

2001 DEFINITIONS OF CULTURE

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Introduction

This paper is the result of an archaeology of the term “culture” It is intended as a ‘portable’ overview of fragments of analysis. It is, in short, a reference guide for student and researcher showing a listing of definitions of the term. The rationale for this listing of definitions of “culture” follows Michel Foucault’s revealing though simple assertion that the “archive” of a society, culture or civilization cannot be described exhaustively, nor even the archive of an epoch. Foucault proceeds to explain in the context of an archaeology of knowledge that “it is not possible for us to describe our own archive, since it is from within these rules that we speak, since it is that which gives to what we can say-and to itself, the object of our discourse-its modes of appearance, its forms of existence and coexistence, its system of accumulation, historicity, and disappearance” (1972:130).

The question of how to define “culture” might be viewed as a hopeless task so vast and diverse are the explanations. The hapless researcher might be led to conclude with Huxley simply, and with not a little hint of desperation, that “culture is appellation by which anthropologists denote this central subject of their science (1955:10). Nevertheless, there are significant differ-

ences in approach to the notion.

The word 'culture' in Romance languages is by no means of late origin. It appears in many languages from the medieval period and certainly appears in the first printed books in English (Caxton 1483). It continues to be used in a huge variety of fields from anthropology and linguistics to wine-growing and the medical sciences.

The concept continues to be a lodestone for discussion and debate. It would seem that wherever and whenever humankind is there is culture to provide the essence of humanity. It is a linguistically productive term being found in collocations such as 'intercultural' 'cross-cultural' 'culture shock' 'culture shift' and so on. Researchers in all fields continue to formulate typologies. Some, like Foucault rejects the term culture altogether preferring knowledge. Educationalists such as Bowers (1992), for instance, manipulate a typology of culture in terms of memories (the substance of group recall), metaphors (shared perceptions captured in language through allegory and allusion, simile and cliché), maxims (comprising implicit and explicit guides to behaviour in a group) and myths (e.g. the literary myth, the religious myth, the contemporary myth, and role models). There is, needless to say, no 'correct' typology and it will be seen that most of the definitions here share some kind of family resemblance (Wittgenstein's expression) which involve some agglomeration of common knowledge and values.

It is not the purpose of this overview to discuss the term itself nor even to insist on a 'correct' typology or classification. Either of these enterprises would require separate analysis. The classifications presented here are a rule of thumb and self-explanatory.

This overview of definitions is certainly not the first of its kind. The major compilation by Kroeber and Kluckhohn (1963) was definitive for its time. There is need of an update. It will be noted, also, that the categories differ from those of Kroeber and Kluckhohn.

HISTORICO – DICTIONARY DEFINITIONS

Oxford English Dictionary Vol II 1961 Oxford

Culture

1. Worship; reverential homage

1483 Caxton Gold Leg. 81/ Whan they departe fro the culture and honour of theyr god.

2. The action or practice of cultivating the soil; tillage, husbandry

1420 Pallad on Husb. 1. 21 In places there thou wilt have the culture.

1613 R.C. Table Alph. (ed. 3) Culture husbandry, tilling. 1665-9

BOYLE Occas. Refl. (1675) 320 Such a . . plot of his Eden . . gratefully crowns his Culture . . with chaplets of Frowers. 1707 curios. in

Husb & Gard. 3 Man was . . imploy'd in the Culture of the Garden.

1806 Gazetteer Scot. (ed.3) 296 the soil is clay, and difficult of culture. 1866 ROGERS Agric. & Prices I. II The same kind of grain . . are sown . . and the same mode of culture is adopted.

b. Cultivated condition.

1538 STARKEY England I. i. 12 The erth . . by . . dylygent laubur . . ys brought to maruelous culture and fertilityte.

c. A piece of tilled land; a cultivated field.

1557 MS. Indenture 30 June, (Conveying) a culture of land called the flatte, in Brantingham, Yks. 1560 WHITEHORNE Arte of Warre

(1573) 27 b, Euery culture where bee Vines and other trees letters the horses. 1757 DYRE Fleece (R.) from their tenements . . proceeds the caravan Through lively spreading cultures, pastures green.

3. The cultivating or rearing of a plan or crop;

1626 BACON Sylva 402 These . . were slower han the ordinary Wheat . . and this culture did rather retard than advance. 1697 DRYDEN Virg. Georg. 1. 78 The culture suiting to the sev'ral Kings of Seeds and Plants. 1750 JOHNSON Rambler No. 33. p2 The fruits, which without culture fell ripe into their hands. 1856 EMERSON Eng. Traits, Ability Wks. (Bohn) II. 42 (England) is too far north fr the culture of the vine. 1887Pall Mall G. 15 Oct. II/2 There are eoghty acres devoted to bulb culture.

b. The rearing or raising of certain animals, such as fish, oysters, bees, etc., or of natural products such as silk.

1796 MORSE Amer. Geog. 1. 679 The culture of silk. 1862 Cornh. Mag. V. 201The dredgers at Whitstable have so far adopted oyster culture. 1886 Pall Mall G. 23 Sept. 6/2 In the interests of bee culture, and in the search of improved races of bees.

c. The artificial development of microscopic organisms, esp. bacteria, in specially prepared media; concr. the product of such culture; a growth or crop of artificially developed bacteria, etc.

1884 KLEIN Micro Organisms (1886) 94 When the cultures of this bacterium are kept for some time . . their virulence becomes diminished. Ibid. 39 A series of new culture-tubes. Ibid., Aculture fluid . . that contains various species of organisms.

d. The training of the human body. Obs.

1628 HOBBS Thucyd. 1. vi, Amongst whom (the Lacedaemonians) . . especially in the culture of their bodies, the nobility observed the

most equality with the commons. 1793 BEDDOES *Let Darwin* 60
To suppose the organization of man equally susceptible of improvement from culture with that of various animals and vegetables.

4. fig. The cultivating and development (of the mind, faculties, manners, etc.): improvement or refinement by education and training.

1510 MORE *Picus*. Wks. 14 To the culture and profit of their mynides.
a1633 LENNARD tr. Charron's *Wisd.* (1658) 174 Necessary for the culture of good manners. 1651 HOBBS *Leviath.* II xxxi, 189 The education of children (is called) a Culture of their mindes. 1752 JOHNSON *Rambler* No. 189 P12 She . . neglected the culture of (her) understanding. 1848 MACAULAY *Hist. Eng.* II. 55 The precise point to which intellectual culture can be carried. 1865 DALE *Jew. Temp.* xiv. (1877) 155. The Jewish system was intended for the culture of the religious life of the Jews.

5. absol. The training, development, and refinement of mind, tastes, and , manners; the condition of being thus trained and refines; the intellectual side of civilization.

1805 WORDSW. *Prelude* xIII. 197 Where grace of Culture hath been utterly unknown. 1860 MOTLEY *Netherl.* (1868) I. ii. 47 His culture was not extensive. 1876 M ARNOLD *Lit. & Dogma* xiii, Culture, the acquainting ourselves with the best that has been known and said in the world. 1889 JESSOPP *Coming of Friars* iii, 131 Some few of the larger . . monasteries . . (were) centre of culture. *Mod.* a man of considerable culture.

- b. (with a and pl) a particular form or type of intellectual development.

1867 FREEMAN *Norm. Conq.* (1876) I. iv. 150 A language and culture which was wholly alien to them. 1891 *Spectator* 27 June, Speaking all languages, knowing all cultures, living amongst all races.

6. The prosecution with special attention or study of any subject or pursuit;
1876 BANCROFT Hist. U.S. I. Introd., An earnest culture of the arts
of peace.

ENCYCLOPAEDIC DEFINITION

Encyclopedia Britannica (macropedia) 8 15th ed. 1983 Encyclopedia Britannica Inc.

