determinism or culturalism implies. We approach them on the assumption that they are similar enough to be intelligible and make a dialogue possible, and different enough to be puzzling and make a dialogue necessary. We therefore neither assimilate them to our conception of human nature and deny their particularity, nor place them in a closed world of their own and deny the universality they share with us. By acknowledging their universality and particularity, we acknowledge the obligation to respect *both* their shared humanity and cultural differences. (ibid)

⁹⁹ Even “creative minds are shaped by their society from childhood onwards, take their bearings from their experiences within it, use its language, share some of its unconscious assumptions and expect to be appreciated or at least understood by their fellow-members.” (Parekh 2000: 143)

The perspective Parekh advocates, thus de-absolutizes cultural differences while at the same acknowledging the human need for culture in the Herderian sense, albeit without reducing culture to pure, static, homogenous and sealed-off entities. On the contrary, culture is regarded as always and already plural and hybrid, cultures partly overlap, are interconnected with each other and change historically:

Every culture is influenced by others: In short, cultures are not the achievements of the relevant communities alone but also of others, who provide their context, shape some of their beliefs and practices, and remain their points of reference. In this sense almost all cultures are multiculturally constituted. (ibid: 163)

Culture has *emergent* properties, it is not a fixed possession of individuals or people (however defined) nor

... a passive inheritance but an active process of creating meaning, constantly redefined and reconstituted. Its beliefs are general and need to be reinterpreted in the light of new situations and knowledge. (ibid: 152)

Thus although Parekh defines culture as an *ideational*, historically created system of beliefs, meaning and significance (ibid: 142-143), his view that should not be conflated with an idealistic perspective that reduces culture to an *independent* and stable set of beliefs and norms with strong causal power. The next subsection will clarify the relation between structure and agency in the account adopted here.

2.3.3. CULTURE AS AN IDEATIONAL SYSTEM

By drawing on critical realist ontology, Sealey and Carter (2004: 139) distinguish between the set of propositions or “‘ideational elements’ of knowledge, belief and norms” accessible to a group of people - the *cultural system* -, the roles and relationships or *social structures* instantiated by *social practices*, and the people with

the power actually to do things in the world, *human agents*. Culture in this perspective is different from but strongly related to social practices¹⁰⁰ which it orders and shapes (and vice versa). According to the Parekh (2000: 145),

[b]eliefs are necessarily general, even vague and amenable to different interpretations, whereas practices which are meant to regulate human conduct and social relations are fairly determinate and concrete.

Furthermore, "... while beliefs are not easy to discover and enforce, conformity to practices is easily ascertainable and enforceable." Social practices are thus cultural but at the same time different from beliefs and subject to their own logic, characteristics and patterns of change. Institutions and their concomitant practices can, for instance, be changed for political and other reasons without people believing in their merit which in turn might make these structural changes unsuccessful¹⁰¹.

... beliefs primarily pertain to the realm of thought and practices to that of conduct. Beliefs are therefore more likely to be influenced by new ideas and knowledge, practices by new social situations and experiences. (ibid)

Conversely, a society's belief system can change while its structure or practices do not or at a different pace as, for instance, in the case of the former ex-GDR in which a large part of the population had long since internally emigrated or chosen 'exit' before

¹⁰⁰ The notion of *social practices* has become a popular concept in applied linguistics in order to address the crucial relation between structure and agency, or between micro and macro aspects (see for instance Hanks 1996). While acknowledging its strengths, I nevertheless agree with Sealey and Carter's argumentation as outlined above that it is necessary to differentiate between social practices and ideational elements.

¹⁰¹ On a more general level, the distinction between culture and practices, offers another perspective on the relation between culture and the nation state without conflating the two. Since the nation still exists as a territory, a political history and as an interpretative community of citizens and consumers, it can be viewed as a pre-existing structure with complex effects on social practices and - although more contingently - on the belief system(s) people hold. This perspective sheds light on the fact that national identities continue being a resource for identification enhanced and held in place by strong political, educational and economic structures, relations and interests. Stereotypes and prejudices are consequently not only misperceptions in individual minds, waiting to be changed but also socially distributed discourses often anchored in unjust social relations. Encounters between migrant workers and their hosts, for instance, are deeply influenced by the different social positioning of those interacting.

the official state and its practices¹⁰² ended. After the end of the former ex-socialist state and the so-called ‘reunification’ [Wiedervereinigung] with its capitalist counterpart, structures changed at an enormous speed which left many people with the desire to “retain a sense of continuity or stability” (Parekh 2000: 145).

A fourth and last difference, the same author points out is that

... coherence among beliefs is a matter of intellectual consistency and is different in nature from that among practices where it is basically a matter of practical compatibility. (ibid)

This view allows one to relate the cultural domain to the other domains of social life without falling back onto an entity view. Actions may derive from ideas but do not have to (and vice versa), i.e. their relation is contingent, and the effect of their interactions entails to a certain degree inconsistency or contradiction:

Since ties between beliefs and practices are loose and volatile and there is often a hiatus between the two, no culture is ever a fully consistent and coherent whole. (ibid)

Practices, such as for instance global consumer lifestyles, interact in complex and contingent ways with different local traditions, structures, practices and belief systems at the local level which take them up and interpret them in specific but heterogeneous and contingent ways. Hybridization and mix, conflict and harmonization are, however, nothing new but lie at the core of cultural meaning making processes:

... der Gestus der Kultur selbst einer des Vermischens ist: Es gibt Wettbewerb und Vergleich, es wird umgewandelt und uminterpretiert, zerlegt und neu zusammengesetzt, kombiniert und gebastelt. (Wagner 2003: 11)

[... the nature of culture is mixing itself: there is competition and comparison, transformation and re-interpretation, it becomes decomposed and recomposed, combined and assembled.]

In contrast to strong poststructuralist and postmodern perspectives, though, which emphasize the free interplay of symbols and identities, it is important to stress that

¹⁰² As Parekh (2000: 146) describes it, a culture “... can be eroded and hollowed out from within without anyone noticing it, and might even be replaced by another in what the superficial observer takes to be a revolutionary change.”

culture is historically structured and socially related to structure, institutions and relations of power. The ideas available in the cultural system are ideational resources which can be utilized in interactions depending on constraining or reinforcing effects of social practices and cultural, social, material and linguistic resources available for specific actors in particular settings¹⁰³. It is thus important to put

... semiotic processes into context. This means locating them within their necessary dialectical relations with persons (hence minds, intentions, desires, bodies), social relations, and the material world – locating them within the practical engagement of embodied and socially organised persons with the material world. (Fairclough, Jessop and Sayer 2001: 7)¹⁰⁴

In fact, culture often performs the ideological role of legitimizing the prevailing system and relations of power:

... all economic and political battles are fought out at the cultural level as well, and all cultural struggles have an inescapable political and economic dimension. (Parekh 2000: 152)

The idea that culture is never neutral and always imbricated in power relations is well captured for instance by the concept of *hegemony* as developed by the Italian Marxist Antonio Gramsci (1891–1937). His theory has to be understood from the background of a Marxist disillusion with the collaboration of the working class in fascist countries like Germany and Italy in the 1920s and 1930s and thus their own contribution to a system of inequalities they themselves had to endure. Contrary to orthodox Marxist theory which assumed that economic forces lead to antagonistic class consciousness

¹⁰³ See also Sealey and Carter (2004: 141, going back to Layder 1997: 77): “Ideas available in the cultural system are known and responded to by individuals (psychobiography): utilized in interactions (situated activity); reinforced through routinized practices, whether explicitly articulated or not (social settings); and differentially available to different groups of people, both in themselves and as a result of inequitable distributions of material goods (contextual resources).”

¹⁰⁴ While no culture exists in a social vacuum, neither do economic relations exist in a cultural vacuum. Both are inherently interrelated as will be outlined at a later point. As Swingewood (1998: 9-10) argues, however, ‘dialectical’ is not a very helpful description: “The question of the relation between subjective ‘dispositions’ and objective socio-economic conditions is clearly crucial for the development of a sociology of culture. But merely to designate the relation as ‘dialectical’ is to offer an empty, formalist explanation. What is the relationship, for example, between dispositions and social context, class membership, education, family, etc.? How do dispositions arise from the social conditions, and what are their distinctive properties and relation with the specifics of cultural production? Which social group and individuals choose or select specific cultural forms as exemplars of value? And what is value? Is it historically and sociologically constituted or does it arise spontaneously [...]?”

and ultimately uprising and revolution, Gramsci stressed the agency of collective and individual agents beyond the confines of social classes. Culture understood as hegemony is not simply a symbolic force exerted from above but a subtle and complex mix of coercion and consent. Originating in the intent of an ascending, albeit not homogeneous, social class, striving for a larger system of alliances and the support of the majority in order to legitimize their own claim to power, it is an attempt to integrate, incorporate and mobilize other social groups and classes via a “synthesis of political, intellectual and moral elements” (Swingewood 1998: 15)¹⁰⁵ thus binding together “various opposing and potentially conflictual groups and classes into a unified social whole” (ibid: 16). A relative autonomous system (based on institutions such as civil society and education) thus produces cultural forms couched in dichotomies such as ‘new’ and ‘better’ versus ‘old’ and ‘outmoded’ and a set of allegedly universal values which are, at the same time, unique to this specific constellation unique to this particular group:

As Gramsci makes clear, common sense is established by a process of consent to ruling CLASS attitudes and interests which are thereby accepted by society at large as being in its own general interests. What is specific and partial is therefore universalized and what is cultural is naturalized to the point of being taken for granted in a view of the world as simply ‘the way things are’. In a connected and extremely influential concept in Gramsci’s writings this process is then understood as vital to the maintenance of economic and political HEGEMONY. (Brooker 1999: 36)

Hegemony is, however, always unfinished, an instable project that generates resistance and dissent (Swingewood 1998: 16).

¹⁰⁵ See also Fairclough (1992: 9) who explains hegemony “... in the sense of a mode of domination which is based upon alliances, the incorporation of subordinate groups and the generation of consent.” In the case of the nationalist fascist regimes, the hegemonic bloc fused popular and nationalist culture and worked across social classes and strata in an integrative way.

2.3.4. THE NEED FOR AND DESIRABILITY OF CULTURAL PLURALITY

Imagination, the capacity to conceive alternatives, does not develop in a vacuum. It is only when one is exposed to different societies and cultures that one's imagination is stimulated and consciousness of alternatives becomes an inseparable part of one's manner of thinking. (Parekh 2000: 227)

So far we have acknowledged that culture is a human necessity that enables a whole range of capacities as well as constrains some, it is interrelated with social structures, relations and the maintenance or generation of power. On the basis of these considerations, I want to make a strong and positive case for multicultural diversity and intercultural dialogue: how and why it is worth cherishing, and "that it benefits not just minorities but society as a whole" (Parekh 2000: 97-98). Contact with other cultural communities can alert us to the fact that human life can be understood and organized in different ways (Parekh 2000: 73) and is amenable to change. It thus encourages a healthy competition between different systems of ideas and ways of life and prevents the dominance of any one of them¹⁰⁶:

Other things being equal, those who are familiar with other cultures, or had the opportunity to develop their powers of critical self-reflection, or have reasons to be skeptical of their culture because of the unjust treatment it metes out to them, are likely to be less deeply shaped by it than others. (Parekh 2000: 158)

By offering a comparative point of reference, intercultural contact and dialogue can be used to interrogate and highlight the strengths and limitations of one's culture and thereby contribute to individual and social learning processes. Intercultural dialogue and cultural diversity is thus, as Parekh (2000: 167) argues, "also an important constituent and condition of human freedom."

Although human beings lack an Archimidean standpoint or a 'view from nowhere', they do have mini-Archimidean standpoints in the form of other cultures that enable them to view their own from the outside, ease out its

¹⁰⁶ Parekh (2000: 170) also mentions an obvious objection: A critic might argue that he or she is perfectly happy with his/ her culture and sees no need in having access to others. I agree with the author who argues that this view runs the danger of becoming closed, intolerant and adverse to change, difference and dissent.

strengths and weaknesses, and deepen their self consciousness. They are able to see the contingency of their culture and relate to it freely rather than as a fate or a predicament. Since cultural diversity fosters such vital preconditions of human freedom as self-knowledge, self-transcendence and self-criticism, it is an objective good, a good whose value is not derived from individual choices but from its being an essential condition of human freedom and well-being (Weinstock, 1994, quoted in Parekh 2000: 167-168).

In other words, critique on the basis of reflection about taken-for-granted assumptions, relations and structures can be regarded as liberating by broadening the range of ideational resources in order to make sense of one's individual and social life which ultimately might contribute to social change. Critique, however, is not only desirable and necessary in order to understand taken-for-granted beliefs and values. It is, as Sayer (1999) argues, indispensable for an explanation of how these relate - in complex and contingent ways - to social structures and relations:

Critical social scientists argue that explanations of social practices must be critical precisely in order to be explanatory, and that the necessity of critique gives social science a potentially emancipatory character. (ibid)

This implies that a critical social science has to address normative questions:

In practice, critiques of social phenomena are enormously contentious because it is difficult to establish agreement about what constitute problems, solutions or improvements, and whether the latter are feasible. The quest for emancipation therefore involves addressing normative questions and the feasibility of alternatives. (ibid)

At the same time, there is the danger of interpreting other cultures too readily in terms of one's own taken-for-granted concepts and beliefs. Viewing "one's own (culture-specific) experiences" as maximally representative of the corresponding universal experience" (Blommaert and Verschueren 1991: 2)¹⁰⁷ provides ultimately a

¹⁰⁷ See also Fay (1996: 92): "We all should feel queasy about claiming that those different from us are therefore morally unacceptable or irrational. Such claims bespeak a narrow provincialism;" and Yar (2003, quoted in Sayer 2005, ch. 9, p. 8): "Mutual recognition of this sort is much more straightforward where the subjects are members of the same culture than where they are radically different. In such cases, recognition may be blocked, distorted or rendered spurious by mutual ignorance, and by the projection of familiar characteristics, often stigmatized ones, onto the other. Yet, while this is common it is not inevitable. Though difficult, dialogue that is sensitive to possible ignorance and difference, working from whatever common premises can be found, may in the long run be able to establish a non-

justification for ethnocentrism. Preceding any form of critical evaluation of others who live in different societal and cultural contexts should hence be to evaluate our own cultural beliefs and practices in order to come to a *relatively* non-biased, open, informed and sympathetic understanding (see also Sayer 2005, chapter 9, p. 13). As Parekh (ibid: 111) argues, there is hence no Archimidean point of reference, we can reach only “mini-Archimidean standpoints” which are, as a matter of fact, fallible and subject to change if confronted with new situations and experiences:

The spirit of critical self-understanding opens up a vitally necessary theoretical and moral space for a critical but sympathetic dialogue with other ways of life, now seen not as objects of willing or grudging tolerance but as conversational partners in a common search for a deeper understanding of the nature, potentialities and grandeur of human life. (ibid)

On the basis of the above definition of culture as heterogeneous, plural and contested, there is, in fact, no need to understand or judge other cultures as holistic entities.

Since human capacities and values conflict, every culture realizes a limited range of them and neglects, marginalizes and suppresses others. However rich it might be, no culture embodies all that is valuable in human life and develops the full range of human possibilities. Different cultures thus correct and complement each other, expand each other’s horizon of thought and alert each other to new forms of human fulfillment. (Parekh 2000: 167)¹⁰⁸

However, this does not render critique obsolete. Even though there is no reason for judging cultures as entities according to some overarching norm and in arguing that

spurious basis for recognition through a hermeneutic engagement of their respective frames of meaning.”

¹⁰⁸ As Parekh (2000: 48) argues convincingly, the idea that one way of life is the highest or truly human is therefore logically incoherent. “It rests on the naïve assumption that valuable human capacities, desires, virtues and dispositions form a harmonious whole and can be combined without loss. Human capacities conflict for at least three reasons, namely intrinsically and because of the limitations of the human condition and the constraints of social life: the first, because they often call for different even contradictory skills, attitudes and dispositions and the development of some of them renders that of others difficult if not impossible; the second, because human energies, motivations and resources are necessarily limited and one can cultivate only some of the valuable human capacities; and the third, because every social order has some capacities rather than others and allows only certain ways of combining them. Since human capacities conflict, the good they are capable of conflict. Justice and mercy, respect and pity, equality and excellence, love and impartiality, moral duties to humankind and to one’s kith and kin, often point in different directions and are not easily reconciled. In short, every way of life, however good it might be, entails a loss. And since it is difficult to say which of these values are higher both in the abstract and in specific contexts, the loss involved cannot be measured and compared, rendering unintelligible the idea of a particular way of life as representing the highest good.”

they should be judged on their own terms, we can still evaluate some aspects of their beliefs, practices and relations of societies in regard to whether they contribute to human suffering and flourishing:

The moral and political aspects of cultures are also amenable to such a comparison. It is a demonstrable fact about human beings that they are corruptible, fallible, prone to misjudgment, partiality and bias. We can evaluate cultures in terms of the ways in which they guard against these limitations, and argue that those that check, regulate and distribute power and allow for open expressions of disagreement and debate are less prone to hypocrisy and misuse of authority, more stable and more conducive to human flourishing, and in that respect better than those that do not. [...] We can compare cultures on the basis of the extent to which they respect the constraints of these and other universally shared human features. (Parekh 2000: 173)

Critique, however, does not have to come from an outsider. Given that cultures are “internally complex and invariably inconsistent [...] their members can formulate critiques within them by playing off ideas against others” (Sayer 2004: 11). This agency is very much related, though, to the openness of the social system, i.e. how far choices are allowed, what kind of cultural resources are available and in what way social critique can be exercised:

Humans possess a remarkable range of causal capacities, many of which, as I have argued earlier, depend on social contexts. Which capacities they will exercise in what situations are in part determined by the set of principles they have adopted and internalized. From this perspective, the problem of understanding human behaviour will centrally involve such questions as how general principles governing behaviour come to be socially entrenched, and how and to what extent these become accepted, interpreted, internalized, and acted on by individuals. Once again, what must ultimately be understood is a complex relationship of mutual dependence between individuals and society. Different societies leave very different amounts of space outside social norms for individual space ... (Dupré 2001: 132)

2.4. SUMMARY

The present chapter has outlined the ontological, epistemological and methodological tenets of this thesis. With recourse to CDA and Critical Realism and its tripartite

distinction of the *real*, the *actual* and the *empirical*, I have adopted a view of academic texts as a form of discourse¹⁰⁹ (language in use) and instances of a specific genre (conventionalized social interaction in their textual form), tightly linked to a wider network or chain of other academic, institutional and social discourses, practices, genres and contexts and thus being implicated (through changes in the order of discourse) with and contributing to social change. Given the considerable extent of the latter in the German higher educational system, my hypothesis is that a concomitant shift in the discourse practices of academics writing in the field of IBC professionals is to be expected.

I defined the criteria of whether a specific text belongs to the specific genre under investigation mostly by text-external indicators, namely the communicative purpose, context, institution and social role the respective writer occupies with the aim of being able to account in a fairly open way for the hybridity and internal complexity of genres-texts and bringing into focus the specific norms, aims and institutional culture that generate these texts.

In the second part of this chapter I have taken up the notion of critique in relation to social research *and* intercultural communication. While the notion of culture is often used in a way that suggests that cultures correspond in a simple way with nation states and that consensus and harmony prevail among those sharing a national affiliation, I have emphasized its complexity, plurality (including dissonance, conflict and diversity), dialogicality, unsystematicity and contingency. More concretely, I have arrived at a conception of culture as an historically developed ideational system made up of socially and historically generated beliefs, meanings, subjective dispositions and values which serve to create, regulate, approve or disapprove of certain forms of

¹⁰⁹ Again, this does not reduce academic work in this field to mere idiosyncratic and socio-political projects of individual academics but acknowledges the fact that the production of knowledge is not an isolated rational endeavour but embedded in particular discourses and historical moments.

behavior, practices, social relations, identities and ways of life in the context of specific structures and relations. Culture is at the same time conventionalized and reproductive *and* creative and transformative - subjects do not simply act cultures out but position themselves in relation to them - thus allowing the influence of structure *and* agency:

Culture is as much about inventing as it is about preserving; about discontinuity as much as about continuation; about novelty as much as about tradition; about routine as much as about pattern breaking; about norm-following as much as about the transcendence of norm, about the unique as much as about the regular; about change as much as about monotony of production, about the unexpected as much as about the predictable. (Bauman 1999: xxiv)

It has been argued that this ideational system is different from but not discrete from other social, economic or political domains, developing according to its own dynamics and speed but always in relation and response to these structures and relations. This means at the same time that culture is never neutral and can legitimize specific social orders which might be more advantageous for some groups than for others.

In a final step, I have advanced a normative evaluation of the plurality of socio-cultural life and intercultural dialogue as enriching human capacities and freedom by enabling people to develop new cultural emergent powers which might help them to understand themselves and others. A learning process that is, however, not without its pitfalls since understanding others, their ways of interacting, relating and valuing is always dependent on the definition and interpretation of the situation and the recognition - or misrecognition - of the person. It is based on conceptual and normative presupposition influenced by our own experiences in specific social, cultural and institutional contexts, imbricate with particular forms of power. Open-mindedness and critique has therefore to go hand in hand with reflexivity and well-informed analysis in any approach to intercultural learning.

CHAPTER 3

THE FIELD OF INTERCULTURAL BUSINESS COMMUNICATION: HISTORY, INSTITUTIONALIZATION AND MAIN STRANDS

The aim of the following chapter is to map the complex topography of intercultural business communication at the crossroads of an applied field of training and consulting and an academic subject area. In order to show the theoretical antecedents and disciplines drawn upon as well as the historical and institutional contexts that have influenced, shaped and brought about the field of IBC as it exists today, I will outline its emergence in its country of origin, the U.S.A., and its implementation and institutionalisation in the German higher education system before presenting currently predominant approaches to intercultural training and consulting. At the same time, this section shows the wide distribution and dissemination of approaches to intercultural education through academic publications, teaching and training both in higher education as well as in other social spheres.

In newly constituted academic fields there is a temptation to construct sanitized stories of theoretical and institutional developments “involving a judicious selection from past events” (Becher and Trowler 2001: 48) which allegedly lead to the establishment of clearly defined disciplines with neat boundaries. *Paradigm-shifts* and *scientific revolutions*, both concepts originating in the work of Thomas Kuhn¹¹⁰ are often

¹¹⁰ Kuhn argued that *scientific communities* share certain *paradigms*, i.e. stable, consensual sets of theoretical assumptions, methods and techniques for their application that enable them to pursue their scientific endeavours in certain directions (see Chalmers 1980: 90 and Harré and Krausz 1996: 77-78). He claimed that researchers usually work in this ‘normal’ state of science under a single paradigm up to

welcomed rhetorical devices to, either legitimate a specific school of thought as the dominant one and hence, marginalize non-mainstream perspectives¹¹¹, or to iron out uneven developments through narrating an imagined intellectual and institutional linearity. With these considerations in mind, I attempt to give a meaningful but unavoidably partial account of a complex, uneven and often discontinuous history, acknowledging that theoretical diversity and contestation is a feature of ‘normal’ science (Lazar 1998: 98).

3.1. THE EMERGENCE OF THE FIELD IN THE U.S.A.

Interkulturelle Kommunikation im weiteren Sinne (Hess-Lüttich 1989; Ehlich 1996; Maletzke 1996; Jandt 1998) ist ein intra-nationales wie inter-nationales Alltagsphänomen, dessen wissenschaftliche Beachtung im vierten Quartal des letzten Jahrhunderts stetig zugenommen hat, mit der Tendenz systematischer Gebietsbildung bis hin zur akademischen Institutionalisierung, wie sie sich in der Gründung von Zeitschriften, Buchreihen, Handbüchern, wissenschaftlichen Vereinigungen, Instituten und Lehrstühlen niederschlägt (Rehbein ed. 1985; Redder/ Rehbein eds. 1987; Jandt 1998; Wierlacher ed. 2000). (Hess-Lüttich 2003: 2).

[Intercultural communication in a wider sense (Hess-Lüttich 1989; Ehlich 1996; Maletzke 1996; Jandt 1998) is an intra-national as well as an international daily phenomenon that has increasingly attracted scientific attention in the last quarter of the last century with a tendency to the systematic constitution of an academic field including its institutionalization, the foundation of journals, book series, hand books, scientific organizations, institutes and chairs.]

a specific point where the quantity of empirical ‘facts’ that do not fit in the conceptual frame, start to make incoherences apparent. As a result, scientists begin to question the paradigm, a crisis develops until a new paradigm emerges and finally, after a conceptual and institutional ‘revolution’, replaces the old one.

¹¹¹ See for example Hart (1999) who works explicitly with Kuhn’s framework and interprets the history of ICC as an evolution from the state of a ‘premature’ science lacking, in his view, a homogeneous paradigm, to the stage of a ‘normal’ science, characterized as being based on a consensual definition of the term *intercultural communication* as well as an agreement on “what scientific questions are important to ask and what theories and methodologies are to be used in their research” (3). Hart understands the ultimate academic achievement to develop a ‘mature’ discipline “... in which there are laws and universal constants” (4).

Although very few publications have addressed the academic, historical and political factors that have helped to shape and bring about the constitution and institutionalization of Intercultural Communication as an academic field¹¹², it is generally agreed to have emerged first in the U.S.A. (Bennett 2000: 20; Dahl 1994: 28; Leeds-Hurwitz 1990: 262; Schweitzer 1994: 40, Parekh 2000: 5). In this prototypical state of immigration issues arising from the coexistence¹¹³ of different ethnic groups gained, albeit to a moderate degree, academic attention as early as the 1930s. Yet, the decisive historical and political constellations and developments that brought intercultural issues to the attention of politicians, a wider range of academics and funding bodies, took place in the international order of the post-World War II era (Dahl 1994: 28, Hart 1999: 4, Brislin 1994: 3). The U.S., having emerged as one of the two superpowers of the Cold War, began to exert an unprecedented political, economic and military influence throughout the Western and Eastern Hemisphere. This new international role demanded a whole set of new competencies for politicians, army personnel and business people, particularly knowledge of foreign languages and knowledge about foreign cultures and other political-economic systems:

¹¹² For a number of reasons, I will refer to IBC not as a *discipline* (commonly defined through its content area or object of research often combined with a specific epistemology and methodology) but as a *field* – “organisations of knowledge which are not themselves disciplines or sub-divisions of disciplines [...] built around specific objects, phenomena, or practical pursuits, knowledge which is rooted in more than one discipline” (Goodlad 1976: 44). The term offers hence the advantage to capture new and hybrid areas of inquiry, knowledge production and application, (still) in the midst of its search for a firm institutional space (including university chairs and other academic positions, professional groups, journals, conferences etc.) and the constant proliferation of new subfields and specialisms. While it “seem[s] to offer the most appropriate analytic currency to account for the complex internal and external relationships that are made manifest in any close scrutiny of disciplines themselves” (Becher and Trowler 2001: 65), fields are more difficult to identify being variously associated with “social circles’, ‘networks’, ‘invisible colleges’ and other comparable notions, and may vary considerably in character and scope, being attributed to active research populations of anything from half a dozen (Roberts 1970) to around 2000 (Price and Beaver 1966)” (ibid).

¹¹³ Key-words like *melting pot* (emphasizing the assimilation of minorities to the majority culture or hegemony) that prevailed American ideology until the 1960s and *salad bowl* or *stew* (celebrating the richness of ethnic diversity and coexistence) of the 1970s and 1980s bear witness to the changing nature of understandings of and policies regarding multicultural issues.

In the 1940s many persons recognized that American diplomats were not fully effective abroad since they often did not speak the language and usually knew little of the host culture. (Leeds-Hurwitz 1990: 264)

The attention and financial support that multicultural issues inside the U.S. had so far not received were now granted to intercultural issues abroad. Intercultural training as a professional activity thus "... emerged in response to fundamentally important post-World War II adjustments in the international order and has been growing steadily ever since (Paige and Martin 1996: 39). State funding was granted to the training of the American Forces¹¹⁴, diplomats¹¹⁵ and so-called expatriates¹¹⁶. The most important educational institution for the development of the field was the *Foreign Service Institute* (FSI) (Hart 1999: 1, Bennett 2000: 19, Leeds-Hurwitz 1990: 262, Paige and Martin 1996: 40, Limaye and Victor 1998: 221), a U.S.-State Department that provided from 1946 onwards both pre-departure and in-service training in foreign languages and knowledge about other cultures. Among the anthropologists and linguists teaching there, the anthropologist Edward T. Hall exerted great conceptual influence on the emerging field¹¹⁷. While being strongly influenced by the work of the anthropologists Edward Sapir (1884-1939), Benjamin Lee Whorf (1897-1941) and Franz Boas (1858-1942) and their emphasis on the relation between culture and

¹¹⁴ In 1966, the Navy began to introduce cross-cultural training. One of the most influential cross cultural simulation games *Bafa-Bafa* was designed in 1973 particularly for the marines (Kohls and Howard 1984).

¹¹⁵ In 1968, the U.S.-Information Agency (USIA) developed intercultural courses for their cultural and press attachés (ibid).

¹¹⁶ An important organization that prepared mainly business people for their work abroad was the *Business Council for International Understanding* (BCIU) established in 1958 by Theodore Roosevelt and still in existence today as the now private company Lloyd, Thomas & N.Ball (ibid). At the same time *The National Defence Education Act* (1958) was issued to grant area and foreign language studies greater funding in order to support the foreign policy of the U.S.A. pedagogically (Schweitzer 1994: 78).

¹¹⁷ His publications include: Hall, Edward T. and Hall, Miltred R. (1987): *Hidden Differences: Doing Business with the Japanese*. New York: Anchor Books; Hall, Edward T. (1983): *The Dance of Life: The Other Dimension of Time*. New York: Doubleday; Hall, Edward T. (1976): *Beyond Culture*. New York: Doubleday; Hall, Edward T. (1968): Proxemics. *Current Anthropology* 9, 83-108; Hall, Edward T. (1966): *The Hidden Dimension. Men's Use of Space in Public and Private*. New York: Doubleday; Hall, Edward T. (1959): *The Silent Language*. New York: Doubleday.

language, his first training courses were rather academically oriented lectures drawing upon anthropological theory and research. Since his clients, however, demanded concrete and applicable information and training in the shortest time possible¹¹⁸, Hall saw himself forced to change his focus¹¹⁹ from the macro (*culture*) to the micro (*communication*). By concentrating on the actual face-to-face interaction between members of different countries – rendering only few cultural aspects relevant for face-to-face interaction, a feature that still characterises many approaches today (Leeds-Hurwitz 1990: 262–263) – Hall tried to “make at least some aspects of culture as readily available to verbalization, and as readily taught, as language” (ibid: 272). To this end, he defined culture and communication along structuralist lines as “patterned, learned, and analyzable” (ibid: 273), i.e. “as a text the vocabulary and grammar of which its members learn” (Fay 1996: 55). Based on the assumption that meaning comes not from words alone but from a combination of the linguistic and so-called ‘meta-linguistic’ levels¹²⁰, the main educational aim became to show cultural influences or ‘out-of-awareness’ aspects of communication. Clients were to be enabled to discover and identify their own cultural assumptions and differences in manner or *interaction styles* and, in analogy to language, trained to remove “the accent from their behaviour” when faced with new cultural environments (Hall 1960a: 157–158, quoted in Leeds-Hurwitz 1990: 273). In order to describe cultural

¹¹⁸ The intercultural training handbook by Kohls and Brussow (1995) mirrors paradigmatically the American emphasis on quick and pragmatic training. The authors claim that it only would take a week “or less [to] be prepared to interact effectively with those whose language, culture, customs, business practices, and basic values are radically different from our own.”

¹¹⁹ As Leeds-Hurwitz (1990: 275) describes it: “... since Hall’s approach was created in response to the context provided by the FSI, the field today owes much to the explicit requests of a small group of diplomats in the 1940s and 1950s for a way to apply general anthropological insights to specific problems of international discourse”.

¹²⁰ Hall (1959, 1966, 1976, 1983, 1990) extended and operationalized the concept of communication to nonverbal channels through the notions of *proxemics* (the perception of space in situations of interaction, for instance, the physical distance speakers feel comfortable with while communicating), *kinesics* (e.g. gestures) and *paralanguage* (e.g. tone of voice).

differences¹²¹ and their impact upon communicative behaviour, Hall drew upon the anthropological work of Kluckholm and Strodtbeck (1961) who compared cultures along so-called *value orientations*, a concept that has exerted long lasting influence on the field generating a host of large-scale, interview or questionnaire based studies investigating value and attitudinal differences across ‘cultures’ (see for example Hofstede 1991). The authors started from the assumption that culture is functional, i.e. human societies face a limited array of universal problems, for instance, how to define the nature of man, the relation to time (i.e. the orientation towards the past, the present and the future), how to structure interpersonal relations and so on¹²². Allegedly, ‘cultures’ provide different understandings of and responses to these questions (i.e. in terms of specific norms and values regarding acceptable behaviour) *and* tend to evaluate their own groups’ solutions as normal and good and others’ consequently as diverging and bad.

Whereas initially the clients at the FSI came mostly from a diplomatic background, the range of participants began to slowly extend towards missionaries, international students, Peace Corps¹²³ volunteers, and business people. At the same time, in the 1960s, cross-cultural or intercultural communication began to turn into a recognised

¹²¹ At the beginning, Hall broadly categorized cultures into geographical regions. Later he began to describe them as overlapping with nation states.

¹²² He defined cultures for instance as either *monochronic* (activities are undertaken one at a time in a linear sequence) or *polychronic* (tasks are completed simultaneously). Another descriptive differentiation he introduced was between *high* and *low context* cultures, referring to the cultural dimension of *information flow*, i.e. the structure and speed of information between individuals and organizations. Hall understood ‘context’ as the necessary and indispensable but often implicit information that makes an interaction successful because the actors rely on this knowledge in order to construct meaning. In so-called ‘high-context’-cultures people can allegedly draw upon implicit knowledge, assumptions and conventions shared and embodied by their families, working communities and friends. To the contrary, ‘low-context’-cultures are claimed to be less traditional and less reliant on close-knit community membership. The concomitant greater flexibility and mobility between individuals and groups supposedly requires a higher level of explicit background information for those interacting

¹²³ An organization (established in the 1960s) that is involved in developmental aid and the promotion of US technology throughout the world.

subject to be taught in workshops and seminars at universities¹²⁴. Although, the subject area had evolved out of and was conceptually related to the field of anthropology, it found its institutional home mostly in Speech Communication Departments¹²⁵ with which it is still mainly associated in the U.S. In fact, most programmes in this area offer at least one module in Intercultural Communication:

Culture as a concept had been and still is traditionally the domain of anthropology. Yet, for a variety of reasons, many of them political and bureaucratic in nature, anthropologists were no longer a part of FSI after the late 1950s. For other reasons relevant to disciplinary boundaries in American universities, anthropologists are not generally involved in intercultural communication as currently taught, whether as a full course or as a workshop. (Leeds-Hurwitz 1990: 274)

It is in this institutional move and intellectual involvement from anthropology to communication science where Dahl (1994: 35), for instance, locates the beginning of a neglect of historical, social, political dimensions of intercultural issues that characterises later work in the field. Others, like Wassilewski (1999: 4), claim that the separation of aspects of power from cultural issues was caused by a conceptual and institutional split into the field of *International Communication*¹²⁶ - with a focus on politics and technology - and *Intercultural Communication* – concentrating on cultural and interpersonal aspects - in the 1980s¹²⁷.

According to Hart (1999, see also Dahl 1994: 32 and Fantini 1998: 341), the 1970s saw a phase of firm institutional establishment including more university programmes,

¹²⁴ First degree programmes were established at the University of Pittsburgh, Minnesota and Delaware.

¹²⁵ In the U.S. *Speech Communication Studies* denotes a multi-disciplinary social scientific approach, drawing for example on communication science, psychology, linguistics, and semiotics. In contrast, in Great Britain the term *Communication Studies* refers mainly to mass communication or media studies.

¹²⁶ *International Communication* focuses on *public* communication between groups or their respective institutional representatives from different national backgrounds without evaluating the quality of or even designing procedures to improve the respective interaction.

¹²⁷ Neither one of these authors, however, elaborates the pedagogic and ethical consequences of this development.

the foundation of societies¹²⁸ and academic journals¹²⁹, the publication of manuals, textbooks¹³⁰ and conferences etc. Wassilewsky (1999: 3, see also Kenji 1985: 15 and Kohls and Brussow 1995: 16) claims that by 1980 already 200 U.S. universities were offering undergraduate courses in ICC, usually in newly formed Communication departments. She adds another 50 programmes at the master's level and an estimated

¹²⁸ In 1974, SIETAR (the *Society for Intercultural Education and Training*) was founded in the U.S., at first a mailing list of early Peace Corps trainers and educationalists (Wassilewski 1999: 3) Three years later, in 1977, the organization - dedicated to the promotion of the development of intercultural theories, training and consulting - began to publish its journal *The International Journal of Intercultural Relations*. Today, it has several geographical subdivisions, among them SIETAR International (formerly the U.S.-American section), SIETAR France (1979), SIETAR Netherlands (1983), SIETAR Germany (1993) and SIETAR Japan. Other associations include: the *International Academy for Intercultural Research* (IAIR) founded 1997, the *Nordic Network for Intercultural Communication* (NIC) (1994), the *Intercultural Association of Cross-Cultural Competence and Management* (1998) and the *Society for Cross-Cultural Research* (SCCR) (1971). In the early 1970s, divisions on intercultural communication were established, for example, by the *Speech Communication Association* (SCA), the *International Communication Association* (ICA), the *National Association for Foreign Student Affairs* (NAFSA), and the *American Society for Training and Development* (ASTD) (Kenji 1985: 14).

¹²⁹ Three major journals focus exclusively on intercultural communication: *The International Journal of Intercultural Relations* (IJIR, published by SIETAR International), the *International and Intercultural Communication Annual* (published by the Speech Communication Association since 1974) and the *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology* (Dahl 1994: 35).

¹³⁰ As for textbooks, see for example Beamer, L. and Varner, I. (2001): *Intercultural Communication in the Workplace*. Boston: McGraw Hill (2nd ed.); Mendenhall, M.E.; Kuehlmann, T.M. and Stahl, G.K. (eds) (2000): *Developing Global Leaders: Policies, Processes and Innovations*. Westport: Quorum; Chaney, L. H. and Martin, J. S. (1999): *Intercultural Business Communication*. Englewood Cliffs: Prentice Hall (2nd ed.); Black, S.; Gregersen, H.; Mendenhall, S. and Stroh, L. (1999): *Globalizing People through International Assignments*. New York: Routledge; Guirdham, M. (1999): *Communicating across Cultures*. Houndsmill: MacMillan; Gibson, R. (ed.) (1998): *International Communication in Business: Theory and Practice*. Berlin: Sternenfels; Hendon, D.W.; Hendon, R.A. and Harbig, Paul (1998): *Cross-Cultural Business Negotiations*. Westport: Quorum; Schneider, S. C. and Barsoux, J.-L. (1997): *Managing Across Cultures*. London: Prentice May; Brake, T.; Walker, D. and Walker, T. (1995): *Doing Business Internationally: The Workbook for Cross-Cultural Success*. New York: McGraw Hill; Fowler, S. and Mumford, M. G. (eds) (1995): *Intercultural Sourcebook: Cross-Cultural Training Methods*. Yarmouth: Intercultural Press; Brislin, R. and Yoshida, T. (1994): *Intercultural Communication Training: An Introduction*. Thousand Oaks: Sage; Mead, Richard (1994): *International Management: Cross-Cultural Dimensions*. Oxford: Blackwell; Dwyer, Judith (1993): *The Business Communication Handbook*. New York: Prentice Hall; Elashmawi, Farid and Philip Harris (1993): *Multicultural Management: New Skills for Global Success*. Houston: Gulf; Samovar, L.A. and Porter, R.E. (eds) (1991): *Communication across Cultures*. Belmont: Wadsworth (3rd ed.); Gudykunst, William B. (ed.) (1983): *Intercultural Communication Theory: Current Perspectives*. London: Sage; Brislin, R. W. (1981): *Cross-Cultural Encounters: Face-to-Face Interaction*. New York: Pergamon; Sarbaugh, L. (1979): *Intercultural Communication*. Rochelle Park: Hayden; Prosser, M. H. (1978): *The Cultural Dialogue: An Introduction to Intercultural Communication*. New York: Houghton Mifflin; Sitaram, K. S. and Cogdell, R. T. (1976): *Foundations of Intercultural Communication*. Ohio: Charles E. Merrill; Condon, J. C. and Yousef, F. (1975): *An Introduction to Intercultural Communication*. New York: Macmillan; Harms, L. S. (1973): *Intercultural Communication*. New York: Harper and Row, and Fischer, H.-D. and Merrill, J. C. (1970): *International and Intercultural Communication*. New York: Hastings House.

20 at the doctorate level¹³¹. In the 80s and 90s, Intercultural Studies had become an established academic field, research in this area witnessed a dramatic growth and universities began to establish outreach training and consulting businesses¹³². This huge institutional development mirrored growing concerns in US-multinational companies of the “negative attitudes provoked by many ‘ugly Americans’ in foreign service. Alarmed at the financial costs of employee turnover in overseas assignments” (Dahl 1994: 30, for a similar argument see also Kramsch 1991: 220 and Schweitzer 1998: 77), they turned into the biggest target group for training, consulting and research in intercultural communication¹³³. More importantly, after the oil crisis in the 1970s and the subsequent shattering of the international economic system, the U.S. (and the Western European) economy began to enter a phase of economic stagnation whereas other national economies such as Japan and other Asian countries, started to become strong competitors. Interest and research, notably in Japanese culture, organisation structure and networks and management styles abounded. As Kelly (1999: 7, quoting Condon, for the same argument see also Strübing 1997: 1) argues, it felt important to

... study Japanese culture and communication due to the success of Japanese management and business. This was the first time that people in the U.S. actually looked outside their own boundaries for alternatives within an area in which they had been dominant.

¹³¹ Degree programmes in intercultural/ cross-cultural communication/ studies or education on the B.A., M.A. or Ph.D.-level are offered for example at Abilene Christian University, Pepperdine University (Malibu) the American University (Washington D.C.), the University of California at Sacramento and Los Angeles, Boston University, Howard University, the Reformed Theological Seminary at Jackson University, John Brown University, Antioch University and the Universities of Denver, Alaska (Fairbanks), Hawaii at Manoa, Michigan State University, New Mexico, Oklahoma, Pennsylvania, Maryland, Oregon among many others.

¹³² See for example the *Summer Institute for Intercultural Communication*, created at the University of Stanford in 1976 which offers annual professional training programmes conducted by academics for business people, educators, trainers and consultants. The SIT moved to Portland, Oregon, in 1981 and has today several subsidiaries, for example in Brattleboro (Vermont), Honolulu (the East and West Center), Calgary and Winnipeg (Canada).

¹³³ For a list of main U.S.-training companies see Kohls and Brussow (1995: 21).

In the search for the key to success, language and cultural knowledge were “viewed as a solution to the nation’s problems” (Kramsch 1991: 220). Intercultural trainings fostering intercultural competencies – including linguistic, attitudinal, behaviour and communicative aspects - were funded by the government as well as by transnational companies. It was in the 80s and the 90s, though, when the U.S.A. and the world

... witnessed the phenomenon of the globalization of the economy. To an unprecedented degree, businesses were ‘going international’ to expand their markets, enhance their competitiveness and increase their productivity and profitability. [...] These selected overseas assignments needed to be prepared and intercultural training was the answer. (Paige and Martin 1996: 42)

At the same time and almost two decades after the Civil Rights and Women’s movement of the 1960s, greater awareness and appreciation of cultural, ethnic, gender and other identities issues in the intra-national environment began to take hold (Dahl 1994: 30). According to Bennett (2000: 19), a decisive turn in the appreciation of intercultural training through the corporate world was brought about by the so-called Hudson Institute Report (1987) *Workplace 2000* that “alerted US corporations that the workforce was substantially changing” and becoming even more diverse: “intercultural training was no longer merely an internationally contexted luxury” (ibid), but became a domestic necessity. Moreover, diversity management could potentially represent “a means of coping with potential organizational ineffectiveness in the light of increasing global competition” (Bennett 2000: 19, see also Kohls and Brussow 1995: 15) and provide “a releasing mechanism for desperately needed talents suppressed by monocultural organizations which labeled and stereotyped on the basis of gender and race” (ibid, see also Paige and Martin 1996: 42).

Although both directions of intercultural research, education and training, i.e. the international/ external and the intranational/ internal oriented are conceptually

inexorably linked and influence each other in some, albeit not systematical ways and degrees, they are institutionally and practically separated (Wassilewski 1999: 4).

3.2. HISTORY AND INSTITUTIONALIZATION IN GERMANY

The development of the field in Western Europe bears many resemblances to its North American counterpart. Like in the U.S., the topic of multicultural or intercultural¹³⁴ communication, education and policy arose initially in response to the growing cultural plurality *inside* of the nation state even though at a different historical moment and context, namely through with the strong labour immigration from Southern and South-Eastern Europe in the 1960s. The urgent task of accommodating and integrating people from diverse backgrounds into the labour, educational and societal system became a highly contested and permanent political and educational battlefield between those insisting on the cultural homogeneity of nation states and those drawing attention to the evident multicultural reality of Western Europe, its conflicts, challenges and promises¹³⁵.

From the 2nd half of the 1980s onwards intercultural issues began to be discussed in relation to international (business) related scenarios and processes, a debate that was strongly influenced by the already institutionalized U.S.-American academic field.

While both areas - the *intranational* and the *international* - have thus partly developed

¹³⁴ The term *intercultural* was adopted in the 1970s from the U.S.-American literature.

¹³⁵ In the 1970s, the so-called 'Ausländerpädagogik' ['foreigner pedagogy'] developed first conceptual and educational approaches to wholly or substantially assimilate individuals and communities with a different 'cultural' background into 'the German culture'. In the early 80s it became however increasingly clear that this kind of pedagogy and its concomitant educational programmes and policies had failed: children of immigrants still did not perform well in schools, they did not attend higher educational institutions and had generally fewer professional careers. Assimilationist theories thus gave way to more dialogical *intercultural* concepts and approaches based on a less exclusive definition of *culture* and aiming for *mutual* understanding. Today, the concept of intercultural communication has been incorporated into the curricula for all pupils attending German schools (see Schweitzer 1994).

alongside, they are - like in the U.S. - institutionally separated with little dialogue or academic exchange. In contrast to the former though, the field of ICB emerged in Europe to a large extent out of foreign language departments (Bolten 1999: 299, Knapp 2000: 22) at a time when these came under increasing financial, institutional and political pressure as outlined in chapter 1. It is thereby inexorably linked to theoretical developments in the field of FLT which from the 1960s onwards attempted to overcome structuralist approaches to language and language pedagogy with its concomitant exclusive focus on phonology, morphology, syntax, semantics and the additional stylistics (Bathia 2004: 204)¹³⁶. While the pedagogical aim of these grammar based forms of teaching and learning was to achieve the fluency and alleged correctness of an ideal native monolingual, monocultural speaker – him-/ or herself purified from dialect and deviance from written forms (Kramersch 1991: 217, see also Byram 1997: 8), context was only brought in as ‘high culture’¹³⁷, i.e. the aesthetic expression of a national artistic elite through literature, theatre, painting, music etc. - taught separately from ‘mundane language skills’ in different seminars and even different departments. Intercultural concepts in the field of foreign language teaching can thus be understood as an attempt to bring ‘context’ back into the teaching practice and to thereby overcome the artificial and unfortunate institutional and conceptual

¹³⁶ Theoretical perspective having contributed to this development include in particular *Pragmatism* by drawing attention to the intentionality and performativity of language (Austin 1962, Searle 1969), to the assumptions about each others’ cooperative behaviour (Grice 1967) and to the *communicative competence* interactants rely on in order to use language in a socially acceptable way (Hymes 1972). Other influences come from *Conversation Analysis* concentrating on the sequentiality and thus importance of the co-text for linguistic interaction (the choice of one linguistic form as partly being influenced by the constant evaluation of and reflection on, what has gone on before and the anticipation of what is going to be said), *Ethnography* (contextual information that allows inferences about meaning) and *Cultural Studies* refuting the idea of culture as an elite canon and instead emphasizing the culture of everyday life and practices.

¹³⁷ *Context* has often been referred to or brought into the theory and practice of foreign language teaching through the notion of *culture* as, in the most general sense, the relation between the individual and the social. Both terms, *context* and *culture*, however are vague and difficult to define. As Hanks (1996: xii, see also Kramersch 1991: 217) rightly asks: “But what is in a context? And how long does it last – a minute, an hour?” I will come back to these questions at a later stage of this investigation.

split into 'high culture' and technical 'language skills'¹³⁸. Today, foreign language teaching is usually considered to involve the teaching of culture although the actual approach depends of course on the theoretical perspective adopted (Kramsch 1991: 217). While currently, virtually every degree programme in Germany in this area (and in Applied Linguistics in general) includes at least one module in intercultural communication, the following institutions offer seminars or degree programmes with a particular focus on the business domain:

The TECHNICAL UNIVERSITY OF CHEMNITZ-ZWICKAU was the first European university offering *Intercultural Communication* as a Magisternebenfach [M.A. minor] and as a possible specialization for postgraduate research. In addition to this, the department offers a diploma in this area, the *Basis-Zertifikat Interkulturelle Kommunikation* [Diploma for Intercultural Communication] for professionals who already hold a university degree and need "kommunikativ-kooperative Qualifikationen für die internationale Zusammenarbeit" [qualification in communication and teamwork skills for international cooperation]¹³⁹.

¹³⁸ The assumption though that cultures overlap with the limits of nation-states and can be reduced to a fixed body of artefacts, conventions, traditions, ideas, and/ or behaviours (static essences) that can be transmitted as an adjunct to the language syllabus (Pennycook 1990: 309), persisted and was gradually extended and refined through the acknowledgement of regional differences. In the 1980s the field of German as a Foreign Language, for instance, began to develop 'Landeskunde' [area studies] including information (concerning beliefs, attitudes, values, conventions etc.) about Germany and other smaller German-speaking countries such as Austria, Switzerland and, in retrospect, the GDR (German Democratic Republic). As Byram and Risager (1999: 1) explain this phenomenon, the teaching of foreign languages is historically bound up with the nation-state even though the definition of this entity is highly contested and changing: "For foreign language teachers, the changes in the nature of the nation-state and its relationships to other states is crucial, since the very notion of 'foreign' depends on the clear definition of frontiers and boundaries." They continue (ibid: 158) that since "... the starting point for language teaching is traditionally the national language and national culture, it can either turn 'inwards' within the target country/ its frontiers and draw attention to internal variation in geographical, social, ethnic or linguistic terms, or it can turn 'outwards' beyond the target country/ its frontiers and draw attention to other societies and cultures or to other topics which are more inclusive or general." (ibid: 158)

¹³⁹ Other European universities offering intercultural modules or degree programmes (at the B.A., M.A. or Ph.D.-level) include the University of Klagenfurt (Austria), Roskilde University, the University of Southern Denmark, Aalborg University, and the Copenhagen Business School (Denmark), the University of Jyväskylä, and the University of Tampere (Finland), the University of Joensuu (Sweden), the Dublin City University (Ireland), the Jagiellonen University of Krakow and Moscow State University among others. Six European, higher educational institutions (De Montfort University (France), Leicester University (GB), the Politechnical Colleges in Erfurt and Koblenz and Chemnitz-Zwickau (Germany, Hogeschool Eindhoven (Netherlands) and the Institute Supérieur de Formation Sociale Namur, (Belgium) are currently developing a training programme leading to a *European Certificate in Intercultural Human Resource Development*. Outside of the U.S. and Europe, a number of university departments is equally dedicated to the topic of intercultural communication, above all in Japan (University of Aichi, Chukyo University, Hokkai Gakuen University, Kobe University, Nagoya City University, the University of Shiga Prefecture, Ryukoku University, St. Andrew's University/ Momayama Gakuin University).

The department of *German as a Foreign Language* at the UNIVERSITY OF BAYREUTH established two degree programmes called *Interkulturelle Germanistik* [Intercultural German Studies] and *Interkulturelle Anglistik* [Intercultural Anglophone Studies] at the M.A. and Ph.D.-level in 1986 with the aim of enabling students to work in international organizations and companies. The department also offers continuing education and training for teachers and trainers in *German as a Foreign Language*, *Intercultural Communication*, and *Intercultural Business Communication*, amongst others. Affiliated to the department is the *Bayreuther Institut für Internationale Kommunikation und Auswärtige Kulturarbeit* [the Bayreuth Institute for International Communication and Cultural Work Abroad] (founded in 1990) offering commercial research and teacher training¹⁴⁰. The particular theoretical approach developed in Bayreuth ('Xenology' or the 'Science of Foreignness' has been adopted by other institutions¹⁴¹ such as for instance the LUDWIG-MAXIMILIANS-UNIVERSITY¹⁴² in Munich offering an M.A. in *Interkulturelle Kommunikation* [Intercultural Communication] and continuous education (for instance in intercultural business communication) at the *Akademie für Interkulturelle Studien*¹⁴³ [Academy for Intercultural Studies] (founded in 1998). Xenology is also represented at the UNIVERSITY OF KARLSRUHE¹⁴⁴ which established modules in *Interkulturelle Germanistik* and a degree programme in *Angewandte Kulturwissenschaft* [Applied Cultural Studies] open to students from various (e.g. business and education) departments. The University hosts a special institute for these kinds of studies (the *Interfakultatives Institut für Angewandte Kulturwissenschaft* [Interfacultative Institute for Applied Cultural Studies])¹⁴⁵.

At the UNIVERSITY OF JENA¹⁴⁶ an M.A. minor *Interkulturelle Wirtschaftskommunikation* [Intercultural Business Communication] was established in 1992 as well as the specialization *Intercultural Business Communication* as part of the general micro and macro economics degrees and the 'elite' programme *Interkulturelles Management* [Intercultural Management] (1993). The department also hosts the business consultant agency *IWK Consult & Training*.

At the TECHNICAL UNIVERSITY BERLIN (TU) the *Arbeitsgruppe Interkulturelle Kommunikation und Interkulturelles Management* [Work Group Intercultural Communication and Intercultural Management] offers intercultural training for German and Chinese students who come from the partner institutions Tongji

¹⁴⁰ <http://www.uni-bayreuth/departments/interger.html>

¹⁴¹ Other universities drawing partly on this approach are the Polytechnical University Furtwangen (*Intercultural French Studies*) and the University of Erfurt (*Applied Linguistics/ Intercultural Communication*).

¹⁴² <http://www.fak12.uni-muenchen.de/ikk/index.html>

¹⁴³ <http://www.daf.uni-muenchen.de/daf/piesdas/pd199802/ais.html>

¹⁴⁴ <http://www.uni-karlsruhe.de/~litwiss/interger.html>

¹⁴⁵ <http://www.iak.uni-karlsruhe.de>

¹⁴⁶ <http://www.uni-jena.de/IWK/home.html>. This programme constitutes the 2nd strongest one in the Faculty of Philosophy with over 400 M.A. students enrolled and 380 students from economics and international management (Bolten 1999: 306, 311). The numbers have been rising since. Seminars carry the following titles among others: *Eigenkultur* [home culture], *Zielkultur* [target culture], *Interkultur* [interculture], *Allgemeine und Vergleichende Wirtschaftskommunikation* [General and Comparative Business Communication], *Interkulturelles Training und Consulting* [Intercultural Training and Consulting], *Interkulturelles Management* [Intercultural Management], *Theorie interkultureller Kommunikationsprozesse im Wirtschaftskontext* [Theory of Intercultural Communication Processes in the Business Context].

University, Hong Kong Baptist University and Zhejiang University in order to foster their intercultural communicative competencies, to improve existing business cooperations between Chinese and German companies and to encourage the generation of new ones¹⁴⁷.

The Department of Intercultural Studies at the TECHNICAL UNIVERSITY COTTBUS¹⁴⁸ aims to increase their students' "ability to do business in the international field" through a variety of seminars such as, for instance, *Globalisation and Transnational Co-operation*, *Intercultural and Interdisciplinary Communication*, *Intercultural Management* and *Intercultural Product Development*.

The EUROPEAN UNIVERSITY VIADRINA¹⁴⁹ in Frankfurt (Oder) established two M.A. programmes, *Interkulturelle Wirtschaftskommunikation* [Intercultural Business Communication] and *Medien und interkulturelle Kommunikation* [Media and Intercultural Communication Studies]¹⁵⁰. It also maintains an internet based Doktorandenkolloquium [Ph.D. graduate school] in cooperation with the University of Erfurt and the Technical University of Chemnitz focusing on *Intercultural Business Communication*, *Languages for Special Purposes* and *New Information and Communication Technologies*. The department was formerly involved in a Sokrates project together with Swedish and Finnish universities that developed a curriculum and teaching material for degree programmes in IBC¹⁵¹.

Students at the UNIVERSITY OF PASSAU¹⁵² and the UNIVERSITY OF DUISBURG and can graduate with a degree (Diplomstudiengang) in 'Kulturwirt' [Culture Manager]. In the former case they have to complete a four years lasting degree programme *Sprach-, Wirtschafts- und Kulturraumstudien* [International Cultural and Business Studies] established 1989 (renamed as 'Kulturwirtschaft/International Cultural and Business Studies' in 2005).

The UNIVERSITY OF MANNHEIM¹⁵³ offers a specialization in *Culture and Intercultural Communication* as part of a business degree (*Kultur und Interkulturelle Kommunikation in der Betriebswirtschaftslehre*).

The *Institute für Interkulturelle Fortbildung und Organisationsentwicklung*¹⁵⁴ [Institute for Continuing Intercultural Education and Organizational Development] at the SAARLAND UNIVERSITY¹⁵⁵ offers intercultural seminars focusing on intercultural issues for other departments such as economics and foreign languages. The Romanistic department developed a degree programme in *Französische*

¹⁴⁷ Since 1999, the University of Hamburg, the University of Applied Science (ibid) and the Technical University (ibid) likewise conduct intercultural training for German and foreign students to further their intercultural competence.

¹⁴⁸ http://www.ik.tu-cottbus.de/tables/Isi_34.htm, 20.05.00

¹⁴⁹ <http://www.euv-frankfurt-o.de/~se2/Doktoranden> and <http://www.tu-chemnitz.de/phil/ikk/widok.html>

¹⁵⁰ <http://www.euv-frankfurt-o.de/~sw2>

¹⁵¹ <http://www.euv-frankfurt-o.de/~sw2/Erasmus/Welcome.html>

¹⁵² <http://www.kuwi.de>

¹⁵³ http://www.bwl.uni-mannheim.de/Fakultaet/Studium_allgemein/Kultur-BWL/kultur-bwl.html

¹⁵⁴ <http://www.uni-saarland.de/fak5/ifoe/ifoe.htm>

¹⁵⁵ <http://www.orga.uni-sb.de/forschung/dfg/dfg.html>

*Kulturwissenschaft und Interkulturelle Kommunikation*¹⁵⁶ [French Cultural Studies and Intercultural Communication] and hosts a DFG-Graduiertenkolleg [a postgraduate college funded by the German Society for Research and Investigation] ‘Interkulturelle Kommunikation in kulturwissenschaftlicher Perspektive’, both integrating business perspectives. The same academics offer intercultural (partly commercial) training through the *Interkulturelles Kompetenzzentrum* [Intercultural Competence Center] of the university and the affiliated commercial intercultural training company ICUnet.AG.

The *Institute for Intercultural Communication* at the Fachhochschule [Technical University/ Polytechnic] Wildau¹⁵⁷ (founded in 1997) offers seminars and workshops to students from different degree programmes (micro economics, business engineering, European management, administration among others) as well as commercial intercultural training and a certificate programme for intercultural trainers. In addition to this, a lecture series is organized that attempts to bridge between academia and businesses.

Parallel to the establishment at university level and the mushroom like growth of private training and consultancy companies¹⁵⁸, a variety of publishers¹⁵⁹ have focused on the topic and professional and academic associations have been founded¹⁶⁰.

The list is interesting for a number of reasons, most obviously the widespread institutional distribution and appeal of this field, in particular to students¹⁶¹.

Furthermore, it shows that most of these higher education institutions and academics

¹⁵⁶ <http://www.phil.uni-sb.de/FR/Romanistik/IK/ikindex.htm>

¹⁵⁷ <http://www.tfh-wildau.de/sprache/welcome.htm>

¹⁵⁸ Among the biggest training companies and private institutions are the *Institut für Interkulturelles Management* IFIM (www.ifim.com) and the former *Carl-Duisberg Gesellschaft* (www.cdc.de), today INWENT.

¹⁵⁹ Publishers in Germany include *iudicum* (Munich) with a special series in intercultural communication, *Campus* (Frankfurt a.M.) with a series called *Schriftenreihe Europäische Bibliothek interkulturelle Studien* [European Library Intercultural Studies], the editorial *Heidrun Popp* (Waldsteinberg) publishing *WirtschaftsDeutsch international: Zeitschrift für sprachliche und interkulturelle Wirtschaftskommunikation* [Business German International] a specialized journal covering issues related to communication in the business environment,], *Sternenfels* with a *Schriftenreihe Interkulturelle Wirtschaftskommunikation* [Series in Intercultural Business Communication] and *Schneider* (Hohengehren) with a series entitled *Interkulturelle Praxis und Theorie* [Intercultural Praxis and Theory]. The Technische Fachhochschule [Polytechnic] Wildau publishes the *Schriftenreihe Interkulturelle Kommunikation* [Working Papers in Intercultural Communication] and a book series *Wildauer Beiträge zur Wirtschaftskommunikation* [Wilauer Contributions to Business Communication] similar to the University of Bayreuth with a *Schriftenreihe des Instituts für Interkulturelle Kommunikation* [Series of edited collections of the Institute for Intercultural Communication].

¹⁶⁰ See for instance the *Gesellschaft für interkulturelle Germanistik* (GiG) founded in July, 1984 in Karlsruhe which organizes congresses, colloquia and workshops in order to bring together academics, trainers, and business people, thus contributing to the commercial application of intercultural research similar to the *Society for Intercultural Education, Training and Research* (SIETAR).

¹⁶¹ For the degree programme in Passau approximately 1300 students apply each year.

cater directly to the business environment through outreach institutions, continuing education and commercial training (University of Bayreuth, Jena, Saarbrücken, Chemnitz, Passau, Saarbrücken, Frankfurt/ Oder and the Polytechnic Wildau)¹⁶², a relation that most probably impacts upon and feeds back into their academic practices, perspectives, values, conventions and interests (for a detailed argumentation see chapter 2).

The fact that the main degree programmes and courses in IBC have been established in the former ex-GDR (for example at the newly funded European University Viadrina in Frankfurt/ Oder, the University of Zwickau, Jena and Erfurth and the Technical University of Chemnitz and Wildau) can only be understood in the context of the restructuring of the Eastern German higher education system after reunification, processes that are, however, by no means uncontested. According to Ash (1999: 105), three views on the transformation after 1989 are prevalent:

- The fast restructuring in the ex-socialist part was a historical necessity since the previous system was intellectually, morally, politically and economically bankrupt and new, western institutions and structures had to substitute swiftly the socialist contents, structures, educators and academics, especially those who had collaborated with the STASI (the state secret service).
- Western structures, institutions and procedures were imposed on a higher educational system that was, at least in some respects, at least equally if not more effective (for instance in terms of its higher teacher-student ratio, the shorter time in which students finished their degrees, the greater share of

¹⁶² In addition to this, some academics conduct their own training and consulting companies alongside their work at university.

applied research etc.). West German academics benefited from this ‘colonization’ process by occupying the positions their East German colleagues were forced to leave.

- A third perspective combines the first two: mistakes and unwanted consequences are admitted while the necessity of quick restructuring and a lack of practical alternatives is acknowledged.

