
Introduction

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1 Cultures, communication, and contexts of intercultural communication

Abstract: As the volume overview, this chapter delineates the scope of this handbook with an eye on the up-to-date development of intercultural communication as a field of study and identifies major topics and main issues with related sub-/fields. With the understanding that human communication is a process with varied degree of mediation, a key conceptualization matter is to clarify the affinity of and distinction between the key terms of culture and cultures, so the two are not confounded or taken as interchangeable. Organization of the handbook is explained to include four largely domain-based parts, unfolding into twenty-eight topic-based chapters and showcasing the current state of art in intercultural communication research. A brief, chapter by chapter, overview of the content is presented, followed by a concluding note on topics awaiting study for future reference.

Keywords: culture, communication, intercultural communication, cross cultural communication

1 Cultures and intercultural communication: The scope and topics

Culture is an ever-present part of any communication activity, yet is also often taken for granted. It is nevertheless though not always influential with a fluid and encompassing nature. Scholars from different disciplines with diverse perspectives have long taken interest in culture and communication, approaching and studying the subject in different ways, recognizing the relationship as a process of interaction at multiple levels. In keeping with its interdisciplinary root, communication scholars have carried out their exploration with more of a communication focus while building upon and extended from earlier works in human science and humanities. The study of intercultural communication (IC) is thus also quite interdisciplinary in nature. This volume aims to take stock of the current state of scholarship in this study area, where we stand and where we are going with respect to IC research. Scholars from communication and other disciplines are invited to contribute and, together, provide an inclusive state of art overview.

IC studies in the broad sense as a subject area are earlier classified on base of two considerations (Asante & Gudykunst 1988), the objective of research (cross cultural comparison or understanding intercultural interaction) and the context of communication (interpersonal or mass media). This approach is adopted here with

DOI 10.1515/9781501500060-001

modification to be in line with the current literature, along with the classification of cross cultural communication and intercultural communication. With respect to the research objective, this volume covers both cross cultural communication – studies of communication practices across cultures for comparison and learning the connection between culture and communication in different societies, and intercultural communication in a narrow sense as a particular phenomenon, i.e., studies of communication activities involving parties of different cultural backgrounds.

Media convergence as a result of information and communication technology advancement in recent decades has led to reconceptualization of communication to account for new forms involving use of new, or newer, media alongside the older and basic forms. One all-inclusive conceptualization treats human communication as a process with three degrees of mediation – face to face (or embodied) communication as the most basic form enabled by human body (mediation of the first degree), technically reproduced mass communication enabled by modern technologies (mediation of the second degree), and networked communication (of any source-receiver configurations) facilitated by digital technologies (mediation of the third degree, Jensen 2011). This line of thinking turns away from the dichotomous perspective (e.g., human vs. artifact, face-to-face vs mediated communication) to integrate all elements as well as forms into one process and helps in laying out the scope of this handbook with respect to the context of communication. Chapters and works covered by the chapters in this volume are mostly about (embodied and/or networked) communication between individuals. Scholarship about mass communication is selectively discussed, insofar as a communicative practice specifically involves people, as individuals or in collectives, in making sense and generating meaning. Many aspects associated with mass communication system or structures are beyond the scope here and touched upon only when necessary for understanding communicators as cultural members.

Central to IC research is the notion of culture and its relationship with communication, the embodied, mass, or networked process of meaning creation, sense making, as well as message interpretation and outcome production. All this may differ across cultures and impact communicators in intercultural communication. Our focus is on communication practices that bear the hallmark of a culture as broadly defined and on cultural practices that affect or are affected by the communication process in part or in whole. The discussion here will relate communication to culture at various levels (national, regional, local or ethnic, and so on) (e.g., Belay 1995) or vice versa. For this reason, the literature on global/international communication and development communication is largely left out – even though it may be quite relevant to the fields, culture is not a central concern in much of the related research (but c.f., Mowlana 2014). An exception is Chapter 14 that is on culture centered approach to social change.

Issues include perspective of the study (etic or emic) and role of culture (part or whole) in terms of methodology, importance of particular aspect or element (cul-

tural comparison, identity and identification, power and control, etc.) in theorization, and understanding of related attitudes and actions in interaction (prejudice, stereotyping). A different topic in IC is the focus of each chapter to be explained in section 3 after conceptual clarifications discussed next.