Human Culture (p.1151)

Culture may be defined as behavior peculiar to Homo Sapiens, together with material objects used as an integral part of this behavior; specially culture consists of language, ideas, beliefs, customs, codes, institutions, tools, techniques, works of art, rituals, seremonies, and so on. The existence and use of culture depends upon an ability possessed by man alone. This ability has been called variously the capacity for rational or abstract thought, but a good case has been made for rational behavior among subhuman animals, and the meaing of abstract is not sufficiently explicit or precise. Thus the term symboling has been proposed as a more suitable name for man's unique mental ability-symboling consisting of assigning to things and events certain meanings that cannot be grasped with the senses alone.

Universalist approaches to culture and the human mind

The direction of biological evolution toward greater expansion and security of life can be seen from another point of view: the advance from instinctive behavior (i.e., responses determined by intrinsic properties of the organism) to learned nad freely variable behaviour, patterns of which may be acquired and transmitted from one individual and generation to another,

and finally to a system of things and events, the essence of which is meanings that cannot be comprehended by the senses of alone. This system is, of course, culture, and the species is the human species. Culture is a man-made environment, brought into existence by the ability to symbol.

Relativist approaches to sociocultural systems.

Human beings, like other animal species, live in societies, and each society possesses culture. It has long been customary for ethnologists to speak of Seneca culture, Eskimo culture, North American Plains culture, and so on—that is, the culture of particular society (Seneca) or an indefinite number of societies (Eskimo) or the cultures found in or characteristic of a topographic area (the North American Plains). There is no objection to this usage as a convenient means of reference: “Seneca culture” is the culture that the Seneca tribe possesses at a particular time. Similarly, Eskimo culture refers to a class of cultures, and Plains culture refers to a type of culture. What is needed is a term that defines culture precisely in its particular manifestations for the purpose of scientific study, and for this the term sociocultural system has been proposed. It is defined as the culture possessed by a distinguishable and autonomous group (society) of human beings, such as a tribe or a modern nation. Cultural elements may pass freely from one system to another (cultural diffusion), but the boundary provided by the distinction between one system to another (Seneca, Cayuga; United States, Japan) makes it possible to study the system at any given time or over a period of time.

Sociocultural system varies widely in the structure and organization. These variations are attributive to differences among physical habitats and the resources that they offer or withhold for human use; to the range of possi-

bilities inherent in various areas of activity, such as language or the manufacture and use of tools; and to degree of development. The biological factor of man may, for purposes of analysis and comparison of sociocultural system, be considered as a constant.

A: ENUMERATIVE OR TYLORESQUE

Broad Definitions with Emphasis on Enumeration of Content: Usually Influenced by Tylor

Tylor, 1871:1

Culture, or civilization, . . . is that complex whole which includes knowledge, belief, art, law, morals, custom, and any other capabilities, and habits acquired by man as a member of society.

Wissler, 1920:3

. . . all social activities in the broadest sense, such as language, marriage, property system, etiquette, industries, art, etc. . . .

Dixon, 1928:3

- (a) The sum of all [a people's] activities, customs, and beliefs
- (b) That totality of a people's products and activities, social and religious order, customs and beliefs which . . . we have been accustomed to call their civilization.

Benedict, (1929) 1931:806

. . . that complex whole which includes all the habits acquired by man as a member of society

Burkitt, 1929:237

. . . the sum of the activities of a people as shown by their industries and other discoverable characteristics

Bose, 1929:23

We can now define Culture as the crystallized phase of man's life activities.

It includes certain forms of action closely associated with particular objects and institutions; habitual attitudes of mind transferable from one person to another with the aid of mental images conveyed by speech symbols . . .

Culture also includes certain material objects and techniques . . .

Boas, 1930:79

Culture embraces all the manifestation of social habits of a community, the reactions of the individuals as affected by the habits of the group in which he lives, and the products of human activities as determined by these habits.

Hiller, 1933:3

The beliefs, systems of thought, practical arts, manner of living, customs, traditions, and all socially regularized ways of acting are also called culture.

So defined, culture includes all the activities which develop in the association between persons or which are learned from a social group, but excludes those specific forms of behavior which are predetermined by inherited nature.

Winston, 1933

Culture may be considered as the totality of material and non-material traits, together with their associated behavior patterns, plus the language uses which a society possesses.

Linton, 1936:288

. . . the sum total of ideas, conditioned emotional responses, and patterns of habitual behavior which the members of that society have acquired through instruction or imitation and which they share to a greater or less degree.

Lowie, 1937:3

By culture we understand the sum of total of what an individual acquire from his society---those beliefs, cusoms, artistic norms, food-habits, and crafts which come to him not by his own creativity but as a legacy from the past, conveyed by formal and informal education.

Panunzio, 1939:106

It [culture] is the complex whole of the system of concepts and usages, organization, skills, and instruments by means of which mankind deals with physical, biological, and human nature in satisfaction of its needs.

Murray, 1943:346

The various industries of a people, as well as art, burial customs, etc., which throw light upon their life and thought.

Malinowsky, 1944:36

It [culture] obviously is the integral whole consisting of imprements and consumers' goods, of constitutional charters for the various social groupings, of human ideas and crafts, beliefs and customs.

Kluckhohn and Kelly, 1945a:82

Culture is that complex whole which includes artifacts, beliefs, art, all the other habits acquired by man as a member of society, and all products of

human activity as determined by these habits.

Gluckhohn and Kelly, 1945a:96

. . . culture in general as a descriptive concepts means the accumulated treasury of humancreation: books, paintings, buildings, and the like; the knowledge of ways adjusting to our surroundings, both human and physical; language, customs, and systems of etiquette, ethics, religion, and morals that have been nuilt up through the ages.

Bidney, 1947:376

. . . functionally and secondarily, culture refers to the acquired forms of technique, behavior, feeling and thought of individuals within society and to the social institutions in which they cooperate for the attainment of common ends.

Kroeber, 1948a:8-9

. . . the mass of learned and transmitted motor reactions, habits, techniques, ideas, and values---and the behaior they induce---is what constitutes culture. Culture is the special and exclusive product of men, and is their distinctive quality in the cosmos. . . . Culture . . . is at one and the same time the totality of products of social men, and a tremendous force affecting all human beings, socially and indivisually.

Herskovits, 1948:154

Culture . . . refers to that part of the total setting [of human existence] which includes the material objects of human manufacture, techniques, social orientations, points of view, and sanctioned ends that are the immediate conditioning factors underlying behavior.

Herskovits, 1948:625

. . . culture is essentially a construct that describes the total body of belief, behavior, knowledge, sanctions, values, and goals that mark the way of life of many people. That is, though a culture may be treated by the student as capable of objective description, in the final analysis it comprises the thing that people have, the things they do, and what they think.

Thurnwald, :1950:104

[Culture:] The totality of usages and adjustment which relate to family, political formation, economy, labor, motality, custom, law, and ways of thought. These are bound to the life of the social entities i which they are practiced and perish with these; whereas civilizational horizons are not lost.

B: HISTORICAL

Emphasis on Social Heritage or Tradition

Park and Burgess, 1921:72

The culture of a group is the sum total and organization of the social heritages which have acquired a social meaning because of racial temperament and of the historical life of the group.

Sapir, 1921:221

. . . culture, that is, . . . the socially inherited assemblage of practices and beliefs that determines the texture of our life.

Sapir, 1924a:402 (1949:308-09)

[Culture is technically used by the ethnologist and culture historian to embody] any socially inherited element in the life of man, material and spiritual.

Tozzler, 1925:6

. . . the cultural, that which we inherited by social contact . . .

Myers, 1927:16

. . . "culture" is not a state or condition only, but a process; as in agriculture or horticulture we mean not the condition of the land but the whole round of the farmer's year, and all the he does in it; "culture" then, is what remains of men's past, working on their present, to shape their future.