As Ash argues each of these lines of interpretation explains some aspects of the restructuring, none of them, however, does full justice to the complexities of the transformation. He divides the restructuring process into three more or less distinguishable phases with specific dynamics, possible alternative political educational decisions and thus developments. Ash claims that in the first phase from October 1989 until October 1990, i.e. the year before unification, different social forces were promoting and attempting to overhaul the GDR higher educational system from within. This democratization process, however, came to a sudden end when, after reunification, personal and structural renovation from the outside began. The Western system, so far regarded as to be in severe crisis, now became the model for the East (ibid: 107). As an almost exclusively state-funded and free mass institution, West German universities had become increasingly underfinanced after the first economic crisis after the end of WW2 hit Western industrialized countries in the 1970s (ibid: 147). Investment has been declining ever since, with the percentage of expenditure dropping from 1, 3% (4,3 billion DM) of the GPD during the mid 1970s¹⁶³ to 0, 9% (3, 9 billion DM) at the beginning of the 90s although the number of

¹⁶³ Hanly (1998: 47-48) makes the case for a similar shift in U.S.-American and British universities: “Before the debt crisis, universities flourished, and were supported by large government grants in addition to tuition income. Income from corporations was a minor supplemental element. With the debt crisis and the demand for cutbacks in government spending, the universities were forced either to find new sources of income or cut services back or increase their cost. Universities must now turn to corporations to replace the lost government funding. This changes the educational role of the

students doubled during this time (ibid: 253, Sozialismus von unten 2000/ 2001, Gaethgen 2004: 54). The chronically insufficient expenditure lead to “untragbaren Zustände in den Hochschulen” [unbearable conditions at universities] (ibid: 253) such as the overcrowding of degree programmes and seminars, the unfortunate professor-student ratio¹⁶⁴ and hence the lack of personal tutoring or feedback, the non-existence of short degree programmes (B.A.) which prolonged the time students spent at universities¹⁶⁵ and so on. Thus, from the 1980s onwards, the German university system has been subjected to severe critique from inside and outside the institution:

Darüber, daß die gegenwärtige Situation einer grundlegenden Veränderung bedarf, herrscht Konsens; in welche Richtung das Umdenken gehen soll, bleibt aber nach wie vor strittig (Ash 1999b: 253)

[There is widespread agreement that the current state of affairs is in need of profound change, but there are also extensive differences as to how to reform the system.]

Instead of an overhaul, the deficient West German system of the late 1980s and concomitantly some of its critical features was imposed on the ex-socialist system while aspects of the latter that would have been worth preserving were abolished. The restructuring, however, did not affect all disciplines in the same way as the colonization hypothesis suggests. While overall 30% of the universities and 50% of the other research institutions saw a decrease in personnel and 85% of the researchers in the industry left the East German industry (Pasternack 2001: 11). It was also

university.” In the wake of this development, higher education institutions have been pushed towards ‘market principles’ and the needs of the economy, particularly in terms of human resources and knowledge production (Keat 1999: 92, see also Fairclough 2001: 237). While there are important similarities between these different national contexts, there are also differences: The German HE system, for instance, has so far been gratuitous (a majority of students have been state funded through the so-called BaföG, an interest-free credit covering maintenance and basic needs) thus giving broad parts of the population the possibility of further and higher education independently of their social status and income.

¹⁶⁴ Whereas in the U.S., the ratio between professor - students is 1: 10, it is 1: 100 in Germany (Gaethgen in *Der Spiegel* 2004: 56).

¹⁶⁵ The many advantages the student status offers (health coverage, price-reduction in travel, meals, cultural events etc.) subjected the system to free-riding, in particular when the German economy slowed down and unemployment rates rose. Students often remain at their ‘Bildungsparkplatz’ [educational parking space] for its economic advantages with one or several part-time jobs instead of searching for full-time employment.

assumed that the social sciences and humanities were ideologically more suspect than the natural sciences and thus lost an especially high rate - 60% - of their academic personnel. Contrary to the official discourse, however, only a small percentage of these cases were decided on political grounds:

Das Gros der Entlassungen an den Hochschulen der neuen Bundesländer geschah nicht aus 'politischen' Gründen im engeren Sinne, sondern vielmehr aus strukturellen bzw. aus vermeintlichen Bedarfsgründen; und die Mehrzahl dieser Entlassenen wurde vorher sowohl politisch-moralisch als auch wissenschaftlich positiv evaluiert. (Ash 1992: 122)

[The majority of lay-offs at the East-German universities did not happen for 'political' reasons, but for structural reasons or alleged lack of demand; and the majority of these people had previously been evaluated positively, both in moral and scientific terms.]

As the same author argues (ibid: 120), the restructuring became a means to reduce staff, particularly in the Humanities and Social Sciences, and to redistribute the remaining academic position. While the ongoing teaching process had to be guaranteed and East German academics lost their jobs, academics from West Germany and other countries were hired¹⁶⁶ on short term contracts. However, as the same author argues (ibid: 114), many of these guest-professors stayed: "So wurde aus einer improvisierten Coping-Strategie in vielen Disziplinen der erste Schritt eines längerfristigen Wissenschafts-transfers" [This way an improvised coping strategy in many disciplines turned into the first step of a long term science transfer].

The third phase (1991-1995) was marked by the structural and personal normalization and retrospective legalization of facts, i.e. by the institutionalization of the decisions taking during the course of the previous two phases.

¹⁶⁶ Pasternak (2001: 133) speaks of an overall successful structural transformation but also points to some developments that were disadvantageous and unjust for East-German and especially female staff. For new positions, Western applicants were generally preferred since they knew the system better, had already publication lists in international (English) peer-reviewed journals and displayed generally a "passfähigeren Habitus" [more adequate/ fitting habitus] (ibid: 131).

In the present context, two facts are important to stress: The historical context, i.e. the restructuring of the East German higher education system with its concomitant reduction of personnel in the Humanities and Social Sciences offered many young West German academics the chance, firstly, to find an employment as a professor or researcher and, secondly, to institutionalize relative innovative degree programmes, for instance the interdisciplinary, practically and internationally oriented field of IBC. Ash (1999a: 120) evaluates this historical phase of restructuring as a time “in dem in großer Eile entschiedene disziplinäre Strukturen in überraschend pragmatischer Weise mit Inhalt gefüllt werde.” [in which decisive disciplinary structures were hastily and in a surprising pragmatic fashion filled with content].

The import of innovative degree programmes cannot – as the foregoing section has alluded to - only to be understood in the context of an opening horizon for Western academics in the Eastern part of Germany but has to be grounded in an analysis of the changes the Western higher educational system - where the field emerged – was and is undergoing. As I have already mentioned, universities had been declared to be in crisis for a variety of reasons. The heated public debate is characterized by a wide range of perspectives on the situation, the acclaimed nature and causes of its alleged deficiencies (and strengths) and the potential remedies and necessary reforms¹⁶⁷. The most popular criticism hence attacks the German university as being an ‘ivory-tower’, a “quiet, remote and communal guild unified in the common love for scholarly

¹⁶⁷ Gaethgen (2004: 54), the president of the *Hochschulrektorenkonferenz* (2003/ 2004), i.e. the highest academic gremium in Germany, argues that the situation is especially critical in the context of the current international competition between national university systems. Given the demands of an increasingly knowledge-based economy in need of well-educated specialists and researchers in different economic areas, he laments the ‘brain drain’ of young and promising students, academics and researchers in particular to the U.S.: “Schon jetzt verlassen uns die besten Studenten in Richtung Amerika” [Our best students are already leaving us for the U.S.] (ibid: 56). In order to improve the situation, he demands more financial investment on part of the state, as well as the introduction of student fees in the range of 500 to 2000 Euros per term.

conversation and debate” (Carson 1998: 14) which is allegedly reluctant to make relevant contributions and be responsive to the needs of society. In particular the social sciences and humanities have come under pressure to legitimize their existence through ‘usefulness’, for instance through a clear contribution to the economy. Allegedly, increased efficiency¹⁶⁸ in higher education can be achieved through the introduction of interdisciplinary, short degree programmes, student fees and/ or punitive fees for students who study longer than average, requirements for entrance or the introduction of entrance exams, social selection of students through and in so-called ‘Excellence Centres’ and ‘Elite-Universities’¹⁶⁹ serving at the same time as a concentration of subjects and research areas in specific places, limitations of the possible length of study, an emphasis on transferable skills and competencies (*vocationalism*) instead of personal and social development, a streamlining of standards (*credentialism*), national and international accreditation and homogenization of modules and degrees¹⁷⁰, competition among academics and faculties through close monitoring, ‘output’-control (in terms of publication and research rates, teaching

¹⁶⁸ Although references to the U.S.-American system, allegedly better organised and more efficient, are frequent, the system, however, is not always understood properly. Despite traditional (philosophical, educational and political) differences, the institutional system in the U.S. is more varied: state- or mixed-financed colleges and universities exist alongside private ones and render the dichotomy of *mass/ public/ quantity* versus *elite/ private/ quality*, so prevalent in the German discussion, almost irrelevant (Ash 1999b: 256, the author refers here particularly to the mass universities of Wisconsin, Berkeley and Michigan). In addition to this, a broad range of long established and large funding bodies assures at least partially that students with little resources can gain access to a prestigious university. In the German debate, though, only private elite universities like Harvard and Yale seem to figure: “Kaum ein Artikel zu diesem Themenkreis scheint ohne ein Bild von einem parkähnlichen amerikanischen Campus mit efeuumrankten Gebäuden auskommen zu können.“ [Hardly any article about this topic area can do without an image of a park-like American campus with buildings framed by ivy.] (Ash 1999b: 254).

¹⁶⁹ According to Huisken (2004) the term ‘elite university’ itself is misleading and tautological since every university is by definition already an institution for the education of an elite. The professor from the University of Bremen warns against ‘Hochbegabtengefasel’ [senseless talk about the so-called ‘high talented’] and the introduction of tuition fees. For him the limitation of access to higher education signifies nothing but an unnecessary ‘Zusatzselektion’ [additional selection] and the exclusion of ever more citizens, in particular from working class background, a concern many academics, politicians and students share.

¹⁷⁰ Around 1600 bachelor or master degree programmes have been established since 1998 and until 2010 the two level Anglo-American model (B.A. and M.A.) shall be the norm in the European Union (Mittelstrass 1994).

assessment, enrolment figures) and performance-based payment, the acquisition of external private funding and the concomitant accountability to financing bodies and a focus on applied rather than theoretical research. Managerial regulation is proposed and regarded as indispensable for a modernization of the system (Wernick 1991, Spiegel Online 24.1.2004): The university's 'performance' shall, for instance, be controlled and supervised through external commissions, (*Hochschul-Aufsichtsrät* constituted by politicians and business people). I have summarized the differences in the table below. These are, however, 'ideal types' and the adoption (or rejection) of the new model by actual universities (and federal states) differ:

	Traditional model	Managerial model
COSTS OF STUDYING	No fees. Basic principle: higher education should be open to everyone despite their financial resources.	Tuition fees and/ or punitive fees for students who study beyond the minimum study ¹⁷¹ time.11 Basic principle: social selection in so-called 'Excellence Centres' and 'Elite-Universities'.
FINANCING OF INSTITUTION	The institution is financed by the state.	The institution should to a large extent be self-financed and become privatized.
ACCOUNTABILITY OF ACADEMICS	Academics should be accountable but relatively autonomous.	Academics should be closely monitored and subjected to 'output-control' (research) and teaching assessment through external agencies. In addition, they should be paid according to their performance
ACCOUNTBILITY OF INSTITUTION	The institution should be accountable to the public but relatively autonomous in their politics.	The institution should be accountable to the financing bodies. The needs and exigencies of the economy have to be integrated.
CONTROL OF UNIVERSITIES	The control and supervision should lie in the hands of	A commission constituted by high ranking politicians and

¹⁷¹ Currently, German students finish their degrees on average 4 years later than American students while in some programmes 60% of the students enrolled do not finish at all.

PERFORMANCE	academics administrative staff.	business people. Control and supervision of the university's performance through external commission (Hochschul-Aufsichtsräte) constituted by politicians and business people.
MODEL TO INCREASE QUALITY AND COMPETITIVENESS	All universities offer the same quality in terms of research and teaching and can potentially lead investigations in all fields of research.	Competition between departments and universities over enrolment figures and research output through ranking and evaluation of research and teaching through external bodies. In order to compete, universities have to differentiate and specialize.
ALLOCATION OF DISCIPLINES TO UNIVERSITIES	Wide geographical dispersion of subjects and research areas.	Concentration of subjects and research areas in specific places (so-called 'competence-centres')
RELATION THEORETICAL AND APPLIED RESEARCH	Theoretical and applied research is regarded as equally relevant.	Applied knowledge is emphasized.
EDUCATIONAL GOALS	Emphasis on personal and social intellectual development.	Emphasis on transferable skills and competencies (vocationalism)

The market-oriented model has already partly been implemented, albeit different federal states have developed and are still developing different responses and approaches in this ongoing process of change and reforms. Bolten (2005: 10), one of the academics working in the field of IBC; addresses the structural preconditions and pressures academics in the German context have come under and the "Anreize[], die der Gegenstandsbereich [IBC] für die Entwicklung der eigenen Lebensplanung bietet" [incentives for one's life plan the field [of IBC] offers]:

Es wäre interessant, einmal zu untersuchen, inwieweit sich interdisziplinäre Ansätze, wie sie in allen Bereichen der interkulturellen Kommunikations- und Handlungsforschung notwendigerweise praktiziert werden, im wesentlichen der Tatsache verdanken, dass ihre Protagonisten Lücken ausfindig gemacht haben, in denen sie ihr eigenes, durch Zeitverträge oder durch Stellenengpässe im 'grundständigen' Fach befristetes Wissenschaftlerdasein doch noch erfolgreich weiterführen konnten. (Bolten 2005: 10)

[It would be interesting to investigate to what extent interdisciplinary approaches, as they are practiced necessarily in the areas of intercultural communication and action research, are essentially generated by the fact that protagonists find niches where they can continue their scientific existence, despite the difficulties in their home discipline which offer only short term contracts but no positions.]

Financial and structural pressures have thus placed an increasing number of academics in precarious situations and nurtured an inclination to look for alternative financial income through the commercialization of academic work. The current upsurge and emergence of interdisciplinary and applied fields like IBC can be regarded as one example of a broader trend in academia to cross disciplinary boundaries in order to contribute to the solution of 'real-world' problems (Moran 2002: 1). As Koogan (2000) argues, in the context of scarce resources, the establishment of a practically oriented field with (potential) additional income, is also very attractive for the institution:

... the individual academic becomes dependent on the institution for their place with in a system in which resources are tight, workloads are becoming eavier and quality demands more pressing. Indeed, there is a mutual dependence because the institution depends upon individuals for its reputation and income and its nature depends on the balance of power and the quality of exchange relationships established.

Goodlard (1976: 56) describes the process of institutionalization of fields legitimated through context relevance in the following way:

An educating institution may be reluctant to admit another sheep to its fold – but its reluctance is considerably reduced if the sheep has a golden fleece. If the educating institution cannot be persuaded to create chairs for distinguished defectors, another ploy is as follows. The theoretical comprehensiveness and obvious relevance to a particular occupation or cluster of social problems can be urged upon an outside donor of funds. These funds can then be used to

employ 'research assistants' whose terms of contract make them available for teaching low-prestige service courses, ancillary courses, as lateral enrichment to existing disciplines. If these ancillary courses can be adequately grafted on to existing disciplines, the proponents of the new 'discipline' can point to their heavy teaching load and the need for permanent staff to carry it out. With skilful manipulation, it can readily be claimed that new staff become the 'property' of the unit or group teaching the ancillary courses, and the unit or group begins to take on a visible identity.

A fourth aspect relates to the interdisciplinary nature of the field. In the attempt to contribute to the education and reasoning of future managers, intercultural academics – commonly based in the Arts and Humanities or the Social Sciences - make knowledge claims about an area regarded as genuinely belonging to the area of economics. As a matter of fact, by attending to the 'soft' or 'cultural' side of business these academics try to cater to and fill a void that neo-classical economics - which dominates university departments and management schools worldwide - leaves in the formation of students:

Viele Arbeiten [auf dem Gebiet der Interkulturellen Wirtschaftskommunikation] der letzten Jahre und Jahrzehnte, aber eben auch ihre Defizite, sind allein durch den Hintergrund der herrschenden theoretischen Lehre in den Wirtschaftswissenschaften durchaus legitimiert. (Apfelthaler 1999: 14, for a similar argument see also Dathe 1997: 108 and Barmeyer 2000: 21)

[Much research [in the area of IBC] of the last years and decades, but equally so its deficits, are legitimated on the background of the dominant theoretical school of thought in economics.]

Indeed, modules and seminars cut across disciplinary divisions and are offered to students from different faculties and at times, even integrated into a specific economics degree programme (Jena, Passau, Bayreuth). In order to understand this particular and complex institutional and theoretical relationship with mainstream economics, I will now introduce this theory, its main tenets and metaphors, its strength and weaknesses.

3.3. EXTERNAL RELATIONS: NEOCLASSICAL ECONOMIC THEORY

Two premises or metaphors constitute the main conceptual foundation of mainstream economics (Dupré 2001: 120)¹⁷²:

1. *Homo Oeconomicus*: Individual economic actors (without distinguishing between their scale, institutional embeddedness, resources or power) always behave rationally.

Rationality is understood here very specifically as means-end-calculation:

... rationales Verhalten meint dabei nichts anderes als die Orientierung am ökonomischen Prinzip [means-ends-calculation]. Alternativ liesse sich formulieren, dass sich jeder einzelne Akteur wie ein *homo oeconomicus* verhält. (Hochschule Harz 2004: 2)

[... rational behavior does not mean anything else but the orientation towards the economic principle [means-ends-calculation]. Alternatively, one could say that every actor behaves like a *homo oeconomicus*.]

2. The *invisible hand of the market*: Markets are ideally regulated by a timeless, a-historical and universal mechanism that tends to produce equilibrium between supply and demand. The term *market* refers here not to a local place of economic exchange but extends metaphorically to all economic activities, processes, organisation, co-ordination and structures as a whole. Mainstream neo-classical economics, although aiming for explanatory authority for macro-economic issues is, thus essentially based on micro-theory,

... that is the behaviour and interactions of individuals or households and (by extension) firms. 'Macro-theory', the description of a total economy, was supposed to be taken care of by the same principles. (Self 1998: 7)

Further simplifications include (Hochschule Harz 2004: 3):

- Space/ distance do not exist.
- Time does not play any role.

¹⁷² Neo-classical economics is actually "a grouping of a number of schools of thought in economics." (Wikipedia Online-Encyclopedia). I will, henceforth and in accordance with common usage, refer to neo-classicism as the mainstream school of thought revolving around a set of key concepts and a specific methodology.

- The nature of goods does not play any role.
- People: there are no individual preferences or dislikes.
- Information: all actors have access to and are aware of all market-relevant information

Both metaphors, the notion of man as a *homo oeconomicus* and the *invisible hand* of the market forces have been derived from the work of Adam Smith¹⁷³ (1723–1790), a liberal and moral philosopher and political economist who is regarded as the founding father of modern macroeconomic theory. Writing in the mercantilist¹⁷⁴ context of his time, Smith criticized the business monopolies and feudal privileges that the protectionist state policies of his days produced. Since monopolization represented for him an obstacle to a well-functioning, prosperous society, and, ultimately, the common good, he argued in favour of a withdrawal of the state from economic affairs and envisaged the oscillatory movement between supply and demand (the *market mechanism*) as an ideal regulatory device to bring about an efficient and just production and distribution of goods and, as a side product, a more equitable distribution of wealth and political power. In other words, in Smith's theory, the interaction between producers and consumers (e.g. butchers and bakers) who pursue their own interests will consequentially be economically optimal¹⁷⁵. Self-interest, usually adverse to the well-functioning of society, is, in this view, not inimical to the

¹⁷³ Interestingly, both concepts played an extraordinary little to no role in the work and argumentation of Smith himself. Contrary to the widespread use in neo-classical economics and political discourse, the *invisible hand* is essentially a side comment and mentioned only once in the *Theory of Moral Sentiments* (1976: 184–185) albeit without the addendum *of the market*. The same applies to the term *homo oeconomicus* which was equally mentioned only once in *The Wealth of Nations* (1776) (Lubasz 1992: 38, Priddat 1997: 2).

¹⁷⁴ *Mercantilism* refers to a political-economic system geared to maximize the wealth and power of the nation state by means of subsidizing national production, protectionism (limiting import and encouraging export) and colonial possessions from which cheap raw materials could be extrapolated and finished goods to be exported. It largely benefits producers and entrenches interests of consumers who had to pay inflated prices for domestically produced goods (Bassiry and Jones 1993: 622).

¹⁷⁵ Smith is thus representative of a 'providentialist' perspective claiming that social processes left to their 'natural' tendencies tend to produce beneficial results.

social good but works unintentionally for it. A perfectly competitive market simply compels suppliers and producers to perform well and satisfy consumer needs. As many authors have pointed out, current mainstream economic theory claims Smith's heritage but decontextualizes both concepts and uses them in a rather reductionist way. Some would go further and claim that Smith's ideas have been misunderstood, misappropriated and turned upside down both by neo-classicists and neo-liberals (de Rivera 1998, Dupré 2001: 121, Lubasz 1992, Priddat 1997, Elsner 1997, Self 2000, Bassiry and Jones 1993). Since both claim his heritage, it is fair to employ this prominent *moral* philosopher as a strong critic in the following discussion of the free-market dogma and, at a later point, its political effectuation through neo-liberalism.

3.3.1. THE NOTION OF HOMO OECOMICUS

Neo-classicism assumes that economic actors can be sufficiently described as detached and exclusively rational calculators who observe the market and react according to the principle of profit maximisation or means-end calculation, in sum, as *homi oeconomici*. In a 'free market', that is a market exclusively regulated by supply and demand, they could exert *consumer sovereignty* and express their subjective interests by choosing and buying what they want. For the case of the labor market, it is likewise assumed that workers choose how long they want to work (hours per week/ months or years) and in what kind of job or position (*worker sovereignty*). The labor market would again be an arena for free choice, in this case, occupation.

According to mainstream economics, people are assumed to have a universal set of preferences and traits, unchanging throughout their lifespan and unmediated by experiences, society and social relations. Economic behaviour and decisions are, according to this model, influenced only by prices¹⁷⁶ that emerge through the interplay of supply and demand. As Dupré (2001: 120) summarizes the idea:

Homo economicus appears in the world with a bundle of goods and a set of tastes or preferences, and goes off to the marketplace to trade his goods with other similar agents to their mutual benefit.

As many authors have argued though, preferences and indeed individuals as such are deeply influenced by individual, habitual, cultural, situational, positional and economic processes and structures in their decision making processes, contrary to the “extravagant claim [of neo-classical economics] that markets allow the consumer to be sovereign” (Sayer 2000: 4–5)¹⁷⁷. Instead of being innate, preferences, choices, forms of behaviour and even conceptions of oneself and how to pursue the good life are influenced and shaped by market (and other) social relations, practices and discourses

Furthermore, as Dupré (2001: 122) argues, there is neither complete nor sufficient information available to the (allegedly sovereign) consumer/ buyer¹⁷⁸:

Once Supermarket A has persuaded me to start pushing my trolley through its aisles it has me in a thoroughly subordinate market position. [...] Even if I had bothered to compare full price lists from all supermarkets I could easily reach,

¹⁷⁶ Guerrien (2003) makes the observation that most prices change rather slowly: “We are constantly teaching that prices adjust with supply and demand; but, in fact, it is quantities (stocks) that adjust, and most relative prices don’t move, or move slowly. And this is a very important and happy fact: if prices were moving constantly and everywhere, as in the Stock Exchange (the famous ‘volatility’), then no middle or long term calculation could be made and there would be no investment – and, finally, no production. People would spend most of their time, bargaining, searching ‘the lowest price’, and so on.”

¹⁷⁷ For a refutation of the even more extravagant claim of the ‘sovereign worker’, see Fleetwood (2002).

¹⁷⁸ The former chair of the council of economic advisers to U.S.-president Bill Clinton and chief economist of the World Bank Joseph Stiglitz (Columbia University) showed in his Nobel Prize winning investigation that different market participants have different and often imperfect information, a situation that impacts profoundly upon the workings of the economy. The Nobel Prize winners in 2002, Daniel Kahnemann (Princeton University) and Vernon Smith (George Mason University), proved convincingly that individuals behave *systematically* different from neoclassical predications based on rational choice theory

the number of these is small and they may well be involved in some implicit or explicit collusion that distorts prices above the competitive equilibrium.

The view of human beings as entering market relations in a psychologically finished end state seems not only to be rather unrealistic: As van Staveren has argued forcefully in her book *Caring for Economics* (1999), economic behaviour would not even be explicable on the basis of this model. Neoclassical economics rests conceptually on an autistic figure¹⁷⁹ stripped of trust, social and moral considerations and relations to others and is reduced to egoism and greed unrestrained by social norms. He (*homo oeconomicus* is, as a matter of fact, male!) allegedly displays no ethical considerations related to his actions or their consequences. Since others are motivated likewise he has to take into consideration that they could at any time take advantage of him, depriving him of his gains. As a consequence he cannot trust anyone and would, as a matter of fact, be unable to conduct the simplest business activities. His incapacity to tolerate ambiguity or distance himself from his own materialistic interest would render his attempts for meaningful communication and negotiation futile.

Since all social and psychological aspects are eschewed from this reductionist model of human beings, neo-classicism is characterised by a heavily lopsided view of individuals being exclusively materialistic, calculating, cognitive and greedy. This runs contrary to the view Adam Smith held. For him, every individual was, first and foremost, a social being and hence constrained by the moral order, laws and regulations he or she was surrounded by and had, at least partly, internalised or made

¹⁷⁹ In a similar vein argue management students and professors from management schools in France, the U.S., Britain and other countries who try to change current higher educational practices and dogmata in favor of a more heterogeneous approach to teaching economics (for an overview of the history, goals and an archive of intellectual contributions see <http://www.paecon.net>). Their network and newsletter have been aptly named the *post-autistics economics*, respectively the *post-autistics economics newsletter*. Important to note, however, is a commentary by Devine (2002) - both a non-mainstream economist and father of an autistic son - who draws attention to the fact that although autistic people have preferences little shaped by the social world, they do have emotional feelings and moral considerations.

his or her own. External and internal moral guidance would thus channel self-interest in fair and responsible ways. To Smith human beings were neither pre-moral nor purely egoistic by nature; instead, he believed that society was held together by common values and bonds. In neo-classicism, however, legal interferences as well as moral considerations in economic affairs are regarded as nothing but an obstacle to the well-functioning of markets. Moral or social considerations or behaviour thus cannot satisfactorily be accounted for¹⁸⁰. The only way, then, to hold these egoistic beings in check is through the *invisible hand* of the market forces, a quasi-natural guiding principle.

3.3.2. THE INVISIBLE HAND OF THE MARKET

Mainstream economics envisages the market-mechanism as being endowed with a quasi-natural tendency to bring about the social good:

In classical liberal eyes the free market did not produce social conflict, it resolved it. The invisible-hand mechanism of the laws of supply and demand promoted the harmonization of individual life plans. For analogous reasons they advocated free trade between states as the best means for achieving international peace. (Bellamy 1999: 30)

¹⁸⁰ The problem is avoided through the concept of *altruism*, i.e. the postponing of one's own gratification to a future situation due to a recognition of other interests involved. At a closer look, however, altruism is nothing but yet another form of *selfishness*: Individuals, according to this view, adopt altruistic behavior only for reasons that give advantage to their own group, kin or the survival of their kind. The ultimate individual gain is thereby located on a higher societal and/ or genetic level (see for instance the Hochschule Harz (2004: 5) claiming: "Auch wer altruistische Ziele verfolgt kann sich rational verhalten" [People who do behave altruistically, can do so in a rational [meaning: means-end-calculation] way]).

The metaphor of the *invisible hand* of the market¹⁸¹ has been criticised from a large variety of theoretical perspectives and angles. Firstly, the scale of application of the term remains rather unclear: Smith thought in terms of small-scale markets as connecting, for instance, butchers and bakers who want their family businesses to be successful and make profit. Competition in these small markets compels providers, the actual *owners* of their businesses, to perform well and to specialise through a direct link between the product they provide and their income. Mainstream neo-classical economics, although aiming for explanatory authority for macro-economic issues, is thus essentially based on micro-theory

... that is the behaviour and interactions of individuals or households and (by extension) firms. 'Macro-theory', the description of a total economy was supposed to be taken care of by the same principles. (Self 1998: 7)

The link between producers and buyers or demand and supply in modern capitalist societies, however, is far from direct:

One of the ironies of the invocation of the invisible-hand thesis in the defence of capitalism [...] is that under capitalism the mechanism is distorted by the mediation of commodity production by capital. (Sayer 1995: 119)

As Self (1998: 124) argues

The situation is poles apart from the economic theory of competition and represents a strongly oligopolistic concentration of market power through a wide range of large industries.

The equation of contemporary, highly differentiated and complex capitalist societies with small scale markets disables the viewer to capture comprehensively important characteristics of current economies:

However, perfect competition and the smooth operation of the price mechanism assumes both that consumers are fully informed about their needs and the services on offer to meet them, and that they are equally able to make

¹⁸¹ The discussion about the deficiencies of the neo-classical and neoliberal market conception should not be misunderstood to entail arguments in favor of state socialism. State socialism suffered from advantaging (state) producers allowing them to control production through the timeframe of the so-called 5-year-plan. It underestimated the complexities of demand and supply with the result of being unresponsive to needs and social change (Sayer 1995).

their demands felt. But in reality, the size of markets, the inequitable division of wealth, the control exercised by large corporations and labour organizations over the supply of goods, services and information in particular, all mean that individuals rarely possess such knowledge and can only very imperfectly influence the economy even when they do. Such factors have meant that in practice the market economy has given rise not to a co-operative society of mutually improving individuals, but to a world of conflicting group interests. (Bellamy 1999: 30)

Moreover, Smith assumed “that capital is locally and nationally rooted and its owners are directly involved in its management.” (Korten 2001: 3)¹⁸². Current ownership patterns, in particular in large multinational companies, differ significantly from this world and vision: Shareholders, investors or investment institutions with no local or national alliance who are interested in short-term return-on-investment rather than in production, quality or long-term perspectives, have the ultimate saying through the board of global managers about a company’s fate¹⁸³. The *political* (!) economist favoured the abolition of only those state interventions that generate or enable the constitution of monopolies and did not fall prey to the idea that laissez-faire and egoism would simply bring about the social good (Priddat 1997: 4). In other words, Smith took into account market failures and argued in favour of a withdrawal of the state from forms of ‘unfair’ policies, favouring, in this case, producers.

Die *invisible hand* beschreibt eine Form der Marktökonomie, die eine politische Funktion der Herstellung eines sozialen Zweckes übernimmt. (Priddat 1997: 6)

[The *invisible hand* describes a form of market economy that takes over a political function and is, ultimately, directed to towards a social end.]

The invisible hand is not regarded as being efficient under all circumstances. In fact, the theory depends on a “Brückentheorie“, “die die ‘promotion of one person’s own

¹⁸² According to Lubasz (1992: 42), this has to be understood as a normative claim: “In contrast to modern economists who hold that society benefits no matter how private capital is invested – as long as it is profitably invested – Smith is quite clear and specific as to how private capital must be invested if it is to promote the interest of the society: “The most advantageous employment of any capital to the country to which it belongs, is that which maintains there the greatest quantity of productive labour, and increases the most the annual product of the land and labour of that country”.”

¹⁸³ These processes do not only entail severe consequences for stakeholders but ultimately damage the economy as well (to be argued in greater detail in chapter 4.3).

ends' mit den Zwecken der Gesellschaft konvergieren läßt.“ [it depends on a theory that bridges the 'promotion of one person's own ends' with the goals of society] (Priddat 1997: 7), for the same argument see also de Rivera 1998: 98). This becomes obvious if the two metaphors are viewed in the context of Smith's other and main writings

... die nun allerdings weit mehr als eine Politik der Nicht-Politik, sondern im Gegenteil eine Politik konzeptualisieren, die zwar einen Ordnungsrahmen schafft, um diskretionäre Interventionen zu minimieren, die aber stets institutionelle Arrangements zu entwickeln und gegebenenfalls weiterzuentwickeln hat, um z.B. die Selbstaufhebung des Wettbewerbsmarktes zu verhindern und die Akteure in solche *Anreiz-Sanktions-Mechanismen* zu stellen, die sie zwingen, im 'klugen' ('prudent', eben nicht 'selfish') Verfolgen ihrer Interessen auch das 'publick interest' mitzuverfolgen. (Elsner 1997: 15)

[... which conceptualizes a politics that creates a legal framework in order to minimize discretionary interventions instead of a non-politics. This envisaged kind of politics would always develop institutional arrangements in order to avoid market failures and try to position actors into mechanisms of gratification and sanction that force them to pursue their own interests in an 'intelligent' ('prudent', precisely not 'selfish') way, taking into account the 'publick interest'.]

The bridging theory in Smith's work was his conceptualisation of the human being as naturally inclined to and morally formed through society, seeking not only profit but also security, ease, stability and independence (Lubasz 1992: 42):

The point is this: In Smith's vision the self-interested individuals do not pursue in any and all directions whatever happens to be most profitable; they are led by their natural inclinations to channel their investments so as to do the country as a whole the most good (ibid).

Smith feared not only, in the words of Bassiry and Jones (1993: 622), market failures but also the emergence of privileges and monopolies. He was, according to the same authors well aware that an equitable economic distribution was favourable to a democratic political system:

Smith was particularly scathing with regard to the political powers exercised by economic interests. (ibid: 623)

In the real world - that does not at least resemble neo-classical theory – where we do not find perfect competition, full, publicly available and transparent information and an equitable distribution of a variety of interlinked resources (including, discursive resources, access to networks, money, influence, power etc.) causing economic actors to start from highly differentiated positions and have, consequently, different prospects of success and economic as well as political influence. The important impetus of Smith’s work lies in his advocacy of a political economy “based on maximizing consumer/ citizen choice in both economic and political spheres” (Elsner 1997: 14). In order to gain more competition between economic actors and reach a more equitable distribution of resources, the economy has to be regulated by some institution external to the market itself. Amongst the conditions for an ideal market are the

... absence of external costs and benefits and of public goods, and the presence of perfect competition, including perfect ‘information’. Any failure of such conditions to obtain implies that the market will fail to be efficient. Since in the ‘real’ world such failures may often occur, it may then be necessary for non-market procedures to be employed – including those involving intervention by the state – if efficiency is to be achieved. (Keat 1999: 103)

Whereas Smith did not even think in dichotomous terms of the *state* versus the *market*, the important point of a balance-check between the economy and politics is completely unconsidered by the neoclassical orthodoxy¹⁸⁴. It is assumed that the function of the state is solely to facilitate the workings of the market, neither to intervene nor to correct. The fact that in reality, no economy is unregulated or *free* makes the claims put forth by neo-classicists at least dubious:

Die Rede von individueller Freiheit in Zusammenhang mit Wettbewerb impliziert demnach reine Willkürfreiheit und nicht einmal so etwas wie ‘Marktfreiheit’, denn diese ist immer schon *rechtlich vermittelt* und als solche eine spezifische *Rechtsfreiheit*. Da erst im Rechtsraum die ins Chaos

¹⁸⁴ The study of *political economy* was reconceived as ‘pure’ *economics* in the late 1900s thus isolating the field from other social sciences and the study of economic phenomena from their socio-cultural and political context.

gerichteten Krafte purer Willkur ‘nach einem allgemeinen Gesetz der Freiheit’ gebannt sind, sollte jede Wettbewerbsapotheose auf Skepsis stossen. (Brune, Boehler and Steda 1995: 35)

[The discourse of individual freedom in relation to competition means, therefore, nothing but pure freedom of will and not even ‘market freedom’, because something like market freedom would always already be mediated *legally* and is, hence, a specific freedom embedded in a system of law. Any apotheosis of competition is, therefore, doubtful since the powers of free will directed towards chaos can only be constrained in and through a legal context and, hence, comply with a ‘general law of freedom’.]

3.4. THE CONCEPT OF INTERCULTURAL COMMUNICATION AS APPLIED TO THE INTERNATIONAL BUSINESS DOMAIN

As I have indicated before, IBC as an academic subject area developed partly out of and as a critique of the notion of homo oeconomicus as an universally alike, individualistic, a-moral, utility-maximizing and rational *man* with pre-given and fixed preferences, unmediated by social or cultural influences¹⁸⁵. Trompenaars and Hampden-Turners for instance¹⁸⁶, two authors writing from a cross-cultural perspective, dedicate in their book *The Seven Cultures of Capitalism* (1993) a whole subchapter to *The Curious Birth of Classical Economics* in which they refer to Adam Smith as the founding father of mainstream economics¹⁸⁷. The authors criticize the notion of the self-interested homo oeconomicus in neo-classical theory as “perhaps the

¹⁸⁵ Concordingly, the social is erroneously reduced to a simple aggregate of autonomous homi oeconomici.

¹⁸⁶ From a different theoretical perspective, see also Strübing (1997: 3) who advances the hermeutical perspective on economic phenomenon with reference to the void left by the formation in mainstream economics: “Das Ziel der Anwendung eines solchen Ansatzes auf wirtschaftliche Fragestellungen ist, ein ‘einführendes Verstehen’ von Denk- und Handlungsweisen zu ermöglichen, die unter einer konventionellen Perspektive rätselhaft und unerklärlich bleiben und die den meisten Unternehmern und Managern im Rahmen ihrer Ausbildung und Karriere nicht zugänglich sind.” [A hermeneutical approach to economic question could generate an ‘empathic understanding’ of ways of thinking and acting which – from a conventional perspective - remain mysterious and unexplicable. Such an approach is usually not part of the education of future managers and business men.]

¹⁸⁷ The authors conflate here Smith’s theory with mainstream neo-classical economics, a position that does not do justice to the moral philosopher as has been extensively argued in previous section.

world's leading example of cultural bias"¹⁸⁸ (ibid: 55). This view of the human being, they argue, is typical of 'the West', in particular the United States originating in an individualistic and materialistic culture favoring self-interest and greed instead of benevolence and ethical behavior, traits which are in turn allegedly typical for 'the East', for example Asian countries. They set out to show how "cultural values influence economic choices" (ibid: 6.), i.e. the role culture plays in human behaviour in general and business activities in particular (see also Usunier 1999)¹⁸⁹. What had been relegated to individual preferences in neo-classical theory is now reconstituted as cultural values and norms constituted on a societal level:

Market phenomena of the kind that economists and imperialistic rational choice enthusiasts insist on occur within frameworks that are the contingent products of particular histories. These frameworks are as essential in determining what happens as are the economic phenomena. (Dupré 2001: 146)

While neo-classical economists believe that all cultures and organizations will converge to a point of homogeneity under the predominant logic and pressure of global competition, interculturalists claim that human beings, i.e. their behaviour, ways of interpreting, norms and values, are profoundly shaped by their respective cultural communities. People act, evaluate and think on the basis of background knowledge, which is largely unconscious, taken-for-granted and understood to be 'normal' thus giving rise both to the belief in the absolute reality of one's own perspective (ethnocentrism and prejudices) and to misunderstandings in intercultural encounters:

¹⁸⁸ The *monist* assumption that human beings are universally alike (i.e. if differences exist, they are inconsequential) can, as Parekh (2000: 125) points out, lead to judgementalism and ethnocentrism if it serves as the basis for claims of one (allegedly universal!) way of life as being the best.

¹⁸⁹ The debate thus divides into two polarised positions: the 'culture-free' or *universalist* hypothesis - system standards and economic measures take precedence over nation state diversity, there is thus no need to diversify and adapt to local conditions - versus the 'culture-bound' or *culturalists* hypothesis (Brandenburger 1995: 12, Usunier 199, Bolten 1999: 300, Osterloh 1994). From a methodological perspective, these two positions are often described as *hard* (focussing on quantitative factors such as money) versus *soft* (taking culture, meanings and interpretations of actors into account for instance through phenomenological and hermeneutical approaches). The cross-cultural training and consulting company *Intercultural Systems* (2002) advertises their services for instance in the following way: "Water may appear 'soft', but its powers are immense. Just like water, intercultural skills may be perceived as 'soft skills' but they are the competencies that can engender smooth flowing operations and synergistic collaborations." (<http://web.singnet.com.sg/tildegkmeier/company.html>).

... the characteristic of culture is that it creates a form of ethnocentrism: we tend to regard activities that do not conform to our established views of doing business as abnormal and deviant. (Olie 1998: 318, see also Küster 1998: 5)

It is claimed that cultural differences will persist despite the homogenizing effects of 'globalization' and have to be addressed if their consequences for international business endeavours are to be controlled. International strategic alliances¹⁹⁰ or *global players*, the *locus classicus* for this kind of research, consulting and training, have to synchronize their forms and organizations of production, distribution, human resource management, control and governance (e.g. through corporate identity), and marketing to local conditions, conventions, routines, norms, tastes and styles of interaction (Strübing 1997: 22). In other words, managers have to find a balance between parent and subsidiary, between standardization and diversification, between 'convergence'

¹⁹⁰ Henceforth, I will use the term *strategic alliances* as an umbrella term for a "bewildering variety of organizational relationships. Such relationships are frequently multilateral rather than bilateral, polygamous rather than monogamous" (Dicken 1998: 109). More concretely I understand *mergers & acquisitions* as being effectuated between two or more corporations offering similar products/ services at the same or at different production stages (in the case of firms seeking to achieve advantages through large scale operations and international networks) or of companies offering even different products/ services (in the case of firms seeking to diversify). Both *mergers* and *acquisitions* operate on a global level with no geographical centre and entail normally the takeover of a company's control through the acquisition of the majority of shares (sometimes referred to as a hostile takeover) and the full integration of one 'partner' into the other. A *joint venture* to the contrary is more equitable in that a new company emerges with, ideally, neither side of the former entities, prevailing. Another set of definitions emphasizes coordination instead of equity of ownership: the term *transnational* for instance characterises a means of coordinating production across national boundaries "characterized by a decentralized federation of activities and simple financial control systems overlain on informal personal coordination. The company's worldwide operations are organized as a network of relatively autonomous but interdependent and flexibly integrated local businesses or company units sharing information, resources and personnel. (Dicken 1998: 110, going back to Bartlett and Ghoshal 1989). According to the same author, there is considerable diversity in TNC's strategies, geographic configuration, size and managerial, structural and administrative characteristics. The term *multinational* designates a centralized local parent company with operations and subsidiaries in different regions or countries who might act fairly independently but are ultimately responsible to their headquarters. In order to work flexibly, managers are granted more organizational freedom to be responsive to local conditions and exigencies (Dicken 1998: 108). At the same time, though, this "fragmentation imposes penalties for efficiency and for the internal flow of knowledge and learning" (ibid). To the contrary, an *international* organization model: "involves far more formal coordination and control by the corporate headquarters over the overseas subsidiaries" (ibid), similar to a *global* organization model with centralized assets and responsibilities, tight central control of decisions, resources and information. Overseas operations are treated here as "delivery pipelines to a unified global market" (Dicken 1998: 107). In other words, global companies capitalize on economies of scale, centralize knowledge and tend to ignore local market conditions. To the range of complex, partially new forms of international collaborative ventures with their different forms of power distribution, strategies and coordination we have to add new forms of embeddedness "within a much looser network structure, or *webs of enterprise* (R. Reich 1991)" (Dicken 1998: 109).

and ‘divergence’ (Strübing 1997: 18), between ‘globalization’ and localization¹⁹¹.

Cultural knowledge and intercultural communication skills are allegedly needed in all these different areas of international business endeavours:

M&A underperformance is the outcome of factors relating to partner selection and lack of cultural fit; the way in which the integration or acculturation process is (mis)managed and the negative response of employees to wide-scale organizational change. (Cartwright 1996: 7, see also Olie 1998: 311, Brandenburger 1995: 79, Earley and Singh 2000: 2, Usunier 1999, Usunier and Ghauri 1999: 45 and Nahavandi and Malek Zadek 1998: 335)¹⁹²

While all cross-cultural authors refuse the imposition of the ‘culture’ of the acquirer or dominant merger partner, some see the solution in the adaptation and assimilation to the local culture while others argue that in a dialectical tension between globalizing and localizing processes the cooperation has to develop some kind of ‘synergy’ (Olie 1998: 313, Bolten 2000, 1999, Brandenburger 1995, Schnapper 1992: 269). On the basis of postcolonial theories - a “Gelenkstelle zwischen Kulturwissenschaften und Ökonomie” [a joint between cultural sciences and economics] - Bachmann-Medick (1999) even envisages and conceptualizes international alliances as ‘third spaces’.

Despite the conceptual heterogeneity the field displays, interculturalists understand themselves as consulting and training managers to become aware of and sensitive to cultural differences and proficient in dealing with them in order, for instance, to be able to prepare joint ventures, structure the foreign parent - local subsidiary relationship, build international teams, manage diversity in the workforce and select and train employees for assignments abroad (Brandenburger 1995: 2). Intercultural and cross-cultural training thus refers

¹⁹¹ Even though it generates great theoretical difficulties for neo-classical economics, the academic debate and the practical organizational practices have both tended to adopt the second of the two positions.

¹⁹² Intercultural communication problems can allegedly arise in different stages of mergers or acquisitions beginning with the identification of suitable partners over the phase of negotiation to the phase of integration after a successful agreement or take-over (Gertsen, Söderberg, and Torp 1998: 17).

... to formal efforts designed to prepare people for more effective interpersonal relations when they interact with individuals from cultures other than their own. (Brislin 1994: 2–3)

Instructional forms (including seminars, lectures, workshops, and coaching), methods, and techniques (interactive games, communication exercises, role plays, simulations etc.)¹⁹³ vary as well as the teaching material employed (articles, books, videos, playing cards etc.)¹⁹⁴. These different forms and contents are often mixed in actual trainings and employed in order to achieve cognitive, emotional and/ or social change. In cognitive oriented, so-called *culture-specific* approaches the emphasis lies on information about the respective target country, including demographic data and ethnic composition, politics, geography, economy and religion, as well as practical issues such as housing, climate, legal requirements and transportation, but also establishing interpersonal relations or a daily routine (Kohls and Brussow 1995: 27-28). *Culture-general* trainings or modules focus to a larger extent on attitudes, interpersonal and group perceptions (including stereotypes, prejudices and ethnocentrism) and identity constructions. They try to instigate an awareness of one's own enculturation, beliefs and values, particularly those aspects which are taken-for-granted and out-of-awareness, in order to broaden the *general* sensitivity towards cultural differences and misunderstandings. The cross-cultural or intercultural personality envisaged is imagined as disposing of particular 'competencies' including, for example, the "ability to tolerate ambiguity, manage stress, establish realistic

¹⁹³ The following examples of games and simulations are used in order to generate active emotional and personal involvement, create awareness of differences, develop strategies dealing with them and to change people's attributes towards in- and out-group categorization and evaluation: *cultural assimilators* (simulated situations in other cultures with other value systems), *case studies* (structured simulations of authentic cases involving miscommunications and failures, for example the joint venture between the Swedish automobile company Volvo and its French counterpart Renault), *critical incidents* (actual or constructed scenarios of miscommunication between members of different cultural backgrounds), or *multicultural teambildung* (working on a common task and for a common goal, Schnapper 1992: 274).

¹⁹⁴ Training can be differentiated in terms of scheduling into *pre-departure*, initial *on-site* support, *on-the-job* (coaching), *in-country* and *post-assignment*, i.e. after the return of the expatriate helping him/her to relocate (Kohls and Brussow 1995: 22–25).

expectations, and demonstrate flexibility and empathy” (Brislin 1994: 89, see also Ehnert 2000: 4, Bolten 2005: 6, Kohls and Brussow 1995: 26, Knapp-Potthoff 1997: 196, Strübing 1997: 32 and Chang and Holt 1997: 207), to reorient him- or herself, to learn and adapt to other ways of communication, to deal with the effects of uncertain situations and adverse circumstances, differences, misunderstandings, rejection, emotional stress and anxiety:

While the heterogeneous field of IBC displays different educational methods and draws upon different theories and concepts, two main strands, the *cross-cultural* and the *intercultural* approach, can be identified: (Küpers 2000: 41)¹⁹⁵. The first is commonly based on large-scale (often comparative) empirical studies about intra-cultural patterns, values and attitudes (usually conducted in international cooperations) and attempts to predict the possible outcomes and difficulties encountered in and arising from interaction:

... the impetus for many international and cross-cultural studies is the desire to make accurate outcome predictions based on a given theory in various countries or cultural settings. (Earley and Singh 2000: 8)

The most influential study¹⁹⁶ in the field was conducted by Geert Hofstede (1980, 1991¹⁹⁷), a Dutch social scientist¹⁹⁸, on the basis of a corpus of 116 000 questionnaires (each with over 100 standardised questions about values related to work situations) distributed in 72 national IBM¹⁹⁹-subsidiaries in 53 different countries between 1967

¹⁹⁵ Even though there is no general agreement on the usage of these terms, the majority of European publications seem to converge on the classification adopted here.

¹⁹⁶ Hofstede’s study can only be outlined but not dealt with in depth in the present context, although it would - given its strong impact on academic reasoning, teaching and training practices and its particular form of textualization - deserve a study in its own right.

¹⁹⁷ The first of these two books (*Culture’s Consequences: International Differences in Work-Related Values*) is addressed to an academic audience, while the second (*Cultures and Organisations: Software of the Mind*) presents the same study, findings and claims in less technical terms to a broader readership.

¹⁹⁸ Hofstede is emeritus professor of Organizational Anthropology and International Management at the University of Limburg at Maastricht. He is also senior research associate at the commercial *Institute for Research of Intercultural Cooperation* (IRIC) founded by him (Hofstede 1994: 1).

¹⁹⁹ The specific sample allegedly offered the methodological advantage, that all variables that could potentially impact upon behaviour and attitudes – except ‘culture’ - were held constant, i.e. the

and 1973. His large empirical data base and strong positivist approach made this study empirically sound in the eyes of many economists and business managers.

Theoretically, his work draws - similar to Hall's - upon Kluckholm and Strodtbeck's assumption that every society needs to develop answers to a number of general, anthropological problems. Hofstede identifies 5 of these specific solutions or 'cultural dimensions', each consisting of a cluster of correlating phenomena, which are then used as an analytical tool in order to measure differences between national cultures:

*Masculinity/ Femininity, Power Distance, Uncertainty Avoidance, Individualism/ Collectivism, and Long Term/ Short Term Orientation*²⁰⁰.

A number of methodological, theoretical and practical criticisms have been launched against this predominant study of which I will only present the most pressing ones:

As Blommaert (1993: 5) for example argues, "an average tendency based on questionnaire responses from some employees in a single organization" (IBM) cannot be regarded as representative for "the national average tendency" since its employees constitute a very specific group in terms of social status and education.

individuals were employed by the same international company with its concomitant corporate values and identity, generalized codes of procedures, and technology; they had similar educational backgrounds, professions and differed only slightly in terms of gender (almost exclusively male!) and age. Hofstede reasoned that any substantial attitudinal difference to be found could therefore be attributed to cultural factors.

²⁰⁰ *Masculinity/ Femininity* refer to the 'social' versus the 'ego orientation' of members of a society. This norm is allegedly based on generalised gender roles, i.e. care and modesty (feminine) versus competitiveness and assertiveness (masculine) (Hofstede 1994: 3). *Power Distance* (PDI): According to the author, cultures range from small to large PDI, meaning the 'desirability' versus the 'undesirability of inequality and dependence in social relations'. It is assumed that "a society's level of inequality is endorsed by the followers as much as by the leaders" (ibid: 2). *Uncertainty Avoidance* (UA) is understood as the "[w]ays of dealing with uncertainty, relating to the control of aggression and the expression of emotions." (1991: 13). The term designates the degree to which members of a society are comfortable with, or afraid of, ambivalent and unstructured situations and to what extent they rely on expert advice. Uncertainty is yet another "basic fact of human life with which we try to cope through the domains of technology, rules, and rituals" (1980: 110). *Individualism/ Collectivism* identify degrees of integration of individuals into groups. A strong integration allegedly entails the prevalence of group interests over the interest of individuals (collectivism), a weak integration has the opposite effect. *Long Term/ Short Term Orientation* are associated with thrift and perseverance as in the case of the former and respect for tradition, fulfilling social obligations and face protection in the case of the latter. This dimension was developed by a group of social scientists from China and added later (1991) to the framework. With the integration of this dimension, Hofstede responded to one of the several criticisms raised against his theoretical framework, namely that the study was designed exclusively by Western scientists and was thus being 'culturally' biased (Drechsel, Behr and Schmidt 1998: 3).

Methodologically even more questionable is the assumption that the values in the questionnaire are pure manifestations of crucial underlying national values (unmediated through language). In other words, the data stratification had been classified or framed *a priori*²⁰¹ (Blommaert 1993: 15). Compelling objections have been raised at the theoretical level as well: First of all, Hofstede conflates cultures with nation states, assuming that their borders neatly overlap. He thus overemphasizes cultural homogeneity and determination²⁰² and deflects attention away from contestation, conflict and agency. By using essentialist – in no way neutral²⁰³ – divisions (like *feminine/ masculine*), he contributes to the formation and consolidation of stereotypes and prejudices instead of reducing them (Bolten (2001b, Jack and Lorbiecki 1999, Apfelthaler 1998: 62, Brandenburger 1995: 15). Secondly, given his deterministic view of culture, Hofstede cannot, according to many interculturalists (Drechsel, Behr and Schmidt 1998: 3, Bolten 2001b, Knapp 1996, Casmir 1997: 101), predict anything about concrete individuals and concrete situations:

Da diese auf Inhalte fokussiert sind, berücksichtigen sie die individuelle Leistung im Handlungsaufbau und –ablauf, also die Prozessualität, den subjektiven und interpretativen Charakter des sozialen Handelns, zu wenig. (Apfelthaler 1998: 194, for a similar argument see also Usunier 1999: 97, Cardel Gertsen; Söderberg and Torp 1998: 35 and Hinnenkamp 1994)

[Since these [approaches] focus on content, they do not take into account the subjective and interpretative achievement of individual actors in the process of social action.]

While cross-culturalists are hence mainly interested in the cultural backgrounds of the two participants *before* they enter the actual communicative situation (Harris and

²⁰¹ The framework displays a high degree of speculation both in terms of the unjustified use of ‘universal’ categories and of established links between cultural differences and arbitrarily chosen geographic, economic and historic variables.

²⁰² Hofstede views *culture* as “... the collective programming of the mind which distinguishes the members of one group or category of people from another” (1991: 5)²⁰². Supposedly, human beings are socialised into the ‘mental software’ specific to their cultural group through different institutions in their environment starting from the family to the school, the community and the workplace that predispose them into certain “patterns of thinking, feeling, and potential action.”

²⁰³ As Lorbiecki (1997) argues, binary oppositions invite comparison, i.e. one of the two poles tends to be seen as more positive than the other.

Bargiela-Chiappini 1997: 6), interculturalists focus on the quality or dynamic development of actual communicative, often face-to-face interaction between at least two members of different cultural, ethnic and/ or linguistic backgrounds. They go beyond an understanding of culture as supposedly essential, unchanging and homogeneous (national) mentalities with stable values and norms which are brought into the respective communicative situation and merely enacted by individuals. While authors writing from this perspective hold onto the idea that individuals enter interactions with certain often unconscious and taken-for-granted assumptions, expectations and values (see for example Bolten 1993: 342, Dathe 1997: 111, Roth 1996: 261), it is also argued that ultimately individuals and their interaction in concrete situations are unique²⁰⁴ and develop particular dynamics. By drawing upon semiotics, cognitive anthropology (see for instance Brandenburger 1995: 23), hermeneutics, phenomenology (Bolten 2000), social constructionism (Cardel Gertsen; Söderberg and Torp 1998), ethnomethodology, social interactionism, social psychology and other theoretical perspectives, intercultural communication is conceptualised as an “Interaktionsbegriff” [a term designating interaction] (Bolten 1999: 308, see also Knapp 1996) which focuses on the “Dazwischen” [the in-between] “den **Prozeß** kommunikativen Handelns zwischen Mitgliedern unterschiedlicher Kulturen” [the **process** of communicative interaction between members of different cultures]. Following this line of argumentation, intercultural encounters cannot be explained by exclusive reference to the two cultures the communication partners have (allegedly) been socialised in. Furthermore, some authors acknowledge that culture is in some sense heterogeneous i.e. that within nation states, different social groups can have “different stores of knowledge” (Bolten 1993: 344). *Intra-* and *inter-*cultural

²⁰⁴ See for instance Scollon and Scollon (1995:125): “Cultures do not talk to each other, individuals do.”

communication is thus understood as constituting a continuum with the latter simply being less pre-structured in terms of shared expectations, communicative conventions and underlying norms and values. As a consequence, they are prone to generate more misunderstandings.

3.5. SUMMARY

The present chapter has sketched out the extremely complex conceptual, institutional and professional range of contexts of the academic field of IBC, at the crossroad of theory (the production of academic knowledge, including the formation of a specific canon of relevant literature, the establishment of professional associations and networks) and pedagogical practice (degree programmes and curriculae, higher educational and commercial teaching and training). The emergence and institutionalization of this field at universities could be shown to be a product of academic *and* “institutional and societal factors” (Moran 2002: 13), including the recognition of it being a valuable field of knowledge production with contextual relevance²⁰⁵. The overview thus allows us to understand why specific questions have become regarded as important at specific points in time. More concretely, it

... tells us something about how and why ‘culture’ became a problem in communication with others. Better still, it tells us something about how and why certain, specific cultures (not all cultures) became a problem. (Blommaert 1995: 15)

In particular, the need for intercultural training in the U.S. arose out of national political and economic interests related to the new international role this country began to play after the 2nd World War and only later became established at colleges

²⁰⁵ Including a sufficient number of students being interested in this area.

and universities. In Germany, the field developed the other way round: Academics from the social sciences and humanities (*Foreign Language Pedagogy* in particular) began first to conceptualize intercultural aspects in the international business domain and then started to design (commercial) trainings and/ or consulting. This engagement in a very different professional activity has to be seen in the context of recent changes in the organization, administration and understanding of HE in Germany, shifting from a largely state-funded institution to being ever more dependent on private financing.

As outlined in chapter 2.2.3., accounts of the historical trajectory of a field, its institutional status and relations, audiences, goals, interests and relevant feeder-disciplines provide a useful background against which the analysis of genres can be grounded (Bathia 2004: 167). The above topography showed an extreme diversity in all the above respects: IBC can be characterized by a specific lay-professional relationship (combining academic with applied and commercial practices), a particular institutional position (as an emerging field searching for firm institutional space and establishment) and as standing in a particular relationship with the dominant and well-established school of neoclassical economics. A number of conflicting institutional, disciplinary and other expectations, interests and stakes operate on the processes and procedures of construction and give, this being one of the hypothesis of this thesis, most probably rise to a different understanding of the nature and role of academic knowledge production and thus to the contestation of generic integrity²⁰⁶. As Chang and Holt (1997: 214), for instance, observe, publications in this field

... fuse[] scholarly and applied research, embracing not only multiple lines of academic investigation (Kim, 1988) but practical findings discovered by the trainers and expatriates/ sojourners.

²⁰⁶ At the same time, expert writers – moving in these different social spheres (academia, business) – can be expected to have the intertextual and practical knowledge of multiple genres spanning a variety of contexts and practices.

They continue that

[t]he conflation of academic research and practitioner suggestions can be clearly observed in publication outlets; not only are there discussions in scholarly journals (Black & Mendenhall, 1989) and books (Landis & Brislin, 1983) but also short, practically focused articles published in less academically oriented journals ... (ibid)

The German articles to be analyzed were indeed mainly published in

“fachüberschreitend herausgegebenen Schriftenreihen” [interdisciplinary series]

(Bolten 2005: 13) or essay collections - often edited by the same group of intercultural

scholars - which include work from authors in the humanities/ social sciences *and*

economics and are addressed to a variety of audiences (students, academics, funding

bodies, managers and other clients). International or national peer-reviewed journals -

with an editorial board applying standards of whether an article is formally or in terms

of content and knowledge claims appropriate for inclusion - hardly figure in the

overall publication output. This gives rise to the questions, how this specific

disciplinary knowledge is structured, whether there are specific recurring discursive

and generic patterns, what kinds of genres/ discourses are rearticulated and reworked

in the respective texts and to what purposes and whether generic conventions are

exploited to respond to changing institutional contexts and a diversification of

audiences. In a final step, I will therefore analyze the interrelationship between the

patterns found, the shifts and changes in the nature and role of higher education as

research and teaching institutions and the way this group of academics perceives the

cause of their work, its function and desirable forms. A discussion of these issues will

- unavoidably - be normative.

CHAPTER 4

GLOBALIZATION: DISCOURSES AND POLITICS

In order to understand the context theories of intercultural communication refer and are applied to, the international economy, and to allow, at a later point, an evaluation and theoretical localization of the respective standpoints perpetuated by authors in the field of IBC, we need to consider the broad canvas of main discourses about alleged globalizing processes, structures and consequences.

In a second step, one specific view of globalization, namely the neoliberal perspective, will be put under scrutiny because of the hegemonic status it has achieved in national and international economics and politics, particularly in supranational institutions. The influence this discourse and the concomitant neoliberal policies exert on the current formation and restructuring of the international economic, political and legal structure will then provide the necessary context to clarify the political-ethical implications for the field of IBC.

Analytically, I will retain, as outlined before, the distinction between discourses of globalization and the extent to which the socio-economic or “socio-material” (Steger 2001: 14) universe is changing.

4.1. DISCOURSES OF GLOBALIZATION

All vogue words tend to share a similar fate: The more experiences they pretend to make transparent, the more they themselves become opaque.
(Bauman 1998: 1)

In the most general sense, globalization discourses refer to changes beyond the confines of the nation state:

Globalization, simply put, denotes the expanding scale, growing magnitude, speeding up and deepening impact of transcontinental flows and patterns of social interaction. It refers to a shift or transformation in the scale of human organizations that links distant communities and expands the reach of power relations across the world's regions and continents. (Held and McGrew 2002: 1)

But that is as far as commonality reaches²⁰⁷. The academic literature on globalization is vast, highly controversial and displays a multitude of different, often contradictory perspectives reflecting an actually rather heterogeneous group of topics in the domains of business and/ or politics, society, culture, technology, media, the environment and others. Often, neither the respective focus nor the alleged interrelationship between these different spheres is made sufficiently explicit. Moreover, the causality for alleged changes towards the global scale are attributed to a range of factors or their combination, for instance, an increase in international trade, portfolio and foreign direct investment , the intensification of border crossings and migration, the emergence of new information and communication technologies and their impact upon the structures and processes in financial and other trading, the nature or transformation of capitalism, changes in the function and form of nation states, an increased reach and power of supra-national institutions, other non-governmental organizations (NGOs) and/ or social movements, the spread of consumerism and/ or democracy, and many more. These different perspectives are inexorably linked to specific evaluations and political perspectives of the situation, and concomitant orientations towards or recommendations of particular courses of action.

In addition to this, the globalization debate has permeated all kinds of social strata and sphere. Lay people draw on globalization discourses as a resource in order to make

²⁰⁷ A number of researchers might even object to this minimal definition.

sense of an increasingly complex and interrelated national and international environment. Business executives and managers do not only seem to have partly shifted corporate strategies and priorities to the international plane but to have likewise adopted references to globalization in order to legitimate forms of restructuring and reorganization, for instance through flexible specialization, diversification, downsizing, and outsourcing. The term has become especially popular with politicians who often refer, sometimes in fairly unspecific ways to globalization as a non-negotiable, external (economic) pressure or logic that forces governments to take specific decisions and actions. Some argue that this invocation of globalization is strategic and rhetorical in nature seeking to displace responsibility for otherwise unpalatable reforms. In general, it is fair to argue that the term *globalization* has become a weasel word carrying a load of associations and ideological baggage. As a rhetorical device it can be employed in a variety of vague and obfuscating ways to bring about the same socio-material changes that it is meant to denote in the first place. By gaining alliances and identifications through specific representations of social change and desirable outcomes, people's perspectives, dispositions and, ultimately, their actions are shaped in particular ways. As such it is important to subject the use of the term *globalization* in specific contexts to close scrutiny and careful analysis in order to reveal the stance the particular author takes in the realm of diverse perspectives and definitions (cf. Bargiela-Chiappini 2000: 3).

4.1.1. THE GLOBALIZATION DEBATE

Globalization has become a key concept for politics as well as academia after the demise of the communist regimes and the fall of the Berlin Wall in 1989, that is, at the

end of the Cold War and the beginning of the expansion of the capitalist market system in the so-called transition economies of Middle and Eastern Europe and Asia (Held and McGrew 2002: 2). At this historic point of transition new discourses and narratives were generated in the attempt to account for the emerging new socio-economic order and processes underway. Authors like Fukuyama (1989)²⁰⁸, for instance, declared the end of ideologies after the death of state-socialism and, hence, the 'End of History' through a triumphant global capitalism and the spread of the Western model of democracy. He foresaw a new epoch of peace characterized by the spread of Anglo-American cultural values and practices underwriting most of the cultural fabric of other nations. In a similar teleological vein, the Harvard professor Samuel Huntington (1993) announced in his article *The Clash of Civilizations*²⁰⁹ the beginning of a new global era where economical and political issues would be losing their importance and causal role in international conflicts. Future wars, the advisor to the American government claimed, would be ignited by and fought on the basis of (mostly) religiously based fundamentalism.