2 Culture and cultures¹

Culture in this handbook broadly refers to the human phenomenon that has been fascinating scholars throughout the intellectual history implicitly or explicitly. Scholars and thinkers have approached the subject from many angles and provided numerous definitions. The conception of culture with all the nuance, richness and complexity commonly identifies it as a symbolic, thus communicative process, such that culture and communication, presumably to a large extent, produce and are constitutive of each other. While a definition is not necessary for the current volume with contributions of different perspectives and approaches, a general description helps delineate the scope of our discussion.

Of the vast body of works on or closely related to culture, one distinction can be made that separates two parallel though somewhat overlapping domains of interest, interest in culture as a *human phenomenon* or as a *social process*². Although the object of interest is the same symbolic process – every, and any, social process is by nature a human phenomenon, and, given the social nature of human beings, a human phenomenon would involve social processes of some sort, the study attention is on different aspects of culture. The interest in culture as human phenomenon and related inquiries is pursued for learning of (fundamental) characteristics common to the human race so as to understand advancement of human civilization in the struggle to survive and thrive in this and that environment. From this perspective, culture is understood through cultures, each being established in a natural and social environment and all involve material, relational and spiritual experience of people as cultural members. Also of interest to this domain are ways cultural commonality and differences are perceived or understood, how these affect people as they meet and interact across cultures, and how these impact respective cultures. The study of culture as human phenomenon necessitates cross cultural comparison to gain insight to the “software of mind” (Hofstede 2001), or the “structure of consciousness” (Gebser 1985), that describes culture and also serves as the blue print of cultures. The focus of attention is on cultures, each being shaped by and resulting from human adaptation to a unique environment and all combined to reveal a complete picture of culture and human development.

¹ This part is built on and adapted from an earlier article (Chen 2016).

² The term culture is also used to refer to a particular category of human activity, as in cultural activities, in contrast to other categories such as economic or political activities, etc.

The interest in culture as social process and related inquires, on the other hand, is concerned with culture that is meaningful as a whole, with a host of complex relationships that create a general structure enabling and constraining behaviors and activities. All this produces culture, or society, and makes sense in and only in its social context at any level it happens to be (global, regional, societal, etc.). From this perspective, the aspect of culture as human phenomenon is but one of many elements in the social process. For the study of culture as social process, given the focus on the social structure and relationships, especially power structure and relationships that is always embedded in a social context (Hall 1988), cross cultural comparison is basically beside the point, even though cultural differences are taken as given since societies (thus social contexts) differ – although one may also argue that it is implied conceptually and empirically, for the knowledge gained naturally becomes a base for comparison, this issue however is for another place. The focus of attention for this line of study is on culture, the social system (and process) that is constituted with human activities and relationships as a way of life with an ideal, or “the state or process of human perfection” (Williams 1961/2001: 43), which can be a region within a country, a society, a geographical region or the world as an entity under study. Whichever is the case, culture generally takes shape after the dominant economic and political system of the society (Bourdieu 1977) with historical significance going forward and impacts other life domains aside from the political and the economic. In this vein, cultural studies focus on media and analyze media’s role in a society or region; global communication studies examine media and culture that may be of transnational, transcultural, international and interregional level and study their influence on the area covered; neither would much heed cultural difference or commonality as a matter of interest, nor attend to cultural variations as a force of consequence.

At the same time, there are a few shared assumptions. Culture is recognized as the product of human activities and of history in its totality, that it is dynamic and that a culture contains enduring values/ideals, evolving beliefs over time, and competing ideas at any point in time. Enduring values reveal commonalities and differences of cultures as each survives and develops in their respective environment, in the common human struggle to survive and to thrive. The environment presents a few universal problems to all cultures alike, which have to be resolved and have been done in several ways; these solutions are a base of cultural variation (Kluckhohn & Strodtbeck 1961). All this is part of a human phenomenon that is called culture and is also identifiable in a particular society regarded as a particular culture, and will be the focus of our discussion in this handbook.