Bose, 1929:14

. . . we may describe culture as including such behaviour as is common among a group of men and which is capable of transmission from generation to generation or from one country to another.

Malinowski, 1931:621

This social heritage is the key concept of cultural anthropology. It is usually called culture. . . . Culture comprises inherited artifacts, goods, technical processes, ideas, habits, and values.

Winston, 1933:4

. . . we may regard culture as the sum total of the possessions and the patterned way of behavior which have become part of the heritage of a group.

Lowie, 1934:3

The whole of social tradition. It includes, as . . . Tylor put it, “capabilities and habits acquired by man as a member of society” . . .

Linton, 1936:78

. . . the social heredity is called culture. As a general term, culture means the total social heredity of mankind, while as a specific term a culture means a particular strain of social heredity.

Mead, 1937:17

Culture means the whole complex of traditional behavior which has been developed by the human race and is successively learned by each generation. A culture is less precise. It can mean the forms of traditional behavior which are characteristics of a given society, or of a group of societies, or of a certain race, or of a certain area, or of a certain period of time.

Sutherland and Woodward, 1940:19

Culture includes everything that can be communicated from one generation to another. The culture of a people is their social heritage, a “complex whole” which includes knowledge, belief, art, morals, law, techniques of tool fabrication and use, and method of communication.

Davis and Dollard, 1940:4

. . . the difference between groups is in their cultures, their social heritage. Men behave differently as adults because their cultures are different; they are born into different habitual ways of life, and these they must follow because they have no choice.

Groves and Moor, 1940:14

Culture is thus the social heritage, the fund of accumulated knowledge and customs through which the person “inherits” most of his behavior and ideas.

Angyal, 1941:187

Culture can be defined as an organized body of behavior patterns which is transmitted by social inheritance, that is, by tradition, and which is characteristic of a given area or group of people.

Kluckhohn, 1942:2

Culture consists in those abstracted elements of action and reaction which may be traced to the influence of one or more strains of social heredity.

Jacobs and Stern, 1947:2

Humans, as distinct from other animals, have a culture——that is, a social heritage——transmitted not biologically through the germ cell but independently of genetic inheritance.

Dietschy, 1947:121

Kroeber, 1948a:253

. . . culture might be defined as all the activities and non-physiological products of human personalities that are not automatically reflex or instinctive. That in turn means, in biological and physiological parlance, that culture consists of conditioned or learned activities (plus the manufactured results of these); and the idea of learning brings us back again to what is socially transmitted, what is received from tradition, what “is acquired by man as a member of societies,” So perhaps how it comes to be is really more distinctive of culture than what it is.

Parsons, 1949:8

Culture . . . consists in those patterns relative to behavior and the products of human action which may be inherited, that is, passed on from generation to generation independently of the biological genes.

Kluckhohn, 1949a:17

By "culture" anthropology means the total life way of a people, the social legacy the individual acquires from his group.

Henry, 1949:218

I would define culture as the individual's or group's acquired response systems. . . . the conceptions of culture as response systems acquired through the process of domestication . . .

Radcliffe-Brown, 1949:510-11

As a sociologist the reality to which I regard the word "culture" as applying is the process of cultural tradition, the process by which in a given social group or social class language, beliefs, ideas, aesthetic tastes, knowledge, skills and usages of many kinds are handed on ("tradition" means "handing on") from person to person and from one generation to another.

C: NORMATIVE

C-1 Emphasis on Rule or Way

Wissler, 1929:15, 341

The mode of life followed by the community or the tribe is regarded as a culture . . . [It] includes all standardized social procedures . . . a tribal cul-

ture is . . . the aggregate of standardized beliefs and procedures followed by the tribe.

Bogardus, 1930:336

Culture is the sum total of the ways of doing and thinking, past and present, of a social group. It is the sum of the traditions, or handed-down beliefs, and of customs. or handed-down procedures.

Benedict, 1934:16

What really binds men together is their culture——the ideas and the standards they have in common.

Young, 1934: xiii

The general term for these common and accepted ways of thinking and acting is culture. This term covers all the folkways which men have developed from living together in groups. Furthermore, culture comes down to us from the past.

Klineberg, 1935:255

[culture] applies to that whole “way of life” which is determined by the social environment. To paraphrase Tylor it includes all the capabilities and habits acquired by an individuals as a members of a particular society.

Firth, 1939:18

They [anthropologist] consider the acts of individuals not in isolation but as members of society and call the sum total of these modes of behavior “culture” .

Rouse, 1939:17

Elements of culture or standards of behavior.

Lynd, 1940:19

. . . all the things that a group of people inhabiting a common geographical area do, the ways they do things and the ways they think and feel about things, their material tools and their values and symbols.

Gillin and Gillin, 1942:20

The customs, traditions, attitudes, ideas, and symbols which govern social behavior show a wide variety. Each group, each society has a set of behavior patterns (overt and covert) which are more or less common to the members, which are passed down from generation to generation, and taught to the children, and which are constantly liable to change, These common patterns we call the culture.

Simmons, 1942:387

. . . the culture or the commonly recognized mores . . .

Linton, 1945b:203

The culture of a society is the way of life of its members, the collection of ideas and habits which they learn, share, and transmit from generation to generation.

Linton, 1945a:30

[Culture] refers to the total way of life of any society . . .

Kluckhohn and Kelly, 1945a:84

. . . those historically created selective processes which channel men's reactions both to internal and external stimuli.

Kluckhohn and Kelly, 1945a:97

By culture we mean all those historically created designs for living, explicit and implicit, rational, irrational, and nonrational, which exist at any given time as potential guides for the behavior of men.

Kluckhohn and Kelly, 1945a:91

Culture is . . . a set of ready-made definitions of the situation which each participant only slightly reinterprets in his own idiomatic way.

Kluckhohn and Leighton, 1946:xviii

A culture is any given people's way of life, as distinct from the life-ways of other people.

Herskovits, 1948:29

A culture is the way of life of a people; while a society is the organized aggregate of individuals who follow a given way of life. In still simpler terms a society is composed of people; the way they behave is their culture.

Lasswell, 1948:203

"Culture" is the term used to refer to the way that the members of a group act in relation to one another and to other groups.

Bennet and Tumin, 1949:209

Culture: the behavior patterns of all groups, called the "way of life" : an observable feature of all human groups; the fact of "culture" is common to all;

the particular pattern of culture differs among all. "A culture" : the specific patterns of behavior which distinguishes any society from all others.

Frank, 1948:171

. . . a term or concept for the totality of these patterned ways of thinking and acting which are specific modes and acts of conduct of discrete individuals who, under the guidance of parents and teachers and the associations of their fellows, have developed a way of life expressing those beliefs and those actions.

Titiev, 1949:45

. . . the term includes those objects or tools, attitudes, and forms of behavior whose use is sanctioned under given conditions by the members of a particular society.

Maquet, 1949:324

La culture, c'est la maniere de vivre du groupe.

Kluckhohn , 1951a:86

"A culture" refers to the distinctive way of life of a group of people, their complete "design for living" .

Sears, 1939:78-9

The way in which the people in any group do things, make and use tools, get along with one another and with other groups, the words they use and the way they use them to express their thoughts, and the thoughts they think -- -- all of these we call the group's culture.

C-II Emphasis on Ideals or Values Plus Behavior

Carver, 1935:283

Culture is the dissipation of surplus human energy in the exuberant exercise of the higher human faculties.

Thomas, 1937:8

[culture is the material and social values of any group of people, whether savage or civilized (their institutions, customs, attitudes, behavior reactions)

. . .

Bidney, 1942:452

A culture consists of the acquired or cultivated behavior and thought of individuals within a society, as well as of the intellectual, artistic, and social ideals which the member of the society profess and to which they strive to conform.