Globalization has since become another grand or meta-narrative for contemporary socio-economic changes and a catch-all phrase mostly referring to the alleged rise of the world market and withering away of the nation states and its influence in different domains of social life. In its broadest sense it includes all economic, political, cultural or environmental processes, practices, and structures, that take place beyond the confines of the nation state. As stated before, however, the actual causes, nature, consequences and even existence of the phenomenon itself are highly contested.

²⁰⁸ Fukuyama, Francis (1989): *The End of History? National Interest* 16, 4. See also Fukuyama, Francis (1992): *The End of History and the Last Man*. New York: Free Press.

²⁰⁹ Followed by a book with the same title: Huntington, Samuel (1996): *The Clash of Civilizations and the Remaking of the World Order*. New York: Simon & Schuster.

In order to structure this extreme heterogeneous field of discourses, I will draw on Held and McGrew's (2002) categorization into three main strands (*globalists, skeptics and transformationists*) extended through a classification according to the actual domains²¹⁰ of the alleged changes, i.e. the *economy*, the *state* and *culture*²¹¹. I follow Marcussen (2000: 6, see also Shaw 1997: 497, Block 1994: 691) and others who argue that the relation between the state and the economy is inseparable and will therefore combine these two into the *political-economic* domain. Note, however, that this classification groups together authors and perspectives according to the positive assessment of the causes and dynamics of globalization, not on their normative perspective on these processes.

In addition to this, these categories are, of course, heuristic devices or ideal types (Held and McGrew 2002: 1) which cannot account for the overlap, interrelations and mixtures of many of the perspectives on *globalisation*. Neoclassical economists, for instance, might see changes in economic processes from a *hyperglobalist* view as accelerating, inevitable and autonomous while being *skeptical* about any claims in relation to the cultural domain. The aim of this section is not and cannot be to cover the whole spectrum of possible standpoints on globalization "from left to right" as they are "endorsed in different disciplines – economics, sociology, cultural studies and international politics" or even represent every author who has made an important contribution to the debate since this would be a "never-ending enterprise given the

²¹⁰ I assume that the *globalization* of ecological problem (the emission of greenhouse gases, the growing ozone hole, global warming, water shortage, nuclear waste etc) is fairly uncontested and therefore renders a discussion of different viewpoints obsolete.

²¹¹ There are, of course other ways of structuring the debate. Marcussen (2000: 6), for instance, offers a categorization of positions as forwarded in the academic debate centering on the crucial relation between the state and the economy. He divides the field of globalization scholars into those who view globalization as *strong* and *new* and those who claim that it is a *weak* and *old* phenomenon. He then subdivides the two groups further into authors who argue that state sovereignty is lost and those who claim that nation states still play a decisive role. Although Marcussen's model captures fruitfully the relation between the state and the economy in discourses of globalization, he omits the cultural domain.

scale and rate of publication on the topic” (Hirst and Thompson 1996: 3). I will therefore confine myself to outline some of the most crucial arguments in the debate.

4.1.2. GLOBALISTS

Globalists argue for a qualitatively new phase in either the history of capitalism or Western civilization driven and supported by substantive developments in communication technologies. These alleged changes, can be evaluated positively as well as negatively. Neoliberalists for instance embrace, celebrate and welcome economic globalization claiming that eventually all participants in this process will gain through the spread of the market forces and the allegedly concomitant withering away of the nation state. Ohmae (1990, 1993)²¹², as one of the most famous proponents of this view, sees transnational companies (TNCs) as the prime movers in a genuinely global economy without impediment of national industrial and tax legislation. In his view nation state are becoming increasingly irrelevant due to changes in patterns of trade, finance and governance.

A majority of those in line with the anti-globalization movement including many academics (see, for instance, Bauman 1998) would agree with the main tenets of this diagnosis of contemporary socio-economic change although they evaluate the process rather negatively. For them, the effects of an unfettered capitalist system on a global scale are adverse to an equitable distribution of resources and hence to socio-economic equality, social justice and stability, the ecology and democracy. Common to these two contrary positions, however, is the view of globalization as an inevitable

²¹² Ohmae, Kenichi (1990): *The Borderless World. Power and Strategy in an Interlinked Economy*. New York: Harper Collins. See also: Ohmae, Kenichi (1996): *The End of the Nation State*. New York: The Free Press.

and quasi-self realizing process and the assumption that nation states (and hence politics) are hollowed out, eroding and/ or being substituted by supranational organizations, the financial markets and other institutions.

Some authors attribute causal force to the new communication and information technologies in the process of globalization altering significantly space-time relations. Castells (1996, 1997), for instance, claims in his highly acclaimed three volume study²¹³ on the rise of the “network society” in the so-called “information age”²¹⁴ that through the internet and computer revolution, international finance and business – both deregulated and liberalized - have taken on new and highly accelerated forms, strategies and practices. He argues that in the new age of ‘info-capitalism’ information, technology and knowledge have become the defining feature and main source of productivity (1996: 17) allowing for unprecedented speed, complexity, flexibility and competitiveness.

Although Castells emphasizes the qualitative change in trade, politics and communication these technologies have brought about, he (2000: 67) does not lose sight of the differently distributed patterns of access worldwide. By talking of the ‘networkers’, those being ‘networked’ and a third category of people being completely excluded from networks²¹⁵ (such as most of the African continent) he attempts to combine accounts of technological change with a Marxist critique of social class²¹⁶.

²¹³ The trilogy covers three dimensions: cultural movements and identity politics, economic and state crisis and information technology.

²¹⁴ This term is closely linked to the notion of the ‘knowledge economy’. Both claim that learning and knowledge have become key assets in the “new” economy and that surplus value is today mainly created by multiskilled, highly educated, problem solving and flexible white collar workers. This view underestimates the spread and importance of conventional and traditional fordist and large scale industries and manufacturers.

²¹⁵ According to Bourdieu (2002: 54), the gap between those who interact through the internet, on the basis of their necessary cultural and economic resources, and those who are acted upon or are at the margins of the whole net widens. The standard information user is an urban English-speaking male under 35 with a university education and of middle to high income. Overall, 20% of the global rich constitute 93, 3% of internet-users whereas 20% of the global poor account for only 0, 2%.

²¹⁶ Castells is at pains to stress his commitment to critical theory and rejection of technological determinism: “Technological determinism is in essence the negation of social theory.” (2000: 44). At

His position differs from strict hyperglobalists in other respects, too: although he claims that national economies are superseded by an integrated, networked, albeit unequal and unjust global economy, Castells insists on the nation state as remaining a decisive political actor (1999: 54).

The crucial question in relating globalization and culture appears to be whether alleged economic and/ or political changes reduce or increase cultural diversity.

Cultural hyperglobalists hold that on the basis of profound economic and political changes, we will sooner or later inhabit a homogenized, uniform world since cultural practices and values can move through the media to the most remote places and influence people's meanings and understandings. At the same time, goods and services are no longer tied to territories but are being produced, distributed and consumed worldwide. Ohmae (1990, 1996), for instance, argues that although TNCs still have to adapt their global products and processes to local needs, in the long run, cultural values and ways of life will converge due to the free flow of money, goods, technologies and information. This coming end-state, often metaphorically referred to as a *global village* (McLuhan)²¹⁷, seems to be welcomed by few authors but feared by many as flattening out cultural differences or even leading to the complete loss of diversity²¹⁸. Bourdieu (1998: 2), for instance, sees an "economic fatalism" that sets "profit as the sole criterion for evaluating education, culture, art and literature"

the same time, though, he positions technological innovation at the root of historical change, the emergence of a "new economy" with a new class system and patterns of occupation and overstates the importance of the post-industrial service sector at the expense of other, still very much existing sectors of the economy.

²¹⁷ McLuhan, Marshall (1964): *Understanding Media. The Extensions of Man*. New York: MacGraw-Hill.

²¹⁸ The fear that the rich diversity of cultures becomes homogenised and eventually vanishes is particularly pronounced by Phillipson (Phillipson, R. (1992): *Linguistic Imperialism*. Oxford: Oxford University, see also Phillipson, R. and Skutnab-Kangas, T. (1996): English only Worldwide or Language Ecology? *Teaching English as a Second Language (TESOL) Quarterly* 30, 429-452) who draw attention to the statistical fact that, while international commerce prospers, linguistic (and hence cultural) diversity decreases at an alarming rate. By drawing on socio-biological metaphors of survival and extinction, they regard the global spread of English as a lingua franca as a form of cultural domination and imperialism.

harbouring the danger of condemning us “to a flat philistine civilization of fast food, airport novels and TV soaps”. The extension of and integration into a uniform consumer capitalism through the spread of mostly U.S.-American massified goods (Barbie) and services such as fast food (McDonald, Coca Cola) and supermarket chains (Wal Mart), media and entertainment (Hollywood movies, TV soaps and series), fashions (jeans), ways of life (U.S.-American individualist and consumerist lifestyle) and icons (Madonna) is often referred to as the *McDonaldization* of society (Ritzer 1983)²¹⁹ or the coming of *MacWorld*²²⁰. Consumers of globalized products are, according to Barber (1995: 23)

... not citizens of a particular nation or members of a parochial clan: they belong to the universal tribe of consumers defined by needs and wants that are ubiquitous, if not by nature then by the cunning of advertising. A consumer is a consumer is a consumer.

Barber (1995: 232) speaks in this context of a “new commercial imperialism”, a rampant or savage capitalism that destroys social relations and the creative features of culture and obstructs democracy. He (ibid: 232) refers to the resistance and sometimes violent rejection of Western commercial homogenization in form of ethnonationalism and fundamentalism as *Jihad*²²¹

Jihad as the struggle of local people to sustain solidarity and tradition against the nation-state’s legalistic and pluralistic abstractions as well as against the new commercial imperialism of McWorld. (ibid: 232)

The re-emergence and reaffirmation of traditional values, (ethnic, national or religious) identities and affiliations and group boundaries²²² as a response to the

²¹⁹ Ritzer, George (1983): The McDonaldization of Society. *Journal of American Culture* 6, 100-107.

²²⁰ *McWorld* is according to Barber consumer capitalism as developed from American pop culture in the 50s and 60s.

²²¹ Barber understands *Jihad* neither as being confined to Islamic religion nor as antidemocratic or violent: “While *Jihad* is a term associated with the moral (and sometimes armed) struggle of believers against faithlessness and the faithless, I have used it here to speak of a generic form of fundamentalist opposition to modernity that can be found in most world religions.” (Barber 1995: 204).

²²² Communitarians, for instance, fear the loss of orientation, solidarity and values through an overload of available information, different lifestyles and endangering practices and react by reaffirming close community networks on the local and regional level.

perceived external economic pressure, economic and political marginalization and threat of penetrating cultural goods and practices might not be limited to benign consequences (Nida-Rümelin 2002: 3, see also Castells 2000: 67 and Held and McGrew 2002: 1). It can entail greater hostility to external influences, reactionary politics and deep-seated xenophobia and, in the worst case, to violent backlashes and fundamentalism which then again feed into and further social tension, conflict and violence²²³.

4.1.3. SCEPTICS

Sceptics doubt that a qualitative change in the international economic and political order, as the term *globalization* seems to imply, has or is taking place. Hirst and Thompson (1996), for example, oppose paradigmatically the view of a borderless world many hyperglobalists promote and the claim that the internationalization of the economy has reached a decisively different quality, depth and scale during the last decades. By drawing on an avalanche of empirical longitudinal data they argue to the contrary, that international trade is not more intense than at the beginning of the 20th century²²⁴:

... current changes while significant and distinctive, are not unprecedented and do not necessarily involve a move towards a new type of economic system (Hirst and Thompson 1996: 5)

²²³ See Castells (2000: 67): “The rise of fundamentalism, the spread of new epidemics, the expansion of the global criminal economy – with its corrosive effects on governments and societies around the world – the threat of biological/ nuclear terrorism [...], the irreversible destruction of the environment (that is, of our natural capital, the most important legacy for our grandchildren), and the destruction of our own sense of humanity, all are potential consequences (many already under way) of this dynamic, yet exclusionary model of global capitalism.”

²²⁴ The authors refer in particular to the phase of growing international interdependence between 1890 and 1914, a time that was “genuinely international, tied by efficient long-distance communications and industrialized means of transport” (Hirst and Thompson 1996: 9).

They argue, for instance, that one of the acclaimed genuinely global players, transnational companies, “appear to be relatively rare” (1996: 2, for a similar argument see also Hoogvelt 1997: 115) since these corporations always operate locally and are hence influenced by national policies despite their international distribution and networks. Hirst and Thompson do not only refute the adequacy of the term *global* for TNCs and structures and processes of current international commerce, they also argue that worldwide financing and migration have been well-known phenomena for some time, in fact, that the latter, has been significantly reduced and limited in comparison to the period before World War I. To them, this terminology thus obscures more than it enlightens: the claim of a global economy is at best an exaggeration, at worst a justification for the reordering of socio-economic and political structures and processes serving the interests of the most powerful capitalist countries.

For skeptics then, current changes as reflected in a growing interrelatedness and cross-border economic and social exchanges can be more aptly described as a different degree of *internationalization*, *regionalization* or *triadization*, i.e. the clustering of the three strongest national economies, the U.S., the EU and Japan brought about by active legal arrangements of the respective nation states rather than by some supernatural force inherent of ‘globalization’. This point is in fact well established statistically: most foreign direct investment is concentrated in this triad, after having been shifted away from developing countries, marginalizing them in terms of investment, trade and influence in international policies and regulations. The situation is hence poles apart from a “global integration” (Hirst and Thompson 1996: 2) as the word ‘globalization’ suggests.

In sum, skeptics generally acknowledge that some changes might be underway but refute any attempt at monocausal explanation. By seeing trajectories of social change as contingent, they open up space for contestation and resistance:

... if globalization is a contested and political phenomenon, then it cannot have a predetermined outcome. A political agenda of inevitability overlooks the fact that globalization was made by humans, and, if so, can be unmade or remade by humankind. (Mittelman 2001: 7)

Skeptics in the cultural domain might hold that there are either no current changes which could be attributed to something like globalization (and there is hence no effect on culture) or that shifts in the economic, political and social spheres do not entail changes in the cultural domain. The latter could be attributed to the neoclassical, ‘culture-free’ perspective.

Other voices might adopt a position similar to Hirst and Thompson’s position for the economic-political realm (nation states are changing but they are still central political actors, the internationalization of the economy is not unprecedented, many inhabitants in the world have been excluded from economic participation). To them the claim of a ‘cultural globalization’ might not so much refer to real changes in practices and values but be used as a rhetorical device for specific political purposes, such as for instance, communitarian goals. Discursive struggles about the term and the motivational force behind them are in this context decisive.

4.1.4. TRANSFORMATIONISTS/ MODERATES

Transformationists like many *skeptics* allow for the contingency of current socio-economic processes and argue that although there are profound changes underway the outcomes are still highly contested and uncertain (Fairclough and Thomas 2004,

Jessop 1999a, b). The in fact contradictory nature of current processes offers an array of alternative routes for organizing and regulating global economic and political issues and action. The idea that globalization is an agentless, self-realizing process endowed with metaphysical force is thereby refuted and the political agency of political actors, particularly in the context of international negotiation, agreement and legislation that bring about free-trade-regulations (!) such as deregulation or privatization:

Die Liberalisierung des Handels ergibt sich keineswegs aus dem spontanen Wirken des Marktes (der unsichtbaren Hand), sondern aus politischen Entscheidungen, die von den internationalen Institutionen eingeleitet und von den Regierungen und den Privatwirtschaftsgruppen unterstützt werden, die daraus den größten Vorteil ziehen. (Le Monde Diplomatique 2003: 25, see also Bassiry and Jones 1993: 625 and Elsner 2000)

[The liberalisation of trade does not at all emerge out of the spontaneous workings of the market (the invisible hand), but is brought about by political decisions of international institutions, strengthened by governments and supported by lobbies representing private businesses to whose advantage these regulations work.]

Authors in this category differ, however as to *how* these changes can be accounted for. Harvey (1996), for instance, speaks of a *time space* compression in global capitalism by which he means not only the speeding up of production and its flexibilisation due to lower transportation costs and information and communication technology but also a reworking and rescaling of geographies, i.e. the intensified interaction and interrelatedness between global cities and the further marginalization of rural areas and whole regions.

In terms of culture, this perspective strongly opposes views of globalisation as the imposition of cultural goods, values and practices through a global cultural industry. Some authors like Tomlinson (1991) argue that the hyperglobalist and deterministic views of the McDonaldization of the social world assume that cultures are static and homogeneous entities. Cultural practices, however, cannot be reduced to the

consumption of homogeneous goods and services. In emphasizing the meaning making capacity of culture, Thomlinson takes a middle ground in claiming that the global is always to be locally appropriated, transformed or even resisted. Global practices or values interact in complex and contingent ways with different traditions, structures, practices, values and identities at the local level which take them up, respond to, and interpret them in specific, often heterogeneous and conflicting ways. This mixture would warrant the term ‘glocalization’ instead of ‘globalization’. Giddens (1991)²²⁵ argues along similar lines and emphasises the positive aspects of global-local rearticulations. He previews and welcomes a shift towards a post-traditional, reflexive, cosmopolitan identity and culture considering that cultural boundaries and identities have often historically been a source of discrimination, of suffering and violence. A factor contributing to this new socio-cultural phase of ‘reflexive modernity’ is, according to Giddens, the increased reliance of contemporary capitalist societies on knowledge production and expert systems in their economic and social functioning.

While I have so far briefly reviewed some of the main arguments in the academic debate about globalization, the next section will be dedicated entirely to a specific hyperglobalist discourse of globalization, namely the neoliberal view due to the hegemonic status it has already reached in many different societies. Following from this, I will outline my own position following transformationist lines towards globalization as a partly real socio-material process *and* a rhetorical device employed to bring real changes about.

²²⁵ See also Beck, U.; Giddens, A. and Lash, S. (1994).

4.2. THE NEOLIBERAL DISCOURSE

Although, as Morgan (quoted in Burke 2003: 02) argues, there is no necessary relation between “the fetishization of pure economic modelling” as in mainstream economics and a “particular policy position“ such as neoliberalism, both positions overlap in practice through their celebration of uncontrolled market forces (the *invisible hand*) and non-interventionism. Both see a fundamental clash between economic efficiency, allegedly beneficial for the individual and social good, and state provided welfare. In addition to this, the political agenda or project of neoliberalism is not only a “set of economic dogmas” (Self 2000: xi) conceptually informed by neo-classical economics but also gains part of its discursive currency through the ‘scientific’ status and dominance of this school of thought at higher educational institutions (Bourdieu 2001: 30). It adds to neoclassical ideas an unqualified support for *hyper-globalisation* and is, like any other political discourse, both normative and prescriptive, advocating policies how to shape and re-structure societies and the international political and economic order.

4.2.1. THE RISE OF THE NEOLIBERAL DISCOURSE

The most important intellectual father of neoliberalism is the Austrian-British economist Friedrich August von Hayek (1899-1992) who argued in his highly influential monograph *Road to Serfdom* (1944) against any kind of ‘collectivism’ or state intervention into the economy which he regarded as unnecessary, undesirable and obstructive to social and individual well-being. Analytically, he prioritised microeconomic theory and denied the validity of macro-economic rationalising. He

viewed the economy as a separate sphere governed by natural and universal laws (the *invisible hand*) that generates spontaneous optimality and provides the best mechanism for the allocation of resources. The market is supposed not only to provide the best, most efficient and just way of organizing production and exchange but can allegedly also guarantee the most just political and social system²²⁶:

The puzzle comes in because this theory was and is treated as being also a prescription for a socially and ethically desirable society. (Self 2000: 12)

Thus, the invisible hand theorem is applied virtually to all areas which so far have been outside the economic sphere such as, for instance, education, health, environmental protection, public transport, pension provision etc.²²⁷. It is argued that these areas should equally be *deregulated* (reducing the role and influence of the state and national law), *privatized* (the selling off of the public sector), *liberalized* (free in- and outward flows of capital, goods and services) and significantly *lower taxed*²²⁸.

‘Rigidities’, such as for instance unions and other social institutions that are ‘unproductive’ for the creation of wealth, should simply be abandoned. Neoliberalists, in sum, aim for a reorganisation and rescaling of the economy, society, culture and politics on a national and international level.

The work of Hayek was not very influential during the post-war years of the Keynesian welfare state²²⁹. Its resurgence is attributed to the work of Milton Friedman

²²⁶ It follows from this that the social good is quantifiable and material, profit is a test of economic and social welfare (Self 2000: xi). Unquantifiable or relatively unquantifiable goods such as health, education, socio-economic equality, non-discrimination and an intact environment are not accounted for.

²²⁷ Again here, Adam Smith would be one of the fiercest critics of this kind of economic thinking. Smith recognized the inevitability of market failures in the provision of public goods and the consequential need for government intervention to ensure that services like for example fire protection would nonetheless be available to the public (Bassiry and Jones 1993: 624).

²²⁸ From this perspective “social, health and welfare services, education and the like – were a threat to the accumulation function because they required penal rates of tax on private profit” (Rose 1999: 140).

²²⁹ The Keynesian Welfare National State was based on the economic theory of John Maynard Keynes (1883-1946) who, after the events of the stock exchange in New (1929) and the 2nd World War, emphasized the central role of state interventions in the economy in order to guarantee full employment (feeding back into the economy through buying power), a low inflation rate and social stability through compromises between organized employers and employees.

in the political climate and context of the 1980s. The thoughts of both economists mark the beginning of the so-called *Chicago School* which aims for an elaboration and distribution²³⁰ of neoliberal thinking on the basis of classical liberal thought as evidenced, allegedly, by Adam Smith, David Ricardo, John Stuart Mill and Herbert Spencer. According to George (2003: 2, see also Peck and Young 2003: 9 and Lakoff 2002), the success of neoliberalism is due to their appreciation of the importance for promotional and ideological work, namely

... that ideas have consequences. Starting from a tiny embryo at the University of Chicago with the philosopher economist Friedrich von Hayek and his students like Milton Friedman at its nucleus, the neo-liberals and their funders have created a huge international network of foundations, institutes, research centers, publications, scholars, writers and public relations hacks to develop, package and push their ideas and doctrine relentlessly.

Under the governments of conservative politicians like Margaret Thatcher and Ronald Reagan Hayek's ideas began to be turned into real world politics through the *roll back* of the state, i.e. the privatisation of state-owned industries, the cut back in welfare provision including health provision and social security and the *roll out* of the market in form of deregulation, trade liberalisation, lowering of taxes and the reworking of industrial relations, in particular the dismantling of unionist power. Contrary to its own rhetoric, however, the neoliberal project does not dismiss the state as such. In fact the idea of the state as receding when 'the market' expands and vice versa is misleading²³¹. As Block (1994: 705) explains succinctly:

Advocates of specific international regimes have claimed that the regimes advance 'free trade' or 'free capital mobility,' and they have evoked mainstream economics to argue that such a regime will benefit everyone. This advocacy sets up the kind of debate that is characteristic of the old paradigm –

²³⁰ Further agents contributing to the distribution of neoliberal ideas are influential economic journals like *The Economist*, *Forbes* and the *Harvard Business Review* and institutions like the *Adam Smith Institute* (founded by Margaret Thatcher). Plehwe (2003: 35) also mentions neoliberal think tanks like the Mont Pelerin Society and the Atlas-Foundation.

²³¹ The misconception about the state-economy relation lead to disastrous consequences in the transformation process in the former ex-soviet countries. It was assumed that through the reduction of state control and management competitive markets would simply 'pop up' which, of course, they did not.

are the claims accurate, or would it be more beneficial for particular societies to allow a greater state role in managing international transactions? But this debate misses the main problem – that the concepts of free trade or free capital mobility have no determinate meaning. The argument for a particular free trade regime is an argument that certain background rules and practices be universally accepted. For example, an international trading regime that imposed no environmental or human rights standards and one that imposed quite stringent environmental and human rights standards could both be plausibly be defended as free trade regimes. The case is even clearer for free mobility of capital. Since the viability of national credit and money requires a national regulatory structure, there can be no such thing as totally free international capital mobility.

Despite neoliberalists' advocacy of non-interventionism, a socio-economic order along neoliberal needs a rather strong nation state able to provide and secure, including at times in military terms, a stable environment in which economic actors can pursue their businesses and enjoy private property, a point, even proponents like Friedman (1999)²³² concede

Indeed, McDonald's cannot flourish without McDonnell Douglas, the designer of the U.S. Air Force F-15. And the hidden fist that keeps the world safe for Silicon Valley's technologies to flourish is called the U.S. Army, Air Force, Navy, and Marine Corps. And these fighting forces and institutions are paid for by American taxpayer dollars.

The neoliberal 'free market' is hence in need of *specific* trade policies, financial regulations and penal and punitive law-enforcement²³³:

Neoliberalisation is defined here, in process-based terms, as the *mobilisation of state power in the contradictory extension and reproduction of market(-like) rule*. This is a far more complex and multifaceted process than the notion of 'deregulation' implies, for it has involved the development of new forms of statecraft. (Peck and Young 2003: 5)

What the neoliberal discourse achieves through the false dichotomy of 'the state' versus 'the market' and the advancement of the 'free market force' is a

²³² Friedman, Thomas (1999): *The Lexus and the Olive Tree: Understanding Globalization*. New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux.

²³³ See also Singh (1998: 144) who stresses the important disciplinary function of the state in relation to increased class divisions and conflicts: "The transnational elite still requires the state to perform those functions which provide stability to it. This includes providing macro-economic stability and, more importantly, ensuring social and political stability. As social and political conflict and unrest are likely to emerge with increasing globalisation, states will take on repressive measures to deal with them."

marginalization of a political debate about *what kind of* state and market regulations, legal frameworks and rules should be given precedence:

The real question in structuring an international regime is where one draws the line between what forms of regulation are legitimate and what forms are illegitimate. And despite the current fashion for deregulation, the intellectual arguments for tighter international control of financial transactions are very powerful. (Block 1994: 705)

Through international policies as instantiated by supranational organizations, the financial markets and economically strong countries (as will be outlined in the subsequent chapter), the neoliberal project has to a large extent become reality in most parts of the world. Many nation states have actively deregulated their markets, privatised formerly state-owned companies and opened their markets to foreign investment. The fact that even social democratic parties such Labour under Tony Blair in Britain and the Social Democratic Party (SPD) under Chancellor Gerhard Schröder in Germany have adopted to a greater or lesser extent neoliberal rhetoric and policies, exemplifies the hegemonic status²³⁴ this discourse has reached. It has become a

... background theory or set of presuppositions and sentiments of a supposedly neutral and universal kind which dominates political thinking across the spectrum. (Eatwell and Wright 1999: 23)

The dissemination of neoliberal discourse “across for instance international agencies, national governments and political parties, specific sectors such as education and local governments” (Fairclough 2000a: 1) plays an active and powerful role in seeking acceptance for neoliberal policies. Neoliberalism, then, is both: a political project that attempts to reorganise, restructure and rescale socio-economic life and practices on the basis of new forms of economic and political government and coordination *and* a specific discourse or representation of the world attempting to legitimate this new socio-economic order and to gain alliances. A description of this discourse, however,

²³⁴ According to Jessop (2000b) neoliberalism has achieved this hegemonic status at least in the Anglophone world, continental Europe, East Asia and Latin American.

has to be careful due to the fact that no specific linguistic item correlates easily with any ideological or other function:

This lack of one-to-one relation between formal features of texts, interpretations, and social effects implies that generalisations about semiosis tend to be difficult. (Fairclough, Jessop and Sayer 2001: 13)

In addition to this, neoliberalism has to be subtly modified, rearticulated and appropriated in specific national or regional discourses in order to become intelligible for people in their particular context. At times, it provokes resistance and rejection and therefore has to be politically negotiated and locally mediated.

4.2.2. CHARACTERISTICS OF NEOLIBERAL DISCOURSE

4.2.2.1. GLOBALISM AND SOCIAL DARWINISM

From the neoliberal perspective, globalisation allegedly forces nation states, economies, regions, companies and individuals across all sectors into fierce competition represented in a Darwinian, socio-biological way (de Rivera 2001: 103, Bassiry and Jones 1993: 625):

In the law and economics literature, there is often an explicit evolutionary assumption that whatever survives represents fitness in some sense and that there is therefore over time an ‘evolution towards efficiency’. (Inglehart 2000: 110)

The ‘global market’ is predominantly portrayed as a natural environment where national economies, companies and people (the ‘species’) are subjected to an evolutionary mechanism, a selection along the lines of efficiency and material gains. Those best adapted or open to constant change (‘mutation’) will stand greater chances

to ‘survive’²³⁵. The ‘global jungle’ is inhabited by atomised economic actors of different scales in extreme competition for scarce resources²³⁶. As Brune, Böhler and Steden (1995: 35) argue economical power is viewed as analogous to physical power²³⁷. The ‘Kampf aller gegen alle’ [a fight of all against all] allows only the ‘fittest’ (in economic terms) to survive. Nation states’ protectionist economic policies shall hence be abolished in order to expose economic actors to international competition that will either make them ‘efficient’ (‘healthy’) or let them ‘perish’:

... en nombre del postulado darwiniano de que la exposición a la competencia hará a las empresas más eficientes” (Bourdieu 2001 : 115)

[... in the name of the Darwinian postulate companies will be made efficient through their exposure to competition].

The way of framing neoliberal policies in Darwinian sociobiological terms makes it appear not only to be objective and scientific, it also renders the alleged process to be ethically neutral. Pursuing one’s own profit becomes not only the most natural but also the fairest way to act. In fact, it is regarded as fair because it is viewed as natural in the first instance. It is here where rational choice and evolutionism (qua globalism) become wedded: Rational choice theory answers to the question as to how one can explain human action, namely through reference “to some end or goal to which it was directed and some belief or beliefs about the relation of the action to the attainment of

²³⁵ This argumentation is, in fact, tautological: If fitness is defined as survival than whatever survives has to be the fittest. It might however be that a particular species or individual was simply lucky. In order to avoid this conceptual slippage fitness would have to be defined by criteria independent of survival. I owe this clarification to Prof. Andrew Sayer.

²³⁶ Economic insecurity gains a positive, motivating force in this perspective (Rose 1999: 156). See for instance, the neoclassicist Dornbusch (2000) who differentiates between ‘inequity’ and ‘poverty’. Whereas, according to the author poverty is bad and undesirable, inequity is essentially good, being a powerful motor for development by giving incentives for ‘human resources’ to act and develop their capacity. Welfare in this perspective is seen as creating dependency and hence limiting freedom. To the contrast, inequality and competition enhance evolution or development. With this argument, Dornbusch declares that the admitted gap between the 65% of global wealth that is concentrated in the hands of the 15% of the rich and the 10% that is left to the economically lower population is only fair and natural.

²³⁷ See also Bourdieu (1998: 1): “It erects into defining standards for all practices, and thus, into ideal rules, the regularities of the economic world abandoned to its own logic: the law of the market, the law of the strongest. It ratifies and glorifies the rule of what we call the financial markets, a return to a sort of radical capitalism answering to no law except that of maximum profit”.

the end.” (Dupré 2001: 117-118). The agent will “choose that action that contributes most to the realization of his or her goals.” (ibid: 118). The cause or constituency of the end or goal, however, is taken to be given:

One might think that, as two imperialistic programmes within the same domain, rational choice theory and evolutionary psychology would be natural enemies. But actually the reverse has turned out to be the case. Economists, as noted above the main exponents of rational choice theory, have been notoriously reluctant to say anything about how people acquire the goals that they try maximally to attain when making choices. Evolutionary psychologists, while replete with suggestions as to the criteria that people use in assessing outcomes, are generally cautious enough to avoid suggesting psychological mechanisms that generate behaviour in an automaton-like way. Thus these two programmes are potentially highly complementary: evolutionary psychology says what people want and rational choice theory says what they will do in their attempts to get as much as possible of what they want. (Dupré 2001: 119)

The global jungle rhetoric veils the damaging economic, environmental and social effects of rampant financial speculation²³⁸, increasing inequality and technological rationalization as not only natural and unavoidable but also as desirable, as *the* path to modernisation. Based on a metaphorical pseudo-specialisation - ‘us’ (those fit for survival) and ‘them’ (those not adaptive enough) – this discourse establishes a hierarchy of superior winners and deficient losers and hence allows a form of morality that celebrates selfishness and refutes social considerations as ‘bad’ (Lakoff 2002: 179):

La lucha y competencia en los mercados es natural, es la ley de la vida, gana el individuo o la empresa más apta. Los más débiles quiebran o quedan desempleados. De esta manera se establece, sin escrúpulos, la equivalencia de la selección natural darviniana que, como toda ley natural, es éticamente neutra, con actividades económicas humanas que no pueden ser éticamente neutras. (de Rivera 1998: 102)

²³⁸ The financial world is represented as an unfailable judge of economic actors. According to the official rhetoric, countries which do not apply the Washington Consensus have to be punished and disciplined. As Stiglitz (2002a: 2) points out, this attitude has a strong flavor of an old colonial mentality or paternalism subjugating those penalized to the power and interests of capital: “... nosotros los del establishment, nosotros los del Norte, que manejamos nuestros mercados de capital, sabemos más que ustedes: hagan lo que decimos y prosperarán.” [... we the establishment, we from the north who control our capital markets know better than you: do what we tell you and you will prosper.] Why, asks Stiglitz (ibid), should an external source be punishing instead of offering help and advice? Why should the ‘regulating’ and ‘controlling’ force be something as volatile and unpredictable like financial markets which are sometimes irrationally excited, at other times overly pessimistic.

[The fight and competition in the markets is natural, it is the law of life and the most adapted individual will win. The weakest will go bankrupt or become unemployed. Thereby, the equivalence between natural Darwinian selection, as the natural law, and human economic endeavours is established, without any scruple, to be natural and ethically neutral.]

It renders the extinction of whole species, in this case of humans who do not have the cultural, economic or intellectual resources to compete²³⁹ (under unjust conditions!), acceptable and therefore not only ideological but cynical:

... the fittest culture will survive and drive others to extinction. And fitness is good, so this process of reduction of diversity, the elimination of the less fit, is itself a good thing. This argument, even when slightly refined, is unconvincing and perhaps morally repugnant. Fitness, meaning the ability to drive rivals to extinction, is not good. (Dupré 2001: 112)

This evolutionism subsumes a variety of national histories to the alleged universal laws of ‘the’ market. Values come into the picture through the emphasis on ‘natural competition’ as the fairest ‘judge’ of economic performance punishing or rewarding economic actors. Being based on neoclassical theory of distribution, neoliberalism assumes that “... each productive input, for example, labour, land and capital receives a reward that is equal to its marginal productivity: wages, rent and profits respectively” (Bair 2003: 9). In other words, “workers, landlords, shareholder and company owners allegedly deserve exactly what they get, a reward perfectly commensurate with his or her contribution to production”. Following this line of argumentation, the poor rightly so deserve their social standing²⁴⁰ (de Rivera 1998: 187) as if every property has historically been acquired in a fair way, an assumption particularly far from reality in ‘developing’ countries which happen to be mostly ex-colonies. This position is completely oblivious to the fact that economic actors, such

²³⁹ The logic of liberalization is, according to Stieglitz (2002b: 3) that resources move from less efficient sectors to more efficient ones. The problem is that less effective production is not turned into more effective one but eliminated before new ones are created.

²⁴⁰ In this perspective, poverty becomes self-inflicted, morally wrong and, in fact, very close to crime. Consequently poor individuals have to be subjected to punitive and penal law-enforcement by the state courts, police and prisons.

as for instance industrialised and underdeveloped countries, start from very different economic, societal, scientific or technological points of departure, differences that worsen and aggravate in time. In practical life, effort and share are far from being directly linked.

The reference to Darwinism has intellectual predecessors. Neoliberalism draws, like neoclassicism, on the work of Adam Smith, David Ricardo (1772-1823) and Herbert Spencer (1820-1903). It was the latter, however, who justified

... the dominance of Western laissez-fair capitalism over the rest of the world by drawing on Charles Darwin's theory of evolution by natural selection. For Spencer, free-market economies constitute the most civilized form of human competition in which the 'fittest' would naturally rise to the top. [...] Any interference with the workings of private enterprise would inevitably lead to cultural and social stagnation, political corruption, and the creation of large, inefficient state bureaucracies. (Steger 2001: 10)

Globalism's claims and political manoeuvres remain hence

... conceptually tied to a Spencerian nineteenth-century narrative of "modernization" and "civilization" that presents Western countries – particularly the United States and the United Kingdom – as the privileged vanguard of an evolutionary process that applies to all nations. (Steger 2001: 13)

The dominance of the U.S. as an embodiment (and in fact origin of this economic perspective, its values and beliefs) of this 'common sense'-model and apparently a success story, feeds back, according to Bourdieu (2001: 30) into neoliberalism's current hegemonic status and in addition to this, gives the USA a competitive advantage in terms of practical and symbolical power, in an economico-political environment modelled on its own structures, processes and practices.

4.2.2.2. GLOBALISM AND SCIENTISM

After having supplanted and 'elbowed out' other perspectives, globalization [in the sense of globalism] as other vague words seem to refer now to "the 'facts of the matter', the quality of 'the world out there' which the term seems to 'get

straight' and which invokes to claim its own immunity to questioning”
(Bauman 1999: 1)

From what has been outlined so far, it has become clear that even though globalism is represented as scientifically based, beneficial and value-free, there are clearly values underwriting the neoliberal project such as the positive connotations of

... efficiency, competitiveness, profitability, and individualism – that form a normative paradigm based on instrumental rationality, and may be seen as part of a larger attempt to assert universal truths. (Mittelman 2001: 8)

The frame of values defines or allows what can be legitimately talked about and what is omitted in a discourse. In this case, only 'hard' business, measured in terms of quantifiable gains, is valid. Normative, political and ethical aspects such as, for instance, about social justice are blamed to be idealistic, peripheral or irrelevant. Non-economic (gain oriented) problems are “fast systematisch ausgeblendet” [excised almost systematically] (Richter 1997: 120). Ethical questions are supposedly already dealt with through the market principle:

Die grundsätzliche Vorzüglichkeit der marktwirtschaftlichen Ordnung wird im Hinblick auf die Effizienz der Ressourcenallokation dergestalt überhöht, dass der Marktmechanismus selbst als letzte Gewährinstanz des ethischen Gehaltes fungiert. Jede Störung dieses Mechanismus, z.B. durch eine Unternehmensethik, welche über die reine Betonung des Gewinnprinzips hinausginge, ließe die metaphysische Kraft der 'invisible hand' erlahmen und führe zu suboptimalen Allokationsergebnissen. (Richter 1997: 124)

[The basic preferability of the market order in terms of efficient allocation of resources is completely exaggerated and leads to the conclusion that the market mechanism itself is the ultimate instance insuring ethical behaviours and outcomes. Every disruption of this mechanism, for instance through business ethics which goes beyond the simple emphasis on gains, would paralyze the metaphysical power of the 'invisible hand' and lead to suboptimal allocation results.]

By naturalizing the interests behind and the inexorable economic logic of the allegedly global market forces, politicians, academics and others writing and speaking from a neoliberal position normally do not present their claims in a reflective or dialogic way in the context of other perspectives. Ontological statements seem to be pronounced

rather categorically and epistemological questions are evaded. Again here, the mathematization and formalization of neoclassical economics contributes to an appearance of scientific neutrality and objectivity for neoliberalism. Again, this exclusionary language perpetuates itself as universal and ‘rational’ often in relation to the superiority of Western culture:

The most conspicuous contemporary variant [of rational choice theory] emphasizes the superiority of science to the systems of belief in all non-Western cultures, and might reasonably be referred to as ‘Imperialist Scientism’. (Dupré 2001: 112)

Science in the form of ‘scientism’ as modelled on the natural sciences, is true in contrast to the beliefs of primitive peoples, mysticism, myths, astrology and religion²⁴¹:

The signal and unique contribution of Western civilization is to have hit upon a way of finding out the truth about the natural world, and thus to transcend earlier teleological and false views of the world. This makes Western civilization fundamentally superior to its predecessors and rivals, and makes it desirable that its views and practices should supplant these others. (Dupré 2001: 113)

I agree with Dupré’s (ibid) cautious and critical view when he argues:

... what sometimes passes for science is not at all a good thing, and for the kinds of questions that these questionable sciences attempt to address it seem to me entirely possible that approaches not currently thought of as scientific may prove to be far more successful.

While I have so far analyzed neoliberalism as a discourse, the following section is dedicated to the actual socio-economic policies neoliberals promote which can be summarized under the headings *liberalization*, *deregulation*²⁴² and *privatization*. By describing the policies adopted and disseminated by the three main (interrelated) driving forces of the new accumulation regime - the supranational institutions IMF, World Bank and WTO, the international financial markets and corporate strategic

²⁴¹ As outlined in chapter 2.1.2., I generally agree that there is a difference between science and non-science. What I reject here are the simplistic assumptions of ‘scientism’.

²⁴² The two terms are partially misleading as will be outlined in the following section.

alliances²⁴³ - I will argue that the (alleged) ‘free market’ policy has proven to be largely a disastrous policy for developing and developed countries alike in terms of environmental protection, social equity and equality, democracy, human rights and to a certain degree, the economic sector as well.

4.3. NEOLIBERAL POLICY

4.3.1. THE ROLE OF THE SUPRANATIONAL INSTITUTIONS

Since the late 1980s, neoliberalism has become the *lex non scripta* (McLaren 1999: 2) in international economic policy being advocated and implemented by supranational institutions like the International Monetary Fund (IMF), the World Bank and the World Trade Organization (WTO). Originally, the first two of these organizations were founded after the 2nd World War with the political mandate to contribute to development, reconciliation and reconstruction. Through intervention in national politics, economies (and by implication societies) were to be stabilized and social catastrophes like the Crash of the New Yorker stock exchange (*Black Friday*) in 1929 and subsequent aftermaths of national and international conflict to be avoided (Müller 2002: 192). For two decades now these institutions have advanced a ‘free’ market system operating on a global scale. The set of neoliberal policies advanced by the IMF, the World Bank and the WTO, termed the *Washington Consensus* (Stiglitz 2002b: 1²⁴⁴), counts among its main goals the removal of national tariffs and barriers to facilitate capital flow and foreign investment, the free movement of goods and

²⁴³ As argued in ch. 3.4, I will subsume mergers, acquisitions, takeover, joint ventures and their final forms as multi- or transnationals under the heading of *strategic corporate alliances* even though these are, at times, not voluntary alliances but hostile takeovers.

²⁴⁴ As Bourdieu (2001: 29, see also Dupré 2001: 148) points out, those responsible for the IMF policies have been socialized in strict formalistic mainstream economics and its dogmatic perspective of the ‘free market’. The fact that neoclassical economists reject normativity on a theoretical level, but are more than willing to offer advice on policy issues is rather paradoxical.

services, the minimization of state intervention, ‘flexibilization’ of labor markets, fiscal discipline and the privatization of formerly publicly owned government enterprises and institutions such as in the spheres of health provision, housing, education, telephone, gas, water, airlines, roads, electricity, railways, airports and even jails (Hanly 1998: 52). The Washington Consensus is based on the neoliberal proposition that strict savings in government spending including cutbacks and even elimination of social welfare provision help to fight inflation and contribute to a healthy national economy.

The direct political and economic impact these institutions and their policy exert on most 3rd World or ‘developing’ countries which are highly dependent on international aid and investment flows cannot be overestimated. The fact that credits are only granted under the condition of implementing neoliberal adjustment policies and austerity measures as described above lead Castells (2000: 65, see also Stiglitz 2002) to argue that the IMF and the World Bank do not lend for growth but impose retrenchment on national economic policies. In fact, the strict demand for economic reforms along the lines of the Washington Consensus can increase unemployment and social, political and economic conflicts, in particular in countries which are already in crisis²⁴⁵. In addition to this, it transforms public services such health provision and education into expensive privatized ones accessible to ever fewer people. As Stiglitz

²⁴⁵ The case of Argentina is paradigmatic in this context. After having been regarded as a “model of neoliberalism and a showpiece of globalization” in the 1990s (Rock 2002: 17, see also Galbraith 2003: 17), the country slid into political and economic instability at the end of 2000 after having applied obediently the policies recommended by the World Bank and the IMF along the lines of the Washington Consensus. The privatization of former state-run companies severely reduced state income and financial resources, the imposed austerity regime caused diminishing buying power, the liberalisation of trade did attract multinational companies but drove out middle and small scale producers and caused no economic ‘trickle down’ effect as had been expected. Furthermore, the *dollarization* of the Argentinean Peso (the monetary policy of fixing the value of the national currency to the U.S. dollar and its movements) lead to an over-evaluation which in turn severely reduced export capacity, drove up the trade deficit and put the country “at the mercy of highly volatile, speculative capital flows” (Weisbrot and Baker 2002: 4). The situation further aggravated and finally escalated when the IMF in the midst of the crisis suspended loans to the government accusing it of not having met its conditions on cuts in public spending. The crisis left an impoverished middle and lower class behind with 52% of the population having fallen below the poverty line (Rock 2002: 55).

(2002a, 2002b) has repeatedly argued, social considerations such as the improvement of living conditions are not taken into account due to the problematic neoclassical/neoliberal assumption that a 'free' liberalized and deregulated market takes care of itself *and* the general social good²⁴⁶. National trading regulations, for instance, that could help developing countries by protecting vulnerable sections of the economy from being prematurely exposed to far stronger, foreign competition are declared as illegitimate in the context of the liberalization of trade (Emcke and Schumann 2001: 32-33). This policy seems particularly paradoxical given the fact that all major post World War II industrial nations (the U.S.A., West Germany, Great Britain, France, Japan etc.) who currently promulgate free trade, have historically developed and achieved the advantageous and privileged economic position they are in today through a mix of state and market policies including, for instance, strong protectionism through tariffs, the subsidence of agriculture, industrial production, research and development through state funding etc. (Chang 2003: 12, see also de Rivera 1998: 117). In addition to this and in the context of the more recent past, the Keynesian National Welfare State (KNWS) in most Western industrialized countries did not only offer relative social and economic security for its citizens through an institutionally embedded and regulated compromise between unions and employers but also favorable and stable conditions for investments and businesses through a powerful consumer market and political stability. An imposed universal, free-market policy indifferent to historical circumstances and development impedes a similar development for developing countries (Stiglitz 2001b: 1). Steger (2001: 52) draws

²⁴⁶ The neoliberal policies of these institutions have caused a lot of criticism from famous economists like the Nobel Price winners Paul Stiglitz and Paul Ormerod, politicians (Oskar Lafontaine), investors (George Soros) and a large, heterogeneous coalition (the *Antiglobalisation Movement*) of unions, NGOs, religious groups, the Mexican Zapatistas, environmentalists and others.

attention to the incoherence between actual policy and the pronounced goals speaking of a “clear ideological distortion”:

... such efforts to stitch together a neoliberal economic straitjacket – one size fits all countries – are hardly compatible with a process of globalization that is alleged to contribute to the spread of freedom, choice, and openness in the world.

Free trade and free trade zones are, according to Chang (2003: 12) only advantageous if the countries which are integrated into a single market and hence competing, have reached a similar technological development. They become disadvantageous for poorer countries²⁴⁷ in heterogeneous zones because it either ties them down to manufacturing processes with low productivity or technology or to the export of raw materials subjected to decreasing and instable prices.

Viewed from a historical context, the free trade policy seems hence adverse to an even and prosperous development of national economies and life-standards contrary to the principles the supranational organizations were funded to promote. It becomes cynical when current protectionist and neo-mercantilist trade policies by strong industrialized countries and regions (Europe, the U.S. and Japan) are taken into account, in particular for products such as steel, agrarian and labor intensive goods where 3rd world countries might have a competitive advantage (Le Monde Diplomatique 2003: 24):

The World Bank estimates that trade barriers in developed economies cost poor nations more than \$100 billion [Dollars] per year, roughly twice what rich countries give in aid. [...] Producers in rich nations benefit from a combination of government subsidies, tariffs and quotas on imported goods. Japan, for instance, imposes a 490 percent tariff on foreign rice, while the average cow in

²⁴⁷ During its 10 years of existence, the NAFTA (North American Free Trade Area), for instance, has resulted to be catastrophic for rural Mexican farmers who are unable to compete with their North American industrialised competitors. While being exposed to the huge influx of goods (70% of the Mexican corn consumption, for example, is currently imported from the U.S.), rural Mexico impoverishes rapidly, a development that generates the large exodus of people who risk their lives in order to cross the high fenced border to the U.S. (Rappo 2004: 8).

Switzerland earns the annual equivalent of more than \$1.500 in subsidies. (Foreign Policy and the Center for Global Development 2003: 2)²⁴⁸

The protectionist and neo-mercantilist policies (or attempts of such) of practically all countries reveal that a deregulated and completely liberal world trading system is only rhetorically a desideratum (Dauderstädt 1995: 15). The decisive factor for the respective international trade policies and regulations adopted is the economic, political and military power and influence of nation states and interest groups and lobbies therein:

The regional and liberalization pacts that emerged in the past decade – the world Trade Organization, the North American Free Trade Agreement, the European Union, Latin America's Mercosur, and the recent negotiations of the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development surrounding the Multilateral Agreement on Investment – are shaping the new world order in accordance with the most ideal investment conditions for transnational corporations. It is no secret that the GATT-WTO is subservient to the will of the transnational monopolies, promotes unilateral adjustment from the weakest nations to the strongest, occludes the issue of sustainable development, and severs the connection between economic management and political and social management [...]. Anything hindering foreign investment – i.e., rules and regulations that protect workers and jobs, public welfare, environment, culture, and domestic businesses – is dutifully removed. (McLaren 1999: 32)

Due to the accreditation of votes in relation to invested capital and the under-representation of whole world regions²⁴⁹ in supranational institutions, the strongest proponents of the free-market ideology can favor their own interests (von Plateb 2003: 3). As McLaren argues (1999: 10), these organizations thereby constrain national autonomy and diminish the right of nations to curtail exploitation through capital by pre-empting national and local laws and standards in diverse spheres of life²⁵⁰.

Unsurprisingly, those countries which have not applied the neoliberal guidelines of the

²⁴⁸ Dieter (2003: 37) reports for instance that Brazil has to pay 30% tax for his 15 most important goods exported to the U.S. while the U.S. pays only 14% for their 15 most important goods exported to Brazil.

²⁴⁹ The imbalance is epitomized by the geographical location of these institutions in the U.S.

²⁵⁰ The *Multilateral Agreement on Investment* (MAI) has so far probably been the most concerning proposal in this regard. It was supposed to become a universal binding practice in order to guarantee non-discrimination between local and multinational companies and would have protected foreign investors from legal prosecution in nation states. This would have meant that national laws (for instance ecological regulations) running against a company's interest could have been overruled by a supranational court case. The proposal was abandoned in 1999 due to international protest.

Washington Consensus are regarded as the actual winners of economic ‘globalization’, namely the mixed economies of half-socialist India and China (Galbraith 2003: 17, Koopmann und Franzmeyer 2003: 16).

4.3.2. THE INTERNATIONAL FINANCIAL MARKETS

The most important feature of and prime example for a neoliberal globalization is for many authors (Müller 2002: 82, Castells 2000, Weber 1998: 458) the emergence of a deregulated, liberalized and interconnected global financial market based on new information and communication technologies²⁵¹, trading instantaneously 24hours and being largely freed from the control of national institutions due to their velocity and complexity:

Thus the power of hypermobile forms of finance capital depends on their unique capacity to compress their own decision-making time (e.g. through split-second computerized trading) whilst continuing to extend and consolidate their global reach. (Jessop 1999b: 3-4, see also von Plateb 2003: 4)

The decline and abolition of the Bretton Woods agreement (under which currencies were bound to the gold standard) in the 1970s lead to a fundamental shift in the practices of financial trading. It brought about the floating of exchange rates, an explosive growth in currency speculation, the emergence of tax oases, off-shore banking, increased tax evasion

... and finally the growth of markets in financial derivatives, which has produced the merry-go-round of monetary transmission, offshore borrowing and lending, and various hedging strategies, flavoured with a dollop of pure speculation, that we take for granted today. (Thrift 1999: 141)²⁵²

²⁵¹ Since the late 1980s, financial markets worldwide have become fully electronical, i.e. transactions are no longer made through direct interaction between sellers and buyers but are either facilitated or substituted (NASDAQ) by computer networks and specific software.

²⁵² According to the IMF (quoted in Emcke and Schumann 2001: 33) in the year 2000 approximately 5 billion Dollars were stored in remote areas like the British Caiman Islands, the Dutch Antilles or

In turn, contemporary capitalist states and their economic and social well-being have become increasingly dependent on financial markets, the “automaton” of economic globalization as Castells (2000: 53) terms it²⁵³. Through the flexibility of the new techno-financial system, investment can instantaneously be redistributed geographically. In its search for short term profit maximisation, capital, in particular the extremely volatile and risk prone derivative markets (Singh 1998: 31), impinge profoundly on national economies which are dependent on long term investment for their development. Contrary to the neoliberal discourse representing the international financial market as the disciplinary force, just punisher and infallible judge of the economic performance of nation states²⁵⁴, the surge in “hot money flows, especially in the context of developing countries” (ibid: 139) contributes to the emergence of crisis through the speculative ‘nervousness’, ‘hypersensitivity’ and ‘volatility’ of financial markets that “can bring sharp swings in exchange rates and current account balances”

Liechtenstein. Money laundering as well as capital flight and tax evasion lead to an “Archipel unterregulierter Finanzplätze, der in den folgenden Jahren von den Staaten geschaffen wurde, um ihren Banken durch Lizenzierung steuerbefreiter Filialen etwa auf den britischen Inseln, in der Karibik, in Luxemburg oder der Schweiz Vorteile im internationalen Finanzgeschäft zu sichern.” [archipelago of under-regulated financial places which had been brought about in subsequent years by states in order to guarantee their banks an advantage in the international financial business through licensing tax-free subsidiaries for instance in the British Isles, the Caribbean, Luxembourg or Switzerland.] (Müller 2002: 119) The same author continues (ibid: 120): “In diesen Territorien angesiedelte Scheinfirmen und Scheinbanken sind darüber hinaus beliebte Einrichtungen multinationaler Unternehmen, um ihre Bilanzen zu schönen.” [These pseudo companies and banks which are located in these territories are popular institutions for multinationals who want to embellish their balances.]

²⁵³ It has to be emphasized again that technology was a pre-condition for this development but political decisions and the implementation of new regulations and structures were decisive.

²⁵⁴ Neoliberal and neoclassical thinking hold that markets tend towards equilibrium, that is, a price is reached which serves buyers and sellers best. The financial market is often quoted as a prime example of this mechanism. According to Soros (2002: 16), however, financial markets do not at all tend towards equilibrium but towards turbulences. Things dealt with have per se an uncertain future which then changes according to the perceptions and the actual behavior of actors in the stock market. Furthermore, and contrary to another liberal assumption, there is no free access to or exchange of information and last but not least, no predominantly rational behavior guiding the price fixing mechanism “Movements in financial markets are induced by a mixture of market rules, business and political strategies, crowd psychology, rational expectations, irrational behaviour, speculative manoeuvres and information turbulences of all sorts” (Castells 2000: 57). A cynical misconception about financial markets was apparent in a project advanced by the U.S. Department of Defense. The Pentagon wanted to establish a “terrorism future markets” in order to assess the risk of possible attacks based on the argument that markets “are extremely efficient, effective and timely aggregators of dispersed and even hidden information . . . often better than expert opinions” (Buchholz 2003). It was overlooked that financial markets are highly susceptible to manipulation and error and less to realistic assessment.

(ibid). As a consequence, the actual economic performance of nation states has ceased to be the main indicator for the value of its national currency and, thus, values on their national markets. Through deregulation and the concomitant hypermobility of speculative money, currency markets “exploded” (Castells 2000: 55) and have brought about instability and devaluation as in the case of the recent crisis with its epicenter in Mexico (1994) and the Asian Pacific (1997/ 1998) with subsequent effects in Russia (1998) and Brazil (1999) (Martin and Schumann 1999: 64, see also Castells 2000: 59, Deutscher Bundestag 2002: 61, Jessop 1999b:15 and Müller 2002: 122)²⁵⁵. After a huge influx of portfolio investment²⁵⁶ - i.e. short term investment by institutional investors without involvement in management - and the emergence of so-called ‘financial bubbles’, “capital flows simply reversed course, heading towards European and US markets” (Castells 2000: 59, see also Singh 1998: 139 and Stiglitz 2002b: 2) leaving an economic devastation behind even though “these countries [Asian, Mexico] were following market-friendly policies, and yet they were punished by the same market forces” (Singh 1998: 148). The costs of these crises which in the case Mexico amounted to roughly 20% of the GDP²⁵⁷ were paid by the taxpayer, i.e. at the expense of the middle and lower classes, through the devaluation of the national currency which destroyed savings and value of property. The same social strata suffered from the wider effects of increased unemployment, ex-import imbalance, flight of capital and impoverishment. Again, the false liberalism of the neoliberal doctrine became apparent when the IMF intervened to save global financial investors and speculators from facing losses. Thus while

²⁵⁵ This explanation stands in sharp contrast to the neoliberal perspective that claims that long term trade problems were at the root of the crisis.

²⁵⁶ Foreign Direct Investment (FID) however remained or even increased as in the case of the Asian crisis (Deutscher Bundestag 2002: 78). This, as the same source states, can largely be attributed to the strategy of foreign investors to buy former domestic companies whose stock prices fell or which had to bear the consequences of the financial crisis in other forms.

²⁵⁷ According to the World Bank (quoted in Deutscher Bundestag 2002: 51).

... [t]he cost of instability is paid by the country and people at large, [...] currency traders and speculators tend to benefit from instability in the currency markets. (Singh 1998: 141)

International deregulated financial markets, however, bear risks not only for developing countries or those, allegedly, in ‘transition’. The bargaining power of financial capital has generally been enhanced at the expense of the relative autonomy of states (Singh 1998: 141) caused by the dilemma between “governments’ role in assuring an adequate domestic supply of money and credit and the idea that capital should be able to cross international boundaries in response to market forces” (Block 2001: 704). The effects are dramatic and seem to weaken “the possibility of political action shaping, let alone resisting, the pressures of markets” (Rose 1999: 144):

If one country were to attempt to stimulate its economy by expansionary monetary and fiscal policies, it would experience large capital outflows and strong speculative pressures against its currency. (Block 2001: 704)

As a consequence, governments have “shifted their efforts away from growth via monetary and fiscal policy” being “more concerned with adopting policies that are consistent with the investment priorities of global capital” (Singh 1998: 142). As the same author emphasizes, however, what may be

... profitable and, therefore, desirable to a private actor in the financial markets may not be sustainable and viable for a country’s macro-economic policies. Hence, there is a greater need for government monitoring, supervision and regulation of private flows in a global world. (ibid: 147, see also Deutscher Bundestag 2002: 62)

The dilemma between states wanting to fix capital in their territory and capital searching for short-term revenue in a place-independent manner, has brought about an increased interstate competition to offer the most advantageous conditions for investment, for instance, through the privatization of formerly state-run firms²⁵⁸. It is

²⁵⁸ Nonetheless, the privatization strategy offers no guarantee for reinvestment since capital flows wherever return is greatest and not where it is needed: “To retain capital, countries will be forced to create conditions more favourable to investment than other countries competing for capital. This may

usually justified by politicians through reference to ‘efficiency’ - better services or goods at a lower cost - which the private sector can allegedly offer more easily. This, however,

... is assumed, not substantiated, despite ample evidence showing that in at least some areas, such as health insurance, a public monopoly is more cost-efficient. Why? In part, because public monopoly insurers can take advantage of economies of scale. As large purchasers they can demand better prices from healthcare providers than smaller insurers. (Hanly 1998: 53)²⁵⁹

Despite the fact that private companies must, for instance, spend an additional amount of money on the marketing of their products and, they need to make a profit, a fact that

... is often forgotten [...]. This, in itself, means that *ceteris paribus* (as economists like to say), public provision *must* be cheaper, since it only needs to break even. This simple fact has nonetheless been all but expunged from the collective mind. (Hanly 1998: 54)

As the same author concludes, the function of privatization seems to be less an increase of efficiency but serves a “variety of purposes that aid capital accumulation” such as the generation of revenues for specific groups, e.g. managers, consultants, stockbrokers, lawyers, and shareholders²⁶⁰.

In sum, the current organization of international financial trading favors short term investment (and withdrawal) of capital to obtain the biggest financial return with worrying effects for the social and economic good. Surely important for raising investment, financial markets cannot contribute to the growth of the economy or the well-being of people. As long as they are highly volatile, current global financial

mean further reduction in corporate taxes, further cuts to social programs, and removal of any remaining barriers to foreign investment” (Hanly 1998: 54, see also Rasiah 2001: 43)

²⁵⁹ The argument of ‘efficiency’ is even less convincing for products that render a small profit margin such as specific pharmaceutical goods for instance for widespread diseases in 3rd World countries such as Malaria. Even though the products are in great need, the profit range is too small for investors. Without being subsidized these product would simply disappear from the market.

²⁶⁰ Despite the effect of weakening trade unions and hence taking negotiating power from workers (Kumar and Graf 1998: 140).

flows seem, in fact, to increase both wealth and poverty while at the same time contributing to the erosion of national welfare systems. This ‘redistributory’ feature of neoliberal policy develops its own dynamic and force:

If wealth is redistributed towards the top, where people already have most of the things, they need, it will go not into the local or national economy but to international stock markets. (George 2003: 6)

It is important to note again that these changes in scale, structure and processes of financial markets have been advanced and brought about by political actors in form of active reforms and changed regulations. Thus the globalisation of financial markets cannot be described as a simple economic tendency towards free flow but as a “political project” (Singh 1998: 65) based upon the “market fundamentalist argument” (Castells 2000: 69) characteristic of and advanced by both neo-classical theory and neoliberal policy.

4.3.3. STRATEGIC ALLIANCES

Trans- or multinational companies are one of the most salient characteristics of current internationalization processes²⁶¹ given their high share of 70% in the overall volume of international trade and the impact and influence these companies have on the international division and patterns of labour, production, resourcing and consumption (Steger 2001: 27, see also Korten 1995: 124, de Rivera 1998: 185 and Kumar and Graf 1998: 127). The trend towards mergers, acquisitions, strategic alliances and joint ventures began in the 1980s in the U.S. and spread from there to Europe, Asia and

²⁶¹ International production and trade has, of course, not substituted all other forms such as for example domestic and petty commodity production. Although these exist alongside, strategic alliances nonetheless influences structures and processes in large parts of national economies through its networks, power and resources.

Latinamerica. The 1990s has so far seen the peak of M&A development, i.e. the formation and diversification of ever bigger conglomerates dominating the world market and thoroughly internationalizing some industrial sectors and key products like oil, minerals, agrarian goods, automobiles and pharmaceuticals²⁶². Some statistics might exemplify this trend and its impact:

- According to Le Monde Diplomatique (2001: 30; see also Koopmann und Franzmeyer 2003: 16), at the beginning of the 90s 7000 TNCs existed. Currently there are 65.000 multinational companies with approximately 850.000 subsidiaries. They expanded their global reach as their Foreign Direct Investment (FDI) - that is mostly long term investment combined with a share of management control - rose approximately 15% annually during the 1990s (Steger 2001: 27).
- While global production between 1960 and 2002 increased by 4, world export multiplied by 10 mirroring the heightened international division of labour (Koopmann und Franzmeyer 2003: 16)²⁶³ and the opening up, interrelation and interpenetration of national economies (Le Mond Diplomatique 2003: 22).
- Uchatius (2002: 15) states that between 1980 and 1995, the total capital of the 100 biggest transnational companies worldwide increased by 700%. As a consequence, out of the 100 biggest economic entities worldwide 51 are multinational companies and 49 nations (Korten 1995: 124).

²⁶² Some of the most spectacular examples are the merging of Daimler and Chrysler, the takeover of Rover by BMW, BP Germany by Aral, Mannesmann by Vodafone, Mino by Elf and the incorporation of Elf into the Total-Fina-Elf group. The trend also includes mega-mergers and acquisition of banks and fund management companies (Singh 1998: 27). Although the largest number of multinationals comes originally from the U.S.A. and Great Britain, the numbers from other countries are rising.

²⁶³ At the same time, FDI grew faster than world exports suggesting that FDI "has become a more significant integrating force in the global economy than the traditional indicator of such integrations, trade" (Dicken 1998: 109).

The “Fusionsfieber” [merger fever] of the 90s (Fischermann 2002: 2) was based on fast technological development in information, communication and transport technologies, fueled by increased international competition, and driven by the opportunities and exigencies of a changed political-economic context in particular, the liberalization of the state-owned sector (electricity, telecommunication, rail and transport systems etc.) both in transition (former ex-socialist) as well as in developing and industrialist capitalist countries.