Scholars study intercultural communication as a process of interaction between culture and communication, an area quite interdisciplinary in nature. Cognizant of the role of culture(s) in communication, a major interest is cross-cultural comparison of communication practices and patterns as integral parts of human activities that may vary from culture to culture. Scholars view culture as a human

phenomenon, and specific cultures or subcultures as social entities, and they attempt to identify commonality in the formation and components of culture, and to uncover various manifestations of culture in different contexts at all levels, from the individual to organizational, national, and global. They study ways communication reflects, constitutes, and changes a culture and its cultural institutions. Also of interest are how communication proceeds between people of diverse cultural backgrounds, at individual and at group levels, how culture interplays with social dominance and intercultural awareness, and how to mitigate adverse effects or to identify and understand the key issues structural or otherwise in intercultural communication.

3 Organization of chapters

This handbook is divided into four parts. The first part covers fundamentals, of communication and culture, and includes five chapters. The second part is organized around the centrality of culture in communication by following research topics in cross cultural communication as a major direction in intercultural communication studies comparing cultures. Part two includes eight chapters that cover studies comparing cultures. Another major direction in intercultural communication is communication between cultures at different levels, the narrow sense of intercultural communication. This third part has eight chapters, which covers research on communication between cultures mostly at the level of individuals interacting in day-to-day contexts. The fourth part has six chapters and directs at research on communication between cultures at collective levels, comprised of individuals. Subsections below describe each chapter in each of the four parts.

3.1 Part I: History, perspectives and theories

After this opening introduction, Chapter 2, by John Baldwin, discusses the history of IC studies with a view on competing descriptions of research and scholarship. The author presents and contrasts varied takes of the history by describing the commonly received version alongside alternative descriptions. This treatment brings forth the notion of “histories” and highlights the fact that there have been alternative viewpoints and perspective of research on intercultural communication. Somehow echoing this very notion of the alternative, Chapter 3, by Uttaran Dutta and Judith Martin, offers an overview of contemporary theoretical perspectives based on works published in the proceeding five years (up to 2015) in well recognized journals. The authors identify the meta-theoretical perspectives, related research context, focus and target cultural group of the publications. The chapter is a review of research approaches utilized and possible perspectives that are absent

from the literature. Chapter 4, by Yoshitake Maiike, discusses Non-Western scholarship about communication, as possible cultural contrasts in their understanding of human communication. Afrocentric and Asiatic theories are selected on base of ontological worldviews, epistemological foundations, or axiological approaches. The author aims to showcase indigenously developed insights and wisdom from Africa and Asia to learn about cultures, humans and communication.

In Chapter 5, George Barnett and Ke Jiang provide a survey of topics in current research published in academic journals. By conducting a semantic network analysis of works in recent fifteen years, the authors attempt to identify connections among concepts and topics from a broad range of searchers. This approach helps discern some critical issues facing the field of intercultural communication research and identify research priorities and foci. Chapter 6 is on Cultural Communication, a particular approach in the ethnography of communication tradition. Approaching speech communities to uncover cultural patterns in everyday activities as symbolic systems for people in the cultural community, Brad Hall's overview discusses four primary domains that Cultural Communication research works contribute to our understanding of a culture and how members make sense of their life world, in Feelings, Actions, Identities, and Relationships (FAIR), covering research in this area mostly in the past two decades or so.

3.2 Part II: Cross cultural comparison

Part II includes eight chapters that cover topics relating to the role of culture in communication. Most chapters introduce current works for comparison of communication practice across cultures, directly or indirectly, and review studies examining similarities and differences between specific cultures in general or in specific situations, each with attention on one aspect or area of intercultural communication – about ways communication reflects, constitutes, and changes culture and cultural institutions and how the latter constrain, enable and guide communication. An exception is Chapter 9, on relationship between persons from different cultures.

Chapter 7, by Stella Ting-Toomey and Tenzin Dorjee, focuses on communication styles across cultures in light of the intimately related identity matters, a prominent culture-related topic in the past two decades or so. The discussion proceeds to review major works on culture-specific communication patterns, as an expression of cultural identity, and calls for integration of intercultural and intergroup perspectives of communication as well as of verbal and nonverbal aspects in our research. The discussion highlights an IC research trend two decades in the making that takes into account the omnipresence of cultural identity in communication. Chapter 8, by Tae-Seop Lim, is on language use and verbal communication across cultures. Lim recounts the extant scholarship to explicate the relationship between culture and verbal communication across cultures and presents an up-to-date re-

view of studies on linguistic practices and verbal communication styles in different cultures. The discussion convers sociolinguistic research of contrastive speech features, functions, and styles in verbal interaction and synthesizes studies across disciplines that have explored general and specific cultural influence, in interaction with other factors, on verbal communication behaviors.