Rouse, 1939:17

Elements of culture or standards of behavior.

Bidney, 1946:535

An integral or holistic concept of culture comprises the acquired or cultivated behavior, feeling, and thought of individuals within a society as well as the patterns or forms of intellectual, social and artistic ideals which human societies have professed historically.

Bidney, 1947:376

. . . genetically, integral culture refers to the education or cultivation of the

whole man considered as an organism and not merely to the mental aspect of his nature or behavior.

Sorokin, 1947:313

[The social aspects of the superorganic universe is made up of the interacting individuals, of the forms of interaction, of unorganized and organized groups, and of the interindividual and intergroup relationship . . .] The cultural aspect of the superorganic universe consists of the meanings, values, norms, their interaction and relationships, their integrated and unintegrated groups (systems and congeries) as they are objectified through overt actions and other vehicles in the empirical sociocultural universe.

D: PSYCHOLOGICAL

D-I Emphasis on Adjustment: Culture as a Problem-Solving Device

Small, 1905:344-45

“Culture” . . . is the total equipment of technique, mechanical, mental, and moral, by use of which the people of a given period try to attain their ends . . . “culture” consists of the means by which men promote their individual or social ends.

Sumner and Keller, 1927: 46-47

The sum of men's adjustments to their life-conditions is their culture, or civilization. These adjustments . . . are attained only through the combined action of variation, selection, and transmission.

Dawson, 1928:xiii-xiv

A culture is a common way of life—a particular adjustment of man to his natural surroundings and his economic needs.

Keller, 1931:26

No civilization (sum or synthesis of mental adjustments) of any importance can be developed by the individual or by the limited group in isolation. . . . Culture is developed when the pressure of numbers on land reaches a degree at which life exerts stress on man.

Young, 1934:18-19

These folkways, these continuous methods of handling problems and social situations, we call culture. Culture consists of the whole mass of learned behavior or patterns of any group as they are received from a previous group or generation and as they are added to by this group, and then passed on to other groups or to the next generation.

Lundberg, 1939:179

Through this process of inventing and transmitting symbols and symbolic systems and technologies as well as their non symbolic counterparts in concrete tools and instruments, man's experience and his adjustment technique become cumulative. This societal behavior, together with its man-made products, in their interaction with other aspects of human environment, creates a constantly changing series of phenomena and situations to which man must continually adjust through the development of further habits achieved by the same process. The concrete manifestation of these processes are usually described by the vague word culture.

Panunzio, 1939:106

. . . culture is a man-made or superorganic order, self-generating and dynamic in its operation, a pattern-creating order, objective, humanly useful, cumulative, and self-perpetuating. It is the complex whole of the system of concepts and usages, organizations, skills, and instruments by means of which mankind deals with physical, biological, and human nature in the satisfaction of its needs.

Ford, 1939:137.

Culture, in the form of regulations governing human behavior, provides solution to societal problems.

Blumenthal, 1941:9

Culture consists of all results (products) of human learned effort at adjustment.

Ford, 1942:555, 557

Culture consists of traditional ways of solving problems. . . . Culture . . . is composed of responses which have been accepted because they have met with success; in belief, culture consists of learned problem-solutions.

Young, 1942:35

Culture consists of common and more or less standardized ideas, attitudes, and habits which have developed with respects to men's recurrent and continuous needs.

Kluckhohn and Leighton, 1946:xviii-xix

There are certain recurrent and inevitable human problems, and the ways in which man can meet them are limited by his biological equipment and by

certain facts of the external world. But to most problems there are variety of possible solutions. Any culture consists of the set of habitual and traditional ways of thinking, feeling, and reacting that are characteristic of the ways a particular society meets its problems at a particular point in time.

Morris, 1946:205

The culture of a society may be said to consist of the characteristic ways in which basic needs of individuals are satisfied in that society (that is, to consist of the particular response sequences of various behavior-families which occur in the society) . . .

Morris, 1948:43

A culture is a scheme for living by which a number of interacting persons favor certain motivations more than others and favor certain ways rather than others for satisfying these motivations. The word to be underlined is "favor." For preference is an essential of living things. . . . To live at all is to act preferentially— --to prefer some goals rather than others and some ways of reaching preferred goals rather than other ways. A culture is such a pattern of preferences held by a group of persons and transmitted in time.

Turney-High, 1949:5

In its broadest sense, culture is coterminous with everything that is artificial, useful, and social employed by man to maintain his equilibrium as a biopsychological organism.

Gorer, 1949:2

. . . a culture, in the anthropological sense of the word: that is to say, shared patterns of learned behaviour by means of which their fundamental

biological drives are transformed into social needs and gratified through the appropriate institutions, which also define the permitted and the forbidden.

Piddington, 1950:3-4

The culture of a people may be defined as the sum total of the material and intellectual equipment whereby they satisfy their biological and social needs and adopt themselves to their environment.

D-II. Emphasis on Learning

Wissler, 1916:195

Cultural phenomena are conceived of as including all the activities of man acquired by learning. . . . Cultural phenomena may therefore, be defined as the acquired activity complexes of human groups.

Hart and Pantzer, 1925:703, 705

Culture consists in behavior patterns transmitted by imitation or tuition. . . . Culture includes all behavior patterns socially acquired and socially transmitted.

Miller and Dollard, 1941:5

Culture, as conceived by social scientists, is a statement of the design of the human maze, of the type of reward involved, and of what responses are to be rewarded.

Kluckhohn, 1942:2

Culture consists in all transmitted social learning.

LaPiere, 1946:68

A culture is the embodiment in customs, traditions, institution, etc., of the learning of a social group over the generations. It is the sum of what the group has learned about living together under the particular circumstances, physical and biological, in which it has found itself.

Benedict, 1947:13

. . . culture is the sociological term for learned behavior, behavior which in man is not given at birth, which is not determined by his germ cells as is the behavior of wasps or the social ants, but must be learned anew from grown people by each new generation.

Young, 1947:7

The term refers to the more or less organized and persistent patterns of habits, ideas, attitudes, and values which are passed on to the newborn child from his elders or by others as he grows up.

Opler, 1947:8

A culture can be thought of as the sum total of learned techniques, ideas, and activities which a group uses in the business of living.

A., Davis, 1948:59

. . . culture . . . may be defined all behavior learned by the individual in conformity with a group. . .

Hoebel, 1949:3, 4

Culture is the sum total of learned behavior patterns which are characteristic of the members of a society and which are, therefore, not the result of bio-

logical inheritance.

Haring, 1949:29

Cultural behavior denotes all human functioning that conforms to patterns learned from other persons.

Wilson and Kolb, 1949:57

Culture consists of the patterns and products of learned behavior—etiquette, food habits, religious beliefs, the use of artifacts, systems of knowledge, and so on.

Hockett, 1950:113

Culture is those habits which humans have because they have been learned (not necessarily without modification) from other humans.

Steward, 1950:98

Culture is generally understood to mean learned modes of behavior which are socially transmitted from one generation to another within particular societies and which may be diffused from one society to another.

Slotkin, 1950:76

By definition, customs are categories of actions learned from others . . . A culture is the body of customs found in a society, and anyone who acts according to these customs is a participants in a culture . . . From a biological viewpoint, its culture is the mean by which a society adjusts to tsi environment . . . Artifacts are not included in culture.

Aberle, et al, 1950:102

Culture is socially transmitted behavior conceived as an abstraction from concrete social groups.

D – III Emphasis on Habit

Tozzer, n.d. (but pre-1930)

Culture is the rationalization of habit.

Young, 1934:592

Culture: Forms of habitual behavior common to a group, community, or society . . . It is made up of material and non-material traits.