The list of aims for merging usually include above all (fast) access to new lucrative markets (of scope and scale), an increase in market share or even market domination through the elimination of smaller and weaker competitors, increase of stock, extension or diversification of product range, increased ‘efficiency’, cost reduction, access to cheap raw material, labor (blue and white collar), know how and technology, resource-pooling (through, for instance, shared research centers) and other factors that greatly enhance profitability (Steger 2001: 27, see also Koopmann und Franzmeyer 2003: 19 and Cartwright 1996: 5). As such merging constitutes a “significant strategic alternative to internal growth of firms” Olie (1998: 309).

To analyze the forms, activities, goals and impact of multinational companies I will begin with an outline of the Anglo-Saxon *shareholder model* which has been brought about by financial markets (Deutscher Bundestag 2002: 87, Biesecker 1998: 14). This specific and dominant type of ownership pattern generates particular forms and purposes of management and corporate activity. In order to understand what these organizations do and the social, political and ethical ramifications their coordinative, regulatory and financial functions entail I will draw on Dicken’s (1998: 102) categorization into three interrelated clusters²⁶⁴:

²⁶⁴ There is a fourth very important cluster of firm-environment relations which is however, not of primary relevance to the present argumentation and context. In an international, highly mobile economy

- firm-firm relation
- firm-state relation
- state-state relation

4.3.3.1. THE SHAREHOLDER MODEL

As has been analyzed in the previous section, a decisive shift has taken place in the function of the stock market, which was originally (and partly still is) to provide companies wanting to expand or invest with the capital they need through the emission and sale of obligations, stocks etc. The company's stock is evaluated and individual papers are issued according to the price reached. This *first* market establishes a direct relation between the company and the shareholder as being interested in raising the company's capacities and hence worth. A *second* market, however, links shareholders with to-be buyers and their expectations for prospective prosperity, i.e. changes in the stock's value in accordance with potential and anticipated future evaluations and gains. These *derivate*²⁶⁵ markets are extremely volatile and risk prone since they are based not only on reading and previewing an uncertain future but also depend on whether other buyers and investors will come to the same conclusion. Consequently and as argued before, the success of an investment (in currencies or companies) is not exclusively based on the analysis of fundamental economic facts. Some companies can be highly valued even though their current

the relationship between the immediate environment and the producer, a relation Adam Smith's theory was based upon, is broken and hence natural resources are exploited or even destroyed without further considerations of the effects for local populations or future generations.

²⁶⁵ The key characteristic of derivatives is the trading of *claims*, one buys and sells the risk of an underlying asset without trading the asset itself (Singh 1998: 31).

performance or assets do not match the prices for their shares²⁶⁶. As Steingart (2000: 77) asks:

Wieso schaffen die 548 Mitarbeiter der Verlustfirma Brokat denselben Börsenwert wie der Sportwagenhersteller Porsche, der das 80fache umsetzt und auch noch Gewinne abliefert?

[How do the 548 employees of the company Brokat which is in red numbers achieve a higher evaluation at the stock market than the car producer Porsche whose turnover is 80 times the size and who, in addition to this, produces gains?]

In addition to this, the 2nd market or speculative investment does not generate any more resources for the company itself. Bonds, highly speculative futures (contracts about the sale or buy of products, currencies, interest etc.), options, hedge funds, and derivatives in particular increase the trading on value creating “market capitalism value out of market capitalism value” (Castells 2000: 54). As Steingart (2000: 77) reports, while economic output increased internationally by 80% since 1980 the turnover at the stock exchange rose by 1032%²⁶⁷ indicating that capital has become increasingly uncoupled, albeit dependent upon actual production and trade

... ein Großteil der Gelder, die täglich um die Welt zirkulieren – 2002 waren es 90 Prozent - haben nichts mehr mit der Bezahlung von Gütern und Dienstleistungen zu tun. Vielmehr ist Geld selber zur Ware geworden. (von Plate 2003b: 4, see also Le Monde Diplomatie 2003: 32, Dauderstadt 1991: 4, Castells 2000: 54, and Singh 1999: 7, Steger 2001: 27)²⁶⁸

[... a large percentage of the money that circulates daily around the globe – in 2002 it was 90% - has nothing to do anymore with the payment of goods or services. Money itself has become the good.]

²⁶⁶ How little these evaluations coincide with the respective real economic value is exemplified by the initial overrating and subsequent demise of the so-called *new economy* or *e-commerce*.

²⁶⁷ See also Hoogvelt (1997: 128): The “growth of financial transactions far exceeds the growth of the underlying economic fundamentals of production and trade. In the 1980s the growth of the financial or ‘symbol’ or ‘balloon’ economy outpaced the growth of the fundamentals of trade and investment in the OECD countries seven times, and at a conservative estimate the total annual value of transactions in the world’s financial markets is now twice the total value of world production.” and Jessop (1999b: 9): “This shift in the primary aspect of the contradiction in the money form is related to the tendency for the dynamic of industrial capital to be subordinated to the hypermobile logic of financial capital and the tendency for returns on money capital to exceed those on productive capital.”

²⁶⁸ According to the German Bundestag (2002: 51), at the end of 90s only 5% of the money in financial markets served trade and direct investment, the rest had been invested in “purely money-dealing currency and securities markets that trade claims to draw profits from future production” (Steger 2001: 27).

Instead of being supported by investment, the economy has become highly dependent on and subjugated to the volatility of deregulated financial markets oriented towards “exorbitant profit expectations” like double-digit annual returns (Blackburn 2002: 32, see also Weber 1998: 443 and McLaren 1999: 2), often in conflict with productive investment (Bourdieu 2001: 113, see also de Rivera 1998: 116 and McCaffrey 2003)²⁶⁹. Jessop (1999b: 11) points to the major

... contradiction between short-term economic calculation (especially in financial flows) and the long-term dynamic of ‘real competition’ rooted in resources (skills, trust, collective mastery of techniques, economies of agglomeration and size) which take years to create, stabilize, and reproduce.

This *share-holder* model of ownership which has come to dominate multinational businesses since the deregulation of financial markets in the 90s (Deutscher Bundestag 2002: 86) forces companies to raise ever more profits, money that cannot normally be generated by a ‘regular’ or ‘traditional’ increase in productivity.

Blackburn (2002: 32) discusses this for the case of energy providers

... capital put into a new power station or an upgrade to the electricity grid might take over a decade to pay off and then only at half the rate that the financial engineers regarded as interesting.

Thus, only strategies that go beyond the general advantages achieved through increased efficiency of production and distribution can guarantee the expected financial gain:

Ziel ist insbesondere das Auffinden jener Bereiche bzw. Projekte, in denen ‘Wert’ geschaffen oder vernichtet wird, um die Investitionen entsprechend zu lenken. (Weber 1998: 447)

[The goal is to find those areas or projects where ‘value’ is generated or destroyed in order to direct investment accordingly.]

Such strategies include the geographical fragmentation of operations (Dicken 1998: 244), cost reduction through improvement of distribution and sales network, lower

²⁶⁹ According to her de Rivera (1998: 104), it “is difficult to find any rationale for tolerating such unlimited accumulation of individual wealth, by means which seems to amount to a sophisticated form of gambling with the livelihoods of innumerable individuals”.

salaries, rationalization and ‘restructuring’²⁷⁰ through for instance, the ‘outsourcing’ of whole departments and areas or ‘downsizing’ of the workforce²⁷¹. In fact, stock market prices seem to automatically and immediately rise with the announcement of possible mergers and fusions due to high expectancies of stockholders of return on investment:

When the enterprises ‘size down’, with some of the ‘social schemes’ announced flamboyantly in the media, their investment returns rise spectacularly. (McLaren 1999: 12)²⁷²

As a consequence, the world has seen a wave of rationalization and international specialization of production in the wake of Foreign Direct Investment (Le Monde Diplomatique 2001: 26). Between two-third and three-quarters “of all FDI is not devoted to new, job-creating investment but to mergers and acquisitions which almost invariably result in job losses” (George 2003: 3). The result is a growth of production without a growth in jobs (Bourdieu 2001: 113). Again, the effects of these forms of restructuring are wealth increasingly concentrated in the hands of ever fewer people (money that is withdrawn from actual investments in real world economies) thus widening the gap between rich and the poor (Hoffmaster 1998: 28)²⁷³. The strategies

²⁷⁰ It surely is true that some forms of restructuring are necessary to increase productivity and economic performance of some companies. I contend with Hanly (1998) though that many restructurings do not take place for this reason.

²⁷¹ An increasing number of common people, workers and employees, in particular in the U.S. and other 1st world countries put their retirement savings into large internationally operating pension, insurance and investment funds which in turn exert the greatest pressure on businesses to restructure and dismiss part of the workforce. These contradictions and conflicting interests, however, do not come to light since capital owners are disconnected from the businesses (and hence responsibility) and cannot oversee the actual impact of and political-ethical consequences their investments entail.

²⁷² See also Weber (1998: 450): “Aufgrund einer ‘Effizienzvermutung’ wird ‘beinahe jede Meldung über Entlassungen positiv bewertet’ [Almost every announcement of job losses is evaluated positively on the basis of expectations of ‘efficiency’.]

²⁷³ Müller (2002: 60) quotes a report by the Worldbank (2000: 59) about the development of international inequality in 35 years. Whereas in 1960, the average income of the 20 richest countries were 18 times higher than the average income of the 20 poorest, this proportional difference has risen dramatically up to the factor 37 in 1995 (see also Storper 2001: 73 and Singh 1998: 143). According to a U.N. report from 1999, the number of people living in absolute poverty has gone up from 1 billion in 1995 to 1,2 billion in 1999 (Steger 2001: 73). The gap is not only widening between nation states but likewise inside of them: “The general picture in Western Europe, North America and a number of middle-income developing countries is a combination of decline and stagnation at the bottom, moderate growth and relative loss in the middle, and big growth at the top.” (Storper 2001: 90–91, for the case of

to increase short-term revenue range from legal (complex financial arrangements and intra-firm trading) to illegal practices (embellishment of revenue reports for shareholders, manipulation of gains and balances) as epitomized by the scandalous case of the U.S.-American multinational energy provider Enron²⁷⁴. Financial markets do not only exert pressure but also offer incentives for managerial malpractice such as bloated payments and extra-rewards for CEOs. Enron, for instance, was not an exceptionally corrupt company or an isolated instance, but has marked the beginning of a series of financial scandals and bankruptcies including K-Mart, World Com, Tyco, Qwest and many others, all of them involving either false reporting of financial results, insider-trading, self-dealing and/ or personal enrichment by executives:

Sie [die Firmen] sind der faule Kern eines Systems, das manipulierte Börsenkurse nicht nur erlaubt, sondern zum Hauptanreiz für das Management macht. (Warde 2002: 7)²⁷⁵

Germany between 1998 and 2003 see Neubacher 2005). In these particular countries, the post-war social contract of an equal distribution of wealth on the basis of Keynesian economics seems to have been largely abandoned and deconstructed not only by conservative but also social-democratic and labor party governments.

²⁷⁴ Enron, an energy producer with diversified economic and financial activities, was regarded “the cutting-edge of neoliberal corporate strategies through its new and innovative forms of financial management”, a “living proof that financialization and deregulation were the way of the future” (Blackburn 2002: 26). In December 2001, however, Enron collapsed into one of the biggest bankruptcies in U.S. history with a loss of 15.000 jobs (Morgan 2003). While pensioners and general stock holders lost their invested money totalling \$ 117 billion, Enron’s senior executives had sold their shares in time before the crash (ibid: 29), an incidence paradigmatic for the management’s morality which had driven the company out of greed and by means of financial speculation, corruption, fraud, tax evasion and illicit accountancy practices, into debt – hidden for 6 years in a net of off-the-books partnerships particularly created for this purpose - and, finally, ruins. With the help of their “auditors-cum-consultants” Arthur Anderson (Blackburn 2002: 28) and the silent toleration of banks, politicians, the media, lawyers and other professionals, the cosmetic accounting practices and the shifting and hiding of financial debt had been made possible. The case of Enron has been unsettling for political reasons, as well. Through extensive political connections and lobbying, the company advanced the privatisation and deregulation of the gas and electricity supply in the state of California and subsequently became its principal energy provider (Blackburn 2002: 26). Due to this monopoly position, energy prices skyrocketed immediately through orchestrated blackouts and shortages, and contracts with fictitious external partners (Morgan 2003). “The so-called energy crisis in California should have been called Grand Theft” (Lakoff 2003). Enron, though, was protected by politicians through its extensive ties to the government and high-level administrative officials (The Daily Enron 2003: 2). It was for instance the biggest single donor to George W. Bush’s (junior) election campaign and the biggest donor to a single party ever in U.S.-history). *The Daily Enron* (2003: 2) states that over 50 high-level administrative officials of Bush’s government had “meaningful ties” to the now defunct company. The fact that a single economic actor can intervene so decisively in U.S. American (or any other) politics and decision making processes shows how easily economic power translates into political power and proves neoclassical and neoliberal views to be clearly misguided.

²⁷⁵ See also McCaffrey (2003), Haas (1998: 213), Richter (1997: 6) and Warde (2002) who claim that under neoliberalism insider trading, bribery, corruption and fraud have become the norm rather than the

[They [the companies] are the rotten core of a system that does not only allow manipulated stock values but turns them into the main incentive for managers.]

In sum, the impact of the shareholder model in a global deregulated financial world on the organisation and economic performance of large companies is severe, with corporate or managerial responsibility being reduced to generating revenues for shareholders:

But is such a fixation even economically defensible? Is the short term interest of the market consistent with the long-term interest of the economy? And if maximizing shareholder value makes economic sense, is it *morally* defensible? Do corporations not also have obligations to their employees, their customers, and their communities? (Hoffmaster 1998: 27)

As the matter of fact, neither of these two considerations, the economic and the moral, can be adequately dealt with by the shareholder value model. Through the discrepancy between shareholder and entrepreneurial goals a company can, for example, be restructured or closed down even though it might still be perfectly viable and productive without considering the consequences this has for the local community. As to morality, it has to be asked how the reduction of normative and political questions to a mere calculation of expected and actual return for capital holders is legitimized. In order to answer this question Weber (1998: 144), going back to Foucault, understands contemporary economic practices as theoretically informed and regulated through specific discursive patterns of classifications, frames and rules²⁷⁶ established by neoclassical economics and neoliberal reasoning. The shareholder model as such a classificatory framework is essentially a principle of formal calculability and presented (to shareholders and the general public alike) as consistent, objective, value

exception in contemporary business which reveals a “systemischen ‘Defekt’ im ökonomischen Weltbild“ [systematic ‘defect’ in the economic worldview].

²⁷⁶ Weber (1998: 454) emphasizes the enforcement of this classificatory framework by extra-discursive, in this case, systemic forces international financial markets exert by uncoupling intentions from effects. This leads, for instance, to the before mentioned contradiction that a worker who pays into a pension fund might indirectly contribute to his own dismissal.

free and in line with 'scientific' reasoning. The alleged objectivity has the effect of disabling the formation of critique:

Das Fatale an diesem Ansatz ist jedoch, dass dem Anleger mit der versprochenen Objektivität das Denken – genauer gesagt: die kritische Urteilskraft – hinsichtlich normativer Fragen abgenommen wird. Mit der wertfreien 'Objektivität' der finanzwirtschaftlichen Theorie verschwindet zugleich die normative Problematik, wer durch den Shareholder-Value-Ansatz *betroffen* ist. (ibid: 448)

[The fatal characteristic of this approach is that the shareholder is cut off from normative questions - more precisely from critical judgement - through the promise of objective thinking. Normative questions and problems in relation to those affected by the shareholder-value-approach thus disappear through the value-free objectivity of the economic theory.]

Based on the problematic assumptions of an ideal world of perfect markets, perfect information and the miracle of the 'invisible hand', the model pretends that there is actually no conflict of interests even though reality might show there is. Stakeholder and their interests can only be taken into account if they contribute productively to the 'actual' goal of the company, i.e. financial gains for shareholders:

Diese neoklassische Begründung, die nur innerhalb der eigenen Axiomatik Gültigkeit besitzt, begeht so einen Argumentations- bzw. Kritikstopp. (ibid: 451)

[Since the neoclassical argumentation gains force only on the basis of its own axioms, argumentation and critique is cut off.]

Every decision in the company can thus allegedly become subjected to it as if it was a natural criteria:

Der Shareholder-Value-Ansatz beabsichtigt, in jeder einzelnen Handlung bzw. Entscheidung innerhalb des Unternehmens das Prinzip der formalen Berechenbarkeit zu etablieren. Jedoch: auch der rechentechnische Aufwand kann nicht darüber hinwegtäuschen, dass ein objektives Erfolgskriterium durch dieses komplexe Modell nicht gewonnen werden kann. (Weber 1998: 448)

[The shareholder approach aims to subject every action and decision inside of the company to the principle of formal calculability. Nevertheless though, the technical effort of calculation cannot veil the fact that this complex model does not generate any objective criteria for success.]

In fact, the orientation towards shareholder value is the *instrument* of transmitting neoclassical economic theory into business praxis through the control of management:

Der Kapitalmarkt erzwingt dabei die Marktwertmaximierung entweder durch die Disziplinierung des etablierten Managements oder durch eine Neuzuteilung der Eigentumsrechte. Unternehmensübernahmen erscheinen damit als agenturkostengünstiges Instrument zur Gleisaltung von Managementverhalten und Kapitaleignerinteressen. (ibid: 446)

[The financial market forces the maximization of values either through disciplining the established management or through a reordering of ownership rights. Joint ventures, mergers and acquisitions become thereby a low cost instrument to attune management behaviour to the interests of shareholders.]

In addition to the investor being convinced by the alleged objectivity of the principle of formal calculability and the management being set under strong pressure, the general public is according to Weber (1998: 448) ‘seduced’ through the utilitarian argument that the general good will be achieved – in the long run - as a side effect.

The shareholder model allegedly leads

... auch gesamtgesellschaftlich zu Optimierungen, indem die Verlierer der Marktwertorientierung (beispielsweise jene, die durch die Umsetzung des Shareholder-Value-Gedankens arbeitslos werden) langfristig gesehen zu ‘Gewinnern’ werden (die ‘Verführung der Gesellschaft’).

... also on a societal level to optimization. Those who are loosing from the market-value-orientation in the short run (for instance those who will lose their jobs through the implantation of the shareholder molder) will benefit and become winners in the long term (the ‘seduction’ of society).

4.3.3.2. FIRM-FIRM RELATIONS

Multinational companies and international alliances are gradually out-competing small or medium sized local producers and companies and tend to monopolise an increasing amount of local, regional and national markets. In fact, it is one of the most important

aims of huge conglomerates to dominate markets and eliminate competitors.

Businesses

... constantly strive both to exploit existing marketplace imperfections, and to create such imperfections. They seek to escape from the price-based tyranny of intensely competitive markets and to generate 'above market rents' or 'above normal profits'. (Prakash Sethi and Sama 1998: 71)

Unsurprisingly, most large companies wanting to become 'global players' tend to merge or fuse with large companies in other countries which already have a strong foothold in their market and extensive international operations: "Most strikingly, the majority of strategic alliances are among *competitors*" (Dicken 1998: 10)

Um im globalen Wettbewerb zu bestehen, schlucken Unternehmen Konkurrenten. Noch Mitte der neunziger Jahre verzeichnete Deutschland etwa 30 größere Unternehmensfusionen pro Jahr. Seit Ende der neunziger Jahre sind es jährlich etwa 200, im Jahre 2000 waren es sogar 477, im Jahre 2001 mit 163 trotz Wirtschaftsflaute immer noch sechsmal so viel wie Mitte der neunziger Jahre (Kessler 2003: 29)

[In order to compete globally, companies have to swallow competitors. While in the middle of the 90s Germany saw 30 bigger mergers per year, this number raised to 200 at the end of the decade, 477 in the year 2000 and 163 in 2001 which was still six times the amount ten years before even though the economy was in a crisis.]

Free trade along neoliberal lines thus seems to favour the strongest players which in turn tend to form monopolies and destroy competition²⁷⁷. It follows that legitimizing free trade by reference to the enhancement of competition is rather contradictory:

Die Tendenz zur Auflösung des idealtypischen Wettbewerbs unter vollkommener Konkurrenz ist multinationalen Unternehmen somit per definitionem eigen. (Richter 1997: 6)

[The tendency to destruct the ideal-typical competition under perfect market conditions is therefore by definition inherent to the multinational company.]

The particular form of these multinational companies has changed through the organisational and physical separation (or outsourcing) of production from research and design, distribution and marketing allowing flexible accumulation through global

²⁷⁷ Again, the case of Enron case exemplifies how the deregulation of a market, the Californian electricity supply) lead to monopolization and its malign effects of prices being controlled and manipulated and the quality of (goods and) services distorted.

webs on the basis of a “combination of telecommunications, fast transportation, and computerized flexible production systems” (Castells, 1989, see also Dicken 1998: 106). The parent company “is really no more than a marketing and research and design company” (Hoogvelt 1997: 127)²⁷⁸

4.3.3.3. FIRM-STATE RELATIONS

Contrary to Hirst and Thompson (1996: 1), I hold that multinational companies do not owe much allegiance to nation states even though their production sites and markets are, naturally, always located in specific places²⁷⁹. Financial investors and shareholders, however, are neither tied to space nor time and can therefore pressure companies to raise above normal profits as outlined in the preceding chapter.

The relationship between companies and states is complex, oscillating between support and conflict, between dependency and manipulation. Whereas TNCs look out for the most advantageous location in their pursuit of profits or market shares and are in need of the provision of the physical and social (legal, institutional) infrastructure, states aim to maximize their shares of global value-adding activity and the provision of jobs. The particular impact of multinational companies on host economies (the net costs or benefits) therefore depends on the specific balance of the power between the two entities (Dicken 1998: 262), i.e. whether the state is the host or the domestic

²⁷⁸ The sport company NIKE for instance employs only 9000 people but relies on the 75.000 workers of their subcontractors.

²⁷⁹ I nevertheless contend with Dicken (1998: 117) that all TNCs “have an identifiable home base, a base that ensures that every TNC is essentially embedded within its domestic environment. Of course, the more extensive a firm’s international operations, the more likely it will be to take on additional characteristics. Few, if any, major TNCs have moved their *ultimate* decision-making operations out of their country (often their community) of origin.” However, the fact that the national origin matters to the functioning of the corporation does not entail that its goals overlap with those of the national economic welfare.

origin of the company, whether it can offer a large, affluent domestic market and proximity to big markets, availability of trained labour and specialists, infrastructure, political climate and stability, government incentives (Rasiah 2001: 43) etc. Since TNCs can choose the option 'exit' and leave a specific country, their bargaining power has increased greatly and altered the relative balance between these two entities:

The mobility of financial capitalism is perceived as weakening the possibility of political action shaping, let alone resisting the pressures of markets. (Rose 1999: 144)

Very often, the threat of withdrawal is sufficient in order to change government policies and concessions:

Der springende Punkt ist also die alleinige Drohung bzw. deren Inszenierung; der Diskurs des internationalen Kapitals ist insofern von einer 'semantischen Hegemonie' bestimmt. (Weber 1998: 454)

[The crucial point is the actual threat or simulation. The discourse of international capital is therefore characterized by a 'semantic hegemony'.]

Groarke (1998: 41) poses rightly the question whether the

... restructuring economy are the product of a genuine economic crisis, or are, in reality, a political agenda motivated by vested interests which seek to radically alter our understanding of society and its obligations to workers, the dispossessed and the least advantaged.

At the same time transnational corporations are increasingly removed from the control of individual national governments and can escape many international regulatory standards:

With no supranational institution to check behavioural malpractice ('unmanaged competition') firms' discretionary powers have risen opposite national states. (Kumar and Graf 1998: 13, see also Steinmann und Scherer 1998: 14, Barber 1995: 23 and Hirst and Thompson 1996: 11, García Canclini 1995: 41)

The translation of economic power into political influence – a relation unconsidered by neoliberal and neoclassical views – has various effects upon nation states. Being ultimately responsible for employment rates and politics, national governments can be

strongly influenced and set under pressure by large companies and lobbies²⁸⁰ to create favorable economic conditions for them in a context of conflicting interests.

Currently, nation states compete for investment by lowering taxation and offering free infrastructure. Thus, although neoliberal discourse advances the ‘roll back’ of the state, its policy forces governments to increase public spending and to provide better conditions than competitors which shows “that the driving force behind economic restructuring is frequently other than that suggested by its defenders” (Hanly 1998: 47).

As a result of this interstate competition, capital shifts from high tax to low tax countries for investment (Hanly 1998: 44)²⁸¹. Germany, for instance, has the ‘disadvantage’ of almost 40% income tax and high additional costs whereas other countries like Ireland oblige companies to only 10% (Schwab 2004: 5). As the same author reports, some U.S. states²⁸² and for instance Malaysia have abolished all company taxation for the first 5 to 10 years after the first investment:

Nur 33 Prozent Investitionszulage für neue Fabriken in Italien? Viel zu wenig, in Ostdeutschland legt der Staat gerne 80 Prozent dazu.²⁸³

[Only 33% investment support for a new plant in Italy? Far too little, in the Eastern part of Germany the state happily contributes 80%]

While these *global players* contribute less and less to the societies they operate in²⁸⁴ in terms of as for building and sustaining local infrastructures, public services, education etc., cut-backs which in turn effect the poorer social strata most (Schwab 2004: 5,

²⁸⁰ Lobbying undermines democracy and citizens’ trust in it.

²⁸¹ The decision for investment, is of course, complex depending on a variety of factors like low taxation, cheap and educated labour, a good infrastructure, local companies with good standards as potential suppliers and above all, a large internal market. It is for this reason that 70% of international investment is concentrated in developed countries (de Rivera 1998: 117).

²⁸² Pear (2002) reports that the National Governors Association of all U.S. states announced the worst financial problems since WW2 due to plumping tax collection.

²⁸³ Dicken (1998: 272) reports of the State of Alabama offering the equivalent of \$167,000 per job created to attract the Mercedes-Benz plant.

²⁸⁴ Kessler (2003: 31) estimates the annual loss of tax revenue for Germany between 10 and 20 billion Euros.

Küpers 2000: 56)²⁸⁵. They can do so by, for instance, “widespread tax evasion through the use of tax havens” and “sophisticated financial juggling” (Self 2000: 200)²⁸⁶. The problem of tax evasion is further aggravated by the fact that global trade is to a large extent conducted *inside* of multinational companies (Le Monde Diplomatique 2003: 22), i.e. across national boundaries but between affiliates of the same firm but in countries with lower taxation (Singh 1999: 5). These practices allow the shifting, manipulation and exchange of costs and gains in order to reduce taxable profits:

Dieses System funktioniert über den Kauf von Vor- und Dienstleistungen ihrer Filialen in Ländern mit niedrigen Steuern. Da der Wert dieser Leistungen von außen nur schwer überprüfbar ist, können die überhöht angegebenen Transferpreise solcher Vorleistungen die steuerpflichtigen Gewinne in Ländern mit hohen Steuern mindern. Das Potenzial für solche Operationen läßt sich daran abschätzen, daß nahezu 60 Prozent des Welthandels innerhalb multinationaler Unternehmen abgewickelt werden (Müller 2002: 49)²⁸⁷
 [This system works through buying services of subsidiaries in countries with low taxation. Since the value of these services is difficult to assess, the over-

²⁸⁵ In the U.S. and Germany this has caused debates about patriotism. The presidential candidate Kerry, for instance, proposed the introduction of higher taxation for companies exporting jobs. The German federal president Wolfgang Thierse (*Spiegel Online* 10.04.2004) called the CEOs of these companies “vaterlandslose Gesellen” [unpatriotic fellows] leading a contradictory life: on the one hand they expect a perfect infrastructure, excellent theatres, universities, hospitals, streets and well educated specialists in their home and residential country Germany. At the same time, however, they relocate large part of their companies abroad in order to pay less taxes there. Lakoff (2003) makes a similar argument: “Taxes are what you pay to be an American, to live in a civilized society that is democratic and offers opportunity, and where there’s an infrastructure that has been paid for by previous taxpayers.”

²⁸⁶ Müller (2002: 51) reports that in the middle of the 1990s 26% of shares and 31% of net gains of US-American companies were transferred to so-called *tax havens*. Johnston (2000) draws upon a study by the Institute on Taxation and Economic Policy that although corporate profits had risen in the U.S. by 23.5 percent during 1996 through 1998, corporate tax revenues grew just 7.7 %, a disjunction brought about in part by the relaxation of tax laws through the Congress opening up new avenues to avoid taxation. The same source states that 12 large corporation like Goodyear, Texaco, Colgate-Palmolive, MCI WorldCom and others earned more than \$ 12.2 billion in profits through the same period but non of them paid any corporate income taxes at all (the study claims similar trends for General Electric, I.B.M, Pfizer, Intel, Microsoft, Cisco Systems and other big corporations). On the contrary, the companies received \$ 535 million in credits of refunds. Corporate tax burden, for instance “was falling in many cases because of the growing use of stock options, which are an expense for tax purposes but do not count against profits reported to shareholders”. None of these activities had, in fact, been illegal.

²⁸⁷ Prices are normally charged between buyers and sellers separated through an external market. TNCs, however, operate internal markets “transactions between *related* parts – units of the *same* organization. The rules of the external market do not apply. The TNC itself sets the transfer prices of its goods and services within its own organizational boundaries, and therefore, has very considerable flexibility in setting its transfer prices to help achieve its overall goals. The ability to set its own internal prices – within the limits imposed by the vigilance of the tax authorities – enables the TNC to adjust transfer prices either upwards or downwards and, therefore, to influence the amount of tax or duties payable to national governments. For example, it would be in a TNC s interest to charge more for the goods and services supplied to its subsidiaries located in countries with high tax levels and *vice versa*.” (Dicken 1998: 247)

expensive transfer prices can be used to reduce the gains in countries with higher taxation. The potential of these operations can be assessed by the fact that roughly 60 percent of world trade is conducted inside of multinational companies.]

The loss of tax revenue from corporations has to be made up: On the one hand, government expenditure is down-sized with severe consequences for social welfare and other state provided services. On the other hand, the least mobile factor, labor, has to carry an ever larger share of the tax burden (Deutscher Bundestag 2002: 98, Hanly 1998: 44). In Korten's (1995: 2) words, the neoliberal project is about "privatizing a gain²⁸⁸ and socializing its associated costs onto the community"²⁸⁹. These measures have another 'favourable' effect for employers:

From a capitalist point of view, an added advantage of reductions to unemployment and welfare benefits is that they give incentives for workers to take low-paying jobs with poor working conditions. But even low-paying jobs require payment of a minimum wage in many jurisdictions. To widen the area for exploitation even further, such standard protections as the minimum wage needed to be weakened or eliminated. Capital could call upon economists to tell us that minimum wages are actually no benefit at all and even produce unemployment for the worst off. (Hanly 1998: 46)²⁹⁰

Thus, the system erodes the welfare state and workers' rights²⁹¹ at the same time.

... under conditions of globalization nation states compete with each other for business investments and jobs which even lead to a downward spiral of social standards: they rather tend to lower welfare regulations, social standards and taxation in order to lure or hold businesses. (Steinmann und Scherer 1998: 14, see also Fischermann and Rudzio 2004: 2)

²⁸⁸ Cartwright (1996: 6) reports that between 1982 and 1992 more than \$106,3 billion Dollar of government assets worldwide (for example in the so-called transition countries in Central and Eastern Europe) went private "providing a substantial opportunity and need for investment and collaboration with international partners".

²⁸⁹ This applies also to the natural environment. By externalizing for instance, the energy costs of transporting materials and goods across the world, "trade is being massively subsidized at a huge short-term and long-term environmental cost" (Dicken 1998: 466).

²⁹⁰ This is exactly what is happening in Germany today (2005). After years of dismantling the welfare state, big corporations such as Siemens threatened the workforce and unions to move to other countries if workers were not willing to accept a reduction in payment, the abolition of the minimal wage and an increase in working hours. Other companies followed suit, causing the largest strikes in post-war Germany.

²⁹¹ The situation is, however, more complex: Workers who keep their job can afford cheaper products, so they take advantage of other people in high-wage countries being thrown out – they are implicated in their own unemployment

Although subsidiaries of multinationals usually offer higher wages and better and safer working conditions than local employees in developing countries, they put nation states and their respective workforces under intense economic pressure and international competition especially in sectors with standardized mass production (McLaren 1999: 18). Multinationals locate their production lines at the periphery of the so-called TRIAD, the U.S., Europe and Japan, namely in ‘emerging’ economics in East Asia, Mexico and Eastern or Middle Europe where wages²⁹², taxes and ecological or others regulations are low or held flexible in order to attract foreign investment while keeping their headquarters in their home country. These peripheral regions and countries do not only hope for an influx of financial investment but also for a transfer of technology, an expectation rarely met (Le Monde Diplomatique 2003: 31) and in return, often turn a blind eye towards environmental protection²⁹³. More often than not, though, this entails an increase in the consumption of transnational goods (de Rivera 2001: 67) rather than an increase of exports (again aggravating payment problems) since “el libre comercio está dirigido a buscar clients y no a desarrollar países.” (66) [because free commerce aims to find clients, not to develop countries]. The inflow of capital may thus be exceeded by the outflow of earnings and profits back to the parent company negatively influencing a country’s balance of payments.

A vital issue, therefore, is the extent to which financial ‘leakage’ occurs from host economies through the conduit of the TNC. This raises the question of the ability of host-country governments to obtain a ‘fair’ tax yield from foreign firms, many of which are capable of manipulating the terms of their intracorporate transactions through transfer pricing. (Dicken 1998: 247)

²⁹² Dicken (1998: 467) reports of a study by Glickman and Woodward (1989) calculating the employment-displacement effect of outward investment in the U.S. over the period between 1977-86: 3,3 million jobs were displaced by overseas investment, 588,00 jobs were stimulated by such investment, the result was a loss of 2,7 million domestic jobs

²⁹³ Less environmental protection, however, is not a necessary but a contingent consequence. Very often multinational companies export and transfer their experiences and technologies acquired under stricter regulations.

4.3.3.4. STATE-STATE RELATIONS

As outlined above, the absolute mobility of capital and financing and the relative mobility of TNC location leads to interstate competition and, as Dicken (1998: 112) terms it, the emergence of the “Competitive State” “trying to capture global market shares and taking on ever more “characteristics of firms“:

They compete to attract productive investment to build up their national production base, which, in turn, enhances their competitive position. In particular, states strive to create, capture, and maintain the higher value-adding elements of the production chain. (Dicken 1998: 112, see also Kumar and Graf 1998: 138)

Ideally, TNCs want to remove all regulatory barriers that impede their ability to locate wherever:

The ultimate preference for TNCs would seem to be removal of all barriers to entry, whether to imports or to direct presence; freedom to export capital and profits from local operations; freedom to import materials, components, and corporate services; freedom to operate unhindered in local labor markets. (Dicken 1998: 119)

At the same time, however, the differences between regulatory structures of states and regions (e.g. corporate taxes, tariffs, duties, exchanges rates) are being used in the search for the lowest production costs and the most powerful markets to sell (Bourdieu 2001: 114). TNCs, in fact, thrive on and derive their competitive advantage from the exploitation of national differences playing off one state against another.

They

... may perceive the very existence of regulatory structures as an *opportunity*, enabling them to take advantage of regulatory differences between states by shifting activities between locations according to differentials in the regulatory surface – that is, to engage in *regulatory arbitrage*. (Dicken 1998: 244)

Elsner (2000: 18) speaks of a “Standorte-Krieg“[war of locations] where regions

compete against each other fiercely²⁹⁴. For some states, regions and even social groups this means increased and intensified marginalization and exclusion (Senghaas 2002: 6).

4.4. GLOBALIZATION: EMPHASIZING COMPLEXITIES

The position I have adopted here could be characterized as *transformationalist* or *moderate* strongly emphasizing the agency of political actors and the contingency of potential structural outcomes. I contend with Hirst and Thompson's (1996: 4) critical-normative message that the reference to globalization as a coherent and almost naturally occurring process or even end-state is a rhetorical means employed in order to "build up a community of usage when there needs to be strict differentiation of meaning". For them, globalization

... is a myth for a world without illusions, but it is also one that robs us of hope. Global markets are dominant, and they face no threat from any viable contrary political project, for it is held that Western social democracy and socialism of the Soviet bloc are both finished. (Hirst and Thompson 1996: 6)

Although I agree in dismissing the strategic use of globalization in the context of neoliberal discourse (*globalism*), I will nevertheless hold that there are *some* changes underway that would warrant a new terminology. I will mainly draw on work by Jessop (2003, 2000a, 2000b, 1999a, 1999b) who views current socio-economic processes in their historical context, allows room for contingencies and the complexity of current international changes in the economic, political and cultural sphere and their interrelationship.

²⁹⁴ In this scenario, power shifts upwards, from weaker to stronger states with global reach and sideways from states to markets (Dicken 1998: 461)

Globalization is, as Jessop (1999b: 1) has pointed out, not a single, coherent causal process but a “complex, chaotic and overdetermined outcome of a multi-scalar, multi-temporal, and multi-centric series of processes operating in specific structural contexts”. In less abstract terms this means that there is, first of all, no primary *scale* (global, triadic, national, regional or urban) of current economic reorganization. Changes occur on all these levels and mutually influence each other. This entails, secondly, that there are different *centres* of globalization, both on a national (the U.S., Great Britain, South East Asia) as well geographical level. These constitute, however, not a

... pre-given set of places, spaces, or scales that are merely being re-ordered. Instead, new places are emerging, new spaces are being created, new scales of organization are being developed and new horizons of action are being imagined – all in the light of new forms of (understanding) competition. (Jessop 1999b: 7, see also Dicken 1998: 426)

The author refers specifically to the emerging network of global cities, the restructuring of urban spaces and the growth of cross-border regions in order to enhance their international competitiveness, processes that might suggest the term ‘glurbanization’ (1999: 17) instead of ‘globalization’ (or the more sophisticated notion of ‘glocalization’).

Thirdly, different spheres such as culture, media, migration, technology, business, finance, education etc. are characterized by their own modes, rhythms, developments, intensities and resistances. In sum, it is therefore

... misleading to explain specific events and phenomena in terms of the process of ‘globalization’, pointless to subsume anything or everything under the umbrella of ‘globalization’, and unhelpful to seek to link anything and everything to ‘globalization’ as if this somehow conveys more insight than alternative rubrics [for instance, *liberalization* or *internationalization*] could ...

Instead of attributing causal force to *globalization* itself, Jessop (2000b)

contextualizes contemporary processes historically. Writing from a *Regulationist*²⁹⁵ position he views the capitalist mode of production as being

... historically distinctive not only for its crisis-tendencies but also for its capacities to periodically renew the bases of its economic expansion and, in so doing, to re-articulate and re-scale the relations between the economic, political, and social.

It is argued that capitalism overcomes “the self-inflicted crises” by periodic transformation (Hoogvelt 1997: 132) and *regulation*²⁹⁶, a relatively coherent ensemble of economic and extra-economic mechanisms and practices that enable some stability of capital relations and accumulation over long periods of time. In order to bring the respective form of regulation into perspective, several key terms are employed, for example: 1. *Industrial Paradigm* understood as “a model governing the technical and social division of labour” (Jessop 2003: 4) (for example *Fordism* as a paradigm of mass production). 2. *Regime of Accumulation* as a complementary pattern of production and consumption (for example the *Keynesian National Welfare* and the *Schumpeterian Workfare Regime* as outlined in chapter 4); 3. *Mode of Regulation* as “... the ensemblment of institutional forms, networks and explicit or implicit norms which assure compatibility of market behaviour within a regime of accumulation” (Liepitz 1985: xvi-xvii). A regime of accumulation is hence dependent on its translation into and mediation through social conventions, practices and discourses through (strategically selective) institutions:

If the expression ‘market principle’ refers to a structural constraint, I use the expression ‘market discipline’ to address the internalisation of this structural constraint by individual agents in their own conduct. Writers of the Regulation School [...] have tried to stretch their concept of ‘mode of regulation’ to

²⁹⁵ The *Regulationist Approach* as advanced by Liepitz (1993), Boyer (1990), Jessop (1997, 2003), Aglietta (1998) and Granovetter (1985), a “loosely networked group of intellectuals who study the present crisis and the emergence of a new social, economic and political order” (Hoogvelt 1997: 105). This framework is based on the notion that the nature of the capitalist economy is *social*, shaped by social networks and institutions and embedded and regulated politically, judicially, structurally and culturally (Krippner 2001: 785).

²⁹⁶ This crucial concept has been developed out of a critique of the Marxist notion of *reproduction*.

include the internalisation of relevant social values and norms. For example, Aglietta speaks of the ‘socialisation of the mode of life’. Boccara refers to ‘anthroponomic factors’, while Alain Lipietz uses the term ‘habitus’ borrowed from Bourdieu to indicate that values and norms that might sustain a mode of regulation are internalised in individual conducts. Yet, as Bob Jessop has pointed out, none of these writers have managed to pinpoint the precise process of transformation because they have failed to theorise how modes of regulation *actually become* internalised in individual conducts. (Hoogvelt 1997: 124)

After the crisis of the Keynesian National Welfare State (KNWS), a historical arrangement or *spatio-temporal fix*²⁹⁷ between national economies and the respective states²⁹⁸, and its predominant mode of production, *fordism*²⁹⁹, such a restructuring and renewal of the mode of accumulation³⁰⁰ is currently underway “on the basis of important technologies, new modes of economic coordination, and the increasing subsumption of extra economic relations under the logic of capital accumulation” (ibid). The KNWS has subsequently and at least partially been replaced in many Western countries by another spatio-temporal ‘fix’, the so-called Schumpeterian Workfare Post-National Regime (SWPN), a term that designates the shifting of state activities - albeit to different degrees in different national contexts - towards the promotion of greater flexibility, innovation (a *post-fordist* mode of accumulation) and the opening of national economies to international trade. The economic and political sphere have been re-articulated and transformed, a process that is still underway and, as a matter of fact, highly contested. The nation state still plays an important, albeit

²⁹⁷ The term refers to the basic orientation of a state in a given period consisting of a specific accumulation strategy (for instance fordism) and a national political project (for instance the welfare state).

²⁹⁸ The term goes back to the British economist John Maynard Keynes (1883-1946) who had advocated that only a relatively equitable distribution of resources would strengthen the demand side and hence the capacity to consume which in turn would stimulate economic growth. Main responsibilities of national governments therefore included to ensure full employment and to regulate collective bargaining between employers and unions.

²⁹⁹ The fordist mode of regulation derives its name from the production paradigm first introduced by Henry Ford. It is based on economies of scale, standardised products, mass production and consumption and thus the need for a continuous expansion of the market, i.e. increasing demand. It is accompanied by a minute division of labour based on the time-and-motion studies of Frederick Charles Taylor (*Taylorism*)

³⁰⁰ Buzzwords like the ‘information economy’, ‘the knowledge society’, ‘globalization’, ‘the learning economy’, ‘turbo capitalism’ and others try to capture this development.

altered role but the national is not the primary scale of economic policy or orientation anymore. As Jessop (2000b) argues, state power has been transferred upwards (e.g. to supranational institutions such the EU, the IMF or the WTO), downwards (through, for instance, decentralization and regionalization) and sideways (through the rise of international relations, cross-border and inter-local regions etc.). Thus 80% of international commerce is conducted between industrial nation states and regions, only 15% of world trade between continents with the overall participation of Africa amounting to only 3% (Deutscher Bundestag 2002: 50, Koopmann und Franzmeyer 2003: 17). This development suggests the term *triadization* as the regional concentration in the three clusters EU, USA and Asian Pacific rather than globalisation (Dicken 1998: 116). Important to note here are the *continuities* in these processes based on the inherent conflictual relations in capitalism:

Capital accumulation depends essentially on the market-mediated exploitation of wage-labour. For, while markets mediate the search for added value, they cannot themselves produce it. Moreover, the very process of commodification rooted in the spread of the market mechanism generates contradictions which cannot be resolved by that mechanism itself. For example, the commodity is both an exchange-value and a use-value; the worker is both an abstract unit of labour power substitutable by other such units (or, indeed, other factors of production) and a concrete individual with specific skills, knowledge, and creativity; the wage is both a cost of production and a source of demand; money functions both as an international currency and as national money; productive capital is both abstract value in motion (notably in the form of profits available for reinvestment) and a concrete stock of time- and place-specific assets in the course of being valorized; and so forth. These structural contradictions are always present in the capital relation but they can assume different forms in different contexts. They can also prove more or less manageable depending on the specific ‘spatio—temporal fixes’ and the nature of the institutionalized class compromises with which they are from time to time. (ibid)

In both capitalist regimes or modes of accumulation - KWNS and the SWPN - these contradictions are present (continuity), the way they are dealt with, however, differ greatly (change). Neo-liberalism as the current predominant policy increases the first side of the contradictions, reinforcing “the abstract-formal moment of exchange

value” “at the expense of the substantive-material moment of use value” (ibid). The deepening and aggravating fundamental contradictions (including market failures, the uninhibited movement and accumulation of capital and the concomitant rising gaps between rich and poor and environmental degradation) might, in fact, prevent the full realization of something worth to be called globalization:

It is in disrupting past fixes and compromises without providing a new structured coherence for continued capital accumulation that neo-liberal forms of globalization appear to be so threatening to many capitalists – let alone other – interests. (Jessop 1999b: 8)

Contrary to Hirst and Thompson then, who claim that current processes of internationalization are not qualitatively different from those before World War I and thus do not deserve a new terminology, Jessop (1999b: 2) argues that there are crucial differences between these historical phases (as outlined above) including for instance a much wider asymmetry between largely immobile labour power and mobile capital today whereas the last century saw an enormous movement of people crossing national boundaries looking for new opportunities³⁰¹:

... the main forms of internationalization in trade, finance, indirect and direct investment, services, and R&D have been changing as has the relative weight of these different domains in overall global flows ... (ibid)

Furthermore, whereas before nation states did not provide social welfare, post-1945 Western industrial economies (KNWS) did. Turning back the wheel of social progress, is prone to either cause social conflict or intense efforts to make these changes more or less acceptable. The role of discourse in these processes of persuading citizens and workers of the beneficial effects of a neoliberal restructuring has therefore greatly increased.

³⁰¹ See also Singh (1998: 6) who argues that in the 19th century citizenship was granted far more easily. “Since then, however, international migration has been reduced to a trickle because of draconian immigration laws and restrictive consular practices.”

Having outlined the general implications of the neoliberal project of restructuring, the following subchapter will tie these considerations more specifically to political-ethical questions any theory of intercultural communication as applied to the international business domain should address since they affect issues central to the concerns of the field, namely intercultural communication and understanding. The focus will be on questions of socio-economic distribution as a necessary precondition for the full participation and recognition of others in society and thus in communication.

4.5. POLITICAL AND ETHICAL QUESTIONS ARISING FROM THE CONTEXT OF THE NEOLIBERAL PROJECT

4.5.1. SOCIAL INEQUALITY AND MISRECOGNITION

A large part of the debate about the relation between processes of globalization and culture has centered on the effects of the spread of specific goods, services and patterns of consumption on different cultures (c.f. chapter 3.1.). It is feared that a global consumer culture and its products are invading, marginalizing, substituting or even eradicating local patterns of consumption, production and cultural practices³⁰²:

Coca-Cola is not just an additional option for all the people around the globe that drink it, but an option that tends to force other options out of existence. And what counts as competition often ends up as a meaningless struggle between massive corporations selling identical products in different packaging. No one's quality of life is significantly improved by the ability to drink Coke rather than Pepsi. [...] Thus, finally, it is an open question whether removing barriers to trade will provide people with new options that they prefer, or rather remove pre-existing options that they would have preferred to the best that is now available to them. (Dupré 2001: 111-112)

³⁰² The argumentation focuses on the influx of more or less standardized goods and services which tend to create "particular types of demand and the shaping of consumer tastes and preferences" (Dicken 1998: 249). These tend to dominate regional markets rapidly and thus marginalize local products. This is not to be confused with the view that global practices and goods automatically lead to homogenization and elimination of difference. Global products do have to be appropriated and adjusted locally, a process that involves *localization* and finally generates a hybrid *glocalization*.

While there surely is an increasing convergence of patterns of consumption, commodities, entertainment and even system of cultural beliefs and practices, differences in socio-economic positioning and hence 'lifestyles' are widening. As has been extensively argued in the preceding sections, current neoliberal policies work as a polarizing force generating and worsening economic, ecological and social distortions such as poverty, inequality and inequity in terms of opportunities and distribution of resources, both on a national and international plane:

There is no doubt that globalization as currently proposed excludes a large part of the world and bestows on only a few countries significant purchasing power and a high level of productivity. Globalization is really a rich-country phenomenon and, to be more exact, something for the richest sectors within those rich countries. In other words, inside the North there is now North and a South, just as both exist within the South. (Ugarteche 2000: 5)

The dissemination of a sophisticated global life style or culture is indeed very limited in scale while not in scope: national 'elites' are becoming internationally increasingly similar in their forms of consumption and entertainment (ways of dressing, driving, eating, working, traveling, and so on), their mobility and access to technologies. At the same time, they become ever more disconnected³⁰³ from other classes of the same nationality:

Los habitantes de Beverly Hills y de los barrios opulentos de México, Lima, Johannesburgo o Bombay, a pesar de las distancias continentales que los separan, viven en condiciones de vida muy cercanas entre ellos, pero muy lejanas de los habitantes de los barrios pobres vecinos que los rodean. De Los Ángeles hasta Vladivostock y desde Río hasta Manila, más personas que no ven crecer sus ingresos, desempleadas y pobres, conviven con pequeñas élites que residen rodeadas de muros con su propia policía y consumiendo toda clase de preciosidades globales. (de Rivera 1998: 113)

[The inhabitants of Beverly Hills and the opulent quarters of Mexico, Lima, Johannesburg or Bombay live, despite the continental distances that separate them, in very similar living conditions albeit very different from the inhabitants of those quarters that surround them. From Los Angeles to Vladivostock and from Rio to Manila, more people who either do not see their income rise or are unemployed or poor live close to small elites whose

³⁰³ In fact, many of these exclusive goods derive their value from being inaccessible to others. Consumption and possession of these goods and services becomes a status and class issue.

residencies are surrounded by walls guarded by their own police and who consume all kinds of global luxuries.]

The argument put forth here is therefore not that cultures are assimilated into one global dominant culture through coercion, consent or a mix between the two nor is it argued that the spread of modernizing elements automatically leads to a loss of traditional cultures³⁰⁴. Increasing inequality, however, is adverse to *any* form of communicative meaning making processes since it distorts systematically the interpersonal relationships in play³⁰⁵. Even though people can of course react to inequality in different ways (for example in a compliant or resistant fashion) depending on a variety of circumstantial and other factors³⁰⁶, unequal conditions are generally not favourable. Apart from suffering caused by physical hardship and insecurity individuals need “freedom from the arbitrary exercise of power, a measure of privacy and control of their lives, and opportunities for self-expression” (Parekh 2000: 132). On a macro level, this is partly caused by the loss of equal democratic participation in political processes – decisions about how to organize society and the social good - through an ever greater political power of unelected entities, the concomitant exclusion of more and more stakeholders in debates and decisions and a

³⁰⁴ As Sayer (2000b: 7) argues, this perspective is often associated with the destruction and loss of somewhat idealized, traditional, small and intact communities and their systems of customs, values and beliefs. He points out that cultural values can also be oppressive “At the same time as capitalism de-values some practices, its continued erosion of traditional relationships frees them up to be determined by actors through deliberation and choice rather than convention, thereby allowing the possibility of a re-moralization in some cases.”

³⁰⁵ Intercultural miscommunication is of course not exclusively based on socio-economic differences. Increasing inequality, though, makes non- or miscommunication more likely. The politics of redistribution and recognition should thus not be treated separately as will be further discussed in ch. 8.

³⁰⁶ When the gap between rich and poor widens and political and economic power is taken away from some groups, these might, as Castells (1996, 1997) and others have repeatedly argued, start to reemphasize local and ethnic identities which might in turn give rise to resistance, localism, fragmentation and, in its worst case, fundamentalism. It is often combined with the perception of powerful homogenizing forces, foreign values and practices generated by markets which endanger particular societies: “Unable to arrest the disintegration of their traditional cultures which have hitherto given meaning to their lives and held them together as communities, they experience a veritable moral panic and become vulnerable to pedlars of a fundamentalist return to an allegedly pristine past” (Parekh 2000: 164).

general reduction of citizenship to consumer choices³⁰⁷. On a different level, the increasing interrelatedness of some ('elite') social circles at the expense of others undermines social cohesion, dissects solidarity and trust and thus the very structure and processes of democratic societies.

Apart from the structural preconditions for communication and participation, though, inequality impacts also on the micro-level of situated communication. As Sayer (2004, 1995) argues succinctly, recognition is based on evaluative judgments. With little control over the conditions of their lives and work, lack of knowledge and resources recognized as valuable by society, individuals, their practices, values and experiences may be become devalued in the eyes of the others³⁰⁸:

Identities are valued or devalued because of the place of their bearers in the prevailing structure of power, and their revaluation entails corresponding changes in the latter. Women, gays, cultural minorities and others cannot express and realize their identities without the necessary freedom of self-determination, a climate conducive to diversity, material resources and opportunities, suitable legal arrangements, and so on, and all these call for profound changes in all areas of life. (Parekh 2000: 2)³⁰⁹

At the same time, social misrecognition tends to impact upon people's identity and sense of worth. Given the fact that reciprocal recognition is institutionally embedded and interactions often occur under grossly unequal conditions, Sayer (2005, chapter 9, p. 7) argues that only "in a relatively equal and free society can all develop their capacities, achieve something and thereby gain recognition". Subjects have to be

³⁰⁷ García Canclini (1995: 208) for instance argues that today nation states are less characterized by solidarity between citizens but have increasingly become communities of consumers differentiated by income (but unified, inside their socio-economic class, by similar tastes and 'lifestyles'). Consumerism, however, is devoid of any moral or civic substance.

³⁰⁸ I am arguing here in terms of conditional recognition (based on achievement), albeit unconditional recognition is even more distorted by relations of domination. (Sayer 2005, chapter 9, p. 15).

³⁰⁹ See also Sayer (2005 chapter 9, p. 10): "Differences in the distribution of respect, contempt, envy, resentment or condescension and deference are partly a product of inequalities in economic distribution, not merely because wealth is often taken as an index of worth, but because economic inequalities make objective differences to people in terms of their chances of achieving things that are likely to win conditional recognition."

... in a strong sense equal and free to exercise autonomy, not merely formally in terms of their rights but in terms of their capabilities for living in ways they have reason to value. (Sayer 2005, chapter 9, p. 7)

Any form of market fundamentalism is thus prone to contribute to the diminishing of cultural diversity either through exclusion, marginalization or intervention:

The fear is, that the different cultural standards could lead to an international 'race to the bottom', down to a conformity to the more 'cost-effective' norms and values of other cultures. All those who are too inflexible to adapt to these cost-effective standards would be wiped out in competition. (Löhr and Steinmann 1998: 11)

To be sure, capitalism itself is difference blind, meaning that as long as differences do not disturb the smooth running of business they can potentially be integrated³¹⁰.

Although the functioning of capitalism is not dependent on gender, ethnic or other differences "its concrete practices are usually gendered" (Ray and Sayer 1999: 14).

Social stratification and 'order' often build upon and follow ethnic, cultural, gender and/ or age markers of difference³¹¹. A further increase in economic inequality thus deepens unequal conditions for cultures societies and regions entailing a "progressive spatial segregation, separation and exclusion" (Bauman 1998: 3, see also Castells 2000: 67)³¹². Bearing in mind, that there is hardly a "full structural integration and strategic coordination across the globe" Jessop (1999b: 4)

... the various processes involved in globalization actually re-order – across economic space on different spatial scales – place-based differences and complementarities as the basis for dynamic competitive advantages ... (ibid: 5)³¹³

³¹⁰ In fact, markets need, address and construe different target groups and their concomitant tastes.

³¹¹ As Dicken (1998: 268) points out, different groups are differently hit by economic crises: women more than men, black and Hispanics more than whites, and blue-collar more than white-collar workers.

³¹² De Rivera (2001: 18) even speaks of an "apartheid socio-económico mundial".

³¹³ In Mexico, for instance, the marginalization of indigeneous communities has severely increased during the ten years the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) has been established and so have consequently multicultural conflict: "Estos conflictos se intensifican en tanto la política económica neoliberal, al acentuar en la última década la pobreza y la marginación de los indígenas y mestizos, agrava la migración y el desarraigo, los enfrentamientos por tierras y por el poder político. (García Canclini 1995: 169) [These conflicts have intensified in the last decade since the neoliberal economic politics accentuated poverty, the marginalization of indigenous people and mestizos, aggravated migration and uprooting, conflicts about land and political power.]

Regional cultures are thus not only exposed to the embedding effects of the market, they are often seen as not useful, problematic or even at cross-purposes with capital accumulation and not being compatible with consumer or enterprise culture³¹⁴:

Nicht mit ökonomischer, finanzieller und politischer Macht ausgestattete regionale Kulturen sehen sich z.T. einem *Abwertungsdruck* ihrer humanen und ökologischen Ressourcen, ihres Sozialkapitals und ihrer Institutionen ausgesetzt, der einer Kapitulation vor dem politisch-ökonomischen Expansionszwang der Stärkeren gleichkommt ... (Elsner 2000: 8)

[Those regional cultures which lack economical, financial or political resources are faced with a devaluation of their human and ecological resources, their social capital and institutions which equals a capitulation in the face of the political-economic force to expansion of the stronger ...]

Elsner (2000: 8) speaks here of a double tendency to uniformation/ homogenization and hierarchization/ structural heterogenization. The first refers to the reduction of diversity through the orientation and subjugation to a single value or standard, namely success or 'use-value' in the global market³¹⁵. The term structural heterogenization describes the increased social stratification and disintegration often enmeshed with ethnicity and the marginalization of specific cultural groups:

Mit diesem Begriff wird eine Gesellschafts- und Wirtschaftsstruktur gekennzeichnet, in der sich unterschiedliche Produktionsniveaus und Produktionsweisen abgeschichtet gelagert, miteinander verschränken – gewissermaßen im Spektrum von den hoch produktiven Tochterfirmen multinationaler Konzerne einerseits und einer kärglichen Selbstversorgungswirtschaft andererseits. Die bekannte Folge dieser Struktur besteht in einer Akzentuierung der Kluft zwischen Reich und Arm, zwischen Privilegierung und Marginalität in ein und derselben Gesellschaft. (Senghaas 2002: 6-7)

[This term designates a social and economic structure in which different levels and ways producing are hierarchically interrelated and layered – ranging for

³¹⁴ As Lo Bianco (2000: 94) observes, some differences become more accentuated through an increasing socio-economic inequality whereas others diminish: "Paradoxically, in the same moment of cultural, civic and personal diversity brought about by globalisation, with its hybrid language and cultural forms emerging from new population mixes, there is also a massive contraction of diversity."

³¹⁵ "Während Diversität echte Verschiedenheit auf vielen kulturellen Dimensionen meint, bedeutet hierarchische Uniformierung die *Vergleichbarmachung* der Kulturen nach dem *einen Maßstab*, dem des 'Erfolges' auf dem 'Weltmarkt'." (Elsner 2000: 8) [While diversity means authentic diversity on a number of cultural dimensions, hierarchical uniformity means the comparability of cultures along one measure, the 'success' in the 'global market'.]

instance from highly productive subsidiaries of multinational companies on the one hand to a miserable self-reliant economy on the other. The well-known consequence of this structure is the accentuation of rich and poor, of privileges and marginalization in one and the same society.]

4.5.2. THE CONCEPT OF TOLERANCE

Hardly any author writing in the area of intercultural communication would disagree with the view that ethical questions are fundamental to the field and lie at the heart of every theoretical and practical approach. Very little attention, though, is given to the complexities of those questions in relation to international business. Instead, many authors refer vaguely to some “ethical imperatives” such as social justice that require “addressing white privilege, racism, and other forms of prejudices” (Bennett 2000: 20) showing their good-will without, however, addressing the intricacies these claims entail.

The concept of tolerance is one of the most commonly used terms to describe the ethics behind intercultural approaches, but it is far from being unproblematic.

Tolerance might actually imply asymmetrical power relations:

It is the knowledge of the possession of power on one’s side and of powerlessness on the other side, which makes communication difficult. In such a context, the possibility of an ‘equal exchange’, or ‘establishing co-membership’, of ‘empathy and rapport’ – all of which are seen as essential to a good communication’s environment – are remote, for reasons which have little to do with language or accent, little to do with culture or with culturally derived speech conventions, but a great deal to do with **structure**. (Murray and Sondhi 1987: 30, quoted in Chang and Holt 1997: 208)

The plea for tolerance thus “implies conceding the validity of society’s disapproval and relying on its self-restraint” (Parekh 2000: 1). The structural advantage of one group over another or of one individual over another might lie at the root for misunderstandings, misconstruals, divergent interests or values and resulting conflicts.

In fact, unequal power relations are a necessary even though not sufficient precondition for the idea of tolerance to arise as a solution. Tolerance implies that the tolerator has the power to interfere with, "... influence, or remove the offending practice, but refrain from using that power" (Mendus 1989: 8). The appeal to tolerance is thus generally made towards majorities with the resources to exert influence on minorities in the hope that they will refrain from doing so. The problematic nature of 'tolerance' is particularly salient in the case of foreign and second language learners and speakers who have not yet fully 'mastered' the language and discourses of the target speaker-community. They might be subjected to stereotyping processes (Giles and Coupland 1991: 118) and, ultimately, dismissed as incompetent communication partners on the basis of their lower social status as immigrants³¹⁶. A quest for tolerance in this situation is an appeal to the goodwill of the native speaker diverting attention from the asymmetrical social structure of majority-minority relations that systematically distort the process of communication.

Apart from the difficulties with this concept, the hope that is connected with the promotion of tolerance is in danger of failing in exactly those situations which are problematic, that is in circumstances where diversity is "coupled with dislike, disapproval or disgust" (Mendus 1989: 18-19) and, I would like to add, conflicts of interests. If not combined with a deeper *understanding*, the 'other' is in these situations usually regarded as simply being wrong with the result of tolerance ending quick and sharply. The suspension of good will can entail further exclusionary practices and transport us into a sphere of indifference (Wuthnow et al. 1984: 239). The concept of tolerance can potentially misleads us into harmonious thinking,

³¹⁶ This phenomenon has been investigated under the heading of 'host-gatekeeper' interaction.

fictitious neutrality and false ideas about real-world conflicts intertwined with issues of power and structure. It remains on the individual plane with no political message. Following from the above I therefore contend that a theory of intercultural communication is only of interest and relevance if deeper seated conflicts are addressed that arise out of different values, worldviews, interests *and* structural inequalities. If conflicts between members of different social and linguistic groups were simple misunderstandings about issues nobody has a stake in, these could easily be resolved. It is therefore “long overdue” (Paige and Martin 1996: 37, see also Blommaert and Verschueren 1991: 10) to recognise that “power and power differentials inherent in the social and political context play a critical part in intercultural education”³¹⁷. The analysis of ethnicity (and by implication culture, gender and other markers of difference) should be set “squarely within the context of economic and political structure and process” (Fenton 1999: 236). As Parek argues succinctly, misrecognition cannot be abolished by rationally persuading the dominant by intellectual argument and moral appeal

This is to misunderstand the dynamics of the process of recognition. Misrecognition has both a cultural and a material basis. White Americans, for example, take a demeaning view of African Americans partly under the influence of the racist culture, partly because this legitimizes the prevailing system of domination, and partly because the deeply disadvantaged blacks do sometimes exhibit some of the features that confirm such stereotypes. Misrecognition, therefore, can only be countered by both undertaking a rigorous critique of the dominant culture and radically restructuring the prevailing inequalities of economic and political power. Since the dominant group welcomes neither the radical critique nor the corresponding political praxis, the struggle for recognition involves cultural and political contestation and sometimes even violence, as Hegel (1960) highlighted in his analysis of the dialectic of recognition and which Taylor’s (1994) sanitized version of it ignores. As we have seen, the politics of culture is integrally tied up with the politics of power because culture is itself institutionalized power and deeply imbricate with other systems of power. Cultural self-esteem cannot be developed and sustained in a vacuum and requires appropriate changes in all

³¹⁷ See also Byram and Risager (1999: 47) who argue in the context of the European Union that “... there has to be not just tolerance of foreigners but understanding and acceptance of others and their differences.”

the major areas of life. No multicultural society can be stable and vibrant unless it ensures that its constituent communities receive both just recognition and a just share of economic and political power. It requires a robust form of social, economic and political democracy to underpin its commitment to multiculturalism. (Parekh 2000: 342-342)

Any theory of intercultural communication requires a discussion of the nature of well-being and an explicit commitment to values such as well-being, social equality, fair distribution of resources, and social welfare. It should take into consideration the diverse modes of disaggregating people and generating inequality and relations of domination. Only by raising "... the question of the social costs of economic violence; and thus try[ing] to lay foundations for an economics of well-being" (Bourdieu 1998: 29) can processes of misrecognition and misunderstanding be understood.