Chapter 9 is on interpersonal communication and relationships, contributed by Mary Bresnahan and Yi Zhu. Rather than cultural comparison, the authors identify challenges two people from different cultures may face in the process of forming and building a relationship and review ways available studies have examined psychological, relational, contextual, and discourse or communicative strategies in interpersonal communication, which covers phenomena such as face, self-disclosure, and intercultural couples. Chapter 10 attends to emotion display and expression and is contributed by Hysung Hwang and David Matsumoto. The two authors focus on facial expressions as emotional display through a most prevalent channel. The discussion proceeds on the premise of innate nature of certain emotions as is supported by the evolutionary theory of Darwin and reviews extant research to identify probable cultural influence on emotion expression and displaying patterns. Cultural influences have been evidenced from many cultures the research examined.

Chapter 11 is contributed by Valerie Manusov. The author discusses nonverbal cues as signs in communication. Beginning with primary nonverbal cues (e.g., space, physical appearance, and time) and common use such as expression of emotion, identity displays, and relational messages, the chapter reviews works on the role of culture in nonverbal communication, describes likely challenges to people from different cultural groups interacting with one another, and points to implications to intercultural communication. Chapter 12 takes up intercultural conflict and related research. Deborah Cai and Edward Fink offer a review from a historical approach to identify issues and insights from decades ago in research related to culture, communication and conflict versus peace. The concerns then – over violence prevention, peace attainment, prejudice and attitude change, and hostility reduction, related to communication and conflict – were compared to current research focus so as to see what has changed and what continues to attract research interest.

Chapter 13 is on aging and communication across cultures. The authors, Robert McCann, Howard Giles, and Hiroshi Ota, provide an overview of current research around critical issues such as age stereotypes, the changing roles of family and older person norms, intra- and intergenerational communication perceptions in general, and the subjective health implications of intra- and intergenerational communication. Particular attention is given to problems involving younger adults in communication with older adults, as well as to intergenerational communication in the workplace. Mohan Dutta contributes to Chapter 14 on culture-centered communication and social change. The author treats the role of communication in glob-

al social change processes as integral to community-grounded solutions that are informed by local aspirations. The discussion focuses on the lived experiences of cultural communities at the global margins/South, using health related issues as an exemplar, and deliberates how they co-construct and communicate visions of change to their culture, and how this allows them to carry out transformative projects through participation.

3.3 Part III: Intercultural encounter

People interact and communicate with one another in everyday activities and do so as individuals from different cultures. They also do this on behalf of, (or taken) as a representative of a group or a collective such as organization, ethnic group, community, or society – often done through many forms of communication between societies or groups. A central concern of intercultural communication about this is how communication takes place between people of diverse cultural backgrounds in such communication. A related concern is what the role of culture is as seen in cultures, which are all different in some ways and similar in others. Part III and Part IV cover research on intercultural encounters in exploration of related issues and analysis of factors that may block, hinder, facilitate or promote intercultural communication at both individual and collective levels. Part III attends to works about individuals' (embodied or networked) communication practice, whereas Part IV is more on communication by groups, or collectives, comprised of individuals who perceivably communicate on their behalf with any degree of mediation.

Eight chapters (15–22) in Part III review studies mostly about ways individual communicators manage to negotiate the situation or to mitigate adverse effects, and how at this level of contact culture interplays with many other factors, including social factors such as social dominance, and individual factors such as prejudice or intercultural awareness, or largely encompassing factors such as cultural identity/identification. At this level, communication tends to proceed with the first degree of mediation, or is done face to face, although by no means exclusively.

Chapter 15 is written by James Neuliep. The author takes up the topic of ethnocentrism, a central theoretical concept in the study of intergroup relations and intercultural communication. Noting the functions of ethnocentrism and its negative impact, Neuliep traces the history of the relevant social scientific research, reviews current theories, and discusses related studies, particularly the few of those that focus on its measurement and studies of ethnocentrism in different intercultural contexts. Chapter 16 covers the topic of intercultural communication competence (ICC). Guo-Ming Chen reviews major works that focus and are developed from that in interpersonal communication research, providing a comprehensive examination of the fundamental issues and major positions in theory and research, and aims to address issues related to its conceptualization, operationalization, as

well as application emerging with the impact of technological development and globalization. The discussion unfolds around six issues: meaning of ICC, trait vs. state, effectiveness vs. appropriateness, universal vs. culturally specific, knowledge vs. performance, and components and models of ICC. The author also offers suggestions and points to future directions.