Murdock, 1941:141

. . . culture, the traditional patterns of action which constitute a major portion of the established habits with which an individual enters any social situation.

Bryson, 1947:74

. . . culture is human energy organized in patterns of repetitive behavior.

Roberts, 1951: pp. 3, 6

It [the study] is based on the major hypothesis that every small group, like groups of other sizes, defines and independent and unique culture . . . the description of any culture is a statement of ordered habit relationships. . . .

D-IV Psychological /Psychoanalytic Definitions

Sapir, 1921:233

Culture may be defined as what a society does and thinks.

Marett, 1928:54

Culture . . . is communicable intelligence. . . . In its material no less than in its oral form culture is, then, as it were ,the language of social life, the sole medium for expressing the consciousness of our comon humanity.

Freud, 1933:89

Conscience is no doubt something within us, but it has not been there from the beginning. In this sense it is the opposite of sexuality, which is certainly present from the very beginning of life, and is not a thing that only comes in later. But small children are notoriously a-moral. They have no internal infibitions against their pleasure-seeking impulses. The role, which the super-ego undertakes later in life, is at first played by an external power, by parental authority. The influence of the parents dominates the child by granting proofs of affection and by threats of punishment, which, to the child, means loss of love, and which must also be feared on their own account. This objective anxiety is the forerunner of the later ,oral anxiety; so long as the formar is dominant one need not speak of sper-ego or of conscience. It is only later that the secondary situation arises, which we are far too ready to regard as the normal state of affairs; the external restrictions are introjected, so that the super-ego takes the place of the parental function, and thenceforward observes, guides and threatens the ego in just the same way as the parents acted to the child before.

Freud, 1933:95

In general, parents and similar authorities follow the dictates of their own super-ego in the up-bringing of children. Whatever terms their ego may be

on with their super-ego, in the education of their child their severe and exacting. They have forgotten the difficulties of their own childhood, and are glad to be able to identify themselves fully at last with their own parents, who in their day subjected them to such severe restraints. The result is that the super-ego of the child is not really built up on the model of the parents, but on that of the parents' super-ego; it takes over the same content, it becomes the vehicle of tradition and of all the age-long values which have been handed down in this way from generation to generation.

Freud, 1933:96

Mankind never lives completely in the present; the ideologies of the super-ego perpetuate the past, the traditions of the race and the people, which yield but slowly to the influence of the present and to new development, and, so long as they work through the super-ego, play an important part in man's life, quite independently of economic conditions.

Roheim, 1934:216

By culture we shall understand the sum of all sublimations, all substitutes, or reaction formations, in short, everything in society that inhibits impulses or permits their distorted satisfaction.

Katz and Schanck, 1938:551

Society refers to the common objective relationships (non-attitudinal) between man and man and between men and their material world. It is often confused with culture, the attitudinal relationship between men. . . . Culture is to society what personality is to the organism. Culture sums up the particular institutional content of a society. Culture is what happens to individuals within the context of a particular society, and . . . these happenings

are personal changes.

E: STRUCTURAL

Emphasis on the Patterning or Organization of Culture

Willey, 1929:207

A culture is a system of interrelated and interdependent habit patterns of response.

Dollard, 1939:50

Culture is the name given to [the] abstracted [from men] inter-correlated customs of a social group.

Ogburn and Nimkoff, 1940:63

A culture consists of inventions, or culture traits, integrated into a system, with varying degrees of correlation between the parts. . . . Both material and non-material traits, organized around the satisfaction of the basic human needs, give us our social institutions, which are the part of culture. The institutions of a culture are interlinked to form a pattern which is unique for each society.

Redfield, 1940:quoted in Ogburn and Nimkoff, 1940:25

An organization of conventional understandings manifest in act and artifact, which, persisting through tradition, characterizes a human group.

Linton, 1945a:5, 32

a) . . . and cultures are, in the last analysis, nothing more than the organ-

ized repetitive responses of a society's members.

- b) A culture is the configuration of learned behavior and results of behavior whose component elements are shared and transmitted by the members of a particular society.

Kluckhohn and Kelly, 1945a: 98

A culture is a historically derived system of explicit and implicit designs for living, which tends to be shared by all or specially designated members of a group.

Gillin, 1948:191

Culture consists of patterned and functionally interrelated customs common to specifiable human beings composing specifiable social group or categories.

Coutu, 1949:358

Culture is one of the most inclusive of all the configurations we call interactional fields---the way of life of a whole people like that of China, western Europe, and the United States. Culture is to a population aggregate what personality is to the individual; and the ethos is to the culture what self is to a personality, the core of most probable behaviors.

Turney -High, 1949:5

Culture is the working and integrated summation of the non-instinctive activities of human beings. It is the functioning, patterned totality of group-accepted and transmitted inventions, material and non-material.

F: GENETIC

F-I Emphasis on Culture as a Product or Artcraft

Groves, 1928:23

A product of human association

Wiley, 1927b:500

. . . that part of the environment which man has himself created and to which he must adjust himself.

Folsom, 1928

Culture is not any part of man or his inborn equipment. It is the sum total of all that man has produced: tools, symbols, most organizations, common activities, attitudes, and beliefs. It includes both physical products and immaterial products. It is everything of a relatively permanent character that we call artificial, everything which is passed down from one generation to the next rather than acquired by each generation for itself: it is, in short, civilization.

Winston, 1933:209

Culture in a vital sense is the product of social interaction. . . . Human behavior is cultural behavior to the degree that individual habit patterns are built up in adjustment to patterns already existing as an integral part of the culture into which the individual is born.

Menghin, 1934:68

Kultur ist das Ergebnis der geistigen Betätigung des Menschen,

objectivierter, stoffgebundener Geist.

Warden, 1936:22-23

Those patterns of group life which exist only by virtue of the three-fold mechanism---invention, communication, and social habituation---belong to the cultural order. . . . The cultural order is superorganic and possesses its own modes of operation and its own type of patterning. It cannot be reduced to bodily mechanisms or to the biosocial complex upon which it rests.

The conception of culture as a unique type of social organization seems to be most readily explicable in terms of the current doctrine of emergent evolution.

Sorokin, 1937: I: 3

In the broad sense [culture] may mean the sum total of everything which is created or modified by the conscious or unconscious activity of two or more individuals interacting with one another or conditioning one another's behavior.

Reuter 1939: 191

The term culture is used to signify the sum total of human creations, the organized result of human experience up to the present time. Culture includes all that man has made in the form of tools, weapons, shelter, and other material goods and processes, all that he has elaborated in the way of attitudes and beliefs, ideas and judgment, codes, and institutions, arts and sciences, philosophy and social organization. Culture also includes the interrelations among these and other aspects of human as distinct from animal life. Everything, material and non material, created by man, in the process of living, comes within the concept of culture.

Bernard 1941:8

Culture consists of all products (results) of organismic nongenetic efforts at adjustment.

Dodd, 1941:8

Culture consists of all products (results) of interhuman learning.

Hart, 1941:6

Culture consists of all phenomena that have been directly or indirectly caused (produced) by both nongenetic and nonmechanical communication of phenomena from one individual to the other.

Bernard, 1942:609

The term culture is employed in this book in the sociological sense, signifying anything that is man-made, whether a material object, overt behavior, symbolic behavior, or social organization.

Young, 1942:36

A precipitate of man's social life.

Huntington, 1945:7-8

By culture we mean every object, habit, idea, institution, and mode of thought or action which man produces or creates and then passes on to others, especially to the next generation.

Carr, 1945:137

The accumulated transmissible results of past behavior in association.

Bidney, 1947:387

. . . human culture in general may be understood as the dynamic process and product of the self-cultivation of human nature as well as of the natural environment, and involves the development of selected potentialities of nature for the attainment of individual and social ends of living.