4.6. SUMMARY

The present chapter has first of all outlined the diverse perspectives and interpretations of 'globalization' in different spheres of social life (cultural, economic, political and social) from *hyperglobalists* (who view a linear progression towards a given end state in different social domains claiming that we live in a new historical period) over *sceptics* (strongly countering the preceding perspective and emphasising continuity and prolongation of structures and processes) to *transformationists* or *moderates* who acknowledge to a more or lesser degree that some changes are taking place but that the term 'globalization' itself is often used in an oversimplifying way obscuring the contestation and contingency of current processes and thus political agency.

In a second step I turned to neoliberal discourse and characterized its main tenets before analysing the principles neoliberal policies are based upon and effects these exert when implemented in the real world. While neoliberalism is foremost a political

discourse that has achieved a hegemonic status in many contemporary societies, national governments and supranational organizations, it is intrinsically related to neoclassical economics and its theoretical premises such as an ahistorical, timeless and institution free approach to the market and a restricted, individualistic view of human beings as rational actors and utility maximizers. By focusing primarily on narrowly defined gains and outcomes, broader and more complex socio-economic (history, social-embeddedness, institutions etc.) issues and consequences are missed or deliberately circumvented, a perspective Bourdieu (1998: 29) has termed “economic fatalism”.

In contrast to neoclassical economics, neoliberalism as a political discourse gains additional force through reference to globalization as an allegedly unifying, equalizing, quasi-natural (i.e. agentless) or autonomous force (a hyperglobalist narrative termed *globalism*) that forces economic actors of all scales into fierce competition. This process is often presented from a socio-biological perspective and imbued with socio-darwinist values representing the ‘selection process’ of the ‘fittest’ and most ‘adaptable’ economic actors (‘species’) through the ‘free’ global market (‘natural environment’) as the most efficient method to achieve the evolutionary aim of gaining maximal individual (and by implication social) wealth through constant (for instance, technological, organisational or communicative) change and adaptation. Based on the putative claim of ultimate universal beneficiality, neoliberal discourse seeks to generate acceptance of and identification with particular policies and changes it was meant to denote in the first place.

In order to show the practical and ethical deficits of neoliberal discourse, I dedicated the third part of this chapter to an analysis of current neoliberal policies, namely the changing nature and patterns of production processes and international trade

(instantiated by TNCs), the shift to international economic policies as disseminated by supranational institutions, and the emergence of an international, deregulated financial market based on the availability of new information and communication technologies (Steger 1999: 27, Singh 1998: 3-4, Hoogvelt 1997 and Dicken 1998: 102). As I have argued, the proliferation of neoliberal policy through its three main pillars, *deregulation, liberalisation and privatisation*, neither leads to improved - not to mention perfect - competition nor greater efficiency as proclaimed by its proponents. It invites monopolisation and the abuse of national regulatory differences with adverse effects on consumers, employment patterns, (and by implication buying power and social equality), prices, state income via taxes, democracy and the effectiveness of laws. While international production and trade is growing, ever greater economic, social and economical imbalances and detrimental effects come to light. Thus, the system not only fares badly on its own terms but in fact leads to advantages for stronger economic actors be they nation states, companies or individuals.

The context of socio-economic changes along neoliberal lines poses serious ethical questions for an academic field that investigates globalising forces in their cultural aspects and attempts to intervene pedagogically on the basis of these understandings. The deepening of political, economic and cultural marginalization, exclusion and inequity impacts crucially upon conditions under which people meet, communicate, and evaluate each other. The hope that understanding would come to light if only people overcame their prejudices and changed their *attitudes* towards particular 'others', could be shown to be illusionary in this context.

CHAPTER 5

METHODOLOGICAL REFINEMENT AND ANALYSES

In this chapter I will analyse the corpus along the research questions outlined in chapter one according to the methodology proposed in chapter two.

I want to stress again (as outlined in and argued for in chapter 2.1.2) that I will not only analyse the discursive and generic make-up of the respective texts, but also engage with the claims to validity the authors make about the nature of ‘globalization’ thus taking critique as always involving reference to objects and relations outside of our own discourses. In other words, I will contest wherever the text displays, in my view, a distorted or ideological representation of *what is the case* on the basis of the detailed analysis of international socio-economic processes I undertook in chapter four. My own perspective on and discursive construal of these transformations, their extent and ethical implications can, of course, equally be wrong or fallible. This, however can only be assessed through intersubjective reasoning and informed debate which I understand to be at the core of academic practices and advancement.

In a last step, a disclaimer has to be made: The corpus provides infinite material for analysis. While I will attend to the individual intricacies of each text, I nevertheless restricted the analysis to some salient discursive and generic key features, firstly in order to avoid exceeding length (and repetition) and secondly, and more importantly, in order to show general tendencies and patterns in the corpus which I take to be representative of the whole field. With these considerations in mind, I have coded particular passages for analysis while leaving others – as long as they do not provide additional important insights or provide clear deviations from the general tendencies – aside.

While in the first chapter I have formulated and outlined the overall and specific research question, in the second chapter the general methodology and theoretical assumptions and in chapter three and four the grounds for the discussion of the complex issues involved in the notion of globalization and culture, I will now introduce sensitizing concepts and select the appropriate methodological instruments to answer to the research questions. This decisions means, of course, bringing certain aspects to the fore and leaving others in the background. I will answer to the three sets of questions outlined in the introduction in the following order: the *generic make-up* of the texts, the *concept of culture* and the *representations of socio-economic changes* employed.

5.1. GENRE ANALYSIS

The goal of this set of questions was to gain insight into the generic make-up and social dimensions of the respective article:

- *What kind of generic structures do the texts display? Do these comply with features commonly found in academic genres such as the research article or do they include other generic characteristics?*
- *What kind of disciplines, voices and perspectives do the authors draw upon and find relevant? Are other perspectives brought in? To what extent is dissent tolerated?*
- *What kind of epistemological and ontological stances are adopted?*

As has been outlined in chapter 2, this study makes the following theoretical assumptions: Genre is a form of linguistically mediated social action shaped by and

shaping communities of practice (e.g. professional and academic communities) which utilize the genre as a means of communication in the pursuit of their common goals (Swales 1990, Bazerman 2004, Fairclough 2003, Bathia 2004: 87). As I have also explained, Fairclough (2003: 71), in particular, takes a cautious stance towards the dominance of strategic purposes in the interpretation of genres. In addition to this, he argues that genres are not “in” text but that authors rather draw upon generic resources, mix and change them. While I have taken this view into consideration, it was nevertheless necessary, [see amendments] to give an overview over the macrogeneric features of the corpus which, to some extent, entailed a tendency towards a Swalesian approach.

As Bathia (2004: 114) argues, in order to generate explanations about a specific generic structure the analysts has to go outside the texts because they

... often need to be interpreted in the context of text-external aspects of the genre, i.e. the goals of the specialist community and the broader institutional and disciplinary contexts in which the genre is likely to be constructed, interpreted and used in real-life situations (Bathia 2004: 114)

To this end, the third chapter has established the ecological context of the respective discourse community: I have outlined the institutionalization of the degree programme mainly in the Eastern part of Germany, the current situation of the HE system in Germany and hence the location of the field in this specific national-institutional context, where financial scarcity has instigated and forced some academics to look for funding outside of the university and to commercialize and offer their services to third parties. In addition to this, I have described IBC to be at the intersection of national and international discourses about intercultural issues on the one hand and, on the other, in close and complex vicinity to neoclassical economics. I have thereby answered to the primary question as to which communities of practice (academics from the same and other fields such as for instance economics or management studies,

possible funding agencies, private companies, students, managers, consultants, trainers etc.) interact in this genre system. My hypothesis is that academics in the field of IBC need to negotiate with and make their knowledge claims credible to these different participants and institutions and their potentially conflicting interests and stakes and that consequently, the generic make-up of these texts bears traces of these relations and interactions. In the following section, I will first of all outline the research on generic structures of academic articles (in particular the research article), adapt the framework to the corpus under investigation, before presenting the methodology and the actual analysis.

5.1.1. GENERIC FEATURES OF ACADEMIC ARTICLES

As Lewin, Fine and Young (2001: 2) claim the *sine qua non* of social science research texts is their “division into sections detailing the background of the study, the methods, the results, and the interpretation of the results.” These different parts have been analysed by different authors, i.e. abstracts and introductions by Swales (1981a and 1990), the abstract by Salager-Meyer (1990) and Ayers (1993), the discussion section by Dudley-Evans (1994) and Hopkins and Dudley-Evans (1988), the results section by (Thompson 1993) and the introduction and discussion section (Lewin, Fine and Young 2003) among others. While most articles seem to follow the IMRD-structure (INTRODUCTION/ PURPOSE-METHOD-RESULTS-DISCUSSION/ RECOMMENDATIONS), the assumption of a fixed stable form-function relationship as in early move-structure studies, has given way to an acknowledgement of variability. Swales, for instance, had in his publication in 1981 suggested the existence

of three different obligatory *moves* in research article introductions which he reworked in 1990 into a more flexible framework that could account for different writers' purposes in different contexts and thus structural varieties:

MOVE 1: ESTABLISHING A TERRITORY

Step A: Claiming centrality
and/ or
Step B: Making topic generalization(s)
and/ or
Step C: Reviewing items of previous research

MOVE 2: ESTABLISHING A NICHE

Step A: Counter-Claiming
and/ or
Step B: Indicating a Gap
and/ or
Step C: Question Raising
and/ or
Step D: Continuing a Tradition

MOVE 3: OCCUPYING A NICHE

Step A: Outlining purposes
or
Step A1: Announcing present research
Step B: Announcing principal findings
Step C: Indicating article structure

Research on the *discussion of results* section – which apparently offers a move structure very similar to the one in the introduction, albeit in reverse order – has similarly been adapted (Dudley-Evans 2007)³¹⁸. While most studies have focused on individual sections of the (natural scientific) research article, Lewin, Fine and Young (2001: 40) provide a taxonomy of both the introduction and discussion section in social scientific articles, a less well researched area. In a first instance, they define MOVES as consisting of an open set of semantic features for *relevance*, *gap* and

³¹⁸ The discussion sections investigated seemed to display even more variability than the introduction. In other words, move-flexibility varies according to sections.

preview (ACTS) and expand, on the basis of their corpus, Swales' model of moves in the introductory section:

MOVE 1: CLAIMING RELEVANCE OF FIELD

Obligatory:

ACT: asserting relevance of field of which research is part

ACT: Reporting what is known about phenomena under study

Optional:

ACT: Making assertions about the research process of others

ACT: Reporting terminological conventions

ACT: Reporting conclusions drawn by previous authors

ACT: Drawing (own) conclusions about the research of others

ACT: Metacomments

ACT: Narrowing parameters of the field

MOVE 2: ESTABLISHING THE GAP PRESENT RESEARCH IS MEANT TO FILL:

Obligatory:

ACT: Pointing out deficiencies in the present state of knowledge

Optional:

ACT: Positing an ideal way to fill the gap that has just been created

ACT: Mitigating – Pointing out positive contribution of previous Research

ACT: Reporting what is known about phenomena under study

MOVE 3: PREVIEWING AUTHORS' NEW ACCOMPLISHMENTS

Obligatory:

ACT: Stating purpose of present study or contents of article

Optional:

ACT: Positing an ideal way to fill the gap that has just been created

ACT: Reporting what is known about phenomena under study

ACT: Justifying hypothesis

ACT: Disclosing whether hypotheses have been confirmed or not

ACT: Summarizing methods

ACT: Presenting hypotheses or research questions

While most of these acts (15) are optional, the authors (ibid: 40) found – in their corpus - an obligatory force for the moves *asserting relevance of field, reporting what is known about phenomena, pointing out deficiencies in the present state of knowledge and stating purpose of present study or contends of article*. Although this shows great variability, research articles seem to be a fairly conservative genre still tending towards conformity:

Although some variation according to discipline and degree of formality of the journal in which the article is published has been noted, the academic article does appear to have predictable structure that is widely recognized. (Dudley-Evans 2007: 7, see also Mitchell 2001: 11)

What these study, however, did not reveal, is how much variability might be acceptable to the target audience, i.e. how reduced an article can be in order to still be recognized as such.

5.1.2. DIFFERENCES BETWEEN ACADEMIC TEXTS FROM DIFFERENT NATIONAL BACKGROUNDS

While English research articles do not seem to display an overall obligatory move structure (although many parts are fairly conventionalized) in and even less so across, disciplines, the picture becomes even more complex when academic articles produced in other national contexts and languages come into play. To begin with, Duszak (1997: 24) argues that the research article – the predominant focus of genre research in academic writing - might not even be the most representative instance of academic communication:

... it would seem indeed that a research paper could be a good example of a prototypical form of academic communication. As a rule, it is relatively brief and has a sharp topical focus. It shows partly schematized strategies of standpoint selection and defence. Globally speaking, it can be taken as a turn within a broader (open-ended) academic dialogue whose purpose is to make a

(single) academic 'point'. [...] On the other hand, the research article is not the only form of intragroup professional exchange, and its conceptions and textual realizations may vary across fields and languages. (ibid)

Academic texts in general, she continues arguing “exhibit rhetorical patterns that are compatible with general discursal preferences in a given language” (ibid: 16, see also Bathia 1993: 37), a view reflected in the growing body of research in cross-cultural differences of research articles, their orientation towards specific contents and topics, epistemological presuppositions, textual conventions, styles, argumentative structure, rhetorical devices, explicitness and metadiscoursal guidance, hedging etc. (Duszak 1997, Clyne 1987, Mauranen 1993, Ventola 1992, Gunnarsson 1997, Scollon and Scollon 1995, Connor 1996 among others). More specifically, German (and Polish) academic texts are, according to the same author, more assertive and monologic and display, “rather elitist attitudes to academic jargon”, contrary to a more egalitarian, dialogic approach to academic rhetoric in Anglo-American text (ibid: 17). She reports in the case of the latter a greater “[s]ensitivity to readers’ needs” (ibid: 13), articulated textually through a stronger emphasis on exposition, tentativeness and metadiscursive guidance. She explains the former as an alienation of theoretical from practical knowledge through “a kind of contemplative rhetoric that is traditionally combined with Teutonic intellectual traditions (Galtung 1985)” (ibid). Clyne (1987) draws on the same author³¹⁹ in his study of the structural organization of essays from different foreign students in the U.S. The analyzed texts, he reports, displayed differences in preferred patterns of exposition and interpersonal interaction such as e.g. reader involvement. The German texts, in particular, were characterized by a certain “freedom to digress” (1987: 225) from linear argumentation³²⁰, mirroring the general

³¹⁹ Harré and Krausz (1996: 94) critique research based on Galtung’s notion of “intellectual styles” as promoting epistemic relativism through “independent and irreducible thought-styles, sets of absolute presuppositions, paradigms, narrative conventions and so on.”

³²⁰ Clyne goes back here to Kaplan (1972) whose investigation of written (especially academic)

discursive conventions in (German) academic books and dissertations to include “lengthy *Exkurse*” (ibid: 76). He explains that these digressions fulfil specific functions in German academic text, namely

... to add a theoretical component in an empirical text, a historical overview, ideological dimension or simply more content, or engage in a continuing polemic with members of a competing school. As we shall see (below 1.3.5 *re* Galtung, 6.3.1), these are all crucial aspects of German intellectual style and German culture. The presence of one or more sections labeled *Exkurs* (excursion, ‘digression’) in most good dissertations in German-speaking universities confirms that linearity is not a prerequisite of academic writing in German. (ibid: 163)

According to Clyne, English-speaking scholars tend to use more advance organizers to indicate the path and organization of the text and to place these earlier. Their texts are generally characterized by the integration of data, propositional symmetry, hedging, parenthetical verbs (*seem, appear, guess*) and passive infinitives (*it is to be hoped*) among others. For the German academic register, he lists the following markers³²¹: agentless passives, impersonal and reflexive constructions, performatives hedged through modal verbs, e.g. “We *can* predict general agreement,” ‘empty’ discourse markers, abundant nominalizations and compound nouns, syntactic complexity, leftbranching embedding, e.g. “die *als fast paradoxes Bewußtseinsphänomen zu*

discourse across cultures gave rise to the field of contrastive rhetoric (Kaplan 1988, Connor and Kaplan 1987), Kaplan postulated four kinds of discourse structures - parallel constructions, circularity, digression and lack of conclusion - that contrasted in different ways with the English ideal of linearity in argumentation. According to Clyne (1987: 225), ‘linearity’ versus ‘digressiveness’ is measured according to the position of propositions in relation to the macro proposition on which they depend. A text is thus regarded to be ‘slightly digressive’ if: “a. some propositions are dependent on the overarching proposition (macro proposition) of the section of the text in which they are situated; b. some propositions do not follow the macro proposition on which they depend; and/ or c. some segments of the text are inserted inside another topic segment on a different topic” (ibid).

³²¹ Some of these coincide, however, with characteristics found in English academic discourse. Halliday (1994: 84), for instance, analyzed the historical development of general features of scientific English alongside the institutionalization of modern science throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth century. The seven characteristics of modern scientific English he found - interlocking definitions, technical taxonomies, special expressions, lexical density, syntactic ambiguity, grammatical metaphor and semantic discontinuity “evolved to meet the needs of scientific method, and of scientific argument and theory” (ibid) such as to “to package complex phenomena into single semiotic entities” (Hyland 2004: 7). Hyland also reports of a study by Atkinson (1996) who found “that papers steadily became less affectively and ‘narratively’ focused and more ‘informational’ and abstract over this period, shifting to an ‘object-centred’ rhetoric organised around specific community-generated research problems rather than around the experiencing gentleman-scientist.”

bewertende Tatsache” [the fact that has to be evaluated as an almost paradoxical consciousness phenomenon”].

While it is important to take the specificities of academic writing in different national context and languages into consideration, Clyne adds, however, that there are tendencies that draw away from nationally unified academic communities or ‘cultures’, specifically in the context of the current influence of Anglo-American research literature. Duszak (1997: 35) makes a similar argument:

In a world of growing international contacts, academic communities are in a state of constant definition. They are field communities in that sharing cognitive models is a prerequisite for engagement in dialogue. They are discourse communities in that the production, and interpretation, of academic texts requires negotiation of textual and interpersonal values in reporting research.

The growing ‘internationalization’ of academia through, for instance, greater access to information via the internet, increased interpersonal exchange between different locations via conferences and travel, the dominance of English as a lingua franca and of Anglo-Saxon journals and publications as the standard for academic achievement, has surely lead to a larger interpenetration and to a certain degree homogenization of academic work and practices. As Gibbons (1998: 72) argues: “By contrast with most industrial sectors, the area where globalization seems uncontested is in the sphere of knowledge production.” Through the increasing disciplinary specialisation of the German HE systems, academics have more options to affiliate themselves with and be members of multiple “communities of practice” (Lave and Wenger 1991) and might thereby develop different communication styles. These processes are, however, as Duszak (1997: 27) points out, heavily influenced by “... integrative or isolative tendencies within an academic community [which] have to do with the level of conservativeness it cultivates” as well as with “the size of the regional community, its

location, and its contacts with other communities” (ibid: 31, see also Melander, Swales and Frederickson 1997).

My reason for confining the present investigation to the German context lies in the fact that this group of writers shares a common *institutional* context and the specific dynamics and changes therein. While the assumption of a national academic discourse community with homogeneous practices might not hold under current influences, there might still be specific dominant styles of writing and knowledge construction in specific communities in specific institutions. The texts under analysis do in their majority not include abstracts - despite the general influence from Anglo-Saxon journal practices on German academic articles. While abstracts usually raise interest (introducing the topic, the gap to be filled, the method and promoting the results and conclusions), their absence gives specific salience to the title and the introduction which partly have to fulfil this function (I will come back to this point in the analysis of the globalization discourses located thematically in the majority of texts corpus in the introduction). Secondly, as Duszak argues and as I will also show in more detail in the section about the generic features of the corpus, the research article does indeed not seem to be the main means of communication for the case of the field of IBC. Thirdly, the digressiveness of the argument Clyne reports of, seem also be relevant to the present case under investigation. Although the propositional distance will not be an analytical focus in my research, I will come back to this issue in the above mentioned section.

5.1.3. DESCRIPTION OF THE CORPUS

A first analysis of the corpus has revealed that none of these articles displays a generic structure that could be described as a research article, confirming Duszak's hypothesis outlined above, that the research article might not be the prevalent means of communication in a given academic community. What is missing from the majority of these texts is the introduction of a research gap embedded in a *specific* academic territory (usually a generalized lack of research and a problem in the business world is identified) and, above all, an empirical investigation.

Therefore, no research methods and specific research instruments are introduced and applied to data and no results are discussed. At the same time, though, the corpus displays many linguistic surface features of academic writing, they make claims to (theoretical) knowledge, are overwhelmingly nominal in structure, feature technical lexis, interlocking topics, long nominal groups, nominalization representing processes, absence of personal pronouns in the first persons etc. (Biber, Conrad and Reppen 1998: 60, Halliday 1984) and are thus, in their majority, seemingly not directed towards lay people. In order to come to an appreciation of the generic features (and to thereby develop move-categories), I will give a brief description of the corpus:

The articles vary greatly in length, from 6 to 44 pages (full text, excluding bibliography), though the majority (18 out of 24) range from 9 to 18 pages:

TEXT	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
PAGES	10	13	9	9	17	44	31	12	14	15	18	7

TEXT	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24
PAGES	11	10	6	12	17	21	11	12	10	23	7	26

Fourteen out of the twenty-four articles include diagrams or tables, twenty-one include either case studies and/ or examples from training. Both features, the diagrammes and case studies, are complemented by an even larger number of lists (indicated by bullet points or numbers), among these 26 lists of some component of intercultural training (phases, goals, techniques, approaches, effects etc.), 19 lists of intercultural competencies (components), 8 lists of typical and specific cultural ‘dimensions’, values, patterns etc. Taken together, these three features take up the following textual space³²²:

TEXT	VISUALS/ DIAGRAMMES	LISTS	CASE STUDIES/ EX. FROM THE BUSINESS WORLD/ TRAINING MATERIAL	PERCENTAGE OF SPACE (PAGES)
1	2,5/ 10	1,75/ 10	1,5/ 10	57%
2	1,55/ 13	3,1/ 13	3,9/ 13	66%
3	0/ 9	3/ 9	0/ 9	33%
4	1,5/ 9	2/ 9	0,6/ 9	37%
5	2,5/ 17	9,9/ 17	3,1/ 17	91%
6	10/ 44	22,1/ 44	2/ 44	96%
7	0/ 31	4/ 31	2,3/ 31	20%
8	0,75/ 12	0/ 12	0/ 12	0,6%
9	0/ 14	2,35/ 14	1,9/ 14	30%
10	0,9/ 15	4,9/ 15	0,5/ 15	42%
11	0/ 18	0,5/ 18	1/ 18	0,8%
12	0/ 7	0,1/ 7	5,6/ 7	80%
13	0,5/ 11	2,6/ 11	1,4/ 11	41%
14	1,1/ 10	0,8/ 10	4,6/ 10	65%
15	0/ 6	2,4/ 6	1/ 6	57%
16	0,2/ 12	0/ 12	0/ 12	0,2%
17	0/ 17	0/ 17	1,8/ 17	11%
18	0/ 21	3,6/ 21	0/ 21	17%
19	1,3/ 11	0/ 11	0,5/ 11	16%
20	0,6/ 12	0,5/ 12	1,5/ 12	23%
21	0/ 10	1/ 10	0/ 10	10%
22	0/ 23	2,55/ 23	6/ 23	38%
23	0,4/ 7	1,9/ 7	1,4/ 7	53%
24	0,8/ 26	3,85/ 26	26	19%

³²² I have represented the textual page in percentages since not all pages have the same format and counting lines would therefore not be representative.

This means that two texts are almost entirely made up of these elements (91%, 96%), one to 80%, five texts devote more than half of their space to them (57%, 66%, 65%, 57%, 53%), five at least a third (33%, 37%, 30%, 42%, 41%, 38%), and six approximately a fifth (20%, 11%, 17%, 16%, 10%, 19%), while only three texts range below 1% (0,6%, 0,8,%, 02%). This rather big share of visuals, tables, lists and extracts has also to be introduced and commented on, i.e. the average percentage of these items is even greater.

In terms of content, the majority of authors (20 out of 24) begin with a longer or shorter narrative about international economic processes, the need for intercultural competencies in this context and the claim that intercultural training is indispensable to develop them. Some (e.g. TEXT 1, 2, 11, 17, 18, 21, 24) claim that intercultural training should therefore be part of university education, while others focus exclusively on intercultural training for managers (e.g. TEXT 4, 5, 12, 22, 23). Most texts introduce theoretical concepts (above all related to the notion of *interculture*, *intercultural competencies* and *culture*), establish a research gap and what is known about the phenomena. Several authors (e.g. TEXT 4, 6, 14, 17) sketch out in a second step general principles and/ or goals, phases and effects of intercultural training, while others present at this stage different approaches to training currently in use, including their aims, contents and methods or their theoretical background (TEXT 12, 13, 15, 19). Eight authors conclude their article with a description of a training they developed themselves and/ or in cooperation with others (TEXT 2, 4, 5, 9, 12, 13, 14, 23) with different foci depending on the respective clients they were developed for (e.g. to prepare managers for their work stay in China, to enhance multicultural team work, to integrate intercultural training in university business education) or the development of a degree programme they co-developed or work in (TEXT 1, 2, 18,

40, 21), sometimes followed by a reiteration of the claims about the desirability of intercultural training for higher education, business degree programmes and foreign language courses. Only one author presents (TEXT 20) a set of hypothesis of how to create corporate cohesion across national cultures based on a study she herself conducted (in German companies in Thailand) without however, detailing the research methodology or procedure. One article (TEXT 11) begins by establishing an academic research ‘territory’ by reference to several other disciplines which have taken cultural aspects of communication into consideration.

5.1.4. ANALYSIS: GENERIC FEATURES OF THE CORPUS

While differences in communicative purpose to some agree correspond to linguistic differences, there is no consensus or common practice of what counts as a move, neither in terms of criteria (lexico-grammatical, semantic, communicative function), nor in terms of length (sentences, clauses, or paragraphs) and/ or boundaries, particularly since communicative purposes evolve over the course of a text, rather than beginning and ending at marked sections. Hyland (2003: 140) therefore rejects computerized move analyses:

Concordance techniques are unhelpful when dealing with move structure analyses and these larger rhetorical stages in texts have to be identified manually. This is because the schematic structure that writers employ to shape their purposes for a particular readership are not always explicitly marked linguistically, but more often draw on pragmatic understandings. Paltridge (1994, 1995), for example, points out that there are generally non-linguistic reasons for generic staging in texts and that structural or move boundaries depend more on conventions, appropriacy and content than, say, patterns of lexical cohesion or other linguistic patterning. Analysts therefore draw on content-based terms such as ‘indicating a gap’ (Swales, 1990), ‘establishing credentials’ (Bhatia, 1993) or ‘value for particular readership’ as in Chapter 3, or ‘product’ as in Chapter 4. The methodology required here therefore involves

a careful analysis of each text in its entirety, examining the relationship between text stages guided by a cognitive rather than purely linguistic sense of divisions.

I will follow Hyland (see also Lewin, Fine and Young 2001: 27) who take as their basic criterion the content and communicative purpose. Since the corpus includes, however, many different communicative purposes pattern (a research gap is indicated, a problem is located in the world of international business, a solution is described in terms of intercultural training, commercial services are promoted and others), I will draw upon descriptions of different genres among these the introduction of the research article as analysed by Lewin, Fine and Young (2001), the macro-semantic PROBLEM-SOLUTION pattern as identified by Hoey (2001) and the description of promotional genres by Bathia (200X). While I have outlined the first of these three, the second is generally characterized by the following generic structure:

- . SITUATION
- . ASPECT OF SITUATION REQUIRING A RESPONSE
- . RESPONSE TO ASPECT OF SITUATION
- . RESULT OF RESPONSE
- . EVALUATION

These moves are often lexically signalled, either by means of, by deontic modality (managers *have to*, globalization *forces* companies to) for the ASPECT OF SITUATION REQUIRING A RESPONSE or enscribed evaluations (*lose, win*) for the last move. Hoey prefers the term RESPONSE since not all problem solution patterns require a *successful* solution (which might then be evaluated, recycled through a new response etc.). In the present corpus, however, the term SOLUTION seems more adequate since not only a response is suggested, but a solution to problems associated with international business.

Bathia (2004: 63) describes the generic structure of a typical advertisement (usually accompanied by explicit evaluation through adjectives) as consisting of³²³:

- HEADLINE (attracting reader attention)
- TARGETING THE MARKET
- JUSTIFYING THE PRODUCT OR SERVICE
- DETAILING IT
- ESTABLISHING CREDENTIALS
- CELEBRITY OR USER ENDORSEMENT
- OFFER OF INCENTIVES
- USING PRESSURE TACTICS
- SOLICITING RESPONSE
-

On the basis of these different generic resources, I have thus identified 12 recurring rhetorical patterns manually by going through the corpus several times (I give examples for the realization of these moves with descriptions of the most salient contents in the right column):

RESEARCH ORIENTED MOVES:

CLAIMING RELEVANCE OF THE FIELD	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Through examples of problematic situations in international business • Assessing relevance of field in which research is part • Making assertions about the research process of others • Reporting terminological conventions • Reporting conclusions drawn by previous authors • Drawing (own) conclusions about the research of others
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³²³ In addition to this, he outlines the strategy of product differentiation, i.e. the “evidence to support their claim about what makes a particular product different from that of competitors” (ibid: 63) he does not claim the status of a generic move for it.

REPRESENTING WHAT IS KNOWN ABOUT THE PHENOMENA	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Through a discussion and elaboration of previous research • Through examples of problematic situations in international business
PREVIEWING AUTHOR'S	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Theoretical contribution
PREVIEWING AUTHOR'S CONTRIBUTIONS	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Theoretical contribution • Development of training material • Development of evaluation criteria for training material
PRESENTING AUTHOR'S CONTRIBUTION	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Theoretical contribution • Development of training material • Development of evaluation criteria for training material

PROBLEM-SOLUTION ORIENTED MOVES:

SITUATION	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Through a narrative about globalization or international business
ASPECT OF SITUATION REQUIRING A SOLUTION	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Intercultural competencies are required
EVALUATION OF EXISTING SOLUTION	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Responses in higher education are insufficient • Current offer of trainings is deficient
DETAILING SOLUTION	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Components of intercultural competencies • Inclusion of examples from training materials
PROPOSING SOLUTION	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Specific trainings • Specific evaluation instruments • Specific educational programmes

PROMOTIONAL MOVES:

DETAILING OF PRODUCT	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Explicit information about the content, form etc. of a commercial training
ESTABLISHING CREDENTIALS	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Implementation of training programmes elsewhere• Enrollment of public and famous people to strengthen a claim• Research elsewhere (if enrolled, but not commented on, explored, evaluated etc.)• Educational programmes established elsewhere• Feedback of training from participants
PROMOTION OF PRODUCT	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Explicit product information (how to order etc.)

I want to exemplify the procedure of the identification of moves for two texts:

TEXT 15

This article has a relatively clear problem-solution pattern already indicated in the title (through a nominalized modal verb), stressing the necessity for intercultural competencies: “Interkulturelle Kompetenz: Notwendigkeit und Förderung einer Schlüsselqualifikation im Internationalisierungs-prozess der deutschen Wirtschaft“ [Intercultural Competence: Necessity and Promotion of a Key Qualification in the Internationalization Process of the German Economy]. The title of the introduction (“Internationalisierung und ihre Konsequenzen für den Mitarbeiter” [Internationalization and its consequences for the employee]) establishes the *situation* (globalization) and the *problem*, i.e. the need for intercultural competences caused by the internationalization of the economy exemplified through the inclusion of several business situations where cultural factors (culturally based differences in behaviour,

interpretations, norms and values) hinder understanding. In the second paragraph, the author narrows the focus down to the *aspect of the situation requiring a response* [indicated through the evaluative adverb *insufficiently*]:

Die Institutionen der Berufsvorbereitung und Weiterbildung haben auf die Herausforderung eines Arbeitslebens, das von Kooperationen mit ausländischen Partnern durchdrungen ist, *bislang unzureichend reagiert.* (29: 28-30)

[The institutions which prepare for professional life and continuous professional education have so far reacted insufficiently to the exigencies of the world of work which is characterized/ impregnated by the cooperation with foreign partners.]

Again, more examples of problems are given to strengthen the case before the *solution* is offered, namely intercultural competence “enabling us” to handle the difficulties with foreign partners (note that the goal is not intercultural understanding but the pursuit of ‘our own goals’):

Interkulturelle Kompetenz umfaßt eine Reihe von Eigenschaften, die uns bereit und fähig machen, unsere eigenen Ziele im Kontakt mit ausländischen Partnern sowohl wirksam als auch angemessen, d.h. unter Berücksichtigung der in der Kultur des Partners gültigen Standards zu verfolgen. (30: 3-6)

[Intercultural competence embrace a variety of characteristics which enable us to pursue our own goals in the contact with foreign partners in an efficient as well as an adequate, i.e. taking into consideration the standards valid in the culture of partner, way.]

This is followed immediately by a section establishing credentials stressing the necessity of intercultural training and thus the relevance of the field (note the detailed information about the source, a *business department at a university*, and the group of interviewees, managers working abroad, indicating reliability of both while the details of the actual interview are obliterated):

Die Wichtigkeit einer Auslandsvorbereitung, die über den Aufbau von Fremdsprachenkenntnissen hinausgeht, unterstreichen auch Interviews, die Mitarbeiter des Lehrstuhls für Personalwesen und Führungslehre an der Universität Bayreuth mit 130 deutschen Führungskräften, die zum Zeitpunkt des Interviews noch im Ausland tätig waren und mit 30 Rückkehrern aus unterschiedlichen Entsendungsländern durchgeführt haben. (30: 7-11)

[The importance of a preparation for the stay abroad has been underlined by interviews with 130 managers which were at the point of the interview still working abroad and with 30 managers returning from different target countries, which have been conducted by the academic employees at the Chair for Personnel and Management Science at the University of Bayreuth.]

The remaining section of the article details the principles, phases and goals of an educational and/ or commercial training generating intercultural competencies (the author refers to both, the amplification of foreign language courses at universities (33: 6) and commercial training programmes (33: 16)).

While there are further recursive acts in this article, I would summarize the macrosemantic structure in general terms as a problem-solution pattern (situation, aspect of situation requiring a response, solution) with two adaptations: the solution to the problem is a proposal, i.e. the action has not yet taken place. Instead, it is a call for action in two respects: to change foreign language education at universities and to implement commercial intercultural training workshops/ seminars in companies:

MOVE	DESCRIPTION
SITUATION	The internationalization of the economy
ASPECT OF SITUATION REQUIRING A SOLUTION	The institutions which prepare for professional life and continuous professional education <u>have so far reacted insufficiently</u> to the exigencies of the internationalization.
PROPOSAL OF A SOLUTION	Intercultural competencies <u>enable us</u> to handle difficulties with foreign partners/ intercultural training/ education.
CLAIMING RELEVANCE OF THE FIELD	Interviews conducted by a <u>university</u> with <u>managers working abroad</u>
DETAILING THE SOLUTION/ SERVICE	principles, phases and goals of an educational and/ or commercial training

The move structure taken together with the ‘urgency’ of the ‘solution’ to the ‘competency problem’ (see the analysis of the globalization discourse), the inclusion

of lists (the article contains four lists and one diagramme) can also be interpreted as indicating a ‘hortatory report’, a new and hybrid genre that provides generalized motives for action (Fairclough 2003: 112) but conceals its prescriptive intent behind a *logic of appearances* “in which additive and elaborative semantic relations, and paratactical grammatical relations predominate” contrary to an *explanatory logic* (typical for academic texts) with causal semantic relations and hypotactic grammatical relations. He argues that these hybridizations occur in genres associated with a variety of practices of social life as a consequence of the incursion of instrumental values into different spheres. This evaluation, however, depends on whether one interprets the overriding concern of this article to lay with persuasion and promotion (*activity exchange*) rather than with explanation and analysis (*knowledge exchange*) (Fairclough 2003: 76); a judgement that needs to be based on a more detailed analysis (the aim here is only to give a broad overview over the corpus).

TEXT 11

The second example, TEXT 11, is very complex since it is the one with the most *extensive* references to other disciplines which are relevant to the concept of culture and intercultural communication. Overall, the author references the following disciplines or specific authors from these areas: Linguistics (3), Conversational Analysis (2), Symbolic Interactionism (2), Interactional Sociolinguistics (3), Interactional Linguistics (1), Cognitive Anthropology (1), Biology (1), Anthropology (2), Intercultural Communication Studies (3), Cognitive Science (2), Cognitive Sociology (1), Comparative Linguistics (1), Comparative Communication Science (1), Psychology (1), Ethnology (1), Pragmatics (4), Cross Cultural Psychology (1), Cross

Cultural Studies (4), Applied Linguistics (3), Etology (1), Social Science (in general) (2), Sociolinguistics (4), Social Psychology (1), and Cross Cultural Rhetoric (1).

In a first instance, the author establishes a specific *problem* (intercultural communication) generated by the internationalization of the economy, i.e. the *situation*, (while the evaluation is implied here, the author is very explicit about intercultural communication as *problematic* in the conclusion, 76: 13):

Nach einschlägigen Untersuchungen verwenden Manager durchschnittlich 70% ihrer täglichen Arbeitszeit auf Kommunikation (Wahren, 1987). Die zunehmende Internationalisierung der Wirtschaft bring es mit sich, daß auch diese Kommunikation immer internationaler wird [...]. Da Formen und Inhalte von Kommunikation kulturabhängig sind, bedeutet die Intensivierung internationaler Kontakte zugleich eine Zunahme der interkulturellen Kommunikation. (59: 1-9)

[According to well-accepted studies, managers dedicate on average 70% of their daily work time to communication (Wahren, 1987). The increasing internationalization of economic life entails that communication becomes ever more international [...]. Since form and content of communication is culture dependent, the intensification of international contacts entails also an increase in intercultural communication.]

The *solution* (a specific form of management training) *and* a call for further foundational research (for the development of intercultural training) are pronounced towards the end of the article:

Als Konsequenz aus dem Vorausgegangenen wird daher für die Ausbildung von international tätigen Managern vorgeschlagen, vorrangig eine allgemeine – und nur sekundär eine sprach- bzw. kulturspezifische – interkulturelle Kommunikationsfähigkeit zu entwickeln. [...] Für die zukünftige Entwicklung von Managementtraining bleibt deshalb auch noch weiterhin Grundlagenforschung im Hinblick auf interpersonale interkulturelle Kommunikationsvorgänge zu leisten. (77: 14-34)

[As a consequence of the foregoing, we propose the development of a culture-general communicative ability for managers working internationally – and only secondarily a language and culture specific ability. [...] For the future development of management training basic research regarding interpersonal intercultural communication has still to be conducted.]

In other words, the author promotes commercial trainings in general *and* calls for further academic research. He subordinates, however, in the next sentence the latter to the former:

Erst neuerdings sind in Linguistik und Sozialpsychologie die notwendigen Analyseinstrumente erarbeitet worden, die Untersuchung von authentischen interkulturellen Interaktionen bei Geschäftsverhandlungen [a list of business situation follows] erlauben.

[Only recently has linguistics and social psychology generated the necessary analytical instruments which allow the investigating the authentic intercultural interactions in business negotiations ...]

This mix of purposes also complicates the interpretation of the move structure in the main body of the text which appears to be a literature review to establish the academic territory and existing knowledge about the respective phenomenon (the effects of culture on communication). One would expect here argumentation, discussion and exploration of concepts and theories, textualized through causal semantic relations and hypotactic grammatical relations, however, this is not the case: The author establishes in a first instance in the introduction a tradition in linguistics (“Die Untersuchung kulturbedingter Unterschiede in der Kommunikation hat eine lange Tradition in der Linguistik (z.B. Lado 1957)” (59: 10-11) [The investigation of culturally caused differences in communication has a long tradition in linguistics (compare e.g. Lado 1957)] and at the beginning of the main section a consensus³²⁴ that culture and communication are interrelated: “Daß Kultur und Kommunikation miteinander verwoben ist, ist heute ein Gemeinplatz.” (60: 4-5) [That culture and communication is interrelated is a well-known fact today.]. While this general assessment is difficult to verify or refute, it might be argued that the different authors disciplines and might have different views onto the *relation* culture and communication (e.g.

³²⁴ The author constructs a consensus for this claim in four other instances.

sociolinguistics, anthropology and cognitive science). With reference to a consensus in the social sciences in general, the view of how culture and communication is interrelated, is described along cognitivist lines as:

Das eine (Sub-)Kultur konstituierende gemeinsame Wissen ihrer Mitglieder wird heute in den Sozialwissenschaften als eine Menge charakteristischer kognitiver Schemata beschrieben (Schank&Abelson, 1972; Wyer&Skrull, 1984)

[The knowledge common and constitutive of members of a (sub-)culture is described today as the sum of characteristic cognitive schemata.]

The remaining disciplines and authors are, then enrolled paratactically, each of them testifying that *national cultures* cause differences in thinking, valuing and communicating (I highlighted the verbs indicating factuality by underlining them, the references to national cultures in cursive and the paratactic connectors in bold). My point here is not to evaluate the respective claims to knowledge but to show the difficulty in terms of genre-structure:

Vergleichbare *Kulturunterschiede* bestehen **auch** für Argumentation- und Textaufbauschemata.

[Comparable *cultural differences* **also** exist for argumentative and textual characteristics]

So zeigen Auswertungen der Protokolle von UN-Vollversammlungen, daß *Amerikaner* eher zu einer induktiven Argumentationsweise neigen [...], während *Russen* eher deduktiv [...] argumentieren. Dagegen sind Texte *deutschsprachiger Autoren* [...] üblicherweise [...] mit langen Grundsatzüberlegungen befrachtet. Wiederum anders sind die Textaufbauschemata im *Japanischen* ... (Kaplan, 1966)

[The analysis of protocols from UN-general assemblies shows that *Americans* tend to an inductive form of argumentation [...], while *Russians* argue more deductively [...]. Texts from *German-speaking authors* [...] are usually loaded with lengthy foundational explorations. Again different is the textual organization in *Japanese* ... (Kaplan, 1966).]

Weitere Unterschiede zwischen *Kulturen* in der verbalen Kommunikation gibt es bei [...]. **So** hat die vergleichende Forschung zur self-disclosure [...] gezeigt (Barnlund, 1979)

[**Further** differences between *cultures* in the nonverbal communication exist

... [...]. The comparative research of self-disclosure has, for instance, shown that ...]

Desgleichen gelten die grundlegenden Erwartungen an konversationelle Maxime *nicht überall in gleicher Weise* ... (Grice 1975) ... Ein Experiment von Collett & O'Shea (1976) zeigte, daß man anders als in *westlichen Kulturen*, im *Iran* damit rechnen muß, ...

[**The same** is valid for the basic expectations towards the conversational maxims. They are not *everywhere to the same extent* valid ... An experiment by [...] showed that in *Iran* one has to count with [...] different from Western cultures ...]

Auch im paraverbalen Bereich sind die *Kulturunterschiede groß*. (Gumperz)

[**The same is true** in the paraverbal area where *cultural differences are* great.]

Während bei den *Kulturen des Vorderen Orients* **auch** das Gesprächsverhalten *US-amerikanischer Juden* durch fehlende Pausen zwischen den Redebeiträgen charakterisiert ist und damit auf *Europäer* stakkatohaft wirkt (Tannen, 1981), sind in *Indianerkulturen des amerikanischen Nordwestens* sehr lange, manchmal Minuten andauernde Pausen innerhalb von und zwischen Redebeiträgen normal (Scollon&Scollon, 1981). Doch **auch** schon *Finnen* machen deutlich längere Pausen als z.B. Westeuropäer (Lenz, 1990).

[**While** in *cultures of the Near Orient* the communicative behaviour of *U.S.-American Jews* is **also** characterized through missing pauses between contributions and thus appears to *European* as staccato-like [...], the *Indian cultures from the American North West* make rather long pauses, sometimes several minutes between contributions to the conversation. This is regarded as normal [...] But **also** *Fins* make distinctly longer pauses than *Western Europeans* ..]

Auch Gestik ist *kulturabhängig* ...

[Gestics is **also** *culturally dependent* ...]

Darüber hinaus gibt es *kulturspezifische Präferenzen* ...

[**Further than that** there are culture specific preferences ...]

Solche Probleme sind **auch** für die Kommunikation in Organisationen nachgewiesen worden [...] Gumperz berichtet von Spannungen ...

[Such problems have **also** been confirmed for the communication in organization [...] .G. reports of tensions ...]

More than an exploration of theoretical concepts, the author enlists academic allies to show that research has *proven* (see the strong factuality expressed through the reporting verbs and the employment of the present tense as indicating generality of the claims) that culture determines thinking, valuing, communicating and behaviour. Given the frame of the article (the introduction and the conclusion) establishing a specific situation, a problem (managers need intercultural competencies) and a solution (intercultural training/ instruments generated by the field which could be of use to international management situations), does the author then *establish what is known about the phenomena* or *establish academic credentials* for commercial training? As Bathia (2004: 87) argues:

Whether one talks about one's own impressive track record in a business context or about the potential customer's needs, one is essentially trying to establish credentials. When, in this sales promotion context, the needs of the prospective customer are mentioned, the writer is invariably implying that he or she is the one who can satisfy those needs. In other words, that he or she has the expertise, the necessary experience and, above all, the product to fulfill the needs in question.

The decision whether one move is rather promotional or rather academic is thus first of all functionally based and hence dependend on interpretation and norms. I take it that there might not always be a clearly identifiable *overriding* purpose and that, at times, purposes might be so intertwined that they are difficult to separate analytically. In addition, the identification of purpose can lastly only be verified by investigating the intention of the author, the reception of the target readership (and thus their ability to make the necessary inferences). In the present context, I will hence indicate such instance through a double ascription of moves:

MOVE	DESCRIPTION
INTRODUCTION <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Situation • Aspect of situation requiring 	International business increases communication

response <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Establishing of what is known about the phenomena/ establishing academic credentials for commercial training 	Communication is culturally based and hence problematic
MAIN BODY OF THE TEXT <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Establishing of what is known about the phenomena/ establishing academic credentials for commercial training • Introduction of theoretical key terms • Exploration of problem through key concepts • Examples of problematic aspects 	
CONCLUSION <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Call for further research • Proposal of solution 	

Having outlined the intricacies of the procedure, I will now present an overview of the macro-structure. Given the amount of space it would take to quote and translate the respective text passages, I will have to confine myself here to give a brief summary of the passages. Due to the lack of an overall common structure, I have decided to follow the division of the authors in *introduction*, the *main body of the text* and the *conclusion*. The actual moves are then listed in this three-fold structure.

TEXT 1

TEXT 2

MOVE	MOVE
INTRODUCTION <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Situation (international business) • Aspect of situation requiring a solution (insufficient education) 	INTRODUCTION <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Situation (international business) • Aspect of situation requiring a solution (realization that communication is a key factor)

<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Evaluating the research of others (-) • Introducing authors contribution (theoretical) • Previewing content of the article 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Solution (intercultural trainings) • Establishing credentials: increasing demand • Stating purpose of the article
<p>MAIN BODY OF THE TEXT</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Introduction of theoretical contribution • Establishing research elsewhere • Claiming relevance of the field (stressing necessity) • Details of solution • Claiming relevance of the field (stressing necessity of solution) • Details of solution 	<p>MAIN BODY OF THE TEXT</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Response to aspect of situation Evaluation of response (-) Classification of response • Proposal of new solution/ Promotion of a commercial training
<p>CONCLUSION</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Institutional context of solution (Business education) • Establishing credentials: practices elsewhere (Canada) • (Reiterating) demand for solution 	<p>NO CONCLUSION</p>

TEXT 4

TEXT 5

<p>MOVE</p>	<p>MOVE</p>
<p>INTRODUCTION</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Situation (International business) • Aspect of situation requiring a solution (Communication as a key aspect) • Establishing research gap (How do intercultural situations effect M&As) • Preview of authors contribution (theoretical contribution) 	<p>INTRODUCTION</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Situation (international business) • Aspect of situation requiring solution (intercultural issues) • Previewing authors contribution: Practical solution • Stressing necessity of solution/ uising pressure techniques

<p>MAIN BODY OF THE TEXT</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Theoretical contribution • Exemplification of theoretical contribution • Extension of theoretical contribution 	<p>MAIN BODY OF THE TEXT</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Introduction of theoretical concepts • Evaluation of other solutions (-) • Details of solution with examples
<p>CONCLUSION</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Redefinition of problematic situation through theoretical contribution • Establishing credentials (practices elsewhere) • Proposal of solution 	<p>CONCLUSION</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Evaluation of solution

TEXT 5

TEXT 6

MOVE	MOVE
<p>INTRODUCTION</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Situation (international business) • Aspect of situation that requires a solution (intercultural issues) 	<p>INTRODUCTION</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Situation (international business) • Aspect of situation that requires a solution (intercultural issues) • Preview of author's contribution

<p>MAIN BODY OF THE TEXT •</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Details of the situation • Solution • Introduction of theoretical concepts behind the solution • Detailing solution • Promotion • Exemplification of solution • Evaluation of solution 	<p>MAIN BODY OF THE TEXT</p> <p>1. HALF</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Introduction of theoretical concepts • Detailing the problem through recourse to theoretical concepts • Introduction of solution • Detailing the solution • Recourse to theoretical concepts <p>CONCLUSION</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Detailing of the problem on the basis of the foregoing <p>2. HALF</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • (Reiterating) aspect of situation requiring solution • Detailing solution • Introduction of theoretical concepts • Detailing of solution • Exemplification of solution - Detailing of solution (goals etc.) • Overview over possible solutions
<p>CONCLUSION</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • (Reiterating) evaluation of solution 	<p>NO CONCLUSION</p>

TEXT 7TEXT 8

MOVE	MOVE
<p>INTRODUCTION</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Situation (international business) • Aspect of situation requiring a solution (intercultural issues) • Establishing of research gap • Establishing demand • Establishing credentials: practices elsewhere • Previewing contribution of author 	<p>INTRODUCTION</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Situation (international business) • Aspect of situation requiring a solution (intercultural issues)
<p>MAIN BODY OF THE TEXT THEORETICAL BACKGROUND</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Establishment of field • Establishment of gap in the field • Introduction of key concepts (definitions) • Establishment of gap in key concepts • Details of improved concepts/ details of solution <p>DETAILS OF SOLUTIONS</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Establishment of categories • Evaluation of existing solutions (-) • Evaluation of one existing solution (+) • Details of this solution (11 pages) 	<p>MAIN BODY OF THE TEXT</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Exploration of problem • Reiteration: Aspect of situation requiring a solution • Introduction of solution • Exploration of the problem and the solution
<p>CONCLUSION</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Reiteration: Evaluation of solution to problematic situation • Proposal for change 	<p>CONCLUSION</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Demand for action

TEXT 9TEXT 10

MOVE	MOVE
<p>INTRODUCTION</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Situation (international business) • Aspect of situation requiring solution (intercultural issues) 	<p>INTRODUCTION</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Situation (international business) • Aspect of situation requiring solution (intercultural issues)
<p>MAIN BODY OF THE TEXT</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Exploration of situation • Exploration of problem and possible solution • Details of solution • Exploration of problem and solution • Details of a particular solution • Evaluation of solutions • Details of particular solution 	<p>MAIN BODY OF THE TEXT</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Introduction of theoretical key concepts • Exploration of situation and solution • Details of solution
<p>CONCLUSION</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Evaluation of solution 	<p>CONCLUSION</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Examples for solution

TEXT 11TEXT 12

MOVE	MOVE
<p>INTRODUCTION</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Situation (international business increases communication) • Aspect of situation requiring solution (Communication is culturally based and hence problematic) • Establishing of what is known about the phenomena/ establishing academic credentials for commercial training 	<p>INTRODUCTION</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Situation (international business) • Aspect of situation requiring solution (intercultural issues) • Establishment of academic field of the phenomenon • Preview of author's contribution

<p>MAIN BODY OF THE TEXT</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Establishing of what is known about the phenomena/ establishing academic credentials for commercial training • Introduction of theoretical key terms • Exploration of problem through key concepts • Examples of problematic aspects 	<p>MAIN BODY OF THE TEXT</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Introduction of key term • Examples for problems
<p>CONCLUSION</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Call for further research • Proposal of solution 	<p>CONCLUSION</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Stressing limitations of solution

TEXT 13

TEXT 14

MOVE	MOVE
<p>INTRODUCTION</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Situation (international business) • Aspect of situation requiring (intercultural issues) • Establishment of academic field of the phenomenon • Preview of author's contribution 	<p>INTRODUCTION</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Situation (international business) • Aspect of situation requiring solution (intercultural issues) • Solution to aspect of situation
<p>MAIN BODY OF THE TEXT</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Introduction of key terms • Examples of problems 	<p>MAIN BODY OF THE TEXT</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Details of the solution
<p>CONCLUSION</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Stressing limitations of solution 	<p>CONCLUSION</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Evaluation of solution

TEXT 15TEXT 16

MOVE	MOVE
<p>INTRODUCTION</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Situation • Aspect of situation requiring solution • Introducing solution • Introducing evaluation of solution 	<p>INTRODUCTION</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Situation • Aspect of situation requiring solution
<p>MAIN BODY OF THE TEXT</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Introduction of key terms • Details of solution (general) • Introduction of specific solution • Examples of solution • Evaluation of solution • Promotion 	<p>MAIN BODY OF THE TEXT</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Introduction of solution • Details of the problem • Details of the solution • Examples of the solution
<p>NO CONCLUSION</p>	<p>CONCLUSION</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Exemplification of problem: Anecdote

TEXT 17TEXT 18

MOVE	MOVE
<p>INTRODUCTION</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Situation • Aspect of situation requiring solution • Establishing of academic territory 	<p>INTRODUCTION</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Review of solution • Claiming academic territory for the field

<p>MAIN BODY OF THE TEXT</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Introducing key concepts • Establishment of sub-problem: deficiency of demand for IC training • Explanation of sub-problem • Review of established research on problem 	<p>MAIN BODY OF THE TEXT</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Establishing a problem: deficiency of demand • Establishing credentials: practices and research elsewhere (USA) • Detailing the problem in the business world • Exemplification of problem • Claiming academic territory of the field • Introduction of theoretical concepts • Presentation of solution • Establishing credentials (academic) • Detailing of solution (training material)
<p>CONCLUSION</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Stressing necessity of solution • Establishing research gap • Demand for action 	<p>CONCLUSION</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Exemplification of problem • Call for action (intercultural training)

TEXT 19

TEXT 20

<p>MOVE</p>	<p>MOVE</p>
<p>INTRODUCTION</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • situation • problem 	<p>INTRODUCTION</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • exemplification of problem • existing solutions • deficiency of these solutions
<p>MAIN BODY OF THE TEXT</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • reiteration: situation • reiteration: problem • presentation of solution • detailing solution 	<p>MAIN BODY OF THE TEXT</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • reiteration: detailing problem • reiteration: detailing existing solutions • reiteration: deficiency of these solutions

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • presentation of new solution • detailing and exemplifying solution
<p>CONCLUSION</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • establishing credentials: practices elsewhere, publications elsewhere 	<p>CONCLUSION</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • call for action (to take important aspects of solution into consideration)

TEXT 21

TEXT 22

MOVE	MOVE
<p>INTRODUCTION</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • situation • preview of solution 	<p>INTRODUCTION</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • situation • aspect of situation requiring a solution • preview of content of article
<p>MAIN BODY OF THE TEXT</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • detailing demand • evaluation of existing solutions/ devaluation of competitors • detailing of solution • detailing of problem • presentation of educational solution 	<p>MAIN BODY OF THE TEXT</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • establishing credentials (academic) • detailing of solution • detailing of problem • detailing of solution • exemplification of solution/ promotion of commercial training • evaluation of this training/ establishing credentials (participants)
<p>CONCLUSION</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Call for educational change 	<p>CONCLUSION</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • (reiteration): detailing problem and solution • Establishing credentials (academia)

TEXT 23TEXT 24

MOVE	MOVE
<p>INTRODUCTION</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • situation • aspect of situation requiring a solution • solution 	<p>INTRODUCTION</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • situation • aspect of situation requiring a solution • preview of solution
<p>MAIN BODY OF THE TEXT</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • detailing solution • introduction of theoretical concepts • establishing credentials (academic) • detailing solution • promotion of commercial training • detailing of this training 	<p>MAIN BODY OF THE TEXT</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • exploration of problem • detailing solution • introduction of theoretical concepts/ terminology • detailing of existing solution
<p>CONCLUSION</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • call for more research for exploration of practical problem 	<p>CONCLUSION</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • reiteration: problem • reiteration: solution

The generic make-up of these texts is not only interesting for its mix of moves from different ideal genres (as outlined above) but also highlights, whose problems are taken into consideration/ whose perspective is adopted (managers, international companies), how the problem is configured (differences are culturally based), and who proposes the solution (academics in the field of IBC). I will now turn to their interdisciplinary and intertextual make-up.

5.2. INTERDISCIPLINARITY AND INTERTEXTUALITY: CITATION AND REFERENCES

Texts and discourses are not only embedded in historical and situational contexts, they also build upon, assemble and refer to other texts, discourses voices, representations, conventions or practices either implicit or explicitly, a process captured by Kristeva's and Bakhtin 's notion of *intertextuality*. According to Bakhtin (1999: 131) an utterance

... is a link in the chain of speech communication, and it cannot be broken off from the preceding links that determine it both from within and from without, giving rise within it to unmediated responsive reactions and dialogic reverberations.

Academic articles are intrinsically heteroglossic as authors are constantly engaged with prior statements, perspectives, concepts, theories, epistemologies, ontologies, interpretations and claims while reconstructing the existing debate, indicating and identifying gaps in the existent field and making claims to knowledge. To this end, they take on specific positions in relation to texts and voices in the field, they formulate and develop arguments in relation to what has already been said, contradict or align themselves to particular positions, employ other researchers' work to support their view, place and integrate new into already accepted knowledge, justify it by showing that it is warranted by previous findings or theory etc. Intertextuality thus forms part of the argument (Bathia 2004: 45) and hence the acceptability of the claim(s):

In order to become acceptable to the community of fellow researchers, one must relate his or her knowledge claims to the accumulated knowledge of others in the discipline, without which his or her claims in the field are unlikely to find recognition through publication. (ibid: 190)

Within the macro-genre of academic writing, there are hence typical and expected patterns of intertextuality such as a high instance of quotations, allusions, references and comments (Bazerman 2004: 95) – even though conventions might differ according to the discipline and community of academics interacting. Intertextual analysis thereby not only displays interesting information about the writer, but also about the intended audience who can draw upon taken-for-granted assumptions, make necessary inferences on the basis of their background knowledge, values and interests. It reveals aspects of their interpersonal relation through the way writers shape their texts to comply with the discursive expectations and needs of the reader, the way they attempt to establish credentials and affiliate him- or herself with specific communities or disciplines in socially ratified disciplinary ways.

When a speaker/ writer cites the words of thoughts of another, at the very least they indicate that these attributed elements are in some way relevant to his/ her current communicative purposes. Thus the most basic mode evaluative stance to intertextual material is one of implied ‘relevance’.
(grammatics.com/appraisal 2003: 4)

In order to capture the respective academic fields and possible voices from other social spheres IBC authors draw upon, respond to, affiliate with or oppose to, I will undertake an intertextual analysis following Bazerman (2004) and Hyland (1999). Intertextuality has, according to Titscher, Wodak et al. 1998: 23) two types of meaning, suggesting on the one hand “that a text always relates to preceding or simultaneously occurring discourse, and on the other hand it also implies that there are formal criteria that link texts to each other in particular genres or text varieties.” While in the discourse analytical part, I will look at what discourses the authors draw upon, I will concentrate here on the academic and other texts and voices these authors include explicitly. According to Bazerman (2004: 87), there are different ways of representing

the words and utterances of others attributing different relevance, weight and credibility to them:

- *Direct quotation* or *manifest intertextuality* (Fairclough 1992), normally realized through the use of quotation marks, block indentation, or other citation signals. The reference can be *integral*, i.e. through the inclusion of the author as a syntactic element and the use of reporting verbs or *non-integral*, i.e. through reference in parentheses or footnotes; giving greater prominence to the cited author and enables an explicit discussion.
- *indirect quotation* where the source is specified, the original author's text is, however, reformulated by the present author;
- mentioning of a person, document or statement without engaging with details or the respective perspective expressed;
- comment or evaluation of a statement, text or other voice, again with no further specification of the details;
- using recognizable phrasing or terminology associated with specific people or groups of people or particular documents;

While some perspectives are dialogized, i.e. explicitly or implicitly referred to, praised, defended or subjected to critique, others may either be assumed to constitute common knowledge in this academic area or were not considered for inclusion for a variety of possible reasons:

That we do not see the armies of the other interpretative options – the losing views of phenomena – is only because in this battle, the losing army is immediately buried. We see only the shining armour of the facts that remain. (Myers 1990: 259)

In a third step, I will therefore also comment on those disciplines and voices which were deliberately left out or marginalized. A disclaimer has to be made: The relation between an author and a discipline is in no way obvious. Some authors might be in a

department but the article or book the text cites or references to, is in the field of IBC, some authors might also identify him or herself as being a member of a (or none!) specific academic community. In order to avoid assigning people to disciplines, I have decided to categorize the respective publication (where I did not know the book myself and the title in the bibliography did not provide enough information, I searched for more information in the internet). In several instances, however, the authors did not include a specific reference in the bibliography. While I have intended to trace back all of these missing references, I was not able to in some instances given the little information available.

5.2.1. ANALYSIS: DISCIPLINES AND SPHERES

I have used the following conventions:

- When authors have brought in the voices from companies working internationally, I have not made a difference between transnational, multinational etc. (see chapter four) but subsumed these under international companies.
- I have not differentiated between the fields of Cross-Cultural Studies (prevalent term for research in the U.S. and the Netherlands, see chapter three) and Intercultural Business Communication (the dominant term in Germany) but clustered them under the abbreviation IBC, albeit indicating their origin (U.S., NL, FRG etc.).