Chapter 17 is written by Jennifer Kienzle and Jordan Soliz. The authors concentrate on intergroup communication for relevance to and insight about intercultural communication. The chapter follows the social identity and intergroup research tradition to highlight the theorization as well as many studies of intergroup contacts. The discussion includes considerations of contexts, conditions, and communicative processes, and then deliberates how each influences intergroup contacts and how, as a result of such contact, differential outcomes may come about. Chapter 18 is devoted to interethnic communication. In this chapter, Young Kim outlines major works in social science that show the complexity of the topic. On this base, the author describes the communicator, the situation and the environment as three contextual levels of interethnic communication. The chapter focuses on everyday communication practices that associate or disassociate ethnic groups and people; the discussion connects interethnic interactions with the identity factors of inclusivity and security, the situation factors of ethnic proximity, sharing of goal structure, and personal network integration, and the environment factors of institutional equity, ingroup strength, and environmental stress.

Chapter 19 deals with the topic of intercultural experience and cultural learning. With the focus on global business as the context and considering increasingly diverse populations (including bi-cultural and bi-lingual individuals), Anne-Marie Söderberg discusses relevant research with the aim for a deeper understanding of Cultural Others, further enhancing cultural self-awareness, and the ability to bridge multiple cultures. The studies covered communication situations with first or third degree of mediation between individuals and work teams. The author notes that intercultural experiences may create learning motivation for the cultural learning to proceed on base of long-held values and cognitive patterns; the learning may be better facilitated with a coach or instructor to transform the experience into cultural learning. Chapter 20 is devoted to identities communication in cross cultural adaptation given the changed and changing migration landscape. Shuang Liu attends to works on immigrants' and sojourners' experiences of communicating and negotiating their cultural and ethnic identities in a host culture context. Building on classical and recent theories on identity and identity negotiation across disciplines, the author considers especially adaptation contexts with varied, complex intra- and intergroup relations, alongside related identity negotiation strategies, and explores disparate outcomes as a result. The chapter ponders on bicultural identity and biculturalism and submits that acculturation identity negotiation is an ongoing process with adaptable outcomes and no fixed trajectories. The author calls for attention to the fluid nature of identity processes as a focus for future

research approach and to issues associated with aging in immigrants and cross cultural adaptation.

Chapter 21 covers work on intercultural friendship and communication. Elisabeth Gareis surveys the extant literature on intercultural friendship, particularly between international and domestic students, that being a most studied type and informative of intercultural friendship. Studies have identified benefits of friendship in intercultural relations and examined such influencing factors of intercultural friendship formation, as cultural similarity and differences in friendship conceptualizations, culture-general and culture-specific communication skills, friendship motivations, attitudes, and identity. In Chapter 22, Susan Baker, Bernadette Watson, and Cindy Gallois explore intercultural communication problems in health and health care situations. Taking a communication accommodation competence approach, the authors contend that intergroup issues may often be more salient and carry greater impact than interpersonal issues in this context. Informed by Communication Accommodation Theory and related studies, the authors argue for giving considerations to both in intercultural health communication training programs.

3.4 Part IV: Interactions and exchange between cultures

Part IV is comprised of the remaining six chapters and covers research topics mostly addressing exchange and interactions between cultures as such, whereby intercultural communication occur largely at collective levels. Intercultural communication takes place mostly through the second degree mediation as in mass communication of different forms, even though not without involvement of individuals with an active or passive role.

Chapter 23 opens Part IV with discussion of works on cross-border mediated messages in all forms of communication from early-day balloons to current day social media. From a historic viewpoint, Michael Elasmair details geopolitical and technological factors motivating the growth of cross-border mediated communication, reflects on the concerns over related societal and cultural impacts, and discusses major theoretical frameworks for understanding the process and influence of cross-border mediated messages. The author also contemplates the challenges for researchers to account for roles of transnational communication with the emerging technologies. Chapter 24 is on the topic of stereotyping and (intercultural) communication. Yunying Zhang provides an extensive overview of a vast body of works about cultural and ethnic groups across disciplines. The chapter begins with major definitions and approaches to stereotypes, follows a process model of stereotype communication to examine stereotyping as communication, and discusses the role of communication in different contexts of stereotype control and possible changes to stereotypes and how these are also messages. The chapter last identifies gaps for future research to fill and calls for more attention to stereotype

communication at others than only intrapersonal levels, including interpersonal, small group, organizational/institutional, and societal/cultural levels.