Herskovits, 1948:17

A short and useful definition is: "Culture is the man-made part of the environment."

Kluckhohn, 1949a: 17

. . . culture may be regarded as that part of the environment that is the creation of man.

Murdock, 1949A:378

The interaction of learning and society thus produces in every human group a body of socially transmitted adaptive behavior which appears super-individual because it is shared, because it is perpetuated beyond the individual life span, and because its quantity and quality so vastly exceeds the capacity of any single person to achieve by own unaided effort. The term "culture" is applied to such systems of acquired and transmitted behavior.

Kluckhohn, 1951a: 86

Culture designates those aspects of the total human environment, tangible and intangible, that have been created by men.

F-II. Emphasis on Ideas

Ward, 1903:235

A culture is a social structure, a social organism, if any one prefers, and ideas are its germs.

Wissler, 1916:197

. . . a culture is a definite association complex of ideas

Schmidt, 1937:131

Die Kultur besteht ihrem tiefsten Wesen nach in der inneren Formung des Körpers and der Natur insofern, als diese durch den Geist gelenkt ist. Somit ist Kultur, wie alles Geistige, etwas Immanentes, etwas durchaus Innerliches und als solches der äusseren Beobachtung direkt nicht zugänglich.

Blumenthal, 1937:3, 12

- a) Culture is the world sum-total of past and present cultural ideas. [Note: As cultural ideas are said to be "those whose possessors are able to communicate them by means of symbols," symbolically-communicable should be substituted for cultural above.]
- b) Culture consists of the entire stream of inactive and active cultural ideas from the first in the cosmos to the last. [Note: This includes ideas once resident in human minds, but now no longer held by living minds, though their former existence is ascertainable from surviving material symbols.]

Osgood, 1940:25

Culture consists of all ideas concerning human beings which have been communicated to one's mind and of which one is conscious.

Kluckhohn and Kelly, 1945a: 97

a summation of all the ideas for standardized types of behavior.

Feibleman, 1946:73, 76

(a. Tentative definition.) Culture may be said to be the common use and application of complex objective ideas by the members of a social groups.

(b. Final definition.) A culture is the actual selection of some part of the whole of human behavior considered in its effect upon materials, made according to the demands of an implicit dominant ontology and modified by the total environment. [Implicit dominant ontology is elsewhere said to be the common sense of a cultural group, or the *eidon* of a culture.]

Taylor, 1948:109-10

By [holistic] culture as a descriptive concept, I mean all those mental constructs or ideas which have been learned or created after birth of individual.

. . . The term idea includes such categories as attitudes, meanings, sentiments, feelings, values, goals, purposes, interests, knowledge, beliefs, relationships, associations, [but] not . . . Kluckhohn's and Kelly's factor of "designs."

By [holistic] culture as an explanatory concept, I mean all those mental constructs which are used to understand, and to react to, the experiential world of internal and external stimuli. . . . Culture itself consists of ideas, not processes.

By a culture, i.e., by culture as a partitive concept, I mean a historically derived system of culture traits which is a more or less separable and cohesive segment of the whole-that-is-culture and whose separate traits tend to be shared by all or by specially designated individuals of a group or "society."

Ford, 1949:38

. . . culture may be briefly defined as a stream of ideas, that passes from individual to individual by means of symbolic action, verbal instruction, or imitation.

Becker, 1950:251

A culture is the relatively constant non-material content transmitted in a society by means of process of sociation.

F-III Emphasis on Symbols

Bain, 1942:87

Culture is all behavior mediated by symbols.

White, 1943:335

Culture is an organization of phenomena---material objects, bodily acts, ideas, and sentiments---which consists of or is dependent upon the use of symbols.

Morris, 1946:207

Culture is largely a sign configuration . . .

White, 1949b: 15

The cultural category, or order, of phenomena is made up of events that are dependent upon a faculty peculiar to the human species, namely the ability to use symbols. These events are the ideas, beliefs, languages, tools, utensils, customs, sentiments, and institutions that make up the civilization---or culture, to use the anthropological term---of any people regardless of time,

place, or degree of development.

White, 1949a:363

. . . "culture" is the name of a distinct order, or class, of phenomena, namely, those things and events that are dependent upon the exercise of a mental ability, peculiar to the human species, that we have termed "symboling." To be more specific, culture consists of material objects—tools, utensils, ornaments, amulets, etc.—acts, beliefs, and attitudes that function in contexts characterized by symboling. It is an elaborate mechanism, an organization of exosomatic ways and means employed by a particular animal species, man, in the struggle for existence or survival.

K.Davis. 1949:3-4

. . . it [culture] embraces all modes of thought and behavior that are handed down by communicative interaction—i.e., by symbolic transmission—rather than by genetic inheritance.

White, 1975:3-4

Man is a unique animal: only man has the ability to originate, determine, and bestow meaning upon things and events in the external world. He does this by virtue of an ability that I have called the ability to symbol (White 1962; White 1969, p. xxxviii). This class of things and events—dependent upon symboling—is the most important and fundamental category in the science of man. . . . I have ventured to give them a name symbolates (White 1959a pp.230-31). When symbolates are considered in terms of their relationship to the human organism we call them, collectively, behavior, the scientific study of which is psychology. When we treat symbolates, not in terms of human organism but in terms of their relationship

to one another, we call them, collectively, culture, the scientific study of which is culturology.

White, 1975:4-5

To reduce the above characterization of culture to a simpler and less sophisticated level, we say that culture consists of language, customs, institutions, code, tools, techniques, concepts, beliefs, etc. --- E.B Tylor's "classic" definition (Tylor 1871, p.1).

White, 1975:4

Culture is not basically anything. Culture is a word-concept. It is man-made and may be used arbitrarily to designate anything; we may define the concept as we please. To say that culture "basically is" this or that is reminiscent of the secularized version of the biblical account of how Adam named the animals: "he called a creature a horse because it was a horse" --- basically no doubt.

F-IV Man-Animal Distinction

Ostwald, 1907:510

That which distinguished men from animals we call culture.

Ostwald, 1915:192

These specifically human peculiarities which differenciate the race of the Homo sapiens from all other species of animals is comprehended in the name of culture . . .

Blumenthal, 1941:9

Culture consists of all non genetically produced means of adjustment.

Roheim, 1943:v

Civilization or culture should be understood here in the sense of possible minimum definition, that is, it includes whatever is above the animal level in mankind.

Kluckhohn and Kelly, 1945a: 87

. . . culture includes all those ways of feeling, thinking, and acting which are not inevitable as a result of human biological equipment and process and (or) objective external situations.

G: CLASSICAL CRITIQUE

Wuthnow, et al. 1984:4

. . . culture consists primarily of thoughts, moods, feelings, beliefs, and values. This is a common view in contemporary social science. Culture is that residual realm left over after all forms of observable human behavior have been removed. It consists of the inner invisible thought life of human beings, either as individuals or in some difficult -to-imagine collective sense, as in notions of 'collective purpose', 'shared values', and 'intersubjective realities'. What people actually do, how they behave, the institutions they construct, and the physical exchanges of money and power in which they engage, however, are not a part of culture.

Wuthnow, et al. 1984:5

In standard social scientific discussions of culture, the human world is divided in two, objective social structure on one hand, subjective thoughts and

perceptions on the other, and the cultural part is defined as the most fluid, unconstrained, and least observable category of non-behavior. Having defined culture in this way, it is not surprising that social scientists have found it difficult to make headway with the analysis of culture.

Wuthnow, et al. 1984:6

Cultural analysis has also been limited by the assumption that only individuals have culture. This supposition is another form of reductionism. At one level it makes sense, of course, to limit culture to individuals. If culture is indeed nothing more than thoughts and feelings, then, to be sure, individuals are the only one who can think and feel. But in other areas of the social sciences advances have been made only by abandoning this assumption. Dulkheim's classic study of variations in suicide rates were independently interesting apart from the actions of individuals.