I have coded the references and citations in the following way in this overview:

- IBC (FRG) = Intercultural Business Communication (FRG)

- IBC (U.S.) = Intercultural Business Communication (U.S.)
- IMS = International Management Studies
- ICM = Intercultural Management
- MS = Management Studies (analysis of the internal operation of the firm)
- Business Studies (analysis of the relationship for the firm to its general environment)
- Business World
- Other disciplines
- Other voices

DISCIPLINE AND SPHERES	TEXT 1	TEXT 2	TEXT 3	TEXT 4	TEXT 5
IBC (FRG)	10	14	5		
IBC (U.S.)	5	3		2	
IBC (NL)					1
IBC (FRG/ U.S)	2	1			
IBC (FR/ I)	2				
ICM	2	2			
IMS		7	1		
MS		1	2		
Self-Citation	4	4	1		
Business World	Consultants (1)	International companies (2)	Daimler-Manager Cordes (1) International Mergers (1) BMW (1)	Head of department (1)	Bosch (6)
Other disciplines	Literary Studies (2) Historical Studies (1) Dictionary (1) Intercultural Philosophy (1) Sociology (1)	Sociology (1)	Social Philosophy (1) Anthropology (2) Philosophy (1) Phenomenology (1), Ethno-sociology (1), Intercultural Philosophy (1)	Ethno-psychology (1)	Guru literature (1) SIETAR (IBC association) (1)
others	Public figure (1) "theory and praxis" (1)	Business magazines (1) State institutions (1) Informal interview (1)	Ex-German chancellor Gerhard Schröder (1) Popular Science (1)		

		Informal look at teaching material (1)			
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DISCIPLINE AND SPHERES	TEXT 6	TEXT 7	TEXT 8	TEXT 9	TEXT 10
IBC (FRG)		1		4	5
IBC (U.S.)	5		2		9
IBC (FRG/ U.S)					4
IBC (NL)	9				1
IBC (FR/ I)			1		
ICM	17		7	1	2
IMS		2			3
MS	1	1	1		3
Self-Citation				1	1
Business World	Training material (98) Training companies (1)	1		International companies (1) Training (4)	Manager (1) Training (1)
Other disciplines	Pedagogy (1) Organizational education (2)	Organizational sociology (2)	History/ Politics (popular science) (1) ICC (U.S.) (1)	Organizational education (2) Ecology (1) Pedagogy (1)	Economics (3) Humanistic Management Studies (1) Diversity Management Studies (1)
Others	French philosopher (de Tocqueville) (1) European integration (1) The “assumption” (2) A “theory” (5)	Guru-literature (3)	Poet (1)	Weekly newspaper (11) General knowledge (about globalization) (1)	“a wave of publications” (1) Unspecified globalization discourses (1) “the current trend” (1) IMF (1) “the experts” (1) Unions (1) “a discussion” (2) “theoreticians and practitioners” (1) “some scientists” (1) General knowledge (2) “we, the Germans” (1)

DISCIPLINE AND SPHERES	TEXT 11	TEXT 12	TEXT 13	TEXT 14	TEXT 15
IBC (FRG)	2	1	6	1	3

IBC (U.S.)	7		2		8
IBC (FRG/ U.S)	1				
IBC (NL)	3			2	
IBC (FR/ I)					
ICM	3				1
IMS			1		
MS			1		
Self-Citation	4		4		
Business World	British business men (2)	Big companies (1) Heads of the department of human resources (2)	Managers (2) Unspecified (1) Organizational education (6) Training (6)	(unspecified) (3) Manager (3) Training (4)	German Federal Bank (1)
Other disciplines	“well-accepted studies” (1), linguistics (3) CA (2), Symbolic Interactionism (2), Interactional, Sociolinguistics (3), Interactional linguistics (1), Cogn. Anthropol. (1) Biology (1), Anthropology (2) ICC (3) Cogn. Science (2), Cogn. Sociology (1), Comparative linguistics (1) Comparative communication science (1) Psychology (1) Ethnology (1) Pragmatics (4) CC psychology (1) CC Studies (4), AL (3), Etology (1) Social science in general (2) Sociolinguistics (4) Social Psych. (1) General academic consensus (1) CC rhetoric (1) ³²⁵		Sociology Pedagogy (3) organizational education (5) “the perspective of science” (3)	“new studies” (1) organizational education (1)	
Others		“the call for globalization” (1) “the key word of the	Experiences (1)	State funding agency (1) European funding agency	Publications about Germany as a business location (1)

³²⁵ I abbreviated the disciplines here because of their large number. CA means Conversation Analysis, Cogn. Stands for Cognitive, ICC for Intercultural Communication, CC for Cross-Cultural, AL for Applied Linguistics and Psych. for Psychology.

		time” (1) “the question was” (1) German writer (Erich Kästner) (1)		(1)	U.S.-American president Nixon (2) Japanese president Sato (1) Guru literature (1)
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DISCIPLINE AND SPHERES	TEXT 16	TEXT 17	TEXT 18	TEXT 19	TEXT 20
IBC (FRG)		7	12	14	1
IBC (U.S.)		9	5	3	
IBC (FRG/ U.S)		4			
IBC (NL)				3	
IBC (FR/ I)					
ICM				7	1
IMS					3
MS					3 (unspecified)
Self-Citation			1	2	(2)
Business World	Managers (1)	Companies (2)	Unspecified (3) Consulting (3) Consulting institute (1) Commercial training (10)	Consulting company (1) Topmanager (1) Weekly business journal (1) Daily business newspaper (1)	
Other disciplines		Interdisciplinary research (unspecified) (1) Empirical studies (unspecified) (1) Ethnography (1) Linguistics (1) Foreign language pedagogy (1) Psychology Others (unspecified) Intercultural pedagogy Anthropology (2) research (unspecified) (1) Empirical	IBC (GB) (1) Surveys (unspecified) (1) Psychology (unspecified) (1) Philosophy (Galtung) (2) Training literature (1) Economics (1) psychology and linguistics (unspecified) (1), German as a Foreign Language (4) Science (unspecified) (2), AL (1), CA (1), AI	phenomenology	Cultural studies (1) Social and individual psychology (unspecified) (1) Sociology (unspecified) (1) Biology and psychology (unspecified) (1)

		studies (unspecified) (1) Ethnography (1) Linguistics (1) Foreign language pedagogy (1) Psychology Others (unspecified) Intercultural pedagogy Anthropology (2)	(1), linguistics (1), social psychology (unspecified) (1), ICC (FRG) (2)		
others	German poet (1) German writer (1) Economist David Ricardo (1)	Public discussion about globalization (1) Discussion in Germany about intercultural issues (1) “the German scepticism” (3)	The Anglophone countries (1) A short survey (unspecified) (1)	EU-agreement (1) An informal question (1)	

DISCIPLINE AND SPHERES	TEXT 21	TEXT 22	TEXT 23	TEXT 24
IBC (FRG)	5	15	3	14
IBC (U.S.)	1	6	3	13
IBC (FRG/ U.S)				
IBC (NL)			6	4
IBC (FR/ I)				
ICM				2
IMS				1
MS				1
Self-Citation			2	1
Business World	Companies (unspecified) (1)	Management (unspecified) (3) Organizational reality (unspecified) (1) Company which ordered a training (5) Participants in this training (2) Expatriates (3)		Companies (unspecified) (2) Expatriates (1)
Other disciplines		Research on socialization (1) Cognitive psychology (unspecified) (1)		Organizational education (7) Synergetics (1) Social science (1) Psychology (10)

		Scientific evaluation (1) research (unspecified) (5)		
others	EU-Report on “Learning for European Citizenship” (1) Guru literature (5)	Scientists (unspecified) (1) Science (unspecified) (1)		“the expert literature” (1) Handbook of philosophical terms (2)

Several observations about the interdisciplinary and intertextual relations of the corpus can be made on the basis of this list:

- The texts bring in a variety of different voices and disciplines which reflect the interrelationship I have outlined in chapter three: IBC sits, first of all, in a complex relationship with neo-classical economics and management studies and international management studies as their representative disciplines which is reflected in a high number of references (30). Likewise, the perspective of the business world is brought through 65 instances of references to international companies, topmanagers, consultants, etc.
- A surprising variety of voices from other social fields are textualized including poets, popular science, business magazines, guru-literature, three heads of state, etc.
- Eight articles do not cite any sources from other disciplines or do so in a reduced way (I have already alluded to the exception TEXT 11). The other disciplines authors include diverge from article to article, indicating that there are no established feeder disciplines.
- The majority of references are made to authors in the field with 81 German publications leading the list, followed by 77 publications from the U.S. and 15 from the Netherlands. In other words, although IBC is a relatively new area of interdisciplinary research and practice, the authors argue within limited

‘disciplinary’ borders in relation to socio-cultural issues (I will come back to the references in respect to economic citations shortly).

- A variety of generalized and unspecified voices and perspectives are added, for example experiences, weekly newspapers, a “wave of publications”, “general discussions”, “scientists”, “science”, handbooks of philosophical terms, dictionaries etc.
- Having focused on the voices that get a hearing in the text, it is also interesting to note, who is excluded: These are, apart from TEXT 11, almost all social sciences, literature about intercultural issues in migration, voices from employees other than managers, voices from other stake holders, sociological perspectives on globalization etc. This indicates, albeit superficially, that the authors have not considered dialoging with these voices and represent issues of intercultural communication from a purely managerial perspective.

5.2.2. ANALYSIS: EVIDENTIALITY, FACTUALITY AND CITATION PRACTICES

In order to come to an empirically based interpretation of the intertextual nature and dialogicality of this corpus, the forms of how these voices are textualized have been analyze. One way authors show their belief in reliability of information (facticity) and thus signal their commitment to the truth value of the citation or reference is through reporting verbs. I have thus adopted here (Hyland 2004: 27) categorization based on Thompson and Ye’s (1991) taxonomy:

1. COUNTER-FACTIVES: Verbs indicating the unreliability or even falsity of the information through, e.g. *fail, overlook, exaggerate, ignore* and with less strength: *claim* and *allege*.
2. FACTIVE VERBS: Verbs that show strong commitment to the truth value of the reported findings and indicate shared responsibility with the proposition, e.g.: *show, confirm, find, reveal, show, demonstrate, observe, point out, establish*.
3. NON-FACTIVE VERBS: The author gives no clear signal which would allow the writer to ascribe an evaluation of the reliability of the source. Nevertheless, the authors can be reported as positive (*advocate, argue, hold, see*), neutral (*address, cite, comment, look at*), tentative (*allude to, believe, hypothesise, suggest*) or critical (*attack, condemn, object, refute*).

In order to convey particular epistemological and ontological positions, authors construct a specific position for themselves and their knowledge claims which Hyland (1999: 101) calls *stance*:

Stance refers to the ways that writers project themselves into their texts to communicate their integrity, credibility, involvement, and a relationship to their subject matter and their readers. It therefore expresses a writer's socially defined *persona*, the "created personality put forth in the act of communicating" (Campbell, 1975: 394). I take it to have three main components: evidentiality, affect and relation. Evidentiality refers to the writer's expressed commitment to the truth of the propositions he or she presents, their reliability, strength and precision, or the strategic manipulation of these features for interpersonal goals (cf. Halliday, 1978). Affect involves the declaration of a broad range of personal and professional attitudes towards what is said or the person who says it, including emotions, perspective and beliefs. Relations concern the extent to which writers choose to engage with their readers, their degree of intimacy or remoteness, and the ways they represent themselves in the discourse.

One way to capture the epistemological and ontological is the concept of *modality* which refers to "... the status, authority and reliability of a message, to its ontological status, or to its value as truth or fact" (Hodge's and Kress' 1988: 124; 1993: 122).

There are various ways of indicating the perspectiveness of a statement, such as emphatics (e.g. *it is obvious, definitely, of course*), the employment of mental process clauses (like *think, understand, guess* and so on), the use of personal pronouns to indicate the writer's subjectivity ('I'), modal verbs: *would, may, might, will, could*, modal adjectives (*probable, certain, required*), modal adverbs (like *perhaps, supposedly, obviously, in fact, probably, possibly*), necessity modals: *should, have to, must*, sentence adverbs: *unfortunately, hopefully*, adjectives: *appropriate, logical, remarkable*. temporal adverbs (like *often* or *sometimes*), hedges (*kind of, sort of, possible, might, perhaps* etc.), other kinds of adjunct (*perhaps, in fact, obviously*) etc. While hedging is widely employed in the social sciences signalling writer's admission of readers face needs and respect for colleagues' views, marking assertive propositions has the countereffect. Again, there is a variety of other linguistic means of strengthening commitment to the truth validity of the statement, e.g. through the use of categorical unmodalized statement, asserting the truth of statements through modal adverbs like *clearly, evidently* modal adverbs, verbs like *show, find, determine, demonstrate, confirm, know/ known that*, modal verbs with strong predictive value *will* or lexical verbs like *predict*, discourse oriented verbs in an embedded clause with an anticipatory 'it' (it is evident, apparent, proposed, clear that), *it is clear, the fact that, this is obviously, it is well-known, of course, one could predict* and adverbs like *clearly, obviously, naturally* etc. These "boosters" (Hyland 2004: 123) can have a variety of functions apart from pushing claims by emphasizing propositional validity, certainty and conviction. They can be employed to impress and show that ideas are new and important, that "weighty issues are at stake" (ibid: 98) or used to show interpersonal solidarity in a given community by assuring claims as taken-for-granted.

On the other hand, and in different contexts, boosters might display an authoritative stance on part of the author who seeks to convince the reader through the force of his social status³²⁶ instead of the logical force of the argument (e.g. in textbooks where authors can often make unmodified assertions because they do not have to persuade an expert audience). In other words, instead of inviting the reader to participate in a shared exploration, they can be used to treat observation as established facts:

These choices also display an orientation to both a professional and student audience, and to particular views of disciplinary socialization and learning. By asking (mainly rhetorical) questions, varying their degree of certainty, confidently evaluating the assertions of others, issuing directives, providing definitions and leading readers to particular interpretations of material, writers massively intervene in these texts to constitute themselves as experts. (Hyland 2004: 129)

In sum, boosters and hedges, “work to balance objective information, subjective evaluation and interpersonal negotiation, in order to gain acceptance for claims and by acknowledging the disciplinary norms of appropriate argument” (Hyland 2004: 101). They can be used to boost or tone down claims and criticisms, signal membership and indicate evidentiality. I will attend to the intertextual relations in four central moves which I regard the conceptual pillars of the field: the *establishment of the situation*, the *aspect of the situation requiring a solution*, the *research gap identified* and the *introduction of the theoretical terminology*, in particular the concept of *culture*. I will exemplify the procedure with two examples:

³²⁶ VerLinden (1998: 6) uses a different terminology to describe the same phenomenon. He speaks of *accuracy cues* when a claim is to be accepted for its specificity (33,53% instead of *more than a third*) by the use of precise language and precise statistics. *Credibility cues*, indicators that the reader can believe the person making the argument “Some of credibility cues that may be used to verify data in an argument includes indicators of the arguer’s position or status [...]. Credibility cues also include the certainty with which data statements are made, with more absolute statements implying the data is truthful because the person presenting it has no doubts about it. [...] Credibility cues differ from the explicit personal background verifiers because the cues imply credibility rather than state it explicitly. Someone who says she graduated from medical school with a particular specialty explicitly provides a personal background verifier. Someone who wears a lab coat and uses medical jargon provides implicit credibility cues.” *Confirmation cues* indicate that more information is available and that the data can be checked but is not explicitly presented in a way to be checked.

TEXT 1

The author establishes explicitly that his contribution in the article is a new theoretical concept, the *intercultural Interface*. He draws upon a common German dictionary to establish the source domain of this metaphor: electronic devices (switches) which transmit signals between two electronic codes. While he quotes the dictionary directly here (the source hence is non-integral and attributed), the legitimation of the research gap is not attributed: “In der interkulturellen Managementforschung ist bisher kaum über den kulturellen Mittler und seine Bedeutung [...] gearbeitet worden.” (60: 10) [There has been hardly any research on the intercultural interface and his significance in intercultural management research.] “Da in der Literatur bisher keine genaue Definition zum Interkulturellen Interface zu finden ist, ...” (60: 86-87) [Since there is no concise definition of the intercultural interface to be found in the literature, ...].

The two references are rather general and unattributed that it remains unclear which academic area the author is identifying this gap to be in. At the same time, though, he enrolls consultants (unattributed, unspecified, integral) testifying the significance of the concept: “Allerdings wird die Bedeutung des interkulturellen Interface von international tätigen Unternehmensberatern in jüngster Zeit unterstrichen.” (64: 9-12) [However, the importance of the intercultural interface has recently been stressed by internationally active consultants.]. Again unattributed is the following statement of factuality (see the employment of the present tense as indicating generality): “Es besteht Konsens darüber, dass Fremdsprachenkenntnisse und kulturelle Sensibilität für international erfolgreiche Manager von großer Bedeutung sind.” (68: 38-41) [There is consensus that foreign language abilities and cultural sensitivity is of great significance for internationally successful managers.] (note the booster *great*) Another ally is the french psychologist Demorgon who also writes about intercultural business

issues: “Der französische Psychologe Jacques Demorgon, der seit Jahren über deutsch-französische Begegnungen arbeitet, fragt sogar: “Où trouve-t-on de tels génies?” (1984: 134) [The french psychologist J.D., who has been working for years on German-French encounters, asks even: Where do we find such geniuses?] (note again here the booster *who has been working for years* emphasizing the reliability of the source and the intensifier *even*). Towards the end, the author reiterates the aspect of the situation requiring a solution through recourse to unspecified and unattributed ‘demands of theory and praxis’: “Vergleicht man die in Theorie und Praxis geforderten Eigenschaften und Fähigkeiten für erfolgreiches internationales Arbeiten ...” (69: 4) [If one compares the competencies and capabilities for internationally successful work demanded by theory and praxis ...]. While most of these voices and fields are unspecified and not attributed, the author enrolls several other academics who have already worked on the intercultural interface (note the metadiscursive guidance ‘interestingly’, ‘of interest is here’ and ‘in analogy’): “*Interessanterweise haben sich jedoch schon Disziplinen wie Geschichtswissenschaft und Literaturwissenschaft mit Merkmalen und Funktionen der kulturellen Mittler befasst* (vgl. Lüsebrink 1983)” (Lüsebrink writes about intercultural issues) [*Interestingly, literary and historical studies have already worked* on characteristics and functions of the cultural mediator.] “Analog dazu findet sich das “kulturelle Feld” des französischen Soziologen Pierre Bourdieu.” (60: 37-38) [*In analogy we find the “cultural field” of the French sociologist P.B.*] “In Bezug auf die interkulturelle Kompetenz interessiert das Modell von Lotman (1984) zur ‘Grenzüberschreitung’ (60: 24-25)” [In relation to the intercultural competence, the model of Lotman (1984) about ‘border crossing’ is interesting ...]. The concepts by Lotman and Bourdieu are, however, only enlisted, not discussed. The paratactic ordering could indicate that the

author either assumes that the audience knows the respective theories or that he wants to establish the existence of academic research on the concept he proposes. I

summarized the respective disciplines/ voices from social spheres, epistemic stance and the citation practice in the following table

(I = integral, NI = non-integral, A = attributed, NA = not attributed):

MOVE	DISCIPLINES/ SOCIAL SPHERE	REP. VERB/ EPISTEMIC STANCE	CITATION PRACTICE	TEXTUAL INSTANCE/ DESCRIPTION
SITUATION	Business world	Strong factuality (nominalization)	-	In the international work environment ...
	Business world	Strong factuality (nominalization, booster)	-	Due to globalization, students will find themselves unavoidably in interface positions ...
ASPECT OF SITUATION REQUIRING A SOLUTION		deontic modality (necessity modal)	-	... cultural differences emerge which should be recognized and taken into consideration ... (necessity modal/ deontic modality)
	Unspecified	deontic modality (necessity modal)	-	The German business education is demanded to develop intercultural competencies.
	IBC (FRG)	strong factuality	NI, A	Studies ... have proven ... (culture causes misunderstandings)
	Public figure (topmanager in the automotive industry, author, consultant)		DQ, NI, A	(The future manager has to be trained to be culturally sensitive)
	Unspecified	Construal of consensus	I, NA	There is consensus that knowledge of
		Metadiscursive guidance/ booster		foreign languages and cultural sensitivity is of great importance of international managers.
ESTABLISHMENT OF RESEARCH	IMC		unspecified	Intercultural Management has so far not worked

GAP				on ...
	Unspecified	Strong factuality	unspecified	In the literature there is no ...
	Unspecified	Lexical verb	unspecified	If one compares the competencies demanded by theory and praxis ...
INTRODUCING THEORETICAL CONCEPTS	Dictionary	Strong factuality	NI, A, DQ	Source domain of key metaphor
	Literary and History Studies Sociology Russian Structuralism IBC (U.S.), Interkulturelles Management, IBC (U.S.), IBC (U.S.) IBC (FRG)	metadisursive guidance metadisursive guidance metadisursive guidance All four elements are paratactically ordered Booster	I, NA I, NA NI, A NI, A NI, A	Interestingly, ...” Analog to this, ... Of interest is here Above all the U.S.-American research has been investigating for years characteristics

TEXT 2

In the introduction, the author takes a high ground by constructing a hypothetical scenario in the next (now present), 21st century (worded here as ‘the next millenium’ inviting associations of a new era) where ‘historians of the economy’ will be required to assess and explain contemporary economic processes:

Wenn Wirtschaftshistoriker des kommenden Jahrtausends vor die Aufgabe gestellt sein werden, zentrale weltwirtschaftliche Prozesse gegen Ende des 20. Jahrhunderts zu beschreiben ... (70: 1-2)

[In the next millenium when historians of the economy will be confronted with the task to describe the central global economic processes of the end of the 20th century ...]

These ficticious ‘historians of the economy’ will assess these processes

“[r]ückblickend und aus einer kritischen Distanz heraus ...” (70: 4) [in retrospect and from a critical distance ...], i.e. devoid of the space-time-boundedness of

contemporaries: Enrolled as “authorizers of facts” (Woolgar 1993: 75), they will,

according to the author, arrive at a consensual verdict freed about current economic

trends: “... wird der Aspekt der internationalen Marktangleichung wahrscheinlich eine

primäre Rolle spielen” (70: 3-4) [... will the aspect of the international market nivelization probably play a key role.]. There are no further references to the academic debate about current economic trends and none about the notion of culture.

MOVE	DISCIPLINES/ SOCIAL SPHERE	REP. VERB/ EPISTEMIC STANCE	CITATION PRACTICE	TEXTUAL INSTANCE/ DESCRIPTION
SITUATION	Fictitious historians of the economy	Strong factuality	-	enrolled to predict future evaluation of current socio-economic trends
ASPECT OF SITUATION REQUIRING A SOLUTION	-	Construal of consensus	NI, A	That communication is a key factor, is broadly accepted.
	Business journals	strong factuality	NI, A	Frequency of globalization topic in business journals confirms trend.
INTRODUCING THEORETICAL CONCEPTS	-	Assumed	-	-

I proceeded in the same way for the remaining corpus:

TEXT 3

MOVE	DISCIPLINES/ SOCIAL SPHERE	REP. VERB/ EPISTEMIC STANCE	CITATION PRACTICE	TEXTUAL INSTANCE/ DESCRIPTION
SITUATION	-	categorical assertion through present tense	-	... is today ...
	Ex-German chancellor	Strong factuality	DQ, NI, A	Business is communication.
ASPECT OF SITUATION REQUIRING A SOLUTION	Topmanager	Present tense (categorical assertion)	DQ, NI, A	If there is no deal (M&A), there is a disaster.
	MS	Strong factuality	unspecified	... has increasingly been emphasized and proven ...
INTRODUCING THEORETICAL CONCEPTS	Popular communication science (Watzlawick)	Factuality	I, A	W. has termed ...

	Social philosophy Anthropology		NI, A	Culture is transmitted through communication
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TEXT 4

MOVE	DISCIPLINES/ SOCIAL SPHERE	REP. VERB/ EPISTEMIC STANCE	CITATION PRACTICE	TEXTUAL INSTANCE/ DESCRIPTION
SITUATION	-	Assumed	-	Globalization exists and impacts upon companies.
ASPECT OF SITUATION REQUIRING A SOLUTION	Managers	Strong factuality	I, NA	Managers with expertise working abroad know that their decisions are culturally based.
INTRODUCING THEORETICAL CONCEPTS	IBC (NL)	Strong factuality through list (unexplained)	NI, NA	Cultures can be categorized according to Hofstede's framework.

TEXT 5

MOVE	DISCIPLINES/ SOCIAL SPHERE	REP. VERB/ EPISTEMIC STANCE	CITATION PRACTICE	TEXTUAL INSTANCE/ DESCRIPTION
SITUATION	-	categorical unmodalized statement, strong factuality	-	Globalization forces companies to ...
ASPECT OF SITUATION REQUIRING A SOLUTION	Narrative about Bosch	factuality	-	Managers at Bosch needed intercultural competencies.
INTRODUCING THEORETICAL CONCEPTS	-	-	-	-

TEXT 6

MOVE	DISCIPLINES/ SOCIAL SPHERE	REP. VERB/ EPISTEMIC STANCE	CITATION PRACTICE	TEXTUAL INSTANCE/ DESCRIPTION
SITUATION	-	factuality	-	Technical innovation and changes in values generate new orientation in economic life.

ASPECT OF SITUATION REQUIRING A SOLUTION	-	factuality	-	Increasing internationalization generates necessity for new competencies.
INTRODUCING THEORETICAL CONCEPTS	French philosopher IMC IBC (U.S.)	Paratactically ordered	DQ DQ DQ	Diff. definitions stress cohesiveness and consensus of (cultural) groups
	IMC	Definition	DQ	C. consists of an inherited body of values, beliefs and behaviours
	IBC (NL)	Strong factuality	I, NA	Hofstede has proven that national culture is the most influential factor in business/work related attitudes

TEXT 7

MOVE	DISCIPLINES/ SOCIAL SPHERE	REP. VERB/EPISTE MIC STANCE	CITATION PRACTICE	TEXTUAL INSTANCE/ DESCRIPTION
SITUATION	-	Assumed	-	Globalization exists
ASPECT OF SITUATION REQUIRING A SOLUTION	Weekly articles (unspecified)	Strong factuality	I, NA	Headline of globalization are weekly published out of the experience that international cooperation suffer strongly from (lack of intercultural experience).
	IBC (FRG)	Strong factuality	I, A	P. raised attention to the insufficient solution
	IBC (3x) IBC (U.S.) (4x)	Strong factuality	NI, A	Evaluation of the situation has been confirmed by ...
INTRODUCING THEORETICAL CONCEPTS	-	-	assumed	-

TEXT 8

MOVE	DISCIPLINES/ SOCIAL SPHERE	REP. VERB/ EPISTEMIC STANCE	CITATION PRACTICE	TEXTUAL INSTANCE/ DESCRIPTION
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SITUATION	-	Unmodalized categorical statements	-	Globalization changes everything
ASPECT OF SITUATION REQUIRING A SOLUTION	-	-	-	Managers need intercultural competencies
INTRODUCING THEORETICAL CONCEPTS	ICC (U.S.)	Definition	DQ, NI, A	Culture is a frame of reference consisting of values, beliefs, meanings

TEXT 9

MOVE	DISCIPLINES/ SOCIAL SPHERE	REP. VERB/ EPISTEMIC STANCE	CITATION PRACTICE	TEXTUAL INSTANCE/ DESCRIPTION
SITUATION	-	factuality construal of consensus	-	Globalization exists, trends, characteristics and background are generally known
ASPECT OF SITUATION REQUIRING A SOLUTION	-	factuality Assumed	-	Globalization demands intercultural competencies
	IMC	Factuality Assumed	NI, A (compare X)	National cultural factors cause problems for international business
INTRODUCING THEORETICAL CONCEPTS	IBC (FRG)	Strong factuality	NI, A	Assumed

TEXT 10

MOVE	DISCIPLINES/ SOCIAL SPHERE	REP. VERB/ EPISTEMIC STANCE	CITATION PRACTICE	TEXTUAL INSTANCE/ DESCRIPTION
SITUATION	General public discourse	factuality	I, NA	Currently used terms (global village etc.) indicate shift in global perspective

ASPECT OF SITUATION REQUIRING A SOLUTION	-	assumed	-	Globalization requires intercultural competencies
INTRODUCING THEORETICAL CONCEPTS	IMC		NI, A	Culture as a system of values, rituals, symbols

TEXT 11

MOVE	DISCIPLINES/ SOCIAL SPHERE	REP. VERB/ EPISTEMIC STANCE	CITATION PRACTICE	TEXTUAL INSTANCE/ DESCRIPTION
SITUATION	“accepted studies” (incl. one reference to MS)	Strong factuality	NI, A	Managers use 70% of their work time communicating
ASPECT OF SITUATION REQUIRING A SOLUTION	-	Strong factuality	-	Internationalization increases share of intercultural communication
INTRODUCING THEORETICAL CONCEPTS	Cognitive Science	construal consensus	NI, A	Culture is today in the social sciences understood as cognitive cultural schemata

TEXT 12

MOVE	DISCIPLINES/ SOCIAL SPHERE	REP. VERB/ EPISTEMIC STANCE	CITATION PRACTICE	TEXTUAL INSTANCE/ DESCRIPTION
SITUATION	Business world (companies)	strong factuality	-	... companies realized that they had to operate internationally to be successful. ... the buzz-word of the time was think global – act local
ASPECT OF SITUATION REQUIRING A SOLUTION	unspecified	Factuality	-	The open question was how to train managers interculturally .
INTRODUCING THEORETICAL CONCEPTS	-	-	-	Culture equals national culture

TEXT 13

MOVE	DISCIPLINES/ SOCIAL SPHERE	REP. VERB/ EPISTEMIC STANCE	CITATION PRACTICE	TEXTUAL INSTANCE/ DESCRIPTION
SITUATION	-	Strong factuality	-	Globalization poses new tasks for international companies.
ASPECT OF SITUATION REQUIRING A SOLUTION	Business world (managers)	Factuality Deontic modality	Unspecified, I	This means, from the perspective of managers that they have to acquire intercultural competencies
INTRODUCING THEORETICAL CONCEPTS	-	assumed	NI, A	Culture overlaps with nation states

TEXT 14

MOVE	DISCIPLINES/ SOCIAL SPHERE	REP. VERB/ EPISTEMIC STANCE	CITATION PRACTICE	TEXTUAL INSTANCE/ DESCRIPTION
SITUATION	-	Factuality (present tense)	-	The current globalisation poses new tasks for many companies.
ASPECT OF SITUATION REQUIRING A SOLUTION	-	factuality	-	The exigencies for the global manager lie in ...
INTRODUCING THEORETICAL CONCEPTS	-	assumed	-	Culture overlaps with nation states

TEXT 15

MOVE	DISCIPLINES/ SOCIAL SPHERE	REP. VERB/ EPISTEMIC STANCE	CITATION PRACTICE	TEXTUAL INSTANCE/ DESCRIPTION
SITUATION	-	Factuality	-	Internationalization assumed
ASPECT OF SITUATION REQUIRING A SOLUTION	-	Strong factuality	-	Also new investigations have confirmed the little demand for intercultural training.
INTRODUCING THEORETICAL CONCEPTS	-	Factuality (assumed)	-	Culture overlaps with nation states

TEXT 16

MOVE	DISCIPLINES/ SOCIAL SPHERE	REP. VERB/ EPISTEMIC STANCE	CITATION PRACTICE	TEXTUAL INSTANCE/ DESCRIPTION
SITUATION	Publications (unspecified)	Construal of consensus	-	In publication about Germany as a business location, it has become common sense to talk about internationalizatin.
ASPECT OF SITUATION REQUIRING A SOLUTION	-	factuality	-	Global managers need intercultural competencies.
INTRODUCING THEORETICAL CONCEPTS	-	Factuality (assumed)	-	Culture overlaps with nation states

TEXT 17

MOVE	DISCIPLINES/ SOCIAL SPHERE	REP. VERB/ EPISTEMIC STANCE	CITATION PRACTICE	TEXTUAL INSTANCE/ DESCRIPTION
SITUATION	-	Factuality	-	The increasing globalization leads to the redistribution of coordination on different countries. Markets have to be opened globally and ... Parallel, the conditions for managers have changed dramatically.
ASPECT OF SITUATION REQUIRING A SOLUTION	-	Deontic modality Factuality (present tense)	-	Managers have to be flexible and adapt swiftly. The challenge lies in the “handling” of
				different cultures
INTRODUCING THEORETICAL CONCEPTS	-	assumed	-	Culture overlaps with nation states

TEXT 18

MOVE	DISCIPLINES/ SOCIAL SPHERE	REP. VERB/ EPISTEMIC STANCE	CITATION PRACTICE	TEXTUAL INSTANCE/ DESCRIPTION
SITUATION	-	-	-	Internationalization of business
ASPECT OF SITUATION REQUIRING A SOLUTION	Business world (companies)	factuality	I, unspecified	
INTRODUCING THEORETICAL CONCEPTS	IBC (U.S.)	-	I, AT	Culture is communication

TEXT 19

MOVE	DISCIPLINES/ SOCIAL SPHERE	REP. VERB/ EPISTEMIC STANCE	CITATION PRACTICE	TEXTUAL INSTANCE/ DESCRIPTION
SITUATION	-	Present tense	-	Internationalization of business
INTRODUCING THEORETICAL CONCEPTS	IBC (FRG)	factuality	NI, A	Culture as values, beliefs etc.

TEXT 20

MOVE	DISCIPLINES/ SOCIAL SPHERE	REP. VERB/ EPISTEMIC STANCE	CITATION PRACTICE	TEXTUAL INSTANCE/ DESCRIPTION
SITUATION	-	factuality	-	Globlization leads to ...
ASPECT OF SITUATION REQUIRING A SOLUTION	Consulting company		I, A	A current study of the consulting company Z. shows ... (deficiency of German managers)
INTRODUCING THEORETICAL CONCEPTS	IBC (FRG)	factuality	NI, A	Culture as values, beliefs etc.

TEXT 21

MOVE	DISCIPLINES/ SOCIAL SPHERE	REP. VERB/ EPISTEMIC STANCE	CITATION PRACTICE	TEXTUAL INSTANCE/ DESCRIPTION
SITUATION	-	factuality	-	Interculturality in the business fear is the normality

ASPECT OF SITUATION REQUIRING A SOLUTION	Management literature (unspecified)	factuality	-	Companies have to create corporate cohesion
INTRODUCING THEORETICAL CONCEPTS	Cultural Studies	factuality	I, A	Culture is differentiated

TEXT 22

MOVE	DISCIPLINES/ SOCIAL SPHERE	REP. VERB/ EPISTEMIC STANCE	CITATION PRACTICE	TEXTUAL INSTANCE/ DESCRIPTION
SITUATION	-	assumed	-	Internationalization of work
ASPECT OF SITUATION REQUIRING A SOLUTION	-	Assumed (factuality)	-	Internationalization requires new intercultural competencies
INTRODUCING THEORETICAL CONCEPTS	-	Assumed (factuality)	-	Cultures overlap with nation states

TEXT 23

MOVE	DISCIPLINES/ SOCIAL SPHERE	REP. VERB/ EPISTEMIC STANCE	CITATION PRACTICE	TEXTUAL INSTANCE/ DESCRIPTION
SITUATION	-	factuality	-	Globalization has been in existence for thousand years but has increased its dynamics.
ASPECT OF SITUATION REQUIRING A SOLUTION	-	factuality	-	Globalization requires new intercultural competencies
INTRODUCING THEORETICAL CONCEPTS	IBC (FRG)	-	NI, A	Culture overlaps with nation states

TEXT 24

MOVE	DISCIPLINES/ SOCIAL SPHERE	REP. VERB/ EPISTEMIC STANCE	CITATION PRACTICE	TEXTUAL INSTANCE/ DESCRIPTION
SITUATION	-	Strong factuality (nominalization)	-	The increasing internationalizati on of social life ...
ASPECT OF SITUATION REQUIRING A SOLUTION			-	... demands new competencies from human being.
INTRODUCING THEORETICAL CONCEPTS	IBC (NL)	Factuality (present tense)	I, A	Culture as overlapping with nation states

The SITUATION is in the whole corpus narrated without any reference to the literature on globalization. References are made, if at all, to weekly newspapers (recurrent topics or headlines), a general “consensus”, “common sense” or to recurrent topics in general public discussion. At the same time, strong factuality is expressed through the use of the present tense indicating what is the case (the existence of globalization) and what the causes are (if mentioned) or through expressions like “the fact/ the reality of Globalization”. The ASPECT OF THE SITUATION REQUIRING A SOLUTIONA is expressed through deontic modality (“forces us”, “companies should”, “M&As have to take into consideration”, “successful international business requires” etc.). These quests are only sometimes backed up by reference to consultancy companies, statemens from public figures or again to weekly journals (non-attributed). Again here strong factuality is created through the inclusion of lists, mental acts (“managers know”), necessity modals and a claim to generality textualised through the present tense. The INTRODUCTION OF THEORETICAL CONCEPTS (culture) is either backed up through reference to IBC literature or not at all, indicating that academics use concepts which have been widely accepted inside of the discipline

and therefore do not feel the need to go outside of their field. In the few instances where a RESEARCH GAP is claimed, it is located in the field of management or business studies (non-attributed, integral) it is established as a complete or near complete absence of research in this area, not as a narrow niche as common in academic research articles. This indicates claims to new academic territory and is frequently backed up by an enrollment of other authors from the field of IBC making the same claim. In sum, there are no references to academic literature on globalization and only in some cases to publicly available journals.

The references display another important feature: The reporting verbs often suggest certainty on the basis of empirically ‘proven’ facts and an evolutionary time-line is constructed for academic knowledge. The production of intercultural training is systematically brought into relation with ‘the new reality’, and presented as the current endpoint of a progressive, linear and cumulative scientific development:

TEXT 1:

- The intercultural management research has so far not worked on the intercultural interface ... (60: 10)
- Interestingly, disciplines like ... have already studied the intercultural interface (50: 13-18)
- Since no precise definition for the intercultural interface has been found so far ... (60: 80-87)
- The French psychologist ..., who has been working on German-French encounters for years ...
- Above all, the U.S.-American research has investigated for years ... (66-85)

TEXT 2

- What has, however, been neglected so far is ... (70: 19)
- That at least proclamatory, questions of intercultural interaction have received a considerably higher acknowledgement than at the beginning of the nineties, prove the high frequency of topics in business magazines. (71: 1-3)
- ... is confirmed by analysis, which have been conducted very recently in some big companies (71: 34)
- Consequently, the expert knowledge is seen today as necessary, while intercultural competencies have listed in the first ranks. (71: 39: 44)
- W. reached similar optimistic results ... already in his study in the year 1992 ...

- Meanwhile lists of criteria exist which ... (73: footnote)
- The attempts in research so far ... (75: 2-3)
- The most recently suggested mix of methods offers ... (76: 33)

TEXT 3

- Today, when an international merger is realized, it is usually taken into consideration (14: 23)

TEXT 5

- The factor communication has gained importance in the industry in the last years. (143: 1-2)
- Many encouraging developments, data and results are already at (our) disposal (145: 33-34)

TEXT 6

- In the management research, there is consensus today about ... (6: 11)
- The increasing EU-integration ... has pointed repeatedly in the last years to the deficits in the qualification of manager who work abroad (26: 17-23)
- Firstly an excursion to the current approaches to ... (44: 7-8)

TEXT 10

- Recently, theories and praxis have added ... (14: 1-2)
- The evaluation of the research results so far ... (15: 7-15)
- Perlmutter (1965) has developed already in the sixties ... (16: 15-17)
- Currently often used expressions like "global village" (18: 17-21)
- This current trend ... (18-27)
- The IMF prognosticated for the developing countries ... (19: 20)
- At the beginning of the discussion of this topic, the opinion ... was widely distributed ... Meanwhile it became clear ... (21: 28-31)
- However, it is known by now that ... (26: 32)

TEXT 11

- According to accepted investigations ... (39: 1-2)
- The investigation into cultural differences has a long tradition in linguistics ... (39: 10-11)
- ... has developed a very productive research field that engages with problems and processes of interpersonal intercultural communication (39: 10-11)
- That culture and communication is interrelated is common sense today. (60: 4-5)
- The culture-constitutive communicative knowledge is described today in the social sciences as ... (60: 24-26)
- Since Darwin, human emotions are understood as ... (66: 7-8)
- So far, the comparative linguistics and comparative communication science culture has investigated cultural differences ... (67: 9-10)
- Recently, we conducted a training seminar ... (73: 5-6)

- ... and although awareness training ... has been for a longer time an established praxis ... (75: 7-16)
- Departing from current approaches in sociolinguistics ... (76: 11-13)
- Only recently has linguistics and social psychology provided the necessary analytical instruments ... (77: 26-31)

TEXT 12

- At the beginning of the 90s, many big companies have realized ... (203: 1-13)
- Procedures for the diagnostic of intercultural competence are already at (our) disposal ... (83: 4-5)
- Apart from few exceptions, special studies of the effects ... are still missing ... (91: 26-30)

TEXT 14

- New investigations have confirmed, too, that ... (229: 3-4)

TEXT 15

- In publications about Germany as a business location it has already become common sense ... (27: 1-3)

TEXT 16

- The national economist D. Ricardo has already proven 200 years ago that ... (167: 25-28)

TEXT 17

- An increasing number of international active companies ... (271: 1-3)
- Only through the discussion about the globalization of the economy which has become ever more pressing in the last 10 years ... (272: 20-25)
- Nevertheless, there are already today enough results from the mostly U.S.-American research at (our) disposal (272: 26-28)
- In the 70s, mainly the topic behaviour was discussed ..., in the 80s, one was more concerned with ... For several years now, cognitive aspects are foregrounded ... (272: 23)

5.2.3. INTERPRETATION OF THE FINDINGS IN THE CONTEXT OF

INTERDISCIPLINARY AND INTERTEXTUAL RELATIONS

On the basis of the results of the analysis, I would want to answer positively to the main hypothesis, namely that the texts have become hybrid due to the diversity of

audiences (students, business people, funding bodies among others) these authors address, the roles and practices they engage in (as academics, trainers and consultant) and the dual communicative purposes they pursue (promoting a service to potential readers who might invest in the knowledge or services being offered/ publishing academically). In this section, I want to interpret the hybridity of the texts as due to the appropriation of different generic and discursive features from other genres in this genre chain: the business/ management and the guru discourse in order to comply with expectations different readership might have. The particular way of reporting other authors' work, of claiming objectivity and credibility (through e.g. evidentiality markers, categorical assurance through the use of the present tense), stressing empiricism (the foundation of science is observation), newness (temporal markers) and a steady accumulative growth of knowledge and predictive power (through e.g. modal verbs like *will*), points to the adoption of discursive features prevalent in the hard sciences³²⁷:

While the science and engineering articles reported the fact of acts of research and their outcomes, writers in the softer fields frequently sought to discuss or define an issue rather than establish empirical truths (cf. Myers, 1992b). (Hyland 2004: 72)

As the same author (ibid: 109) describes it, research in the hard sciences is usually based on relatively clearly identified areas and problems, researchers can draw upon a shared framework of assumptions and an accumulated body of knowledge that provides the background and the appropriate methods for investigation. In addition to this, criteria for establishing or refuting claims are fairly well established. References are made to clearly defined research objects in a delineated context, situating new claims to knowledge in already accredited facts. On the discursive level, authors follow conventions of impersonality and objectivity favoring process verbs such as

³²⁷ The term *hard* usually refers the natural sciences and engineering but has been adopted by neoclassical economics to describe itself (see chapter 3. X).

observe and *analyze* over subjective ones like *suggest*, *believe*, *suspect*, *suppose* and *indicate*. Since natural scientists often conduct experiments to find solutions to (applied or theoretical) problems, attitudinal markers like *important* and *essential* are relatively common as is a predominant concern with “quantitative model-building and the analysis of observable experience to establish empirical uniformities” (Hyland 2004: 114). Investigating human behavior, however, is perceived as “less obvious, progressive and therefore less likely to discard older ideas as obsolete or irrelevant” (ibid: 32). The relevant literature may come from different areas and is open to greater interpretation while there is a myriad of different methods and hence no clear-cut criteria for establishing or refuting claims. In addition to this, authors in the social sciences seem to “have a less cohesive readership” (Hyland 1999: 110) and thus need to work harder to engage and convince their audience by engaging in greater length and depth with literature in order to establish a framework for their arguments, dialogue with others and their perspectives. The necessity to find a balance between claims to novelty and humility towards other researchers is

... illustrated in the greater use of hedging and higher densities of attitude and relational markers in the soft-knowledge texts. Writers not only hedge to convey propositional uncertainty but also seek to make their claims more acceptable to colleagues, expressing interpersonal meanings and displaying conformity to interactional norms.” (Hyland 1999: 111, see also Myers 1987)

The social sciences have thus commonly produced interpretative discourses which often “recast knowledge as sympathetic understanding, promoting tolerance in readers through an ethical rather than cognitive progression (Dillon, 1991: 109)” (Hyland 2004: 107).

As the analysis has shown, the texts display a strong preference for a hard instead of soft presentation of facts, a discourse generally termed as *scientism*. Scientism³²⁸ is

³²⁸ According to Delanty (1997: 12-13), scientism is characterized through the following assumptions:
1. there is no difference between methods of natural and social science with the former being the model

based on the alleged superiority of the sciences over the humanities and social sciences and their methods without, however, necessarily importing the techniques developed principally for investigating inanimate objects into social domains. While the authors in this corpus, for instance, base their exposition on the positivist idea that “measurement provides direct, unmediated information about the world, and its problems lie largely in the area of technical accuracy.” (Sealey and Carter 2004: 191), the corpus is precisely characterized by a lack of empirical studies or research. As in the case of the treatment of the two key terms *culture* and *globalization*, i.e. the absence of contesting accounts or academic debate, the scientific language becomes a means of presenting contested issues and concepts as ‘facts’³²⁹

At one and the same time, ‘facts’ are both descriptions of the world and claims about the description itself. They do not only say this is how the world is; they make the further assertion that the claim is true. They do this by implying that the first claim (that *x* is the case) is obvious, and that only an idiot would think otherwise. The apparent obviousness of the particular features of the world in question assumes that we have direct access to the world, to be able to see the world as it really is. But even the simplest perceptions are, in the epistemological jargon, theory-laden. So we cannot get behind our ‘facts’ in any kind of presuppositionless way to see the world in its pure state. ‘Facts,’ then constitute a nasty piece of bluff. They are a bluff because they prejudge just what is in question – our success in gaining secure knowledge of the world. And they are nasty, because the label ‘fact’ serves to warn off further debate. The vocabulary of facts is therefore anathema to a genuine higher education where intellectual options must always remain open. (Barnett 1990: 48)

Epistemologies, as the same author argues,

for the latter, 2. reality can be reduced to observable units or naturalistic phenomena, external to science, 3. there is a correspondence between the truths of science and the nature of reality, 4. nature exists outside of science and can be neutrally observed, and 5. science is value free.

³²⁹ Barnett (1990: 37-38) calls these “epistemological selectors” which “establish rules classifying knowledge, especially those which result in admission and rejection”. While they may look harmless at the surface, we “may find, though, that in reality they are ideologies, serving hidden social interests and fundamental conceptions of man and society (is man as knower fundamentally a technologist, interacting with and manipulating the natural environment, or an imaginative creator of artistic artefacts, or perhaps an empathic social being in communication with recognized “others”?). Epistemologies which serve as selectors, ruling this form of knowledge in and that form out, have therefore two characteristics which indicate their unsuitability as an underpinning for our knowledge policies in higher education. The problem with selector epistemologies is that they determine in advance what shall be allowed to join the discourse. They prejudge the issue. Alternative viewpoints are denied a hearing.”

... cannot be taken at their face value purely as a technical account of knowledge. Any attempt to offer us a classification of knowledge begs the question: Why this view of society, rather than any other? Selector epistemologies cannot, therefore, provide us with any sure ground on which to base our knowledge policies in higher education. Barnett (1990: 37-38)

As Sealey and (Carter 2004: 124) argue all social categories are theoretically informed and social researchers must therefore “provide a defence – involving an explicit and conscious scrutiny – of the theoretical descriptions they employ” (Sealey and Carter 2004: 125). How can the adoption of a scientific discourse be explained in the present context? I want to suggest several lines of interpretation: In a first instance, modality does not only show commitment to a proposition by a speaker, it also shows the affinity with others holding a similar view.

I know that I am a member of my western culture because, to give one of many identifications, I understand science with the same myths and endow it with the same connoted values as the majority of other inhabitants of the western world. I share an ideology with my fellows. (Fiske 1990: 171)

The adoption of an empiricist stance might thus be interpreted as the attempt to establishing credibility with respect to specific groups holding the same beliefs about science, in this case academics from and managers educated in the field of economics, business and management studies³³⁰. This would also explain the high percentage of diagrammes, tables, visuals and lists being a persuasive feature in the latter fields (Bathia 2004: 39). By presenting human complexity in simple graphs, diagrams and lists (thus presupposing some aspects, foregrounding and backgrounding others), these elements play an important intertextual role: They suggest an impression of IBC as being concerned with facts rather than values, as being objective rather than

³³⁰ As I have argued in chapter 4, neo-classical economists strongly emphasize the difference between an economic ‘science’ allegedly based on empirical, objective, value neutral, ‘hard’ and realistic facts and methods (modelled on the natural sciences) and the social sciences or humanities allegedly based on ‘soft’, subjective, interpretive and unquantifiable issues). As has equally been argued, this belief or ‘scientism’ (Ackroyd and Fleetwood 2000: 6) entails a strong commitment to abstraction and ormalization neglecting any ‘noise’ from the real world (time, space, institutions, differences, values contexts etc.) that might disturb modelling based on the metaphor of the invisible hand as a law of nature.

subjective, of being dedicated to the identification of means for fulfilling ends (Bathia 2004: 39).

A second salient indication of the influx of business discourse is the significant part case studies play in the corpus, similar again to their prevalence in this field: Case studies help identify problematic issues, contexts and offer pedagogic opportunities of learning directly and contextualized etc. A third indication for the adoption of generic elements from business genres is the high emphasis on innovation. In the corpus “a novel and creative, but pragmatically successful business solution” (Bathia 2004: 51) is suggested, typical again for instruction business textbooks or (management) *guruliterature*, popular books written by academics or consultants targeting a mass market³³¹. The term *guru* alludes to religious leaders, to “far-sighted and visionary individuals. ‘Vision’ is key to the appeal of ‘gurus’” (Collins 2000: 8), endowing the author with the power to name, define and judge without having to hedge his claims ut also to categorically predict. Like their religious counterparts, management gurus promise (economic) salvation through commitment to their respective ‘innovative’ remedy (for instance *Total Quality Management*, *Lean Management*, *Empowerment*, *Downsizing*, *Knowledge Work*, ***Culture*** and ***Synergy Effect***. (I highlighted the two last terms since they constitute the key ideas the author promotes), a set of strategies and ‘best practices’ attributed with a quasi-magical force. In order to distinguish their own from other ideas as allegedly *the* definite way to be successful in the business world – and thus to sell well in this competitive market - the respective remedy has to be presented as a break from every other past and present (allegedly dysfunctional and

³³¹ See for example Peters, Tom (1994): *The Pursuit of Wow!* New York: Alfred A. Knopf; Moss Kanter, Rosabeth (1989): *When Giants Learn to Dance*. New York: Touchstone; Peters, Tom (1987): *Thriving on Chaos*. New York: Vintage books; Handy, Charles (1986): *Gods of Management*. London: Business books and Drucker, Peter (1986): *The Effective Executive*. New York: Harper Collins.

obsolete) knowledge about how to do business (see the rupture with the disciplinary past in the field of IBC).

The adoption of a scientific stance is critical in terms of the notion of culture. If cultural differences are viewed as directly observable, measurable and definable, this might lead to a static view of 'others'. To find out, I will in the next section, analyze which view on the concept of culture is adopted and the collocates it is most frequently used with.

5.3. THE NOTION OF CULTURE

How are key concepts like culture (and by implication language and communication) and otherness, i.e. possible subject positions, identities and interrelationships, theorized and construed? Are alternative accounts and theories taken into account or discussed? Is it probable that this particular form of education can contribute to intercultural understanding, i.e. fulfill the aim the academic authors and practitioners set themselves?

5.3.1. INTRODUCTION OF ANALYTICAL INSTRUMENTS

In order to answer to these questions, I have, in a first instance, assembled the explicit definitions of culture in the texts and - in the case of a lack of definition -, the implicit assumptions. Since culture is the *key term* of the field, the definitions these authors embrace, the disciplines and fields they regard relevant and those they regard as irrelevant (and thus omit), can reveal how others are conceptualized and viewed. It

thus sheds onto the implications these choices have in terms of the goal of the field: the promotion of understanding and reflexivity. I will analyse some of the definitions through metaphor analysis due to the high frequency of this linguistic element in the corpus. Metaphors are, in a first instance, a normal feature of academic texts by which we compare something new by reference to something already known:

To understand any phenomenon, scientists need to compare it with an established point of reference or some other standard. At some earlier time, that reference or standard, in turn, was established in relation to some other object. And so on, and so on. (Leary 1995)

Metaphor is understood here as a structural mapping from one conceptual domain to another “allowing forms of reasoning and words from one domain [e.g. economic] to be used in the other [e.g. moral]” (Lakoff 1996: 63). In the interaction between these two structural domains, some elements of the target domain are brought to the front, highlighted, and viewed in the light of the source domain while the attention is drawn away from other characteristics of the target domain. In addition to this, new meanings are created: “far from merely making use of obvious, pre-existent similarities, [metaphors] emphasize some similarities and ignore others; they also suggest similarities that would not be apparent without the metaphor” (Eubanks 2004: 43). Thereby they help “to anticipate and to some extent determine readers understanding of that topic” (Koller 2003: 118). In interpersonal terms, authors thus construct an ideal reader position, one who can make the necessary inferences. In sum, I will analyze what aspects the metaphor employed foreground, emphasize and create and which they background or suppress. Since authors might embrace one particular theoretical definition explicitly, but employ other theoretical assumption in other parts of their texts, I have also analyzed the corpus for collocational patterns, i.e. the co-occurrence of the term *culture* with lexical, grammatical and semantic features. To this end, I have used the truncated lexem KULTUR in order to access both noun

phrases and adjectives (Biber, Conrad and Reppen 1998). In a last step, I will propose an interpretation of why these similar definitions and patterns of co-occurrences exist in relation to the expected readership.

5.6.1. ANALYSIS: DEFINITIONS OF THE CONCEPT

I have found three patterns of defining culture:

- Explicit definitions through quotation or reformulation;
- Explicit definitions without reference to academic literature;
- Assumptions about the nature of culture.

TEXT	THEORETICAL CONCEPT	REFERENCES
TEXT 1	Metaphor: culture as a mental code Culture as overlapping with nation states	No definition of culture one reference to a dictionary Assumed
TEXT 2	Culture as overlapping with nation states	No reference, assumed
TEXT 3	Culture is communication Culture as overlapping with nation states	Free formulation, one non-integral reference to phenomenology Assumed
TEXT 4	Metaphor: culture as the programme of the mind Culture as overlapping with nation states	Reference to IBC (NL) but no explicit definition, assumed
TEXT 5	Culture as overlapping with nation states	No reference, no definition, assumed
TEXT 6	Metaphor: culture as socially inherited Metaphor: culture as the programme of the mind Metaphor: culture as a social body Culture as overlapping with nation states	Direct quote Reference to IBC (NL) No definition but presented as a list of <i>cultural dimensions</i> Free formulation assumed
TEXT 7	Culture as overlapping with nation states	No reference, no definition, assumed
TEXT 8	Culture as overlapping with nation states	No reference, no definition, assumed

TEXT 9	Culture as overlapping with nation states	No reference, no definition, assumed
TEXT 10	Culture as constituted of values, symbols and beliefs of one group Culture as overlapping with nation states	Direct quote from sociology Reference to IBC (U.S.) Assumed
TEXT 11	Culture as constituted of values, symbols and beliefs Culture as overlapping with nation states	reformulation of a view from ethnography assumed
TEXT 12	Culture as overlapping with nation states	No reference, no definition, assumed
TEXT 13	Culture as overlapping with nation states	No reference, no definition assumed
TEXT 14	Metaphor: culture as the programme of the mind Culture as overlapping with nation states	No definition, reference to IBC (FRG) Assumed
TEXT 15	Culture as the programme of the mind Culture as overlapping with nation states	No reference, no definition, Assumed
TEXT 16	Culture as the programme of the mind Culture as overlapping with nation states	No definition but presented as a list of cultural dimensions assumed
TEXT 17	Culture as overlapping with nation states	No reference, no definition, assumed
TEXT 18	Culture as overlapping with nation states	No reference, no definition, assumed
TEXT 19	Culture as overlapping with nation states	No reference, no definition Reference to IBC (U.S.) and phenomenology
TEXT 20	Culture as overlapping with nation states	No reference, no definition, assumed
TEXT 21	Culture as overlapping with nation states	No reference, no definition, assumed
TEXT 22	Metaphor: culture as the software of the mind Culture as overlapping with nation states	No definition Reference to IBC (FRG) assumed
TEXT 23	Metaphor: culture as the software of the mind Culture as overlapping with nation states	No definition Reference to IBC (FRG) Assumed
TEXT 24	Metaphor: culture as the software of the mind Culture as overlapping with nation states	Free formulation, assumed

In intertextual terms, all authors assume that culture overlaps with nation state, 11 without referencing any literature or providing a definition. Two authors formulate their understanding freely (without referencing or citing literature), with one of them providing a link to phenomenology (combining phenomenological views with the concept of ethnicity, see below). Three reference the same author from the field of IBC (FRG) and eight work, either explicitly or implicitly with a framework developed by Hofstede (1991) (*culture is the programme of the mind*). There is one reference to ethnography (culture consists of values, beliefs and symbols) in combination with a free formulation, one reformulations of phenomenology (drawing upon the idea that cultural members expect specific behaviour to be normal), four reference to the field of IBC and a direct quote from sociology (culture as constituted of values, symbols and beliefs of one group).

I will analyze here two metaphors of the metaphors (*culture as a mental code, culture as a social body*) and their implications for the view of culture and come back to the third and main metaphor (*culture as the software of the mind*) in the conclusion:

TEXT 1

No direct definition of culture given, the understanding can, however, be retrieved from the definition of the key term, the *intercultural interface*:

Die zwischen verschiedenen kulturellen Systemen vermittelnde Person wird hier als 'kulturelles Interface' bezeichnet. Der englische, auch in der deutschen und französischen Sprache geläufige Ausdruck *Interface* stammt aus der Informatik. Er bedeutet im engen Sinne 'Schaltung zur Verbindung elektronischer Geräte, die nach *unterschiedlichen* Codes arbeiten' (Wahrig 1992: 696). Das Interface bildet also ein Schnitt- und Schaltstelle. Ersetzt man 'elektronische Geräte' durch *Angehörige verschiedener Kulturen*, 'Schaltung' durch *Person* und 'unterschiedliche Codes' durch *sprachliche Informationen*, so wird die Übertragung auf die interkulturelle Kommunikation deutlich: Das 'menschliche Interface' befindet sich als Schaltstelle zwischen Personen unterschiedlicher kultureller Systeme, die kommunizieren und kooperieren. Das *interkulturelle Interface* wird auch als 'kultureller Mittler' bezeichnet. (59b: 30-50)

[The person who mediates between different cultural systems is termed here as 'cultural interface'. The English expression *interface*, common also in the German and French language, comes from computer science. It means in the strict sense 'connecting switch between electronic devices which work according to different codes' (Wahrig 1992: 696). The interface is therefore a switch. If one substitutes 'electronic devices' through *members of different cultures*, 'switch' through *person* and 'different codes' through *linguistic information*, the application to intercultural communication becomes clear: The 'human interface' is located as a 'switch' between people from different cultural systems who communicate and cooperate. The *intercultural interface* is also called 'cultural mediator'.]

In a first instance, the author sets culture in equivalence with national culture indicated here through the term *members of different cultures* but taken up several times through references to members of specific national cultures as for instance in the four diagrams representing the interaction between agents from two 'cultures' (Quebec, France or Germany, symbolized through demarcated boxes).

The electronic metaphors used here, foregrounds mechanical aspects of communication, effective and controlled use of information and suggests, by implication, that intercultural problems can be solved, repaired or prevented (through intercultural training). It is presupposed that a code is hardwired in the minds of both interlocutors who encode (sender) and decode (receiver) messages through the allegedly neutral medium of language that unambiguously transports ideas or messages from sender to recipient (a "mirror-imaged carbon-copy" of the sender Kress 1993). It follows from this that all members of one (national) culture create the same meanings from the same language material devoid of any consideration of context, evolving meaning, interpersonal relations, textualization, dialogicality, etc. The metaphors of 'codes', 'systems' and 'switches' between them emphasize boundedness and incommensurability. Intracultural communication is thereby viewed as inherently unproblematic and intercultural communication as inherently

problematic - prone to potential ‘breakdowns’³³², as in the following instances of negative evaluations (positive evaluations of difference are absent): “Spannungen” (61a: 44) [tensions], “Interkulturelle Missverständnisse” (60a: 22-23) [intercultural misunderstandings], “zahlreiche Schwierigkeiten” (61a: 36-37) [numerous difficulties] and “interkulturelle Reibung” (61b: 48, see also 63, 64b: 50-51) [intercultural friction], visualized through the symbol of lightning (63) in the four diagrams above mentioned.

In a second instance, it is assumed humans are organized and generate information according to an inner code. Reality is not accessible to human minds and therefore neither is truth, a point the authors make explicit: “Werte können offenbar nur funktional bzw. adäquat, jedoch nicht ‘wahr’ an sich sein.” (192: 1-2) [Obviously, values can be functional, respectively adequate, but never ‘true’.] The ‘reality’ of the environment is thus taken to be given and adaptation - to whatever the ‘environment’ requires - is given prominence. The metaphor has thus evolutionist (environment – species) and neodarwinian (survival of the fittest) connotations.

While foregrounding adaptation and controllability, the metaphor suppresses aspects of culture that stress agency, values, interests, power relations, social change, struggle, contestation.

TEXT 6

Culture (and by implication difference) is presented in this article again as a consensual and homogeneous whole with fixed and discernable borders, albeit through a biological metaphor. It consists allegedly of everything “auf was sich ein

³³² The idea of a ‘communication breakdown’ is, in fact, itself a “highly amorphous” notion (Giles and Coupland 1991: 120): “The construct is implicitly static, over-inclusive, and glosses over a heterogeneous range of objective and subjective ineffectualities of communication.” For this reason, the analysis of miscommunication has to take sociostructural inequalities into account, accessible only through critical analysis, as outlined in chapter 2.3.

Sozialkörper ‘zu pflegen’ verständigt hat” [a social body has agreed upon to nurture] (13: 2, see also 12: 2; 16: 1) whereby this definition applies indiscriminately to different entities of diverse sizes “... größere wie Nationen, aber auch kleinere wie Organisationen, Interessengruppen, Familien ...” [bigger than nations but also smaller ones like organizations, interests groups, families ...] (16: 1-2). Through this metaphor (‘social body’) culture acquires agency and can ‘agree’ on what is worth nurturing. Culture is doubly consensualized here, first through the projection of the individual onto the collective level and secondly through the choices ‘it’ makes univocally: Only what is worth conserving will become part of the collective stock of common behaviour, ways of thinking and feeling (“die in einer Gesellschaft bestehenden Denk-, Fühl- und Handlungsmuster”, 13: 12-15). While ‘inside’ of one culture consensus and harmony reign, intercultural contact allegedly leads to “misslungenen und kritischen Situationen” (157: 23-24) [situations that went wrong and critical], “Irritationen” (158: 13, see also 160: 13, 20, 32; 161: 3,4; 165: 28, 29) [irritations], fear of the foreign and the unknown (“Angst vor dem Fremden und Unbekannten) (160: 9-10) disturbances (“Störung”) which consequently has to be abolished (“Störungsbeseitigung”, 161: 6,7) or to be used as ‘information’ (“Störung nutzen”, 161: 29) but never to be suppressed (“Störungsunterdrückung”, 161: 29) because this could lead to aggravate the problem (“das Problem verschärfen”, 161: 8) and the need for considerable corrections (“und zu erheblichen Korrekturen führen”, 161: 31-32).

As in the mechanical metaphor in TEXT 1, boundedness and incomensurability of national cultures, inculcation, consensus, integration and harmony is foregrounded while the metaphor backgrounds agency, resistance, struggle and change. This pattern seems to be mirrored in the collocational pattern of the corpus.