In Chapter 25, Panagiotis Sakellariou surveys studies of intercultural communication and translational action and briefly introduces the issue of culture in the translation study from 1950s up to now. The chapter proceeds to the development of research perspectives and notes changes of focus over time and evolution of stands. The author relates the earlier focus on texts, more recent attention on the mediation of translation, and, of late, increasing diversity in translation's potential as a means of intercultural communication. Chapter 26 takes up the topic of brand national identity and consumer advocacy. The author, Jian Wang, places country image perceptions of foreign publics in the context of international relations and explores country-based attributes and characteristics in the consumption process with an eye on implications for corporate and brand reputation. The chapter reviews extant studies across disciplines to generate conceptual insights for an integrated understanding of the dynamics of national identity communication in consumption. The discussion considers the meaning of national identity, in terms of consumption that is itself communicative, and dissects the notion of brand nationality, the complex and subjectively perceived association between a brand and a country, which can be understood in three levels.

Chapter 27 is devoted to intercultural communication related to business. Eddy Ng and Waheeda Lillevik focus on works about intercultural communication issues in business, related to international trade, foreign market expansion, and multinational firms. The discussion develops around intercultural competence that is based on conceptual understanding of culture and communication. The studies reviewed bring home the importance of effective intercultural communication to international business, including leadership and management of business negotiation, multicultural workforce, and foreign subsidiaries. Chapter 28 discusses intercultural communication research in today's multiple media environments. Robert Shuter continues from an earlier project on intercultural new media studies (INMS), what he sees as the next frontier in intercultural communication. This chapter expands from the parameters of INMS, the new sub-field, to include most up-to-date development in a 21st century disciplinary research focus and its implications for intercultural communication theory and praxis.

4 Final words

To conclude, the twenty-eight chapters in this handbook has covered most current research and scholarship in IC studies. What have become clear from going through the chapters are the somewhat changing perspectives in the research. In comparison to earlier years, we see welcoming development of broader participation in the intellectual endeavors. Scholars and researchers from other than west-

ern cultures have been part of IC communication studies for decades, but their involvement and contribution are only just becoming visible and recognized. That being the case, their works remain far from sufficiently representative of available perspectives, which is a goal for the field as a whole. Also, IC research in recent decades has seen attention to even more real life situations, from aging, health and healthcare, to business, social change, and to new media. As is often the case, consideration of the limit of space and scope largely precludes more chapters for works related to mass communication, that with mediation of the second degree. The few chapters that discuss works on practices of communication so mediated and more works not included (e.g., Kim 2011) have shown that many aspects of mass communication are of ample relevance to intercultural communication and promise to open fruitful research directions for needed insight.

In relation to the last point, some IC aspects that have been much less visited and are much less understood, as all contributors point out in respective chapters about each topic. A few additional, general examples stand out calling for our attention. Comparative studies are not readily available regarding possible cultural influence on digital-technology-facilitated-networked communication or on cross cultural adaptation. The former is more or less expected as we are facing a rather recent phenomenon. The latter however reveals a gap in the research on a well visited topic, which has gained new urgency recently because of the much broader involvement of diverse peoples in migrancy and various cross boarder settlement, with occurrence in greater frequency as well as larger scale. Additionally, the now rather common phenomenon of volunteering activities across cultures and in various intercultural events (e.g., Kramer, Lewis & Gossett 2015) is awaiting IC research. Also, with the media convergence along with greater than ever before access and exposure to foreign entertainment programs, para-social interactions between audiences and media characters from different cultures have emerged as a potential virtual context for intercultural communication and cultural learning. Last, another remaining issue in IC research to be addressed is for us to better understand the interaction between cultural factors and other social factors, such as social status or power, economic position (class), and particularly, spiritual aspects of life (i.e., faith and religion) and so on. Future studies need to strive for gaining much better understanding of how these are all part of human culture and yet distinct in their influence and communication.

Acknowledgement: The author is grateful for the support of Professors Kara Chan and Yu Huang.

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