H: PHENOMENOLOGY

Wuthnow, et al. 1984:35

Berger defined culture as 'the totality of men's products' (1967:6). Defining culture in this way is to view it not only as material artifacts and non-material socio-cultural formations that guide human behavior (what we call society is a segment of culture), but the reflection of this world as it is constrained within human consciousness. The subjective side of culture must be emphasized, for these products on the individual level serve as more or less lasting measures of human subjectivity. In different words, these products manifest the subjective meanings or intentionality of those who produced them. The fabric of culture then is the intersubjective meanings individuals hold concerning the world in which they live.

Wuthnow, et al. 1984:38

Through out the course of life the organism continues to affect one's world-constructing activity; yet, as Berger argues, the world one has created acts back upon that persons's organism. It imposes limitations upon what is biologically possible to the organism. (1966:181). Variable rates of longevity according to social class factors provide one example. Not only in terms of the temporal limitations imposed upon the organism but in terms of the actual functioning of the organism, culture intrudes as well. Sexuality and nutrition provide the most obvious illustrations. People are driven by their biological constitution to seek sexual release and nourishment. The ways these are attained are highly variable---the body does not tell a person where to seek sexual release or what to eat. The channeling of these organismic drives is determined by socio-cultural factors. Thus the individual 'knows' that there is a 'right or wrong' way to achieve sexual release (e.g. Western prohibitions against incestuous and pre- or extra-marital sexual relations) and that there are 'right and wrong' foods to eat (dietary prohibitions for Muslims and Jews against eating pork). Thus, while culture is spawned by and placed in a biological setting, culture reimposes its own constraints and patterns upon the organism and the interplay between the two continues giving rise to changes in each.

Berger, 1969:6

In the process of world-building, man, by his own activity, specializes his drives and provides stability for himself. Biologically deprived of a man-world, he constructs a human world. This world, of course, is culture. Its fundamental purpose is to provide the firm structures for human life that are lacking biologically. It follows that these humanly produced structures can

never have the stability that marks the structure of the animal world. Culture, although it becomes for man a "second nature," remains something quite different from nature precisely because it is the product of man's own activity.

Berger, 1969:6

Culture must be continuously produced and reproduced by man. Its structures are, therefore, inherently precarious and predestined to change. The cultural imperative of stability and the inherent character of culture as unstable together posit the fundamental problem of man's world-building activity.

Its far-reaching implications will occupy us in considerable detail a little further on. For the moment, suffice it to say that, while it is necessary that worlds be built, it is quite difficult to keep them going.

Berger, 1969:6-7

Culture consists of the totality of man's products. Some of these are material, others are not. Man produces tools of every conceivable kind, by means of which he modifies his physical environment and bends nature to his will. Man also produces language and, on its foundation and by means of it, a towering edifice of symbols that permeate every aspect of his life. There is good reason for thinking that the production of non-material culture has always gone hand in hand with man's activity of physically modifying his environment. Be this as it may, society is, of course, nothing but part and parcel of non-material culture. Society is that aspect of the latter that structures man's ongoing relations with his fellow-men. As but an element of culture, society fully shares in the latter character as a human product. Society is constituted and maintained by acting human beings. It has no being, no reality, apart from this activity.

Berger, 1969:7

Homo sapiens is the social animal. This means very much more than the surface fact that man always lives in collectivities and, indeed, loses his humanity when he is thrust into isolation from other men. . . . Men together shape tools, invent languages, adhere to values, devise institutions, and so on. Not only is the individual's participation in a culture contingent upon a social process, (namely, the process called socialization), but his continuing cultural existence depends upon the maintenance of specific social arrangements. Society, therefore, is not only the outcome of culture, but a necessary condition of the latter.

Berger, 1969:9

Although all culture originates and is rooted in the subjective consciousness of human beings, once formed it cannot be reabsorbed into consciousness at will. It stands outside the subjectivity of the individuals as, indeed, a world.

In other words, the humanly produced world attains the character of objective reality.

Berger, 1969:10

If culture is credited with the status of objectivity, there is a double meaning to this appellation. Culture is objective in that it confronts man as an assemblage of objects in the real world existing outside his own consciousness.

Culture is there. But culture is also objective in that it may be experienced and apprehended, as it were in company. Culture is there for everybody. This means that the objects of culture (again, both material and non-material ones) may be shared with others. . . . The individuals may dream up any number of, say, institutional arrangements that might well be more interest-

ing, perhaps even more functional, than the institutions actually recognized in his culture. As long as these sociological dreams, so to speak, are confined to the individual's own consciousness and are not recognized by others as at least empirical possibilities, they will exist only as shadowlike phantasmata. By contrast, the institutions of the individual's society, however much he may dislike them, will be real. In other words, the cultural world is not only collectively produced, but it remains real by virtue of collective recognition. To be in culture means to share in a particular world of objectivities with others.

I: CULTURAL ANTHROPOLOGY

Douglas, 1966:48

We are left with the very old definition of dirt as matter out of place. This is a very suggestive approach. It implies two conditions: a set of ordered relations and a contravention of that order. Dirt, then, is never a unique, isolated event. Where there is dirt there is a system. Dirt is the by-product of a systematic ordering and classification of matter, in so far as ordering involves rejecting inappropriate elements.

White, 1975:6

Culture, the culture process, is an interactive process; it is composed of culture traits that interact with one another, forming new permutations, combinations, and syntheses.

White, 1975:6

Culture traits act and react among themselves in accordance with the principle of cause and effect. Thus culture determines and causes culture; culture

is to be explained in terms of culture.

White, 1975:8

Man's no human behavior, like that of other animals, is determined by his biological makeup. His human behavior, however, is not biologically determined; it is determined by the culture in which the human animal lives: The human behavior of peoples is determined by their respective cultures. (I say peoples because the human behavior of individuals is affected, but not determined, by their biological makeup.) If one is born and reared in Tibetan culture he becomes a Tibetan; in Eskimo culture he becomes an Eskimo.

White, 1959:8

The purpose and function of culture are to make life secure and enduring for the human species.

White and Dillingham, 1973:12

The answer to the question, What is the function of culture? is very simple and obvious . . . it is to make life secure and enduring for the human species.

White, 1975:11

As for making life secure and enduring for the human species, cultural systems have exterminated entire species of birds and animals that have served human needs. The arts of agriculture have rendered huge areas unfit for food production as a consequence of erosion, overgrazing, or salinification as a result of irrigation. The vast food resources of the oceans are threatened by contamination brought about by industrial and commercial practices. The atmosphere of the planet is being polluted by noxious gases. In short, cul-

tural systems are moving rapidly to make the earth uninhabitable. And over all hovers the spector of annihilation by two lethal cultural devices: nuclear bombs and national sovereignty. Cultural systems, like stars and planets, are indifferent to the welfare --- or the very existence of man.

White, 1975:17

It is convenient for purposes of exposition to analyze a cultural system into significant components: technological, sociological and ideological. Technology consists of tools and weapons and techniques of using them. Sociology includes customs, institutions, codes, etc. Ideology consists of ideas (concepts) and beliefs. All cultural systems are composed of these three classes of elements. They are, of course interrelated; each is meaningful only in terms of its relationship to the other two, and to the system as a whole. The technological component, however, is the basic one; upon it social systems and ideologies --- and cultural systems as a whole --- depend.

Gellner, 1984:37-38

Culture is no longer merely the adornment, confirmation and legitimation of a social order which was also sustained by harsher and coercive constraints; culture is now the necessary shared medium, the lifeblood or perhaps the minimal shared atmosphere, within which alone the members of society can breathe and survive and produce. For a given society it must be one in which they can all breathe and speak and produce; so it must be the same culture . . . it can no longer be a diversified, locally-tied, illiterate little culture or tradition.