5.3.2. COLLOCATIONAL PATTERNS

Before presenting the patterns I found, I want to clarify the procedure I adopted: In order to recover the meaning *in context*, I went manually through all the collocational instances. Since this context was limited to the neighbouring 10 words (5 to the left and 5 to the right of the key term), larger stretches of meaning were thus not be recovered. In other words, the term *culture* might have been used in the wider context in relation to business but has been coded in this micro-context due to its collocate as “FOREIGN” culture. I have not included those instances of culture where a definition is given (see above) or the author refers to the compounds of disciplines (e.g. cultural psychology). I have indicated those terms the authors distanced themselves from through the following symbol (-). In cases authors used an English and a German term (e.g. kultureller Hintergrund/ Background), I have categorized them here as equivalent. I did likewise for instances like “foreign culture”/ “culture of the foreign” and “environment of a culture”/ “the culture in its environment”. If an author mentioned a country-specific culture and referred to the culture of a nation (the British, the Germans), I have included this reference under the category ‘national cultures’ in this list. Through an open-coding reading, I have developed the following categories:

- CULTURAL ENTITIES (items that designated cultures as a whole)
- CULTURE AND SPACE (spatial metaphors for culture)
- IDENTITY (items referring to people’s identities, feelings of belongingness etc.)
- PROBLEMS (elements referring to problems related to culture)
- TRAINING (instances referring to issues related to training)

- BUSINESS (instances where the term culture correlated with aspects of business)
- OTHERS (single instances which did not match the six previous categories)

I will now provide the textual instance I have grouped under these categories:

CULTURAL CHARACTERISTICS

- culturally (determined/ dependent) characteristics (Eigenarten) (1)/ particularities (5)/ specificities (2)/ repertoire (1)/ phenomena (2)/ codes, (1)/ categories (1)/ frames (1)/ factors (4)/ influences (2)/ habits (3)/ scripts (2)/ artifacts (1)/ tabus (1)/ schemata (8)/ topics (1)/ constraints (1)/ deep structures (1)/ phenomena (1)/ givens (2) (Selbstverständlichkeiten)/ orientation (7)/ conventions (3)
- culturally (determined) difference(s) (37), strong cultural differences (2)
- cultural knowledge (6)/ stores of knowledge (4)/ knowledge pools (4)/ mentality (2)
- cultural (dependent) ways of thinking (10)/ culturally different ideas (2)/ expectations (Vorstellungen) (2)/ value priorities (1)/ basic convictions (1)/ norms (4)/ values (2)/ perceptions of time and space (2)/ perception (1)/ frame of reference (1)/ habits of interpretation (1)/ ways of attributing (1)/ cultural patterns of behaviour (12)/ interaction (1)/ preconditions of behaviour (1)/ rules of behaviour (6)/ ways of acting (1)/ expectations of behaviour (4)/ behavioural rituals(1)/ role structure (1)/ behaviour between men and women (1)
- (Central) cultural standards (32)/ dimensions (10)/ (TERMS TAKEN FROM HOFSTEDE/ TROMPENAARS)
- culturally dependent communicative styles and behaviour (8)/ ways of using language (36)/ eye contact (2)/ ways of expression (1)
- culturally defined situations (1), cultural standard situations (1)/ conditions (1)/ milieus (2)/ contexts (2)
- cultural consensus (1), cultural homogeneity (2), cultural coherence (3)
- cultural inculcation (9), cultural socialization (7) culturally inculcated forms of evaluation (1)
- culture and its causal mechanisms (1)
- cultural rules are not explicit (1)

CULTURAL ENTITIES

- personality structures of members of the same culture (1)
- cultural communities (Kulturgemeinschaft) (2)/ communal life of a social body (2)
- high and low context (3)/ universalistic (1)/ particularistic (1)/ work oriented (1)/ result oriented (1)/ subjective (%)/ individualistic (2)/ collectively oriented (2)/ equity oriented cultures (2)
- Cultural systems (8)

- (members of) ONE culture (14), members of a SPECIFIC culture (3), (members of) DIFFERENT cultures (65)
- THE culture (3), THE (respective) OTHER culture(s) (20),
- in BOTH cultures (6), in EVERY culture (1), MANY cultures (2), in VARIOUS cultures (1)
- the INDIVIDUAL culture (1), the RESPECTIVE culture (4), the PARTICULAR culture (9)
- FOREIGN cultures (68), a FOREIGN cultural world (1), an UNKNOWN culture (1), a FOREIGN cultural circle (Kulturkreis) (1)
- national cultural particularities (1), national cultures (German, Australien, Far Eastern, Western, European, Japanese etc.) (42)
- ONE'S OWN culture (22), ONE'S OWN stores of cultural knowledge (3), THEIR culture (6)
- TRUE culture (-) (2)/ NEW culture (5), OLD culture (2)
- culturally different groups (1), cultures (3), 300 cultural groups (1), cultural groups (3)

CULTURE, SPACE AND CONTACT

- cultural space (Kulturraum) (12)
- cultural field (1)
- cultural circle (Kulturkreise) (24)
- natural and cultural environment of foreign countries (1)
- cultures which are linguistically related (1)
- neighbouring cultures (1)
- cultures with a large distance between them (1)
- crossing of cultural border (Grenzüberschreitung) (5)
- cultural borders (2)
- cultural proximity, cultural distance (1)
- cultural environment (2)
- cultural insider (2)
- cultural outsider (1)
- cultural mediator (/)
- cultural interpreter (5)
- cultural negotiator (1)
- cultural contrasts (1)
- cultural similarity (1)
- inside of one culture (1)
- cultures meet each other (1)
- in between cultures (1)
- cultural tolerability (1)
- cultural compatability (1)

IDENTITY

- cultural self-understanding (6)
- cultural colleague (3)
- not to belong to any culture (-) (1)
- to be culturally foreign (2)
- cultural provenance (Abstammung/ Herkunft) (8)

- cultural heritage (1)
- cultural background (5)
- carriers of a culture (1)
- cultures serves orientation (1)
- culture generates belongingness (1)
- securing cultural identity (Identitätssicherung) (1)
- cultural identity (5)
- degree of cultural inclusiveness (Einbindungsgrad) (1)
- cultural self-experience (1)
- national identity (1)

PROBLEMS

- culture shock (25)
- culturally determined problems in cooperation (1)
- culturally incompetent decisions (1)
- culturally determined misunderstandings of problems (2)
- culturally caused emotional tensions (1)
- cultural foreignness (1)
- cultural blindness (2)
- ignorance of influential cultural factors (1)
- growing cultural wall (1)
- power of cultures to generate divergence (1)
- cultural differences perceived as negative (1)
- unspecific cultural bias (1)
- cultural interferences (1)
- cultural contradictions (1)
- cultural misinterpretation (1)
- grave (gravierende) differences (2)
- culturally caused irritations (2)
- falling back unreflectedly in one's own cultural standard (1)
- culturally based difficulties in understanding (1)
- other cultures are foreign, strange, and often shocking (1)
- cultural knowledge pools are resistant (1)
- complete cultural integration is the exception (1)/ is very problematic (1)
- cultural patterns of perception become confused (1)
- negative tendency of many cultures (zwanghafte Neigung vieler K.) (1)
- cultural maze (1)
- vulnerability for culture mistakes, i.e. unintended offences und errors (1)
- stumbling over unreflected cultural assumption (1)

TRAINING

FORMS OF TRAINING:

- culture specific training (44)/ seminars (1)/ transmission of knowledge (3)/ input (1)/ contents (1)/ exercises (1)/ situations (1)
- (general) culture sensitizing role plays (5)/ approaches (1)/ trainings (34)/ simulation (1)/ contents (1), transmission of culture general knowledge (2)/ abilities (1)

- culture comparative approach (-) (3)
- cultural assimilators (1)

PEOPLE.

- culturally homogeneous groups of participants (1)
- culturally experienced trainers (1)
- culture experts (1)

COMPETENCIES

- strategic, individual, social and (inter-)cultural competence (3), socio-cultural competence (1), culture competence learning (1), cultural competence (1), cultural knowledge (1), cultural learning (3)

INSTRUMENTS AND GOALS

- to manage cultures (1), to deal with culture in international management decisions (2), to use cultural synergy (1)
- culture and organization specific pool of information (1)
- to have a culture relativistic attitude (1)/ an awareness of cultural differences (2)/ a comprehension of cultures (Kulturverständnis) (1)/ a sensibility towards cultures (2), to accept cultural plurality (3), to be sensitive to cultural differences (3), to experience foreignness (1)
- to be able to describe cultural differences (1)/ to explain cultural causality (1)/ to estimate/calculate cultures (einschätzen) (1)/ to explain cultural specific forms of thought (1), to acquire instruments to differentiate between cultures (1), to learn patterns of behaviour to adapt culturally (4), to work with cultural-historic deductions (-) (1), to treat cultures adequately (1), to behave culturally adequately (1)
- scholastic transmission of culture (-) (1), transmission of culture (1)
- to provide culture specific knowledge (input) (2)
- cultural analysis (2)
- cultural knowledge (2)
- cultural adequate forms of shaping the situational context (1)
- classification of cultures (1)
- simulation of foreign cultures (1)
- to work against cultural difference (-) (1)
- to work with cultural difference (1)
- increase perception of culture specific particularities (1)
- the goal of zero cultural mistakes (-) (3)
- cultural Know-How

BUSINESS

- culturally dependent managers (2)
- cultural backgrounds are decisive in international business (1)
- in the context of international cooperation, culture is not of primary interest (1)
- a culturally strong partner (1)
- culture of the host country (1)
- culturally composition of topics (1)
- corporate cultures (2)
- change of organizational culture and culture through M&As
- cultural target region (1)
- culturally adequate behaviour (1)
- culturally effective behaviour (1)

- culturally different organizations (1), different ways of management (4), of work (2)
- the cultural fit between corporate culture and the culture of the country (2)
- the pragmatic effects of culture abroad (1)
- (business)cultural characteristics (2)
- cooperation beyond cultural differences (kulturübergreifende Zusammenarbeit) (2)
- culture as a key factor in global business (1)
- multifaceted culture of an organization (1)
- culturally determined reasons for decisions (1)
- culturally bound (professional) competencies (1)

OTHERS

- cultural minorities (1), cultural change (1), global convergance of cultures (2), cultural baggage (1), cultural glasses (1), cultural sources for proof (Belegquellen) (1), lack of culture in foreign language classes (1), language and culture (1), socio-cultural conditions (Bedingungsgefüge) (1)

There are several assumptions running through this corpus and the definitions:

- Cultures are distinct and sealed off from each other by concrete boundaries.

This is textured through a variety of means: The use of the definite and the indefinite article (47 instances) plus the noun in the singular trigger assumptions about the existence of *a specific* culture. In addition to this, there are 68 instances of the combination with *foreign*, respectively, *one's own* culture implying a separation between *us* and *them*. In 42 instances, the authors write about specific national cultures (the “British”, the Germans”) etc. This is strengthened by 44 instances of “culture-specific” training.

- In 37 instances, culture is brought into relation with “space” and “circle” - specific unchangeable locations - above all through compound nouns, at times also combined with a contrast between ‘one’s own’, ‘the other’ or ‘foreign’. Again, this suggests concrete boundaries and clearly distinguishes between an inside and outside, between ‘us’ and ‘them’.

- It is assumed that culture (often defined in idealist/ mentalist terms, i.e. as inner sets of schemata, values and concepts unrelated to social macro concepts) overlaps with nation states and territory. They are homogeneous and based on a consensus (a static body of values and norms with a fixed set of meanings), harmonious entities without conflicts of interests. Non-conformity, resistance, diversity, struggle are not addressed.
- The term *society* does not occur in none of these texts since a relative homology between what people think, value and how they behave (culture) and their social positioning (society)³³³ is assumed. As a consequence, culture is dissociated from the wider political and economic structures, conditions, from power and class relations in societies. Since there is no differentiation of culture from what it is *not*, the term becomes all-embracing (see the diversity of elements being culturally determined in CULTURAL CHARACTERISTICS ranging from values, ideas, knowledge over behaviour, orientation, roles to situations, contexts etc.).
- Other identity issues (gender, age, socio-economic class etc.) do not seem to play a role. Only one text establishes a relation between culture and language, the others assume language to a transparent conveyer of messages. All text however, assume that culture can be described as stable, aprioristic features entering and determining communicative behaviour (for a critique see Blommaert and Verschueren 1991: 5).
- As a consequence of the ‘container’-metaphor (cultures as entities), intercultural contact is viewed as highly problematic, unpleasant and

³³³ As I have argued, society refers to a “group of human beings and the structure of their relations, culture to the content and the organizing and legitimizing principles of these relations.” (Parekh 2000: 146)

uprooting, textualized through semantic chains of explicit and implicit negative evaluations (see e.g. the 25 instances of “culture shock”)³³⁴. In particular, culture is regarded as causing problems for internationally active businesses and has to be controlled.

- Culture’ is treated as a thing; as something that acts or does things (causal factor) and can be reduced to some essential, basic qualities which in turn can be empirically observed, used in training and be controlled (see the instances of purposes like *to manage*, *to explain*, *to calculate*, *to adopt*). In this sense view, the problems occurring with the term culture are intrinsically bound up with its nominalisation as an effect of the disciplinary and scientific need or aim to define and categorize.
- Since each culture is viewed as a self-contained whole, moral values are regarded as culture-relative. In contrast, economic values are treated a given. Intercultural training thus aims to increase the capability of managers to attain their strategic goals “over and beyond the barriers drawn by cultural differences” (Blommaert and Verschueren 1991: 5).

³³⁴ As Verschueren and Bloemmaert (1991: 4–5) argue, “viewing diversity as a problem is what the tolerant majority tends to share with the extreme right”. There is, as a matter of fact, a striking conceptual similarity between the cross-cultural and intercultural research and the highly conservative, right wing celebration of neoliberal capitalism as epitomized by the position the Harvard professor Samuel Huntington pronounced in *Clash of Civilizations* (1993, see also Harrison 2000, 2000a and 2000b, Inglehart 2000, Landes 2000 and Lindsay 2000). The author divides the world into seven, eight, or nine (depending on publication) blocks of cultural groups, a categorization surprisingly similar to Hofstede’s value/ attitude typology who divided 40 nation states into 7 ‘cultural regions’. Culture is defined almost identically in “purely subjective terms as the values, attitudes, beliefs, orientations, and underlying assumptions prevalent among people in a society” (ibid: xv), assumed to have persisted relatively unchanged for centuries. Future wars, so the assessment of the advisor on foreign politics to the Bush administration goes, will be fought along cultural faultlines (mainly of religious origin). In addition to this, culture is understood as *the* causal factor in (successful or unsuccessful) economic, political and social development of specific societies: “Perhaps the wisest words on the place of culture in human affairs are those of Daniel Patrick Moynihan: “The central conservative truth is that it is culture, not politics that determines the success of a society. The central liberal truth is that politics can change a culture and save it from itself.” (ibid: xiv) Consequently, the way people from 3rd world countries and underachieving minorities in the U.S. allegedly think has to be changed in order to bring about change while, conversely, the culture of the white upper classes represents, again allegedly, the most advanced state of mind, a clearly evolutionist and ethnocentric account of culture and society.

Drawing upon the discussion in chapter 2.4., I want to argue that an ideal concept of culture (i.e. one that does not promote stereotypes or prejudices and enhances understanding and reflexivity) should be able to show habituation and historical embeddedness while at the same time acknowledging internal heterogeneity, complexity, change, struggle and individual agency.

Although certainly an actor's behaviour is greatly determined by internal factors such as values and attitudes, behaviour is also greatly determined by external social situations that the actor faces. Decades of debate by psychologists over dispositional versus situational interpretation has largely concluded that the proximal causes of action are not personality dispositions but rather situational factors and interactions of situational factors and dispositions. (Ross & Nisbett, 1991)

It should acknowledge that “individuals might have multiple (ethnic, religious, social, political, gender and age based) identities, affiliations and allegiances cutting across territorial boundaries”(Parekh 2000: 181) and that these are influenced, in turn, by structures, social relations (e.g. class) and discourses about others. To this end, the notion should be based on an account of the nature of contemporary complex and highly differentiated societies and how features of the macro context, such as ideologies and institutional structures constrain the interaction at the micro level. This however, requires an engagement with relevant sociological, socio-philosophical and other disciplines and perspectives which is strikingly absent from the corpus (see the table above). As Sealey and Carter (2004: 27) argue, only “by separating out the respective contributions of structure, culture and agency is it possible to explain what is wrong with the commonsense generalizations such as those found in certain kinds of popular discourse.” The fact that the authors do not engage with academic literature about the notion of culture other than those circulating in their own field and draw upon essentializing and homogenizing concepts raises some serious issues concerning the treatment of others and difference:

The starting point for this kind of definition is, implicitly, a claim that human being can be classified in ‘distinctive group’ [...]. As we saw with ‘ethnicity’ [...], there is a persistent danger that the categorization of people into groups of this kind will do violence to the complexity of human experience. In the singular, ‘culture’ denotes something which is common to the experience of all human beings; yet the plural form ‘cultures’ denotes categories by which to distinguish groups from each other. Even when hedged with a rejection of generalizations and stereotypes, definitions almost invariably imply a degree of homogenizing (131) of ‘culture’ within a group, and a demarcation of separate ‘cultures’ between groups. (Sealey and Carter 2004: 132)

Instead of viewing ‘national cultures’ as “self-evident categories” as in the corpus,

Fenton (1999: 7) argues that we should

... understand them as resources enacted in social processes of self- and otheridentification, collectively or individually, self-ascribed or imposed. The social relations on which these social qualifications are predicated are social, political and economic relations which have a perceived or real cultural dimension and this dimension is activated or suppressed in particular contexts.

Jack and Lorbiecki (1999), drawing upon Said’s (1983) analysis of the knowledge production and discursive construction of ‘the Orient’ in the context of colonialism and imperialism by occidental writers³³⁵, argue that the cultural production of *the other* has always to be understood in its specific historical, institutional, politico-economical contexts and the power relations and interests therein. They claim for the case of cross-cultural studies (e.g. Hofstede 1991, Trompenaars 2002) that the construction of the ‘other’ (‘the’ Chinese, ‘the’ British) is a specific form of objectifying the other –rendering them knowledgeable and hence controllable:

... what might be at stake in the cross-cultural training industry is not a faithful portrayal of the Other, but a form of systematic discipline by which crosscultural trainers are able to produce the Other culturally, politically, scientifically, ideologically and above all in their own image. (1999: 1)

While the authors in the present corpus draw little upon academic literature in their definitions of culture or do not provide any definition, the specific choices they do

³³⁵ Said himself has been criticized of further delimiting the line between the strange and exotic and the familiar of homogenizing and objectifying the rather diffuse ‘Occident’ since he presented ‘it’ as an entity with a single voice, a monolithic discourse and a homogeneous interest to subjugate ‘the other’ (Mills 1997: 119).

make seem promising in the context of training: In epistemological terms, the approach is based on the empiricist assumption that culture is a systematically determining cause of behaviour that manifests itself in observable, measurable and quantifiable data thus giving an impression of empirical precision and soundness. The concepts are relatively easy to grasp and based on stereotypical notions of ‘national cultures’ clients might hold anyway. The collocational patterns found can thus give us an insight into the audience(s) expected:

In setting them up, the producer is also assuming an interpreter who is “capable” of picking up these collocational relationships; and in so far as interpreters are successfully placed in that position, the text succeeds in doing ideological work in constructing subjects for whom these connections are common sense ... (Fairclough 1992: 177)

Its simplicity promises immediate application in terms of managerial *intervention* and *change* in the highly complex context of international business through a stock of generalisations with strong predictive power. This applies to the metaphor of *culture as a mental code*, *culture as a social body* and in particular, the metaphor of *culture as the software of the mind*³³⁶. The latter suggests similarities between the culture of humans and a computer programme causing the overt ‘behaviour’ of the machine: Human beings are assumed to function on the basis of a fixed set of algorithms or *if-then* sentences (values and norms). The aim is to decode this (unconscious) set of rules that is the underlying cultural dimensions that supposedly produce differences in overt behaviour in order to make them predictable, manageable and by implication ‘trainable’ and saleable. The cognitive bias makes the environment and its rules appear to be given thus naturalizing the specific way ‘things work’ and the concomitant ends as rational. Since moral values are regarded as culturally embedded and each culture is regarded as a self-contained whole, the approach nurtures cultural

³³⁶ See also the conceptualization of the individual-environment relationship through the metaphors “Input”, “Throughput” and “Output” (159).

and moral relativism while at the same time, taking strategic and instrumental rationality (generating and accumulating profit) as neutral and given. The idea that life could be understood in different ways and that intercultural dialogue could change oneself in the process (see chapter 2.3.4.) is not entertained. A position that

... has a priori secured the correctness of its own position and only gets involved with foreign cultures with the *strategic attitude* of bringing them to reason step by step and in line with the situation. (Steinmann and Scherer 1998: 35)

5.4. REPRESENTATION OF SOCIO-ECONOMIC CHANGES AND DISCOURSE OF LEGITIMATION

Who is represented and who is omitted in the alleged process of globalization?

Whose perspective is taken into account and to whose benefits are intercultural competencies advocated? Is diversity seen as problematic and if so, in what ways?

How is the context of international business/ socio-economic change construed and recontextualized? How do academic authors in the field of IBC position themselves in respect to alleged politico-economic change? What kind of ethical or political questions and concerns arising out of current processes are raised and addressed?

In chapter four I have analyzed the multiple and complex facets that condition, enable and delimit current global-local interactions and the political and ethical consequences these have. I have considered it necessary to deal with these issues at length because they are, first of all, highly contested and, secondly, impact upon processes of intercultural communication itself. Increasing abysses between social classes are, are

hence not only adverse to the humanistic values inherent in and promoted by theories of intercultural communication but also impinge on communicative processes³³⁷. I have likewise argued that for this reason, socio-economic and cultural processes at an international, regional and local level should be discussed in a reflexive and theoretically based way in a field that wants to educate future managers and students for a globalized world.

5.4.1. TAXONOMIES OF POSSIBLE PERSPECTIVES

As I have described and analyzed in depth in chapter four, there is a large variety of different discourses on globalization or, more generally, current socio-economic and cultural changes at the global-local nexus. On the basis of this overview, I have developed a taxonomy of the possible topics and perspectives on socio-economic, political or cultural changes on the international plane. This allows in a first instance to systematically detect the perspective on and the inclusion as well as the silences about relevant topics:

³³⁷ Political and ethical issues named in relation to neoliberal restructuring are manifold and interrelated, as outlined in chapter four: the gap between rich and poor is widening, global employment patterns change (jobs move to countries with lower wages and less social security, exploitation increases), communities granting greater member protection are penalized as jobs and resources flow to areas encouraging more individual opportunism, M&As and TNCs drive local producers and companies out of the market or take over competitors, in addition to this and on the long run, the import of foreign goods increases trade deficits, subjugation of economic sphere under financial markets (shareholder model), the widening of abysses between socio-economic classes on regional, national and international levels has a negative impact upon democracy and social solidarity, a loss of cultural diversity is feared, as well as the rise of fundamentalism (emerging partly as a reaction to marginalization) etc. In addition to this, chapter four has also outlined the specific ethical concerns regarding M&A activities in terms of firm-firm, firm-state and state-state relations (included above).

	ECONOMY-STATE	CULTURE
HYPERGLOBALISTS	globalization is strong and new (e.e. driven ty TNCs or generated by developments in communication technology) neoliberals: development is positive and desirable, state sovereignty is lost (+) anti-globalization activists: development is negative and undesirable, state sovereignty is hollowed out by supranational organizations, international financial markets and TNCs (-)	cultures are becoming more homogeneous neoliberals: national backwardness is to be overcome (+) anti-globalization activists: multicultural diversity is being flattened out (-)
SCEPTICS	nothing fundamental has changed, tendencies might have intensified, though	insignificant or no changes have taken place in the cultural domain (e.g. neoclassicists)
MODERATES	Some changes might have taken place. In general, however, processes are complex and diverse and outcomes still uncertain and contested.	global/ international influences are locally appropriated and changed in the process (glocalization)

I have also analyzed the neoliberal discourse in depth since it presents the dominant discourse in supranational organizations, has been adopted by various governments worldwide and thus influences national and international politics to a large degree:

ACTORS	Globalization is portrayed as an actor, i.e. imbued with agency, whereas human beings are often textualized as instruments, goals or beneficiaries.
RELATIONS BETWEEN PEOPLE	relations between good-willed individuals interactions based on equal footing
SOCIETY	open, free society full of that offers full opportunities for rational and enterprising individual actors, able to take full advantage, conformation and cooperation as social norms

SOCIAL ACTION	Globalization as an actor (nominalization) ascribed causal efficacy <i>exists, emerges, develops</i> and <i>acts upon</i> individuals, companies and countries
ACCOUNT OF SOCIO-ECONOMIC CHANGES	unfolding naturally and almost organically. no alternatives desirable Darwinian order of market distribution and naturalised inequality, adaptation and survival emphasized optional: globalization is driven and made possible by new communication technologies
KEY METAPHORS	competition ruled by the invisible hand homo oeconomicus (the rational actor) business as a game biological metaphors
VALUES	self-regulating economic sphere brings about perfect competition successful business will benefit society profit maximisation as overriding other values
KEY TERMS	efficiency liberalization, deregulation, privatization
ETHICAL CONCERNS	state control as adverse to the economic and thus social good
SIGNIFICANT ABSENCES	workers and their rights democracy politics environment stakeholders
EPISTEMOLOGICAL STANCE	modernist empiricist scientism (fact-value distinction)

This means that any author drawing upon globalization discourse(s) would have at least eight different perspectives to choose from (globalist, sceptic and moderate) and could discuss them in the context of seven others. Raising political and ethical concerns would depend on the respective discourse adopted and thus the ethical concerns one identifies with. However, if an author decides not to address any ethical concerns, this is also indicative of the respective perspective adopted and can be

regarded as a textual silence. As Huckin (2004: 25) argues, these different topics “were candidates for inclusion, yet had not been included.”

5.4.2. TRANSITIVITY: SOCIAL ACTORS AND PROCESSES

In order to examine the specific representation of socio-economic changes, I will draw upon the notion of transitivity which describes the types of processes (typically realized through a verb), the participants (typically realized in nouns and nominal groups) involved in them and the circumstances (typically realized in adverbial clauses) (Fairclough 1992: 178). I will focus on the specific representations of social actors and actions as developed by van Leeuwen (1995) and Fairclough (2003). I want to find out who is presented as actually taking part in the global process, who participates and who is effected or benefits from particular processes, who is included or excluded (explicitly or implied, named or categorized, individually or as a group), representations which I understand to be discourse-specific. There are three main types of processes³³⁸:

³³⁸ The theory of transitivity in this form (viewing the participants in the clause in its entirety) goes back to Halliday (1967) who developed four categories (*mental, material, behavioural* and *speech* processes). Van Leeuwen (1995: 86) explains the distinction and points to the limits of this categorization: “How are reactions grammatically distinct from actions? Halliday’s transitivity theory (1967-8, 1985) provides some clear criteria: ‘mental processes’ are in English, grammatically distinct from the processes that realize actions (‘material’ and ‘behavioural’ processes) and speech acts (‘verbal processes’) and this on the basis of three criteria. First, unlike material behavioural and verbal processes, they cannot be ‘probed’ by the pro-verb ‘do’ (one can answer the question ‘What was he doing’ with ‘He was washing up’ but not with ‘He knew that she was coming’). Second, while material, behavioural and verbal processes take the progressive present, mental processes take the simple present (thus ‘I am thinking’ would be an action, ‘I think of you’ a reaction – some reactions are capable of ‘behavioural’ manifestations). Third, a ‘senser’ of a mental process – pets may be presented as ‘sensors’, for instance) and the ‘phenomenon’, the object of the mental process (*what* is thought, feared, desired, etc.) can be realized by a clause as well as by a nominal group (one can say ‘I knew he was coming’ as well as ‘I knew him’, for instance). However, these criteria are not always sufficient for the identification of actions and reactions in actual texts, because they are bound up with the grammar of the clause, and fail to provide recognition criteria for actions and reactions realized at other linguistic

- MATERIAL (including an actor and a goal or a beneficiary, transitive or intransitive)
- MENTAL (including a senser and a phenomenon, e.g. what is thought, feared, desired, i.e. perception, cognition, affect)
- RELATIONAL (including, e.g. *being, having, becoming*)
- SEMIOTIC (verbs representing speech)

Van Leeuwen (1995: 81), departing from Halliday's theory of transitivity, describes 15 ways of representing social actions and their typical grammatical realizations, which encode "different interpretations of, and different attitudes to, the social actions represented". Actions and reactions can be *agentialized* (brought about by agent) or *de-agentialized* (brought about in other ways), e.g. through *eventuation* (sth. 'just happens' while the cause of the action is unclear), *existentialization* (they simply exists or are presupposed to exist through nominalization), *naturalization* (they are represented as natural through the employment of abstract material processes such as *vary, expand, develop* or biological discourses of, for instance, *birth and death, change and evolution* etc.) and others.

Another transitivity feature is the degree of nominalization (like *globalization*), i.e. ... the conversion of processes into nominals, which has the effect of backgrounding the process itself – its tense and modality are not indicated – and usually not specifying its participants, so that who is doing what to whom is left implicit" (Fairclough 1992: 179). Nominalizations can turn contested processes in non-negotiable entities with strong factuality and might thereby be employed by writers who want to avoid negotiation of specific items (typical for persuasive texts, for instance).

levels, for instance by elements of the nominal group, as with 'unwanted' and 'tolerance' or across two clauses ..."

The units chosen for analysis were paragraphs and sentences referring and outlining socio-economic changes occurring at any stage of the texts. I will, in a first instance, present an interpretation of two texts in order to exemplify the procedure before I summarize the elements (ACTORS and PROCESSES) of the remaining corpus in a table. I have chosen the first text since it includes the longest section about globalization in the corpus and offers therefore the richest material to analyse. In contrast, several other articles dedicate only one or two sentences or a paragraph to socio-economic changes but nevertheless take a specific perspective for granted and legitimate in one or another way, the necessity of their educational goals and approaches through recourse to socio-economic changes.

5.4.3. ANALYSIS

TEXT 2

In the second paragraph, the author claims a quality shift from the industrial to the communicative paradigm on a global scale (communication has – he argues – become *the* decisive factor, while other production factors have become exchangeable; further on in the text he argues that those who ‘will still stick to the industrial paradigm of win/ lose and the already outdated power monopoly of ‘hard’ economic factors, will lose’, 70: 35-38). Global economic processes are portrayed by the author as developing autonomously and linearly “driven by some inner social mechanism that remains unspecified, thereby ignoring aspects of social power that are involved” (Williams 1992: 238). He textualizes these processes through nominalization which presents processes as entities whereby agents, beneficiaries and those affected (and by implication responsibilities) become absent. The only agents in this text are highly abstract entities like ‘communication’, allegedly ‘overcoming’ price and quality in

importance and ‘company structures’ (“heute so weit dynamisiert” (70: 25) [today so dynamized], “daß sie selbst Prozeßcharacter angenommen haben” (70: 26) [that they themselves have adopted characteristics of processes]. The latter are described as generating themselves as a product of intercultural interaction processes (“generieren sich Unternehmensstrukturen damit mehr und mehr als Produkt interkultureller Interaktionsprozesse ...”, 70: 26). “Social forms which are produced by people and can be changed by people”, are thereby, as Chouliaraki and Fairclough (1999: 6, see also van Leeuwen 1995: 99) argue, “seen as if they were part of nature.” The verbs employed in the above instances (abstract material processes) generally indicate change and speed – (see also the process nouns in “der rapiden Dynamisierung von Internationalisierungsprozessen” (73: 16-17) [the dynamization of internationalization processes]) - hence the implication that Change-Management is the only adequate form of management or *best practice*. It is argued that companies *have to* (the necessity modal is substituted through the noun ‘necessity’) constantly (‘in ever shorter intervals’) adapt to the changing environment by forming (and dissolving) new strategic alliances in order to be successful. On the basis of the mentioned construal of what *is* the case, the author moves now to the *ought*, suggesting demand for action:

Angesichts der betriebswirtschaftlichen Notwendigkeit, in zeitlich immer kürzeren Intervallen strategische Allianzen auf internationaler Ebene zu bilden (und auch wieder zu lösen), beruht ökonomischer Erfolg folglich in zunehmendem Ausmaß darauf, inwieweit Change-Management auch als Management interkultureller Kommunikationsprozesse verstanden wird. (70: 29-32)

[**In face of the economic necessity** to form (and to dissolve) strategic alliances on the international plane in temporarily ever shorter intervals, economic success is based to an ever greater degree on the understanding of change management as the management of intercultural communication processes.] In terms of argumentation, the claim is based on the ground that globalization forces companies to form and

dissolve strategic alliances³³⁹. Normative or ethical consideration decisions *downsizing* and *outsourcing* entail are not addressed in this context.

TEXT 3

In the introduction, the author takes a high ground by constructing a hypothetical scenario in the next (now present), 21st century (worded here as ‘the next millenium’ inviting associations of a new era) where ‘historians of the economy’ will allegedly be required to assess and explain contemporary economic processes:

Wenn Wirtschaftshistoriker des kommenden Jahrtausends vor die Aufgabe gestellt sein werden, zentrale weltwirtschaftliche Prozesse gegen Ende des 20. Jahrhunderts zu beschreiben ... (70: 1-2)

[In the next millenium when historians of the economy will be confronted with the task to describe the central global economic processes of the end of the 20th century ...]

By backgrounding his own voice and foregrounding the voice of these fictitious ‘historians of the economy’ (*Who are they? Who asks them to explain these processes?* Note the passivization ‘will be confronted’ here which veils the concrete agency and thus serves to make the construction of this fictitious scenario possible), the author creates an impression of ‘scientific’ objectivity presumably liberated from the subjectivity and space-time-boundedness of contemporaries: ‘They’ (‘the historians’) will assess these processes “[r]ück-blickend und aus einer kritischen Distanz heraus ...” (70: 4) [in retrospect and from a critical distance ...]. In a first instance, Bolten thereby construes academic knowledge as “inevitable and [the] logical outcome of historical progression” (Woolgar 1993: 18)³⁴⁰. By previewing ‘their’ future assessments (a capacity most of his contemporaries allegedly lack), the author forms, secondly, part of this ‘enlightened’ scientific community endowed with

³³⁹ Grounds, warrants and backings are specific to particular discourses (in this case the neoliberal one) and are often assumed as taken-for-granted.

³⁴⁰ Woolgar calls this a “pathing device” (1993: 76).

privileged access to universal truth³⁴¹. The ‘historians of the economy’ - enrolled as “authorizers of facts” (Woolgar 1993: 75) - will allegedly arrive at a consensual verdict freed from debate and contestation about current economic trends: “... wird der Aspekt der internationalen Marktangleichung wahrscheinlich eine primäre Rolle spielen” (70: 3-4) [... will the aspect of the international market nivelization probably play a key role.]. While there are no references to the academic debate about ‘current economic trends’, the nominalization ‘international market nivelization’ also abstracts away from agents bringing these processes about, their effects, possible normative issues involved (‘nivelization’ could, for instance, mean monopolization in terms of production and/ or consumption), countertendencies, resistance etc. Differences as to the nature of markets (labour, products, services, money etc.), their specific location and concrete aspects (production, distribution, consumption) are subsumed under an allegedly homogeneous global trend.

TEXT 6

Technische Innovationen und Wertewandel, die die Neuausrichtung im Arbeits- und Wirtschaftsleben vorantreiben und grenzüberschreitende Unternehmenstätigkeit und Arbeitsteilung ermöglichen, verändern auch den Qualifikationsbedarf von Arbeitskräften. (11: 1-4)

[Technical innovations and change in values, which drive the new orientation in the work and business environment and enable company activities across border and the distribution of production, also change the qualification profile of the work force.]

The beginning of this article locates two process nouns (‘technical innovations and change in values’) in the thematic position giving them prominence in the exposition to come. Both factors are made agents of the verbs ‘drive’ and ‘enable’ (triggering positive evaluations) thus veiling actual social actors and their responsibilities

³⁴¹ Further examples will be given below.

involved in bringing chances about. The account assumes a general process that affects ‘companies’ in general (without differentiating between the size of companies, their organizational structure, purpose, their home country³⁴² etc.). These features are, again, common to a hyperglobalist discourse where economic transformations are represented as driven by some quasi-natural force without the involvement of human agency but to the benefit of all. The two alleged driving mechanism ‘technical innovations’ and ‘change in values’ are textualized together (they are agents of the same verbs) *as if* they were equally relevant to the claim being made (‘the qualification profile has changed’). They are, however, appropriated from two rather incompatible discourses with the former attributing the cause behind economic changes to the development of new information and communication technology, whereas the latter focuses on changing values of different social groups mostly on a national level. This contradiction points to the ideological being done here: the text assembles a justification for intercultural training and education by recourse to ‘global trends’, thus pressing complex and diverse processes into a narrative of change. Focusing on the *extent* of these processes allows to the author “to overlook the character (and associated problems) or the *new forms* of globalization” (Mills and Hatfield 1999: 52).

The next paragraph begins with a claim about the particular situation Germany as an export-oriented and resource-poor country is allegedly in. In intertextual terms, the sentence brings in associations of an ongoing, predominant and heated debate in the public and private sphere about the ‘Standort Deutschland’. Often couched in alarmist terms, the discussion is about the (alleged declining) competitive force of ‘the’

³⁴² As Bourdieu (2001 112) argues, the national and international position of each company depends not only on its strength and competitive advantage relative to other companies but likewise on the economic, political, cultural and linguistic advantages (or disadvantages) that come with its starting position in a specific national context.

German economy in an international economic context and the alleged need for drastic changes in practically all spheres of social life, from the welfare state, salaries (as a cost of production) to the taxation system and (as in the present case) education:

Dies gilt vor allem für ein rohstoffarmes, exportorientiertes Land wie die BRD.

Das Beschäftigungspotenzial des deutschen Arbeitsmarktes wird zukünftig noch mehr vom Bestand an qualifizierten Erwerbspersonen abhängen. Mit wachsender Automatisierung findet darüber hinaus eine Verlagerung des menschlichen Arbeitseinsatzes hin zu personengebundenen marktnahen Dienstleistungen statt, so dass Organisations- und Managementtätigkeiten eine immer wichtigere Rolle einnehmen. Die Anforderung an die Qualifikation der Erwerbstätigen steigen und das so genannte 'Humankapital' entwickelt sich zu einem der bedeutendsten Bestimmungsfaktoren für die Höhe des Wirtschaftswachstums und der Beschäftigung. (11: 4-13)

[This applies particularly for an export oriented country as the German Federal Republic. The employment potential of the German labour market will in the future depend even more on the stock of qualified workers. Due to the growing automatization, a shift towards person dependent service attuned to the market takes place so that organization and management activities take on an ever more important role. The exigencies towards the qualification of workers increases and the so-called 'human capital' turns into the most important determining factor for the rate of economic growth and employment.]

In a first instance, the paragraph is interesting for its paratactic ordering (the relation between the first and the second sentence is one of ELABORATION, the other sentences are related through ADDITION) which indicates again the predominance of a 'logic of appearances' over a 'logic of explanation'. The statements feature strong claims to factuality either to factive verbs ('[t]his applies to'), the employment of the present tense ('a shift takes place', 'organization and management activities take on', 'human capital turns into') and the more general absence of modalizing resources that could indicate perspectiveness and dilute claims to undisputed truth. The paragraph thus tends towards closure instead of (academic) dialogue (note that none of these claims are backed up through reference to academic literature), again particularly problematic in a context of conflicting accounts. The claim of the preceding paragraph - the trend towards internationalizing entails a necessary shift in the qualification

profile of the work force – is taken here as the ground for a further claim: the labour market (and hence employment in general) will depend increasingly depend on qualified workers. This statement is rearticulated (giving it even more salience) in the last sentence turning ‘human capital’ ‘into the most important determining factor for the rate of economic growth and employment’. The ideological content of this statement might become clearer when confronted with the perspective I have outlined in more detail in chapter 4.3.3.3. and 4.3.3.4. (relations of strategic alliances to the state and the effects of their activities on inter-state relations): Compared internationally, the German workforce is actually highly qualified which does not safe (blue and white collar) workers from loosing their employment because companies close down and reopen their production sites in countries with essentially lower production costs (for instance in China, India and Eastern Europe). The actual economic growth of ‘the German economy’ is thus inversely related to ‘the potential for employment’ locking this country (as most others) into interstate competition for investment that might generate employment. I would therefore argue that the text misrepresents the situation, diverts attention away from political issues involved in these processes and aims to attune students and managers to the ‘exigencies of the global economy’

TEXT	ACTORS and PROCESSES	POL.-ETHICAL ASPECTS MENTIONED
1	ACTOR: globalization (NOMINALIZATION) PROCESS: de-agentalized AFFECTED: students and future managers	none
2	ACTOR: historians of the economy PROCESSES: predict (SEMIOTIC) ACTOR: communication (process noun) PROCESS: tend to overcome (RELATIONAL) ACTOR: corporate structures PROCESS: have been dynamised (de-agentalized) (passivization) (MATERIAL)	none

3	CIRCUMSTANCES: age of economic interrelationship [Vernetzung] and globalization (NOMINALIZATION) ACTORS: international M&As PROCESS: counts as (normality) (RELATIONAL) ACTOR: competitive advantages PROCESS: play an ever important role (MATERIAL) ACTOR: corporate cultures (NOMINALIZATION) PROCESS: are [...] product of communicative action (RELATIONAL)	none
4	ACTOR: managers PROCESS: do AFFECTED: intercultural management	none
5	ACTOR: global competitiveness PROCESS: forces Bosch and similarly structured companies (MATERIAL)	none
6	ACTOR: technical innovation and change in values PROCESS: push AFFECTED: new orientation and bordercrossing activities PROCESS: change AFFECTED: qualification requirements for the work force ACTOR: growing automatization (PROCESS NOUN) PROCESS: instigate (MATERIAL) AFFECTED: relocation of work force	none
7	CIRCUMSTANCE: with the internationalization of professional life (PROCESS NOUN) ACTOR: qualification requirements PROCESS: grow (RELATIONAL) ACTOR: intensifying international cooperations MENTAL: suffer CIRCUMSTANCE: managers with little social competencies	none
8	ACTOR: change PROCESS: is (RELATIONAL) (the biggest constant factor in history) ACTOR: the world	none
	PROCESS: opens up (MATERIAL) CIRCUMSTANCES: as a consequence of the increasing interrelationship between markets and long term global-strategic positions in future market	
9	CIRCUMSTANCES: as a consequence of the accelerating globalization ACTORS: project management PROCESS: need (new approaches) (MATERIAL) ACTOR: characteristics, trends and background of globalization PROCESS: are (RELATIONAL)	none
10	ACTOR: globalization of economy (NOMINALIZATION) ACTOR: influence of ethnoculture (NOMINALIZATION) ACTOR: management concept "Valuing Diversity" (ordered in a	none

	list as main trends for importance of intercultural competence)	
11	ACTOR: managers PROCESS: use (MATERIAL) AFFECTED: 70% of their time ACTOR: increasing globalization (NOMINALIZATION) PROCESS: entails (MATERIAL) AFFECTED: communication becomes ever more international	none
12	ACTORS: big companies PROCESS: realized (MENTAL) ACTOR: call for globalization (NOMINALIZATION) PROCESS: became loud (RELATIONAL)	none
13	ACTOR: current globalization PROCESS: poses (MATERIAL) AFFECTED: many companies CIRCUMSTANCE: through merging and strategic alliances ACTOR: companies and holdings PROCESS: generate (MATERIAL)	none
14	Assumed (ACTOR: employees of internationally active companies)	none
15	ACTOR: internationalization of the economy (NOMINALIZATION); border crossing of German companies (NOMINALIZATION); funding of a new export subsidiary (NOMINALIZATION), merging (NOMINALIZATION), joint ventures (NOMINALIZATION), building of new production sites (NOMINALIZATION) (elements listed).	none
16	ACTOR: increasing internationalization PROCESS: leads to AFFECTED: distribution of coordination over several countries AFFECTED: international markets PROCESS: are opened (de-agentalized) ACTOR: liberalisation of world trade, information technological developments and possibilities of transportation PROCESS: are (RELATIONAL) (important forces)	none
17	Assumed: ACTORS: international companies and organisations PROCESS: recommend (SEMIOTIC) ACTOR: globalization of the economy (NOMINALIZATION) PROCESS	none
18	ACTOR: international cooperation, multicultural work force, diverse groups of clients, rapid change of organizational structures and cultures through M&As (NOMINALIZATIONS) PROCESS: ACTOR: globalization (NOMINALIZATION) PROCESS: leads to (MATERIAL) AFFECTED: increasing interrelationship ACTOR: competitive pressure (NOMINALIZATION) PROCESS: conditions (MATERIAL) AFFECTED: differentiation of market segments ACTOR:	none

	internationalization (NOMINALIZATION) PROCESS: intensify (MATERIAL) AFFECTED: intercultural cooperation ACTOR: technological change (NOMINALIZATION) PROCESS: lead to (MATERIAL) AFFECTED: change in employment structure	
19	Assumed (Interculturality is the normal case in the business reality)	none
20	Assumed	none
21	ACTOR: globalisation (NOMINALIZATION) and internationalization (NOMINALIZATION) PROCESS: adopted (MATERIAL) AFFECTED: such a dynamic CIRCUMSTANCE: in the international border-crossing business	none
22	ACTOR: the increasing internationalization of social and work life (NOMINALIZATION) PROCESS: poses (MATERIAL) AFFECTED: new exigencies ACTORS: many failed export initiatives and wrong investment abroad PROCESS: are (RELATIONAL)	none
23	ACTORS: several million employees PROCESS: are exchanged (passivization)	none
24	Assumed	none

As this overview shows, ‘globalization’, and ‘international economic processes’ are the main grammatical participant or actor employed, ‘technical innovation’ ranges third. The nominalization of a process turns it, as argued before, into an entity which – apart from deleting real agents and construing the process as quasil-natural – can become the agent for verbs. These divide in the present corpus in either material or relational processes, i.e. they either act upon other participants, either managers or students. Both these groups are functionalized and sometimes carriers of mental

processes (realize, know). These grammatical realizations textualize the relation between both actors, globalization and managers, as between an autonomous socioeconomic process and a process of psychological adaption to this given reality. The existence of globalization is thus confirmed: human beings can only react, understand and change their inner attitudes towards something that inevitable and given. Significant absences (in terms of social actors) include workers and stakeholders and political-ethical concerns.

5.5. SUMMARY

Several tendencies have been found in the corpus, among them a remarkable degree of overlap in terms of lexico-grammatical resources, epistemological and ontological positions, theoretical concepts, perceptions and recontextualizations of socioeconomic processes, political values, communicative purposes, assumptions about what sorts of evidence and forms of argumentation are persuasive, how to bring several disciplinary perspectives together and combine them etc. Taken together, these features gave rise to hybrid generic forms associated with a mix of social purposes, e.g. to intervene in management practices, to sell training and consulting services and material, to make the case for IBC as a field worth funding and institutional support etc. In the following section, I will draw the particular patterns and tendencies found together, show how the analysis has answered to the three blocks of research questions outlined in the introductory chapter and draw some preliminary conclusions to be further substantiated in the next chapter which will focus on the (institutional, social

and conceptual) context IBC authors operate in order to come to an adequate explanation of the discursive and generic patterns found.

5.5.1. GENRE, ACADEMIC PRACTICES AND DEBATE

While genres have to be understood as idealized formats that do not exist in pure forms in specific instances, they are still conventionalized. In the case of academic articles, some stable conventions as to the purpose and form of writing academically exist, amongst them accountability, reflexivity, relevance, validity and forms of (dialogical) argumentation have been identified in chapter 2.2. The failure to comply with these expectancies in the majority of the texts has generated a conflict in terms of genre integrity. The pressure to adhere to conventional practices and to maintain their professional identity despite the overriding concern with the promotion of commercial trainings – developed by most of the respective authors themselves – might have generated the notable use of superficial lexico-grammatical science markers, the construal of science as objective and neutral, the limited referencing of and engagement with relevant literature and debates (including an almost tabloid account of current economic processes), the guru approach of totalizing concepts, the little to none data or research and the self-assured and authoritative tone³⁴³. The appropriation of generic features for additional purposes is, as Bathia (2004: 104) argues, not so problematic

... across areas of discourse which serve complementary communicative purposes [...], as in the case of *advertorial*, *infotainment*, *infomercial* and a number of others. However, it may become somewhat problematic to do so

³⁴³ While some texts were more in line with rigorous academic work, the majority displayed not only conceptual simplicity and theoretical failings but bore traces of generic changes towards an increasingly promotional type.

across genres which either serve conflicting communicative purposes or are associated with contexts that have conflicting or contradictory concerns or requirements (Bathia 2004: 104)

The adoption of different generic features is paralleled by a specific form of appropriating concepts and theories from other fields or disciplines. Ideally theoretical sources are put into *dialogue* with one another and the position the author wants to put forth, i.e. into a context of reasoned argumentation. Here they have been disembedded from their original context of debate and motivational background, chosen pragmatically according to alleged their usefulness to the ‘outside’ (business) world (and/ or academic reputation) and assembled in a ‘tool-box’ fashion thus distorting and emptying them of their critical impetus. Underlying this particular treatment of theoretical concepts and models lie (underinformed) positivistic and instrumental assumptions of social scientific knowledge and theories which in turn raise serious concerns in terms of academic reasoning. The fact that the field consists of contradictory academic discourses held together by the central task of providing commercial services shows that interdisciplinarity means in this case nothing more than a “... nur ein munteres Ausweichen auf fachliche und disziplinäre Beliebigkeit” (Mittelstraß 1998: 31) [... a happy diversion to and adoption of disciplinary eclecticism.]. As I will argue in more detail in the following chapter, the hybrid, rather promotional texts created and the socio-discursive interaction they perform are adverse to the role and function academia is meant to perform in and for society³⁴⁴.

³⁴⁴ As I have pointed out in chapter 2, the two central mechanisms to ensure generic integrity, the peer review process and the editorial intervention, are missing from the publication process.

5.5.2. THE CONCEPT OF CULTURE, INTERCULTURE AND THE OTHER

IBC foregrounds cultural differences and aims for improved mutual understanding but employs concepts that - to different degrees - reify, essentialize, homogenize, consensualize and otherize thus contributing to stereotyping and prejudice instead of reducing them. Culture is mostly regarded as overlapping with national borders; differences between national cultures are exaggerated while internal diversity and change is downplayed. Issues of gender and age are completely ignored, the concept of social class is almost always absent and if mentioned, not elaborated. On the other hand, this notion of culture ensures, superficially at least, predictability and applicability, characteristics which aid the commercialization of the approaches to training and consulting.

The employment of the term does not allow taking the specificity of each respective context of interaction into account; including, the role language and other non-cultural differences (for instance individual, gender or age based) can play in actual instances of meaning-making practices. Political and ethical issues (including actors' norms and values) become 'culturalized,' i.e. the relation to social practices, structures and power relations tends to be overlooked or sidelined as 'subjective' and thus alien to the alleged neutrality and objectivity of 'science'. If translated into business practices the redefinition of difference into 'cultural' issues gives rise to serious concerns in terms of power relations. It could provide a conceptual and discursive resource and tool in order to make conflicts, diverging interests and contestation invisible and harmonize them into a narrative about 'win-win'-results and 'synergy'-effects.

In the face of the misleading and contradictory overuse of the term as either a residual category, an academic marketing device or an ideological tool in a hegemonic

discourse paralleling the rise of postmodern thought and neoliberal politics, it seems legitimate to ask whether the concept of culture is necessary and analytically helpful or whether it becomes rather difficult to use it without at the same time adopting the problematic associative baggage it has become loaded with. While I share the considerable discomfort with this term, I would nevertheless hold that on an analytical level it is necessary to denote those (contested) ideational and evaluative elements and resources people draw upon in their social practices and their interpretation as outlined in chapter 2.4. At the same time, though, I would refrain from using the term *culture* in actual teaching practices³⁴⁵ given the imminent danger of (further) stereotypical ascriptions the notion might invite.

5.5.3. THE RECONTEXTUALIZATION OF SOCIO-ECONOMIC PROCESSES

In terms of the first set of questions - the recontextualization of socio-economic changes and political-ethical implication raised in this context - the corpus as a whole tended towards a market-fundamentalist, neoliberal discourse. ‘Globalization’ is represented (either explicitly or implicitly) as a quasi-autonomous agent, inevitable and irreversible, without alternatives and finally beneficial to society. In the majority of texts it is presented as unfolding naturally and forcing economic actors (states, companies and individuals) to adapt or perish. The discourse disseminated by authors in the field taps right into “the underlying fear that traditional monocultural organisations are no longer effective in meeting the demands of a global marketplace” (Jack and Lorbiecki 1999: 4).

³⁴⁵ Since cultural factors cannot be assumed to precede instances of communication *a priori* - being ultimately dependent on the situation and the agents involved - they cannot be predicted and even less so taught.

The concomitant educational practices are consistently legitimated through recourse to ‘globalization’ without ever reflecting neither on the limitations of this perspective, nor on the ethical consequences the involvement in international business education entails. The adoption of a neoliberal perspective, however, is highly problematic for any theory of intercultural communication because of its underlying evolutionary and Darwinian assumptions. It potentially leads to a lack of empathy for people who are marginalized but still affected by the actions of global players – members of a rich, mobile, international class. IBC thus represents and rearticulates the hegemonic culture of an economically privileged segment of society. Other, local cultures tend to be seen and evaluated as problems, instantiations of backwardness that have to be overcome in order to establish and further global businesses. This stance thus puts “intercultural communication in the position of denying its own *raison d’être*: the respect for every culture as equally valid” (Halsall 2002: 76).

5.5.4. CONCLUDING REMARKS

I have dedicated a lot of space (chapter 4) to the discussion and analysis of discourses of globalization - in particular the neoliberal version of it, as well as current socio-economic structures and processes - which seems diametrically opposed to the space dedicated to these issues by the academics in the field of IBC *although* they derive their professional, institutional and academic legitimation from this context. I hope to have shown that in an educational field no reference to socio-economic change is innocent and that (partial or complete) absence of an engagement with the debates surrounding these issues is a hiding place for taken-for-granted assumptions and ideology. The underlying political values and views of how society *is* and how it

should be, is a decisive factor in conceptual choices (regarding for instance notions of *culture* and *otherness*) and the view of the role and function of knowledge and higher education in society. This, in turn, translates onto the local, textual level of knowledge construction, epistemologies and ontologies, discourses and genres.

Overall, the analysis has highlighted a very important observation about the corpus, namely that each text appears to carry with it a host of influences from the context in which it was produced and conversely that texts can serve as important clues to the practices, values, conventions, social relations and identities of community members. In the next chapter, I will attend to the contextual features that impact upon the field, are being reworked through the respective authors, are translated into the fine grained processes of academic texts and knowledge production and feed back into and reshape the context in specific ways. In a second step, I will turn to normative issues concerning the different approaches to interdisciplinarity, the concomitant ontological and epistemological assumptions about the nature of knowledge and the functions and goals of academic knowledge production in society. All of these issues are at the core of current debates about changes in higher education and thus, at the core of the field under investigation.

CHAPTER 6

EXPLANATION: IBC AND WIDER CHANGES IN THE GERMAN HIGHER EDUCATION SYSTEM

In order to further contextualize and explain the discursive and generic patterns the analysis has revealed, I will now turn to the theoretical undercurrents and institutional pressures that have made the close alignment of IBC to the alleged needs of ‘the globalizing economy’ viable. The first section of the following chapter thus explores the general *turn to culture* the social sciences went through in the last decades and the concomitant focus on issues of culture, identity, voice and gender (*recognition*) at the expense of attention to socio-economic relations and asymmetries (*distribution*). In a second step, I go beyond academic trends and discuss the broader institutional changes in the German higher education system that generate pressures for academics, particularly in the Humanities and social sciences to produce applied, interdisciplinary and ‘useful’ knowledge. Staying with external pressures, the third section will shed light onto the relation to neo-classical economics and the conceptual and discursive power this adjoining discipline exerts. Rounding up the analysis of these three contextual dimensions, I will discuss the political-educational ramifications the commodification of education entails. While I have argued before that such an instrumental approach to intercultural communication entails adverse effects on the process of understanding itself, I will argue in this section that the breaking up of the educational process into discrete and transferable units like *competencies* undermines the kind of knowledge HE should be based upon and nurture. To this end, I will reflect upon the triangle of knowledge, higher education and society, and stress the importance of a *critical* approach to teaching, research and other academic practices.

6.1. THE CULTURAL TURN

6.1.1. THE BIRMINGHAM SCHOOL OF CULTURAL STUDIES

IBC with its focus on and all-encompassing use of the term *culture* is part of a wider tendency in the social sciences and the humanities of the last decades which has been termed the *cultural turn* designating a strikingly high frequency and conceptual currency of the notion throughout the whole political spectrum from left to right³⁴⁶ (Thrift 1999: 135, Ray and Sayer 1999: 1, O'Neill 1999: 76). The concept of culture had for a long time been influenced by orthodox Marxism³⁴⁷ which, in its crudest form, reduced it to *ideology*, i.e. the symbolic *superstructure* that holds unjust and unequal material *structures* of economic relations in place. Culture, understood as serving specific class interests, neither allowed for the notion of agency nor, paradoxically, the emergence of resistance. Moreover, it effaced differences inside a specific socio-economic group by viewing its members as a coherent, homogenous and consensual whole. In the context of this kind of economic determinism and reductionist materialism, the new emphasis on and reconceptualization of culture by the intellectual and academic left in the wake of postmodern reasoning was thus, as Sayer (1999: 2) argues, “long overdue.” With the advent of the field of *Cultural Studies* through the Birmingham School³⁴⁸ in the 1960s, culture became recognized as a system in its own right. By focussing on popular culture in general and subcultures in particular, authors like Raymond Williams, Richard Hoggard, E.T. Thompson and

³⁴⁶ See, for example the conservative and neoliberal author Samuel P. Huntington who advanced cultural belonging and identity as the new threat to peace. His ideas have to be viewed in the context of the military re-orientation of the United States.

³⁴⁷ As Swingewood (1998: 6) points out, Marx himself did not specifically focus on the nexus between the economy (*base*) and culture (*superstructure*) but would probably not have agreed to such a dichotomous view since he regarded production as involving “significant ontological and broad humanist assumptions”.

³⁴⁸ The British school of *Cultural Studies* with its institutional centre at the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies at the University of Birmingham has been strongly influenced by Neo-Marxism, feminism and poststructuralism. It emphasized the social aspects of everyday life in contrast to the so-called high culture of the arts and aesthetics and acknowledged the linguistic nature of human beings.

Stuart Hall tried to reveal common elements in the practices, values, forms of resistance and identities of groups and communities while analysing them always in relation to socio-economic conditions and forms of power. Williams and his co-researchers thereby did not only try to overcome the limits of orthodox Marxism but also of *idealism* which regards culture as a system of ideas, beliefs and norms causally prior, or even unrelated to, economic or social relations. In order to relate structure and agency they conceptualized culture as a *whole way of life* and a *social practice* with particular reference to Gramsci and his concept of *hegemony* (Billig and Simon 1994: 94). Meaning making from a Cultural Studies perspective was considered to be an ongoing social *and* individual process, a view that stresses ideological distortion while at the same time not losing sight of human agency in history making processes. According to Fay (1996: 131, see also Rampton 2001: 261–262), Cultural Studies

... seeks to unmask the self-contradictory elements operating in various forms of representation in popular culture (such as the tabloid press, soap operas, football crowds, popular movies, and the like). These ‘texts’ (usually of familiar events or objects) are said to be ‘sites of contestation’; accordingly, they are ‘interrogated’ to demonstrate how they distort, ‘occlude’, or in other ways inadvertently reveal the ideological pressures which shaped them.

The commitment to critique and the emphasis on issues of identity in cultural-political processes and struggle made this academic field a “radicalizing, broadly political activity” (Brooker 1999: 48). It found its political counterpart in the Social Rights Movement of the 1960s and 1970s which brought the recognition of difference (in terms of gender, race and ethnicity) to the forefront of public debate (Murdock 1997: 86).

Although the emphasis on culture was a step to be welcomed, many authors argue that the concept has started to be overused at the expense of other important factors (and their interrelation) in contemporary life and society. Whereas William’s and his co-researchers’ original intention was to study meaning making processes and practices

in relation to gender, race, *and* class and thus to show how subcultures, in particular the working class, developed symbolic and practical forms of resistance to the dominant social values, later approaches have to a large extent analytically marginalized issues of economic injustice, power or distribution and limited their concerns to issues of recognition and voice. The field broke up into ever more specialist areas (for example *Women, Gay* or *Media Studies*) focusing on virtually every aspect of everyday culture from food over Madonna to football (Swingewood, 1998: ix) without ever arguing for the actual relevance of such research:

Cultural Studies has pursued the ordinary and vernacular with zeal, so that there is now no cultural practice or production that is not, or could not be, the focus of scholarly analysis. [...] The problem is one of judgment. Williams was interested not simply in differences between cultural forms and between practices, but in ‘differences of value’. (Murdock 1997: 91)

At the same time, academic fields like political economy and sociology were accused of and regarded as totalizing and suppressing difference through the construction of so-called ‘grand narratives’, i.e. overarching theoretical attempts at explanation. As a consequence of this neglect, actual references to economic processes by academics writing from a Cultural Studies have often been under-theorized and are based on understandings and conceptualizations that “rarely rise [...] above that of anyone who can read a newspaper” (Eagleton 1996: 12, see also Thrift 1999: 135). In terms of politics (in academia and wider society), the concomitant discourse of social justice once concerned with material equality and issues of class (the politics of redistribution) flipped to claims for the recognition of difference (Fraser 1999: 25)³⁴⁹. This antagonistic intellectual development is, as the same author (see also Kincheloe and Steinberg 1997: 83, Parekh 2000: 8 and Kellner 1997: 102) argues, in no way

³⁴⁹ The redistribution paradigm claims that socio-economic inequity lies at the root of social injustices, whereas the recognition paradigm views cultural forms of (mis)representation fundamental. Whereas the former treats (socio-economic) differences as simply unjust and wants them to be abolished, the latter either celebrates differences as cultural variations or deconstructs categorizations that seem unfair and essentialising (Fraser 1999: 28).

helpful to the issues in question since both injustices interpenetrate each other and occur in a variety of combinations: In Western industrialised countries, for instance, women generally earn less than men in the same position, are fewer times promoted and in addition to this, carry the main burden of child care, factors which in turn impact upon their social standing and recognition. Socio-economic transformation and political reform would in this case work as “the remedy for gender and racial-ethnic injustice” (Fraser 1999: 27)³⁵⁰. Redistribution and recognition are hence not mutually exclusive theoretical alternatives

The focus on difference privileges a cultural politics of recognition, based around the demand to be heard and respected. It has little or nothing to say about a politics of redistribution which is concerned with assigning the resources needed for full expression and participation. But building a democratic culture requires transformations in the deep structures of allocation as well as of symbolic forms (Fraser, 1995). It calls for a political economy of cultural practice as well as critical analyses of the expressive forms these practices produce. (Murdock 1997: 92)

The fact that the shift towards culture and symbolic processes away from an analysis and critique of and in depth engagement with unjust economic relations occurs at a time when socio-economic and political divisions and problems are increasing through the ascent of neoliberal capitalism has lead some authors (Ray and Sayer 1999: 2, Fraser 1999: 2, Kellner 1997: 100) to the conclusion that the moral-political values of postmodern Cultural Studies are not only dangerously compatible with the political-economic discourse and policies of neoliberalism but serve the very same interests by marginalizing the articulation and discussion of political and economic issues³⁵¹.

To ignore questions of material redistribution is to collude with the conditions that produce the oppressions and exclusions that generate the acts of resistance,

³⁵⁰ As Ray and Sayer (1999: 6) argue, the relationship between culture and economy should therefore not be coded: culture (good), economy (bad) or vice versa. Economic problems can also derive from cultural norms or lifeworld practices, for instance, the exclusion of women from the world of work in parts of India, Bangladesh or Afghanistan under the Taliban (ibid: 15).

³⁵¹ See also Ray and Sayer (1999: 2) who ask: “Why then, has there been a cultural turn? It could be construed as largely endogenous to academia – as simply a stage in the development of academic thought: but it would be surprising if it bore no relation to changes in society, culture, and politics at large”.

defiance and bloody-mindedness that much work in cultural studies has so insistently celebrated. (Murdock 1997: 92)

The close affinity can partly be traced back to the ontological and epistemological perspective many academics in the field have adopted in the wake of postmodern reasoning, namely a skepticism towards claims of truth, the rejection of so-called ‘grand narratives’ and the concomitant focus and emphasis on affirmation of local micro-aspects of social symbolic processes.

The conservative postmodernists’ rejection of the authoritarianism of modernist ‘master’ narratives and theories that attempt to understand society in its ‘totality’ preserves the very distortions that gave rise to them. This has occurred through the postmodernists’ remaindering of the leftovers of postwar humanism, the conflation of fascism with Enlightenment rationality, and the cultivation of a fabulously entrenched pessimism that celebrates the profusion of difference over that of equality in manner similar to neoliberals who celebrate the unfettered character of the market. (McLaren 1999: 24)³⁵²

Taking the discursive mediation of the social to an extreme and assuming that the world is not directly accessible and knowable, postmodernists revert to a “flat social ontology” (Sayer 1999: 31), thus losing the crucial analytical distinction between substance and appearances/ discourses that is necessary for any form of grounded critique. As a consequence, and despite its critical impulse “that critique is running rampant without political direction” (Billig and Simon 1994: 6). Combined with a resistance to and rejection of normativity as authoritarian, “falsely universalizing dominant group norms” (Frazer 1999: 29) and thus repressive of difference (Sayer 2004: ch. 9, p. 4), strong postmodernists treat values as merely subjective and irrational, on the basis of an “egalitarianism about judgements of worth which is taken to require relativism about norms” (O’ Neill 1999: 86). This again results in similar pronouncements as the neoliberal and neoclassical reduction of values to nothing

³⁵² See also Sayer (1999: 3): “... this disavowal [of economic relations and their effects] has led to a cultural turn which is in crucial respects uncritical of its object, not only because it ignores or marginalizes economic matters and neoliberal hegemony, but because its treatment of culture is nevertheless highly compatible with a neoliberal world view”.

more than individual preferences (Sayer 2000a: 11), a stance that may be vacuous, as Dupré (2001: 129) argues, but it is hardly benign:

The most obvious point is that to treat altruism, morality, or accepted social norms simply as tastes that some people happen to have – I like candy and fast cars, you like morality and oysters – is grossly to misplace the importance of norms of behaviour in people's lives. Morality is what for many people makes sense of their lives, not just one among a range of possible consumables. Perhaps there are people for whom what primarily makes sense of their lives is the acquisition of cars or oysters. But most of us, I suppose, would consider this pathological, and would not consider that such lives made much sense.

6.1.2. IBC AS PART OF THE CULTURAL TURN IN MANAGEMENT STUDIES

Along with other social sciences, academic business and management discourses have equally witnessed a *cultural turn*³⁵³. Academic areas with a traditional focus on culture, such as anthropology for example, have increasingly been drawn into the world of business, offering their service in order to solve problems and give functional orientation and training. The academic field under discussion has, as outlined in chapter three, developed in response to the deficiencies of neo-classical theory where cultural and normative issues have been excluded from debate as 'subjective'. In order to fill the void left by mainstream economics, IBC adopted extra-economic aspects as its centrepiece of analysis and theory, turning culture into an all-encompassing notion with strong causal power. Having thus 'flipped' (on the surface level³⁵⁴) from economic reductionism or 'hard' factors as propagated by neoclassicism to the 'soft'

³⁵³ Again, this turn has been attributed to a range of factors and influences. Thrift (1999: 136), for instance, argues that the economy is partly undergoing its own cultural turn. According to this author, in the current phase of capitalism, knowledge and more generally semiotic elements have become the most important factors for production and other business sectors thus generating a strong demand for theory and training in these areas. While I agree with Thrift view that business has become more complex, I would still hold, as argued in chapter 4, that many areas of production have remained squarely fordist.

³⁵⁴ At the same time, culture is analysed from the point of view of economic interests.

or cultural side, IBC perspectives seems to suffer a lack of ontological stratification, i.e. a conceptual differentiation between the various elements (cultural, structural, institutional) of the social, their durability, potential causal force and interrelationship: Social reality (including the economy) is subsumed under an idealist conception of ‘culture’, enclosed in people’s minds³⁵⁵. Premised upon the idea that the study of social reality is primarily a study of meaning systems and values generated by individual actors through dyadic communication, researchers attempt to recover the meanings and (self-) understandings held by agents (phenomenology) without addressing the actual relations and circumstances these actors find themselves in and refer to, for instance their belonging to dominant or subordinate groups (social status), the material and discursive resources they can draw upon etc. Sayer (1999: 34) describes this theoretical perspective as ‘interpretivism’ designating a “tendency to reduce social life wholly to the level of meaning, ignoring material change and what happens to people, regardless of their understandings” (Sayer 1999: 6, see also Fay 1996: 113 and Murdock 1997: 92) and subjects it to the following critique³⁵⁶:

[Interpretivism] might appear to address morality but it usually does so in a way which treats it as external social facts, rather than something which applies to us, in which we are implicated. In adopting this observer’s standpoint it empties morality of its force so that it becomes merely custom.

By reducing values and morality to forms of conventions which can be investigated and finally managed and controlled, this view of culture is not only ill-equipped to understand lay normativity (Sayer 2000: 4-5), but it also represents a form of cultural imperialism in which learning from other cultures is nothing but a “necessary strategy

³⁵⁵ These approaches thus cannot account for the crucial relation between structure and agency, fundamental to any social theory.

³⁵⁶ In a sense, interpretivism is empiricist since it acknowledges only the pure information of respondents without taking into account that they might be misled, not aware or err about their own motives, beliefs, values and social conditions.

for marketing in the growing global economy” (Hoechsmann 1997: 186) with the aim of getting people to act in more predictable ways.

The oversocialized view of those investigated (their normativity is nothing but a form of cultural convention) goes hand in hand with an undersocialized view of the researcher as having risen above cultural influences and reached a state of scientific objectivity. The assumption that academic research is value-free and neutral leads to the inability to conceptualise the impact of discourses upon social sciences and the unavoidable but in this case inappropriately *unreflected* influx of political values as analysed in chapter 5: the economic world in general, and multinational organizations in particular, are treated as neutral sites of interaction while the repercussions economic decisions have for the wider community are excised from debate³⁵⁷ and social responsibility is marginalized to an individual ‘preference’. In fact culture needs

³⁵⁷ Some Scandinavian and U.S.-American academics (Brinkmann 1999, Lehtonen 1999: 36, Deetz, Cohen and Edley 1997) in the field of IBC have begun to address the ethical dilemmas involved in current international business practices and the exigencies these evoke for any theory of intercultural business communication. In their search for socially more responsible approaches, they have turned to the academic field of Business Ethics that addresses specifically the adverse effects of market failures and current economic practices to the well-being of societies, individuals and the environment. It is claimed that in the absence of an international judicial framework, large economic actors have to – voluntarily – take on a far greater responsibility for the social good (Prakash Sethi and Sama 1998: 134, see also Biesecker 1998: 19, Richter 1997: 9, Lehtonen 1999: 25, Hoechsmann 1997: 199-200). The main difficulty interculturalists see and try to solve is the “dilemma when they [managers] seek to apply moral values to business decisions in cultures outside their own” (Wines and Napier 1992: 831), in particular when these other “cultures have contradictory or inconsistent ethical perspectives” (Kohls and Buller 1994: 31, see also Brinkmann 1999: 1, Kumar and Graf 1998: 134, Lehtonen 1999: 27). The discussion is hence framed squarely in *culture relativist* versus *universalist* terms focusing on the question of how (allegedly) diverging cultural values can be harmonised in order to create possible self-imposed codes of conduct. Without wanting to minimize or underestimate the problem of a “Normenbegründung im interkulturellen Kontext” [the validity of norms in an intercultural context] (Richter 1997: 15-16), this ethics perspective seems to perpetuate the same conceptual split between values/ facts, emotion/ reason, subjective/ objective we find in neoclassical economics (Sayer 2004: 1). It thereby relegates ethical considerations to individual preferences somebody (an individual or an allegedly homogeneous cultural entity) might hold or not while business behaviour is regarded as being neutral, rational and objective. Again, the rhetorical labelling of (culturally mediated but fundamentally) socio-economic conflicts of interests as ‘cultural’, excludes these issues from rational argumentation, public discussion and social critique. In a context, however, that gratifies malpractice, strategies of internalising gains and externalising costs and a general exclusive focus on material, short term gains, ethical concerns (defined as *altruistic*) and the social good will remain reduced to a luxury that comes after financial gains have been assured. Every comprehensive explanation of ethical conduct must therefore draw away from the focus on individual cases of corporate wrongdoing and possible voluntary ethical conduct on part of CEOs and incorporate institutional, historical, political, cultural and sociological considerations (Hoffmaster 1998: 25, see also Richter 1997: 14 and Sayer 2000b: 7).

“only be invoked where motivations diverge from self-interest” (Ray and Sayer 1999: 7). In addition to this, critical strands of cultural studies, anthropology and sociology are adopted as main intellectual feeding disciplines and theories³⁵⁸ while being emptied of their critical impetus and (mis)used for strategic purposes. This instrumental approach to social science and interdisciplinary work leads to the paradoxical situation that a field that deals at its core with values and cultures, has virtually nothing to say about ethical and political conflicts that arise out of international business activities. As Wines and Napier (1992: 834) point out sharply:

The culture literature is interesting also for what it does *not* say about values. While definitions of culture have frequently incorporated ‘values’ or ‘moral values’, there has been little specific explanation of what is meant by moral values or how such values translate into rules for behaviour in ethical situations.

Willmott (1997: 165) categorises approaches to management that focus exclusively on ‘soft’ aspects such as culture and communication as *post-rational*:

Post-rational thinking finds nothing problematical, ethically or ecologically, in the application of whatever means are claimed to be most effective in securing established ends. It simply extends the refinement of means to encompass the political skills deemed effective for the management of ‘people’s interpretations’ (Pettigrew, 1985: 316). It does not promote critical reflection upon the historical formation of management practice and theory within divisive contradictory structures of economic organization.

IBC as an example of such a post-rational thinking is in line here with neo-classical economics and its political twist, neoliberal ideology, both absolutizing material gains as the ultimate goal without ever considering the social costs this might generate. Questions of validity, i.e. regarding our responsibility towards others and the environment are turned into questions of behaviour, i.e. how the system works, how we can fit in and use it to our own advantage (Sayer 2000b: 6). In this sense, it does not seem to be of any concern whether intercultural trainers work for the U.S.-

³⁵⁸ As happened in the case under investigation to the field of Cultural Studies, anthropology and Habermas’s concept of the lifeworld.

American army in Irak in order to gain wider acceptance in the affected population, help negotiate takeovers and mergers more successfully or try to veil the effects of environmental damage through a PR strategy that takes the values and concerns of the respective community in a ‘culturally sensitive’ way into account. Culture comes only into the equation if it is not in line with the allegedly rational and neutral (i.e. means-end oriented) goals of those paying for intercultural training.

It would be too simplistic, though, to explain the paradoxes and contradictions of IBC as exclusively due to epistemological and normative standpoints which are, in turn, generated by wider fashions or ‘turns’ in academia in general and the social sciences in particular. In order to hold these contradictory academic practices and discourses in place, we have to go beyond philosophical questions and turn to the institutional context, a point McGuigan (1997: 15) has put forth in relation to Cultural Studies:

The failures of cultural studies are less to do with faulty volition than with the peculiar conjunction of ‘successful’ academic institutionalization, occurring simultaneously with the marginalization and confinement of critical thought in the academy.

6. 2. CHANGES IN THE GERMAN HIGHER EDUCATION SYSTEM

The establishment, survival and subsequent growth of a field is, of course, based on the acceptance of the respective institution. The current upsurge and emergence of hybrid and applied fields like IBC is an example of a broader trend in academia to cross disciplinary boundaries (Moran 2002: 1) in order to contribute to the solution of ‘real-world’ problems. This development has been advocated, nurtured and welcomed by many academics, intellectuals, governmental agencies, funding bodies and sponsors alike, albeit for a variety of often diverging reasons and from different political-pedagogical perspectives. In Germany, the discussion is bound up with the

recent debate about the state of the HE system: As an almost exclusively state-funded and free mass institution, universities have become increasingly underfinanced after the first economic crisis after the end of WW2 hit Western industrialized countries in the 1970s³⁵⁹ (Ash 1999a: 147). Investment has been declining ever since, with the percentage of expenditure dropping from 1, 3% (4,3 billion DM) of the GDP during the mid 1970s to 0, 9% (3, 9 billion DM) at the beginning of the 90s although the number of students doubled during this time (ibid: 253, Sozialismus von unten 2000/2001, Gaethgen 2004: 54). The chronically insufficient expenditure lead to “untragbaren Zustände in den Hochschulen” [unbearable conditions at universities] (ibid) such as the overcrowding of degree programmes and seminars, the inaccessibility of professors for individual students³⁶⁰ and hence the lack of personal tutoring or feedback, the non-existence of short degree programmes (such as a B.A.) which prolongs the time students spend at universities³⁶¹ and so on. Thus, from the 1980s onwards, the German university system has been subjected to severe critique from inside and outside the institution:

³⁵⁹ Hanly (1998: 47-48) makes the case for a similar shift in U.S.-American and British universities: “Before the debt crisis, universities flourished, and were supported by large government grants in addition to tuition income. Income from corporations was a minor supplemental element. With the debt crisis and the demand for cutbacks in government spending, the universities were forced either to find new sources of income or cut services back or increase their cost. Universities must now turn to corporations to replace the lost government funding. This changes the educational role of the university.” In the wake of this development, higher education institutions have been pushed towards ‘market principles’ and the needs of the economy, particularly in terms of human resources and knowledge production (Keat 1999: 92, see also Fairclough 2001: 237). While there are important similarities between these different national contexts, there are also differences: The German HE system, for instance, has so far been gratuitous (a majority of students have been state funded through the so-called Bafög, an interest-free credit covering maintenance and basic needs) thus giving broad parts of the population the possibility of further and higher education independently of their social status and income.

³⁶⁰ Whereas in the U.S., the ratio between professor - students is 1: 10, it is 1: 100 in Germany (Gaethgen in *Der Spiegel* 2004: 56).

³⁶¹ The many advantages the student status offers (health coverage, price-reduction in travel, meals, cultural events etc.) subjected the system to free-riding, in particular when the German economy slowed down and unemployment rates rose. Students often remain at their ‘Bildungsparkplatz’ [educational parking space] for its economic advantages with one or several part-time jobs instead of searching for full-time employment.

Darüber, daß die gegenwärtige Situation einer grundlegenden Veränderung bedarf, herrscht Konsens; in welche Richtung das Umdenken gehen soll, bleibt aber nach wie vor strittig (Ash 1999b: 253)

[There is widespread agreement that the current state of affairs is in need of profound change, but there are also extensive differences as to how to reform the system.]

The heated public debate is characterized by a wide range of perspectives on the situation of the system, the acclaimed nature and causes of its alleged deficiencies (and strengths) and the potential remedies and necessary reforms³⁶². The most popular criticism hence attacks the German university as being an ‘ivory-tower’, a “quiet, remote and communal guild unified in the common love for scholarly conversation and debate” (Carson 1998: 14) allegedly reluctant to make relevant contributions and be responsive to the needs of society, a claim that has been voiced many times by the authors in the field of IBC. In particular the social sciences and humanities have come under pressure to legitimize their existence through ‘usefulness’, for instance through a clear contribution to the economy. The field of IBC is a response to these calls for reorientation and part of the so-called competency-based approach to education, a pedagogic discourse that has been disseminated and adopted in recent years in different national and institutional settings. Its implementation entails changes in the curriculum, educational goals - attuning the workforce to the needs of a highly competitive work environment - and methods thus redrawing and realigning the boundaries between the sphere of education and the world or work (Bowden 1997: 3):

Competence-based models in education are associated with wider social and cultural tendencies and themes. They incorporate a particular vision of the

³⁶² Gaethgen (2004: 54), the president of the *Hochschulrektorenkonferenz* (2003/ 2004), i.e. the highest academic gremium in Germany, argues that the situation is especially critical in the context of the current international competition between national university systems. Given the demands of an increasingly knowledge-based economy in need of well-educated specialists and researchers in different economic areas, he laments the ‘brain drain’ of young and promising students, academics and researchers in particular to the U.S.: “Schon jetzt verlassen uns die besten Studenten in Richtung Amerika” [Our best students are already leaving us for the U.S.] (ibid: 56). In order to improve the situation, he demands more financial investment on part of the state, as well as the introduction of student fees in the range of 500 to 2000 Euros per term.

social subject and of the educability of the subject. They are democratic in their view of subjects: they imply that everyone has the capacity to learn, dependent only upon training. They are simultaneously normalising, and sometimes tightly programmed: they lay down common target behaviours, knowledges and understandings for all learners, sometimes in very precise terms [...]. They are at the same time individualising: they focus upon each separate individual as housing a configuration of skills which can be worked upon and improved, and in this respect they connect out to contemporary tendencies for the 'self' to become more autonomous, more 'self-steering' (Rose 1989), and to the contemporary salience of individualism. And competence-based models are spreading. They have been rapidly 'colonising' many domains of social life in the past decade, perhaps because they seem to fit in well with the values of 'enterprise culture' (Keat and Abercrombie 1990). (Fairclough 1992: 40)

Allegedly, increased efficiency³⁶³ in higher education can be achieved through the introduction of interdisciplinary, short degree programmes, student fees and/ or punitive fees for students who study longer than average, requirements for entrance or the introduction of entrance exams, social selection of students through and in so-called 'Excellence Centres' and 'Elite-Universities'³⁶⁴ serving at the same time as a concentration of subjects and research areas in specific places, limitations of the possible length of study, an emphasis on transferable skills and competencies

³⁶³ Although references to the U.S.-American system, allegedly better organised and more efficient, are frequent, the system, however, is not always understood properly. Despite traditional (philosophical, educational and political) differences, the institutional system in the U.S. is more varied: state- or mixed-financed colleges and universities exist alongside private ones and render the dichotomy of *mass/ public/ quantity* versus *elite/ private/ quality*, so prevalent in the German discussion, almost irrelevant (Ash 1999b: 256, the author refers here particularly to the mass universities of Wisconsin, Berkeley and Michigan). In addition to this, a broad range of long established and large funding bodies assures at least partially that students with little resources can gain access to a prestigious university. In the German debate, though, only private elite universities like Harvard and Yale seem to figure: "Kaum ein Artikel zu diesem Themenkreis scheint ohne ein Bild von einem parkähnlichen amerikanischen Campus mit efeuumrankten Gebäuden auskommen zu können." [Hardly any article about this topic area can do without an image of a park-like American campus with buildings framed by ivy.] (Ash 1999b: 254).

³⁶⁴ According to Huisken (2004) the term 'elite university' itself is misleading and tautological since every university is by definition already an institution for the education of an elite. The professor from the University of Bremen warns against 'Hochbegabtengefasel' [senseless talk about the so-called 'high talented'] and the introduction of tuition fees. For him the limitation of access to higher education signifies nothing but an unnecessary 'Zusatzselektion' [additional selection] and the exclusion of ever more citizens, in particular from working class background, a concern many academics, politicians and students share.

(*vocationalism*)³⁶⁵ instead of personal and social development, a streamlining of standards (*credentialism*), national and international accreditation and homogenization of modules and degrees³⁶⁶, competition among academics and faculties through close monitoring, ‘output’-control (in terms of publication and research rates, teaching assessment, enrolment figures) and performance-based payment, the acquisition of external private funding and the concomitant accountability to financing bodies and a focus on applied rather than theoretical research. Managerial regulation is proposed and regarded as indispensable for a modernization of the system (Wernick 1991, Spiegel Online 24.1.2004): The university’s ‘performance’ shall, for instance, be controlled and supervised through external commissions, (*Hochschul-Aufsichtsräte* constituted by politicians and business people). The market-oriented model has already partly been implemented, albeit different federal states have developed and are still developing different responses and approaches in this ongoing process of change and reforms.

The findings from the textual analysis - shortcomings on the theoretical level (above all the understanding of culture, otherness and language, the lack of informed interdisciplinarity and the misappropriation of theories from other areas), on the discursive level (the adoption of neoliberal discourse and the concomitant ignorance of other perspectives on current socio-economic processes, the legitimation of pedagogic goals derived from this discourse) and on the generic level (the move towards a promotional genre, away from academic reasoning and debate) – can partly

³⁶⁵ As a matter of fact, almost all authors from the corpus demand a greater vocationalist approach to higher education as well as the introduction of B.A. and M.A. degree programmes (see for example Will 2000, Bolten 2005, Dathe 1997, Roth 1996, Hogen 1998: 170).

³⁶⁶ Around 1600 bachelor or master degree programmes have been established since 1998 and until 2010 the two level Anglo-American model (B.A. and M.A.) shall be the norm in the European Union (Mittelstrass 1994).

be explained, in critical realist terms, by the structural preconditions and pressures academics in the German context have come under³⁶⁷. Bolten (2005: 10), one of the academics working in the field of IBC, talks about the “Anreize[], die der Gegenstandsbereich für die Entwicklung der eigenen Lebensplanung bietet” [incentives for one’s life plan the field [of IBC] offers]:

Es wäre interessant, einmal zu untersuchen, inwieweit sich interdisziplinäre Ansätze, wie sie in allen Bereichen der interkulturellen Kommunikations- und Handlungsforschung notwendigerweise praktiziert werden, im wesentlichen der Tatsache verdanken, dass ihre Protagonisten Lücken ausfindig gemacht haben, in denen sie ihr eigenes, durch Zeitverträge oder durch Stellenengpässe im ‘grundständigen’ Fach befristetes Wissenschaftlerdasein doch noch erfolgreich weiterführen konnten. (Bolten 2005: 10)

[It would be interesting to investigate to what extent interdisciplinary approaches, as they are practiced necessarily in the areas of intercultural communication and action research, are essentially generated by the need of protagonists to find niches where they can continue their scientific existence, despite the difficulties in their home discipline which offer only short term contracts but no positions.]

These pressures have on the one hand placed an increasing number of academics in precarious situations and nurtured an inclination to look for alternative financial income through the commercialization of academic work. The university benefits as well through the establishment of such semi-academic but context relevant fields as IBC:

An educating institution may be reluctant to admit another sheep to its fold – but its reluctance is considerably reduced if the sheep has a golden fleece. If the educating institution cannot be persuaded to create chairs for distinguished defectors, another ploy is as follows. The theoretical comprehensiveness and obvious relevance to a particular occupation or cluster of social problems can be urged upon an outside donor of funds. These funds can then be used to employ ‘research assistants’ whose terms of contract make them available for teaching low-prestige service courses, ancillary courses, as lateral enrichment to existing disciplines. If these ancillary courses can be adequately grafted on to existing disciplines, the proponents of the new ‘discipline’ can point to their heavy teaching load and the need for permanent staff to carry it out. With skilful manipulation, it can readily be claimed that new staff become the ‘property’ of the unit or group teaching the ancillary courses, and the unit or

³⁶⁷ Arguing again from a Critical Realist perspective, I would nevertheless hold that structural preconditions do not determine behavior but depend on their mediation through agents.

group begins to take on a visible identity. If the cuckoo can sit in the nest long enough, it is likely to find a permanent place in the university establishment. (Goodlard 1976: 56)

The shift to *Drittmittelforschung* [research financed by ‘third parties’, i.e. private investors] and the adoption of a more managerial model has major implications for the conditions, content and methods of research and changes the relations between students and staff to a producer – client pattern³⁶⁸. It is feared that even thoroughness might suffer through the orientation towards quick and functional output and material reward, a concern that I share for the field under investigation. Huisken (1994), for instance, argues that the talk about ‘elites’ and ‘efficiency’ leads the discussion away from contents and focuses exclusively on the pragmatic outcomes and functionality of studies. He regards this as a narrow interpretation of the sense of higher education and its role in society, which might entail an uncritical adaptation to industrial interests, in particular the education of young people as well-functioning workers instead of critical citizens.

The incursion of the (intercultural) competency approach into higher education has a further aspect related to the interdisciplinary relation with neoclassical economics. The argumentation of the following section about the relation between these two fields is based on the assumption that newly emerging fields generally try to separate themselves from their parent and other disciplines, avoid resemblance and claim and legitimate their own intellectual and academic (and institutional) territory. IBC, however, sits in a very complex relation with the conceptually highly influential and institutionally powerful school of neoclassical economics where members are

... convergent and tightly knit in terms of their fundamental ideologies, their common values, their shared judgements of quality, their awareness of belonging to a unique tradition and the level of their agreement about what

³⁶⁸ Both sides have to respond to the behaviouristic function of the market, i.e. to its penalising or encouraging effect through current demand.

counts as appropriate disciplinary content and how it should be organized ... (Becher and Trowler 2001: 59)

The situation IBC authors are in - they attempt to fill a perceived gap in the education of students of economics and business managers and are, in some way, transgressing the well-defined borders of this “adjoining territor[y]” (Becher and Trowler 2001: 58) - is hence bound to generate conflicts. The contradictory finding that IBC is constructed as a ‘hard’ instead of a ‘soft’ science, despite the fact that it attempts to address ‘soft’ issues, can be regarded as an attempt to reconcile, seek alliance and acceptance “um bei ihren Zielgruppen überhaupt auf Glaubwürdigkeit stoßen zu können, ...” (Bolten 2005: 10) [... in order to gain at least some credibility with their target groups]. In order to bring the influence of neoclassicism into focus, I want to turn to the normative particularities and the discursive strategies this discipline employs and the power struggles (including struggles over epistemologies and concepts) it is involved in.

6.4. INTERDISCIPLINARY RELATIONS: THE INFLUENCE NEO-CLASSICAL ECONOMICS EXERTS

As I have already indicated in chapter 3.3., neo-classical economists strongly emphasize the difference between an economic ‘science’ allegedly based on empirical, objective, value neutral, ‘hard’ and realistic facts and methods (modelled on the natural sciences) in contrast to the social sciences or humanities allegedly based on ‘soft’, subjective, interpretive and unquantifiable issues. As has equally been argued, this belief or ‘scientism’ (Ackroyd and Fleetwood 2000: 6) entails a strong commitment to abstraction and formalization neglecting any ‘noise’ from the real

world (time, space, institutions, differences, values contexts etc.) that might disturb modelling based on the metaphor of the invisible hand as a law of nature. As a consequence, most of neo-classical economics has proven to have generally very little explanatory and predictive value in almost all economic areas other than capital accumulation and “fares rather badly as a guide to reality on empirical tests” (Self 1998: 8, see also Siler 2003) and cannot generate satisfying accounts or answers to real-world problems. In Gay’s (2003: 1) words, mainstream economics is

... unrigorous because it leaves out so many possibilities. It is not thorough because it mostly analyzes only things it can measure. It is not exhaustive because it is implicitly bound by an uncritically positivist and strictly utilitarian worldview that precludes uncertainty. It is inaccurate, economists themselves endlessly repeat the mantra that they are no good at forecasting levels – only directions – and often even these are wrong.³⁶⁹

While generally being a relatively neutral methodological device, formalization can be said to be problematic when it is used in order to deflect discussions about the actual content, ethical questions and, in particular, values (Bair 2003: 7, see also Sayer 1995: 218-224, van Staveren 1999: 75, Dupré 2001: 152, and de Rivera 1998: 100) which do not only enter every social science³⁷⁰ but also impact upon theoretical and analytical concepts. The abstraction from the nature of goods, for instance, entails, that “[p]igs, bombs and currency are interchangeable” (Morgan 2003a: 2). As a consequence the focus of the field is

³⁶⁹ Defenders of neoclassical thought would argue that scientific concepts and models do not have to resemble reality since their main function is heuristic, that is, they help to generate fruitful hypothesis. While theories surely have to be selective, this, however, does not rescue mainstream economics from most criticism. Fleetwood (2002) exemplifies that the integration of ‘known falsehoods’ removes all explanatory power from neo-classical economics and renders the explanations invalid with reference to the theory of labor demand. Neoclassicists omit references to trade unions, the introduction or abolition of labor laws, government policies, management etc. As Fleetwood argues, these factors cannot successively be brought in to make the approximation more ‘realistic’ because they have emergent properties and effects, that is, they are effective and causal in time and cannot be ‘added on’ at some later stage of the equation. For a similar critique in relation to commodity markets, see Dupré (2001: 121).

³⁷⁰ Neo-classical theory is both normative and prescriptive. It addresses, albeit mostly implicitly, questions of liberty, justice, solidarity, freedom, the relation between the state and society, the social good, equality etc. (as analyzed in chapter 3.3.).

... not policy, not realism, not ethical debate about alternative ways of living, working and producing, its primary interest is solving mathematical proof problems it sets itself. (ibid)

Relevance in neoclassical economics is, according to the same author, “what is appropriate to method rather than what is interesting about some aspects of the world.” (ibid, see also Fine 2001: 8). Apart from the dubious obliteration of ethical questions, and the theoretical shortcomings³⁷¹, formalization and mathemization have several other discursive effects, all of them related to power and the conservation and enlargement of disciplinary status and influence. First of all, it seals academic work in this field from understanding and by implication, from critique. Economic texts are largely

... unreadable by a continuous and obfuscating veneer of mathematics. I say ‘obfuscating’ because the mathematical modelling at almost every point requires a level of abstraction that removes the discussion from any serious connection with the phenomena. (Dupré 2001: 133)

This way, contributions, concerns and demands from the general public are kept at bay or translated by disciplinary-internal conventions into ‘new problems’ while, at the same time, the field cuts itself off from change through a highly conservative circle of reproduction of knowledge and practices: New-comers have to adhere to the dominant paradigm and thus “spend little time arguing over theoretical issues” (Siler 2003, see also Morgan 2003: 2):

The student of economic theory is taught to write $O = f(L,C)$ where L is a quantity of labour, C a quantity of capital and O a rate of output of commodities. He is instructed to assume all workers alike, and to measure L in man-hours of labour; he is told something about the index-number problem involved in choosing a unit of output; and then he is hurried up to the next question, in the hope that he will forget to ask in what units C is measured. Before ever he does ask, he has become a professor, and so sloppy habits of thought are handed on from one generation to the next. (Robinson 1978: 76, quoted in Siler 2003)

³⁷¹ Out of the necessity to deal with the reality of heterogeneous and diverse markets, imperfect information and market failure, these messy and complex factors are later brought back in through graphs, diagrammes and statistics, a tendency, IBC authors have adopted.

As will be argued in more detail in following subchapter, the role of higher education lies in the opening up of new theoretical avenues and debates and *not* in the socialization and inculcation of students into one school of thought. Siler (ibid) therefore speaks of a “fatal move” for economics as a discipline:

... that innovations in the mathematical solutions to the model, rather than reconstructing economics to make it more realistic, useful etc. became the way to get ahead as an academic.

As the same author explains succinctly, the effect of the ‘de-phenomenalization’ lies in the construction of allegedly undisputable claims to truth and thus to power:

They are forms of thought which remove any particular content from the formal chain of thought. Mathematical reasoning provides a prime example. The ‘truth’ of the account is invested in the *internal* relationship between the symbols or propositions employed. The theoretical schema can then be laid, grid-like, over any particular set of events or conditions. In a different context, and drawing from the insights of Lacan and Foucault, Walkerdine describes how this manoeuvre produces a form of thought which possesses ‘absolute certainty’, legitimating a claim of universal applicability. It is ‘a rationality devoid of any content that can describe and explain anything’ providing a ‘fantasy of perfect control in a perfectly rational and ordered universe.’

The fact that neoclassical economics - despite its conceptual and methodological shortcomings - is dominating and monopolizing³⁷² management schools, business departments worldwide and has a strong currency in the business world can hence partly be explained by the discursive strategies and practices employed (Marcussen 2000, McCloskey 1995, Sayer 1995, van Staveren 1999): the shunning of cross-disciplinary and heterodox thought, an insulation from the lay public and other academics/ disciplines through *formalization/ mathematization*, a strict internal hierarchy of ascribed competence and knowledge and a concomitant de-valuation of bordering fields and disciplines (Siler 2003). In order for IBC-authors to gain acceptance, present themselves as legitimate ‘experts’ on business issues³⁷³ and hence

³⁷² Contrary to their own celebration of free and strong competition.

³⁷³ Siler (2003) lists among extra-discursive features of neoclassical economics which contribute to its institutional status, the existence of a relatively concentrated, highly acclaimed core of academics in

be tolerated as an applied field at the periphery of economics, a strong adherence to scientism and objectivism seems to be an obligatory requirement:

As in many facets of economics, there is a clear hierarchy (made possible by high mutual dependence) of sub-fields in economics, with the more theoretical endeavours enjoying epistemological, and organizational superiority. This occurs both within and outside of economics. Within economics, econometrics, labour, and health economics, and other relatively applied work remains subordinated to and to a certain extent derivative of the dominant paradigm, couched in the theoretical core of the discipline. Doing applied, or socially relevant work is acceptable to mainstream economists, provided you adhere to the dominant neoclassical paradigm (i.e. Gary Becker). (Siler 2003)

Sayer (2000c) describes this as a mixture of *parochialism* – neoclassicists regard their own discipline, theories and methods as superior – and *imperialism* – they tend to enlarge their claims, models and metaphors to other areas, as for instance in the case of rational choice which has come to dominate other social sciences, including IBC, and other, non-academic contexts³⁷⁴. As Dupré (2001: 128, for a similar argument see also Moran 2002: 4) explains further:

However, typical imperialists do not merely establish embassies in foreign countries and offer advice to indigenous populations. And similarly, economic imperialists do not merely export a few tentative hypotheses into the fields

famous universities (with concomitant exclusionary practices and a tight control of accepted knowledge production and dissemination), agreed upon hierarchies of competence and the existence of a Nobel Prize “which serves to galvanize the discipline, and confer significant prestige upon economics as a whole in public perception, and upon the winning economists, who tend to further perpetuate the prevailing orthodoxy.”

³⁷⁴ To exemplify the extent of ‘imperialism’ I will quote in full length the introductory text of the Hochschule Harz (2004: 2) about the range of other, non-economic areas and types of behaviour, rational-choice theory can supposedly be applied to: “Moderne Mikroökonomie” versucht heute, Phänomene oder Probleme zu erklären, die mit Ökonomie auf den ersten Blick wenig zu tun haben: - Warum stehlen Menschen und wie kann man sie davon abhalten? – Warum arbeiten Frauen meist im Haushalt und warum sind Männer meist vollzeit berufstätig? – Warum gehen die Geburtenzahlen zurück? – Wer heiratet wen und warum werden immer mehr Ehen geschieden? - Wieso entstehen in Parkanlagen Trampelpfade, obwohl es gepflegt Kieswege gibt? – Trägt die Ankündigung von Radarkontrollen im Rundfunk zur Verkehrssicherheit bei? – **Was ist ein Menschenleben wert?** [my emphasis] - Warum schädigen Sportler freiwillig ihre Gesundheit durch Doping? – Sollte man zur Kontrolle des Bevölkerungswachstums Kinder nur noch auf handelbare Babygutscheine anschaffen dürfen?“ [“Modern micro economics attempts to explain phenomena or problems which have, at first sight, little to do with the economy: - Why do people steal and how could one prevent them from doing so? – Why do women work mostly at home and why are men mostly employed full time? – Why do birth rates go down? – Who marries whom and why are there ever more divorces? – Why do people trod through the greens in parks although there are enough paths? – Does the announcement of radar control in the radio contribute to the security on streets? – **How much is a human life worth?** – Why do athletes damage their health voluntarily through doping? - Should the birth rate be controlled through the issuing of baby-vouchers?]

they invade, but introduce an entire methodology and one that is in many cases almost entirely inappropriate. Here I mean by ‘methodology’ two things: first, a set of core assumptions about how to conceive of the phenomenon under investigation, in this case human behaviour; and second, a methodology in the strict sense of a style of scientific argument.

In the attempt to gain recognition in the community of academic neoclassicists and in the community of business managers (commonly inculcated into this ideology) through the appropriation of norms, conventions, values and practices, authors in the field of IBC employ the startling discursive strategies found in the analysis: the construction of a objectivist, scientific and ‘hard’ stance, the apparent reluctance to acknowledge the importance of other social scientific fields and debates (allegedly normative, subjective, and unquantifiable) and the superiority of one’s own academic work (allegedly realistic, useful, objective, and neutral). As I have indicated in the preceding chapter, the majority of authors in the field adopted to some extent the commercially successful *guru*-style (as described in 5.1.) which has developed precisely in response to the fact that the “edifice of analytics” (Gay 2003) economics builds up is not only “hard to understand” but turns its relation to everyday life and reality opaque. In their search for more practical and applicable knowledge, students and managers have consequently been drawn towards literature that can be grasped more intuitively. Parallel to the “mushroom-like growth of formal business and management education” (Collins 2000: 19, see also Norton and Smith 1998: 7), popular management or ‘guru literature’ has therefore witnessed an explosive growth throughout the 80s and 90s with some publications even leading national and international bestseller lists. At the same time, the authors offer consultancy services to companies³⁷⁵ which are in search of quick and easy recipes for organizational success. In contrast to many of these authors who derive their celebrity status from

³⁷⁵ US companies, for instance, spend 20 billion Dollars each year for these kinds of services (Collins 2000: 4).

their alleged outstanding experiential background as a famous consultant or a ‘hero-manager’ (Collins 2000: 6) *and* their authority from the fact that they hold an academic position at a university, the IBC-authors rely (so far) solely on the latter.

6.4. THE ROLE OF HIGHER EDUCATION IN SOCIETY

A scientific practice that fails to question itself does not, properly speaking, know what it does. Bourdieu (in: Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992: 236)

As an academic field, IBC answers to the quest of the business world to provide or ‘produce’ ‘useful’ knowledge and a well-trained, adaptable and flexible workforce able to apply acquired knowledge in practical, real world circumstances. Although one function of the university is surely to provide solutions to social problems and to educate competent professionals, its role cannot be limited to a focus on the deliverance of practical recipes and functional workers, employees or managers³⁷⁶. Higher education has, according to Barnett (1990: 8) its own “*raison d’être*”, a “... cluster of aims, values and general” including a commitment to the pursuit of objective knowledge in terms of truth, truthfulness and honesty to be intersubjectively verified through debate and argumentation³⁷⁷. On a social level, this entails the provision of a space for and the enhancement of, scientific as well as cultural, human and social development (ibid: 121, see also Carson 1998: 13) and the preservation and nurturing of an intellectual and democratic culture advancing critique and informed, argumentative discussion. Such debates and forms of critique are not just a luxury or

³⁷⁶ Obviously, competent professionals need to be reflexive in order to be innovative, i.e. they should have alternative perspectives, explanations and practices at their disposal (Barnett 1990: 45) which in turn requires a profound theoretical background. In other words, theory and practice are never mutually exclusive but inexorably linked to each other.

³⁷⁷ This view of HE goes back to Habermas (cf. Barnett 1990 and Hanly 1998: 121).

“nicety” as Carson (ibid) puts it but a necessity for any society if problems are to be addressed constructively, mistakes are to be analyzed and alternative visions and counterdiscourses, values, explanations and solutions are to be brought into sight³⁷⁸.

As communities sharing a common but critical discourse over ends, values and achievements, institutions of higher education can become a microcosm of the rational society, a reminder to society of what society itself might be. (Barnett 1990: 120)

This is particularly important when specific discourses and policies such as currently the neoliberal one have already reached a hegemonic status leaving few domains, sectors and institutions (including the university) unscathed by the pervasive restructuring along the alleged ‘logic’ of the market:

If there are tendencies in modern society for thought, discourse and action to be constrained by a number of dominant forces, higher education has the function of helping to maintain and develop a plurality of styles of thought and action. In this sense, higher education has to be a countervailing force. (Barnett 1990: 65-66)

Whereas a pragmatic approach aims to find solutions to problems, a true *higher*³⁷⁹ education attempts to reflect upon the definition of the problem and to challenge common sense assumptions that went into its conceptualization:

... a higher education – to be worthy of the title – will encourage the student to develop a competent awareness of alternative ways of seeing things, or of doing things. Otherwise the programme becomes a mere training of technique. (Barnett 1990: 45)

Higher Education should therefore generate greater theoretical awareness of lay and academic discourses and by implication alternative perspectives and explanations in order to increase reflexivity, autonomy and thus the ability to take responsible and careful decisions. Students should be encouraged

³⁷⁸ As Barnett (1990: 21) argues, the orientation towards ‘efficiency’, ‘numerical performance indicators’, ‘assessment procedures’ and ‘output’ is actually anathema to HE.

³⁷⁹ I completely agree with Bowden (1997: 2) that to the extent “that training means learning to do something without understanding how and why, then it is to me merely an inferior form of education”.

... to stand back, to reflect deeply, to consider the ethical dimensions of both thought and action, to understand something of the place of their knowledge in society ... (Barnett 1990: 78)

Such an approach brings the nature of education as a social process where different actors (including institutions and interests groups), responsibilities, values and resources are involved back into view; an aspect that a pedagogy which limits the rationale behind HE to the transmission and acquisition of skills and competencies as individual resources (Barnett 1994: 13) effectively marginalizes³⁸⁰. According to Keat (1999: 98), HE

... can and should serve the role of enabling students, and that means citizens, to be socially and ethically responsible, and to contribute crucially to the promotion of genuine human flourishing.

In order to be able “to criticize common sense assumptions and to go beyond these through political work and education” (Brooker 1991: 37) academics, first of all, need to critically engage with and reflect upon contemporary social problems, causes, dynamics and consequences of constellations of power and discourses themselves. Carson (1998: 13-14) speaks here of a “positive duty to take up a *critical* [my emphasis] examination of the nature and social impact of restructuring activities in the economy,” particularly in those fields which specialize in and focus on forms of restructuring as the academic field under discussion. Being politically aware and committed to specific values, however, should not be misunderstood as imposing one’s views onto students (Goodlad 1976: 76)³⁸¹. To the contrary, it requires an informed openness towards different viewpoints combined with a strong commitment to rational debate, a stance Barnett (1990: 60-61) calls “authoritative uncertainty”:

³⁸⁰ In Habermas’s terms, the subordination to instrumental rationality can be described as a colonisation of the lifeworld. As outlined in the preceding chapter, such processes raise the concern that valuable kinds of cultural goods (in this case provided by the university) might be distorted, lost or displaced by others of lesser values since the market cannot ensure their adequate provision (cf. Keat 1999: 94).

³⁸¹ Goodlad (1976: 64-76) argues that the university should be “... open to the expression of all points of view and it does not take institutional stands on controversial social and political questions (except in so far as its educational mission requires it to do so [...]). One might say that the implicit theory of neutrality is not a neutrality of *effects* (consequences, results) but a neutrality of *institutional intent*.”

Higher education calls for increasing intellectual maturity of individual expression, commitment, resilience, tolerance of other viewpoints, interaction with others and self-critique. (ibid)

Rationality is hence partly a matter of engaging in dialogue with others (Barnett 1990: 120): It means accepting responsibility for their own truth claims and the commitment to offer reasons for their beliefs, values and actions:

Practically, it means that students have to become used to expressing a point of view and exposing it to the critical evaluation of their peers, and in this way take on the ethical demands of rationality. Not just truth-telling, but sincerity; not just intelligibility, but empathy ... (Barnett 1990: 120)

In order to enable and nurture reflexivity, openness, empathy and a commitment to rational argumentation two aspects of higher educational pedagogy seem to be particularly important, namely a critical interdisciplinarity and a critical awareness of the discourses (and their contextual embeddedness) involved in the specific construal of social reality. In other words, it has to encourage reflexivity, argumentative debate, the pronouncement of critique and challenge common sense assumptions about the objectivity and moral-political neutrality of the social sciences³⁸². Such an approach, however, entails the necessity of overcoming allegedly ‘neat’ disciplinary boundaries³⁸³ and the concomitant rather unfortunate compartmentalization of knowledge and learning. As Sayer (2000c: 11, see also Carson 1998)³⁸⁴ argues, thinking in strict disciplinary terms might hinder dialogue and free enquiry and thus “limit thought and produce well-disciplined members” leading, ultimately, to a

³⁸² As has equally been argued, the institutional precondition to fulfil this role satisfactorily is based on the relative financial, organisational and academic autonomy of higher education.

³⁸³ Sayer (2000c, see also Jessop and Sum 2001 and Moran 2002: 13) draw attention to the historicity of academic disciplines and argue that these institutional entities have emerged alongside and as an effect of the differentiation of modern societies and the increasing need for specialists and specialized knowledge.

³⁸⁴ The term *discipline* derives as Moran (2002: 2) rightly points out, from the Latin *disciplina* “which refers to the instruction of disciples by their elders, and it necessarily alludes to a specialized, valued knowledge which some people possess and others do not.” It suggests a recognized mode and content of learning and a form of internalised control, “a particular kind of moral training aimed at teaching proper conduct, order and self-control.” The author regards disciplines for this reason as “artificial holding patterns of inquiry” imbricated with the operation of power.

situation of “... learning more and more about less and less until one knows practically everything about nothing much” (Scott 1979: 310, quoted in Robles 2001: 10)³⁸⁵:

Transdisciplinary work is absolutely necessary to guarantee that all learning in the university at all levels is not just training but genuine education. (Kockelmans 1979: 145, quoted in Robles 2001: 5)

By bringing different theories and perspectives into dialogue, crossing disciplinary boundaries can thus

... form part of a more general critique of academic specialization as a whole, and of the nature of the university as an institution that cuts itself off from the outside world in small enclaves of expertise. Interdisciplinary approaches often draw attention, either implicitly or explicitly, to the fact that what is studied and taught within universities is always a political question. (Moran 2002: 17)

In contrast to *inter* and *cross*-disciplinarity (as in the field of IBC) which accept disciplinary boundaries as historically given (and adopt them strategically), *trans*- or *postdisciplinary* approaches (Chouliaraki and Fairclough 1999, Sayer 2000, see also Jessop and Sum 2001 for their form of *predisciplinarity*) generally challenge these as being illegitimate. Thinking and learning in the way they propose requires, however, a profound academic literacy, i.e. the ability to understand the broader canvas of theoretical positions, methods of enquiries, discourses, debates and trajectories of various disciplines, necessary to make informed choices and to engage in discursive struggles about meanings and - as in the case of neoclassical economics - power investment. This can raise the pedagogical difficulty of how to teach students at least some basic form of academic literacy in a very limited time. I would agree with Becker (1989: 75), though, who argues:

³⁸⁵ I am not arguing, following Moran (2002: 1) again, arguing that disciplines should be abolished. They do serve specific functions as for example guarding precisely that social space that is necessary for (relatively) free enquiry and debate. The point is rather that the trend towards more specialization and disciplinary isolation (apart from project-based interdisciplinarity) should be reversed towards increased openness, self-critique and reflexivity.

To make the point, should it not be common ground that, as a minimum, social science graduates ought to emerge from their courses with an informed understanding of Freud, Levi-Strauss, Husserl and phenomenology, and the main strands of economics, post-structuralism and Habermas and critical theory? It is no answer to say that there is insufficient time for a wide-ranging programme of studies of that kind. [...] There is plenty of time, if the aims and content of such a programme were seriously thought through.

As Sayer (2000: 9) stresses in addition to this, the emphasis should be on *learning* rather than disciplines. Postdisciplinary scholars thus

... follow ideas and connections wherever they lead instead of following them only as far as the border of their discipline. It therefore does not invite dilettantism or eclecticism, in which we end up doing a lot of things badly. On the contrary, it differs from those things precisely because it requires us to follow connections. One can still study a coherent group of phenomenon; in fact, since one is not dividing it up and selecting out elements appropriate to a particular discipline it can be more coherent than the conventional disciplinary studies.

In order to avoid disorientation, a theoretical meta-discourse bringing disciplines, theories and methods (i.e. their epistemological, ontological and ethical assumption) into dialogue without synthesising or reifying them, is needed. As Morgan (2002: 8) argues, philosophy - as transcending more specialized and 'disciplined' forms of knowledge and providing an understanding of the discursive nature of social science – and generic social scientific research skills are thus essential. On this basis, the search for a "false sense of scientific security through rigid definitions" (Parekh 2000: 117) can be avoided and concepts could be treated as *sensitizing*:

In social theory the ambiguous nature of concepts is nothing new. They are used, despite their vagueness, because they, as products of 'imagination, vision, intuition' (Nisbet 1970: 18), may show some phenomena in a new light and, therefore, they may contribute to the further development of social theories. They can be seen as 'sensitizing concepts' which, while 'lacking the precise specification of attributes and events of definitive concepts, do provide clues and suggestions about where to look for certain classes of phenomena' (Turner 1982: 336). [...] the use of these kinds of sensitizing concepts can provide, by encouraging flexible approaches and continuous investigation of new territories, a more adequate perspective on our changing world. However, it needs to be admitted that our uncertainty as to what we are referring to can obstruct us 'from asking pertinent questions and setting relevant problems for research' (Blumer 1954: 150). Therefore, while the nature of the social world

necessitates working with not always clearly defined concepts, our task should be to overcome this deficiency by trying to redefine them so they more explicitly communicate and reflect the empirical reality. (ibid)

Furthermore, being on guard in terms of allegedly ‘scientific’ and ‘neutral’ tools should be - as the preceding analysis has shown - fundamental to any inquiry into different cultures, societies and processes of intercultural communication. Only then can their sometimes ethnocentric, political and normative biases be revealed and come to an understanding of our educational practices and theories as discourses embedded in broader social, cultural, and political contexts. In this sense, the goals of HE and intercultural education overlap. Both are concerned with

... humanization not just socialization, with helping students become not just good citizens but also integrated human beings with well-developed intellectual, moral and other capacities and sensibilities, and able to feel at home in the rich and diverse human world. (Parekh 2000: 227, see also Fay 1996: 237)³⁸⁶

Only an approach to intercultural communication that is based on a *multicultural philosophy of social science*, i.e. an understanding of the discursive nature of our concepts can finally lead to

... an enhanced ability to listen and to respond to others, a deepened appreciation of the ways others contribute to our own self-knowledge; and an enlargement of our moral imagination (Fay 1996: 237, see also Parekh 2002: 229)

As the same author continues, such a stance requires a form of *critical intersubjectivity*

It demands that cognizers be open to others, engage them, seek out and hearken to their observations, discoveries, and criticisms. Thus, multiculturalism understood in these terms conduces not to the enclosed little worlds of relativism but to the interactive forum of fallibilism. So, can we objectively understand others? *No*, if objectivity is interpreted in an objectivist

³⁸⁶ See also Young (1996: 209) who argues: “In today’s world, effective critique is necessarily intercultural. In the previous chapters it was agreed that intercultural discourse was necessarily critical because you inevitably placed your own culture in a critical framework when you opened yourself to learning from another culture. In this chapter, I want to make a stronger point: that intercultural learning is necessary for critique. The internal resources of a culture, its capacity for self-critique are limited – too limited, perhaps, for effective criticism unless we are willing to learn from other cultures.”

fashion to mean 'as they are in themselves'. But *Yes* if objectivity is interpreted in a fallibilist way to mean 'in an open-minded, responsive to evidence, accountable, criticism-seeking manner.' (Fay 1996: 221)

6.5. SUMMARY

In this chapter, I have interpreted the discursive and generic intricacies found in the corpus through reference to three contextual dimensions. The paradoxical situation that an academic field attempting to bring culture and values back into sight marginalizes questions of ethics and values related to its own social scientific research, has been explained partly through the inherently narrow and under-theorized concepts of values paradigmatic for the more general *turn to culture* in academia. It has been argued that the oversocialized view of human beings and the concomitant inattention to the real material structures, processes and relations that matter profoundly in people's lives is coupled with an undersocialized view of the researcher, based on an implicit modernist pseudo-scientific self-understanding and self-promotion modelled on and competing with, mainstream economic rhetoric. The internalization and recontextualisation of prevailing neoliberal, hyperglobalist and scientific discourses and elements however cannot be explained sufficiently by exclusive reference to the lack of theoretical depth and ontological stratification and in addition to this, the incursion of discursive strategies prevalent in the predominant adjoining discipline of neoclassical economics. The academic field and discourse of IBC has therefore been set in relation to wider current changes which draw more and more formerly independent sectors and areas of social life (such as precisely the university) into the logic of the market. I have argued that competency-oriented degree programmes with their specific instrumental educational goals and

concomitant forms of teaching and training methods, represent a key agenda in aligning universities with the practices and requirements of the commercial sector³⁸⁷. IBC as such a commodified form of education is thus in no way a neutral response to quasi-autonomous globalisation forces but constitutes a highly political educational activity implicated in shaping and contributing to social change in general and the transformation of the German university system in particular in three interrelated ways: It attunes students - the future blue and white collar work force – to the needs of the global world of business by stressing adaptability, performance or ‘output’, and standardized (albeit flexibly applied), transferable and measurable competencies. The constant repetition of this neoliberal discourse (paralleled in many other sectors of society) has, thirdly undoubtedly effects on how people think and act and thus on the social phenomena they are intended to illuminate in the first place:

But the point is that it has become a part of the *background* hum of business around the world, soaking further and further into the practical order and used more and more often both to account for decisions and to bring decisions into being (Thrift 1996a). **It is the goal that becomes the means that becomes the reality** [my emphasis]. (Thrift (1999: 140)

The implementation of consulting and training as a regulatory technique contributes thus, secondly, to the formation of new disciplines, habits, discourses, values, forms of identities and modes of relating to others. This includes the rearticulation of difference and otherness (inclusion and exclusion) and the provision of rules and frameworks for appropriate action (for example how to lead international businesses), being and relating³⁸⁸.

³⁸⁷ By shifting the curriculum towards utilitarian and neoliberal contents and values other, less quantifiable forms of knowledge with little or no direct currency value are deemed ‘un-productive’ while emancipation and critique are being effectively marginalized.

³⁸⁸ It would have been interesting to study how these academic discourses are put to work in a range of institutional and cultural contexts like university programmes and training courses for business people. I encountered strong resistance, though, in gaining access to these due sites to the commercial nature of this field where plagiarism is feared. I therefore used publicly available material, i.e. academic texts which inform and shape the discourses and practices of those involved in training and consulting.

In a last step it has been argued that the university can not and should not be subjugated to the norms of 'efficiency' and reduced to generating particular educational 'output' for the business world if it is to fulfill its vital social function and role as a public space enabling and nurturing democratic debate, reflexivity and critique. In order to come to a political-ethically responsible educational discourse that is furthermore committed to academic excellence and reflexivity, we might not only need better and more insightful theoretical accounts of the world but have to move away from the misleading division between *normative* and *positive-objectivist* accounts of research and knowledge and accept the constitutive role of the researcher, the value-ladenness and thus the moral dimension of research and education

CHAPTER 7

7.1. DRAWING IT ALL TOGETHER

The present investigation has analyzed a corpus of academic articles produced in a new academic field that sits in a very complex institutional and interdisciplinary relationship between its mother disciplines (in the Humanities and the social sciences) and the dominant neoclassical school of economics. In addition to this, it has, in the context of social and institutional change, reached out to the business world through commercial training and consulting. Based on the hypothesis that the resulting academic publications are organized to perform various functions and purposes for multiple audiences and have, in some way, to reconcile this set of partly conflicting relations, positions and operational logics, I looked at

- how predominant discourses of socio-economic change are recontextualised and made pervasive,
- how discourses of socio-economic change are employed to legitimate the educational goals and the research activity of the field,
- whether political and ethical questions related to international business (in particular strategic alliances) are addressed,
- how key terms like *culture*, the *other* and *interculturality* are conceptualized,
- whether the field can potentially contribute to improved intercultural understanding,
- whether there are patterns of generic changes and hybridity,

- what kind of academic practices (dialogue, debate, argumentation, reflexivity) are realized in what ways in the texts.

Although I have attended to the intricacies of each article and hence the heterogeneity of the corpus, I regard the distributional frequency of the specific discursive and generic patterns found as indicative of the strength of institutional change that impacts upon the professional goals of these academic authors and the communicative purposes they pursue.

The results of this investigation are, however, not merely of interest for the field of *Intercultural Business Communication* and, more generally, *Foreign Language Pedagogy*. The CDA-analysis of these academic texts at the crossroad of theory and commercial practice can make educationalists and policy makers aware of the profound transformations that a shift towards external funding and accountability, the reduction of academic autonomy and the commercialization of academic knowledge might entail for the actual content and form of academic work, for academic reasoning and debate and hence for the role and function of knowledge in society. In more normative terms, the investigation has shown how the public space of universities is colonized³⁸⁹ by different interests and logics, i.e. how managerialism enters and transforms HE, how a strong emphasis on applicable, pragmatic knowledge entails a shift towards interdisciplinarity but might sideline the necessary in-depth engagement with theories and their background and how HE, as a consequence, is in danger of losing its critical power. One of the main conclusions to be drawn from this investigation is that academic knowledge production warrants intellectual scrutiny in these changing times. Theoretical reflexivity is indispensable and this means to to a

³⁸⁹ This includes active appropriation on side of the academics.

great extent language reflexivity. CDA has not only proven to be a valuable methodological resource in the analysis of academic texts in the context of social and institutional change but could make a valuable contribution to interdisciplinary higher education helping students to demystify ideological constructions of ‘science’ and ‘objectivity’ and, in this case, the influx of neoliberal values and assumptions (e.g. efficiency, rational choice, competition etc.) antithetical to a true commitment to (intercultural and academic) understanding.

As I have tried to show throughout this thesis, there is a definite need for academics in the field of foreign language education to engage in depth with economic and sociological debate and theories about current socio-economic changes on the national and international level. For one, these complex processes and their consequences (including increasing injustice, inequity and environmental destruction) impact upon our daily lives and interaction in all its forms and have therefore to be put at the forefront of theoretical, educational and ethical concerns:

If capitalism produces its own distinctive geography – replete with competing geopolitical power plays for competitive advantage – within an increasingly cosmopolitan system of production for the world market, then the dynamics of that process, including its unintended consequences, must be on the forefront of both theoretical and political concerns. (Harvey 1996: 299, for the educational perspective see Casmir 1997: 91, The New London Group 1996)

On the other hand, I fully agree with Robinson (1951-1980, vol. II, p. 17, quoted in Garrido 2003) who argues that the “purpose of studying economics is not to acquire a set of ready made answers to economic questions, but to avoid being deceived by economists.” As I have likewise argued extensively, life in contemporary societies is too divergent, complex, heterogeneous, conflictual and constantly changing to be analytically reduced to and explained by a single explanatory framework. A careful, serious and considerate view on ‘intercultural communication’ in the context of currently emerging socio-economic and political configurations should therefore

include a range of economic theories and perspectives and celebrate pluralism (Perino 2002, Beckert and Swedberg 2001: 382) based on a reflexive interdisciplinarity:

It is often said that one theory can be driven out only by another; the neoclassicals have a complete theory (though I maintain that it is nothing but a circular argument) and we need a better theory to supplant them. I do not agree. I think any other complete theory would be only another box of tricks. What we need is a different habit of mind – to eschew fudging, to respect facts and to admit ignorance of what we do not know. (Robinson 1951-1980, vol. V, p. 119, quoted in Garrido 2003)

On the basis of the foregoing discussion about the deficiencies of neoclassical (and by implication neoliberal) theory, I go along with Dicken (1998: 467, see also Steger 2001: 58, Barber 2006: 1 and Block 1994: 697) who emphasizes two central points:

First, there is no such thing as a free market, all markets are socially embedded and regulated. Secondly and related to the first point, economics cannot be separated from politics.³⁹⁰

Out of a number of historical³⁹¹ and contemporary theoretical alternatives and challenges to neo-classical orthodoxy³⁹² I have presented the *Regulationist Approach* (particularly as advanced by Jessop 1997, 2003) in chapter 4.4. I want to stress the theoretical, normative and methodological advantages this perspective offers:

- It addresses the socio-cultural and political embeddedness of the economy and thereby overcomes the fundamental theoretical shortcomings of neoclassical theory.

³⁹⁰ While acknowledging the importance of addressing the social and political embeddedness of economic activity - as well as the economic embeddedness of social and political activity - Sayer (2000: 4, see also Alvesson 2000: 25 and DiMaggio 1994: 28) argues: "Sociologists rightly insist that economic relations are socially or culturally embedded, but that does not say everything about them, indeed much eludes such a perspective." What is needed then are economic theories that do not only assume that economic exchanges are mediated by formal and informal social structures (legal and political frameworks, socio-cultural norms and conventions, power relations, institutional and historical forces), but are explicit about how to conceptualize this interrelationship.

³⁹¹ See for instance Max Weber's (1958: *The Protestant Work Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism*. New York: Scribner's) analysis of the protestant work ethic as a crucial factor for the development of capitalism.

³⁹² More generally, the *New Political Economy*, a range of heterodox (including feminist, institutionalist, ecological and moral) approaches, addresses, albeit to different degrees and with different foci, the crucial relation between the state, culture and the economy.

- It does so through a stratified account of the macro-, meso- and (to a lesser extent) the micro-structural properties of social relations (instead of either ignoring or reverting to some *vague* notions of ‘culture’).
- Regulationists emphasize the interplay between politics and the economy, the historicity, path-dependency and thus the specificity of national economies while not losing sight of contemporary socio-economic changes, tendencies and countertendencies on the international plane.
- It is based on the assumption of capital relations as conflictual³⁹³, contradictory and contested (in contrast to the neo-classical school which argues that the pursuit of self-interest will lead to the common good) and is hence capable of bringing to light normative and ethical issues.
- It is implicitly based on a critical realist (stratified) ontology and epistemology (Jessop 2003: 7) and is thereby capable of addressing causality without reifying social relations (as does the neoclassical school in its understanding of the ‘invisible hand of the market’). French Regulationists refrain from mechanistic explanations and stress locally and historically specific struggles and hence agency and contingency³⁹⁴.

Methodologically, a French Regulationist approach moves in a “spiral movement”

(*ibid*) from the investigation of manifest (empirical) phenomena to the

³⁹³ The Regulationists stand in a Marxist tradition. Contrary to Marx though there is no “conception of social progress; no eschatological belief in the forward march of history [towards socialism and communism]; no political commitment to surrender the freedom of the intellect to a course that history has charted.” (Hoogvelt 1997: 105)

³⁹⁴ As Hoogvelt (1997: 106) point out, French Regulationists thereby attempt to overcome the determinism inherent in classical Marxism: “... whereas classical Marxism views society as a structured totality driven to *certain* states of affairs by tendencies inherent within it, the Regulation School only admits to the notion of a structured totality driven by immanent contradictions and conflict, ultimately leading to crisis. [...]. There are no *certain* outcomes predetermined by inherent tendencies. What the new mode looks like is entirely *contingent*, both historically and nationally. It depends upon the outcomes of specific, local, social and political struggles, strategies and compromises, and the pre-existing local institutional context.”

conceptualization and explanation of potential causal mechanisms and structures and back, thereby continuously refining theory, concepts and methods. It is hence a highly reflexive approach to social science that takes its discursive mediation seriously.

7.2. OUTLOOK

The present investigation has been motivated by two concerns, namely the current socio-economic and political processes (under the international neoliberal hegemony) as a form of interest-driven restructuring and redistribution of resources and a specific, and a widespread educational discourse (IBC) in higher education which has been developed in response. While I have criticized *this* specific attempt at an international education, I am nevertheless convinced of the necessity to introduce students to increased self-reflexivity, dialogue and mutual understanding across individuals and groups, in particular in the context of current international socio-economic changes and global problems. Such an education has, of course, to distance itself from allegedly ‘scientific’ and ‘neutral’ tools, which requires an understanding of our educational as discourses embedded in broader social, cultural, and political contexts. Being sensitive to the ways in which linguistic forms reflect, produce or reproduce specific social practices, identities and relations such a pedagogy can play an important role in political deliberation and emancipation providing learners with tools which help them to develop a “critical understanding of their own and other societies” (Byram 1997: 19). Taking-for-granted assumptions, practices, values and discourses can be juxtaposed, challenged and relativized:

Unilingualism sits comfortably with, and gives credence to, ideas of naturalness and inevitability of world views. These can be made vulnerable

only through the study of other languages and the interruption of the naturalness to which each predisposes its users. (Lo Bianco 2000: 100)

Understanding others, other social structures and practices better, thus does not only broaden the horizon, but refers back home and thereby increases self-reflexivity. It combines a form of “critical anthropology abroad” (Marcus and Fischer 1986: 137) with a distinctive domestic critique:

Both techniques – epistemological critique and cross-cultural juxtaposition – are variants on the basic critical strategy of defamiliarization. Disruption of common sense, doing the unexpected, placing familiar subjects in unfamiliar, or even shocking, contexts, are the aims of this strategy to make the reader conscious of difference. (ibid)

In this sense, the goals of HE and intercultural education overlap. Both are concerned with

... humanization not just socialization, with helping students become not just good citizens but also integrated human beings with well-developed intellectual, moral and other capacities and sensibilities, and able to feel at home in the rich and diverse human world. (Parekh 2000: 227, see also Fay 1996: 237)³⁹⁵

As the present investigation of the academic field of IBC has shown, however, an approach to international education is not without its pitfalls: counteracting prejudices and stereotypes *without* an analysis of socio-economic processes and the role discourse plays in shaping our own perspectives can turn into an empty affirmation of human commonalities while regarding local practices, identities and values as an incarnation of backwardness. Cultural ignorance and “biased geographical knowledge, deliberately maintained, provides a license to pursue narrow interests in the name of universal goodness and reason. ...” (Harvey 2001: 301). I have therefore attempted to indicate some possible theoretical avenues that answer to the questions of how we can

³⁹⁵ See also Young (1996: 209) who argues: “In today’s world, effective critique is necessarily intercultural. In the previous chapters it was agreed that intercultural discourse was necessarily critical because you inevitably placed your own culture in a critical framework when you opened yourself to learning from another culture. [...] I want to make a stronger point: that intercultural learning is necessary for critique. The internal resources of a culture, its capacity for self-critique are limited – too limited, perhaps, for effective criticism unless we are willing to learn from other cultures.”

set the local and the global into relation. To this end, authors like Harvey (2001: 302) and Massey (1994: 5) advocate an understanding of particular *places* as unique constellations of local and wider international social, economic, political and cultural relations:

Globalization (in the economy, or in culture, or in anything else) does not entail simply homogenization. On the contrary, the globalization of social relations is yet another source of (the reproduction of) geographical uneven development, and thus of the uniqueness of place. There is the specificity of place which derives from the fact that each place is the focus of a distinct mixture of wider and more local social relations. (Massey 1994: 8)

Applied to intercultural education, this hence implies an in-depth familiarity with the landscape of sociological, economic and political theories and discourses, a critical and reflexive stance, an educational vision, sensitivity towards difference, and an explicit ethical commitment. In addition to this it needs a global or cosmopolitan vision, a sense of a shared membership in a global community and an understanding of common, global problems. According to Massey (1994: 9) we need:

... a sense of place, an understanding of 'its character', which can only be constructed by linking that place to places beyond. A progressive sense of place would recognize that, without being threatened by it. What we need, it seems to me, is a global sense of the local, a **global sense of place**. (My emphasis)

Of course, a more critical, socially responsible approach to intercultural communication might again become misunderstood and misappropriated in the "contexts of institutional power" (de Beaugrand 1997: 45, see also Fairclough and Wodak 1997: 281). But, as Love (1992: 891) argues "... at least educators will have done what they can and those who abuse communication will know why nobody trusts them."

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