Wuthnow, et al. 1984:88-9

Fear of pollution, then, is like fear of moral deviance. Shoes do not belong

on the kitchen table and parents should not have sex with their children. Both involve things and behavior out of place, and as such, a threat to the larger moral structure from which their place derives. But deviance and dirt are normal and functional, and our reaction to them is one of the basic social mechanism to renew and redefine social rules and boundaries. We find out on a daily basis what is what by the reaction of ourselves and others to the violation of social rules.

Wuthnow, et al. 1984:89

Given a threat to a collectivity's boundaries or collective identity, it will respond by ritually prosecuting people (scapegoating, witch-hunting, etc.) as a means of redrawing the threatened boundaries. If a community is not sure of what it stands for, or of its collective identity, then the discovery of those who would oppose its central values is a means for reaffirming those very collective moral purposes. The political show trial, purge, and Congressional investigation, utilized to create subversives, are all ritual mechanism in the periodic renewal of social order.

Wuthnow, et al. 1984:89-90

In general, then, moral deviance, including the experience of dirt, is created in two ways. The first, the original Durkheimian proposition adopted by Douglas, centers upon individuals crossing moral boundaries, or things being out of place, e.g. shoes on the table or people committing crimes. When this occurs people are mobilized to reset the order and reaffirm lines and categories by either cleaning up the mess or persecuting the deviants. Things are put back in their place. Here the effort and ceremony of cleaning up are much like the trial or purge. Both are ritual ceremonies which draw attention to the violated moral order, whether that be purported com-

munists sympathizer in the State Department or a messy room. The second process involves the movement of moral boundaries. Here people do not violate the rules, but the rules are moved to reclassify people as deviant, subversive, or unclear. In this way the community can actually 'manufacture' deviance, which is exactly what a witch-hunt is all about. An aroused community persecutes people who have done nothing. The community need not wait for individuals to stray across the moral boundaries; the boundaries can be shifted to redefine individuals as being on the other side. Authorities can always declare some activity illegal or immoral and prosecute, no matter whether the same thing in a different place or at a different time was 'legal'. The community's rules shift when there is a crisis in its corporate identity or collective existence, creating an organic need to manufacture enemies to bring the community closer together.

Douglas, 1992:134

The Typology of cultural forms displays the internal debates between members of different kinds of social unit. It reveals the attitude of authority and the concept of the individual that make sense to those who have combined to form a social group of a particular type. It is an account of the prior debate that individuals will be having among themselves, whether they ever enter the larger political scene or not.

Douglas, 1992:136

Anyone who has attended a town meeting or a board meeting knows that the normative debate is a fumbling, half coherent process. One proposition is made, only to be challenged by a contrary one. Decisions are difficult to reach. They rest upon tacit assumptions, not on argued syllogisms. . . . It is not praiseworthy to argue that shaky institutions are shored up by equally

shaky logical forms: . . . In reply to this, cultural theory will need to save its analysis by recourse to system sustaining effects that follow from initial decisions in favor of one type of organization rather than another. This is the num of argument: institutions stand on different forking path, it is difficult to get back to the choice that would have led another way.

This is the central argument of cultural theory: culture itself is constrained. It cannot make any number of combinations and permutations. Inclusion is logically different from hierarchy; inclusion and hierarchy are different from equivalent exchange. Any human group will bee drawn to use one or another of these principles to legitimize its collective action; in doing so it will encounter a specific set of organizational problems. Each initial choice will lead, by the logic of normative debate, to radically different solutions. Each resultant type of culture will be legitimated upon a different logical solution.

Douglas, 1992:31

Cultural thery starts by assuming that a culture is a system of a persons holding one another mutually accountable. A person tried to live at some level of being bearable and which matches the level at which that person wants to hold others accountable. From this angle, culture if fraught with the political implications of mutual accountability. Instead of imagining the isolated individual testing every piece of news without bias or moral commitment, the person is assumed to be sifting possible information through a collectively constructed censor set to a given standard of accountability.

J: NEO – STRUCTURALISM

By this term [archive] I do not mean the sum of all texts that a culture has kept upon Foucault, 1972: 129. its person as documents attesting to its own past, or as evidence of a continuing identity; nor do I mean the institutions, which, in a given society, make it possible to record and preserve those discourses that one wishes to remember and keep in circulation. On the contrary, it is rather the reason why so many things, said by so many men, for so long, have not emerged in accordance with the same laws of thought, or the same set of circumstances, why they are not simply the signalization, at the level of verbal performances, of what could be deployed in the order of the mind or in the order of things; but they appeared by virtue of a whole set of relations that are peculiar to the discursive level; why, instead of being adventitious figures, grafted, as it were, in a rather haphazard way, on to silent processes, they are born in accordance with specific regularities; in short, why, if there are things said-and those only-one should seek the immediate reason for them in the things that were said not in them, nor in the men that said them, but in the system of discursivity, in the enunciative possibilities and impossibilities that it lays down.

Wuthnow et al. 1984: 153

Foucault does not talk of culture per se, or of cultural change. Instead, he examines the changes that have occurred, expecting to shed new light on what made them happen, how they influenced the lives of individuals of every strata, and how particular individuals came to be in or out of power. His focus shifts from classical to modern culture, on how culture was produced in relation to the creation of knowledge, or to the emergence of the subcultures of economics, politics, history, etc. all are evidence of his con-

cern with social change.

Wuthnow et al. 1984: 140-141

The Archeology of Knowledge is Foucault's only book listing the word culture in the index. Still, all his works deals with culture in the broadest sense. For him the transmission of knowledge is central to culture and this process is never linear: it is linked to power in conscious or unconscious ways; it is insidious, sporadic, and ubiquitous; and it transcends national or 'cultural' boundaries. At the same time, he does not accept anthropological theories of cross cultural transmission, since these as well would be 'unilinear'....Foucault's anthropology is more inclined to favour Levi-Strauss's even though his connections to it are more methodological than substantive. His focus is on the knowledge in what might be called pre-industrial, industrial societies rather than on the knowledge emerging through the telling of tribal myths. In any event, it is important to recall that Foucault emphasizes knowledge rather than culture as a category...

Halliday and Hasan 1989:46-7

The context of situation, however, is only the immediate environment. There is also a broad background against which the text has to be interpreted: its CONTEXT OF CULTURE. Any actual context of situation, the particular configuration of field, tenor, and mode that has brought text into being, is not just a random jumble of features but a totality---a package, so to speak, of things that typically go together in the culture. People do these things on these occasions and attach these meanings and values to them; this is what a culture is.

The school itself provides a good example of what in modern jargon could

be called an 'interface' between the context of situation and the context of culture. For any 'text' in school—teacher talk in the classroom, pupil's notes or essay, passage from a textbook—there is always a context of situation; the lesson, with its concept of what is to be achieved; the relationship of teacher to pupils, or textbook writer to reader; the 'mode' of question-and-answer, expository writing, and so on. But these in turn are instances of, and derive their meaning from, the school as an institution in the culture: the concept of education, and of educational knowledge as distinct from common sense knowledge; the notion of the curriculum and of school 'subjects'; the complex role structures of teaching staff, school principals, consultants, inspectorate, department of education, and the like; and the unspoken assumptions about learning and the place of language within it

All these factors constitute the context of culture, and they determine, collectively, the way the text is interpreted in its context of situation. It is as well to know what we are assuming, as teachers, when we stand up in front of a class, and talk, or when we set pupils a task like writing a report or an essay, or when we evaluate their performance in that task.

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2. IERS Seminars on 'Peripheral Language Communities'. Co-Organizer (with R. Thrasher) and Chair. ICU, April-June 1993.