

BEYOND CULTURE

Edward T. Hall

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〈「文化」を超えて〉

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は し が き

このテキストは、Edward T. Hall, *Beyond Culture* (1976) を土台にして作成された。現代的な欧米的知性のもち主のひとりである Hall は、われわれに多くの示唆をもたらさずにはおかない。Hall の主張を要約すれば、つぎのようになろう。

異質な文化に所属している人びとが会合う場合、いわゆる友情と善意というものがあれば、通じ合えるのであろうか。あるいはまた、社会学者が提供してくれる、相手の文化に固有にみられる生活の信条、慣習、規範、価値観などについての理解をもっていればよいのであろうか。単なる出会いであれば、これらによって「通じ合える」ともいえよう。だが、ひとたび共同生活を行ない、仕事をはじめのやいなや、まったく些細なことがらに関してさえ、さまざまな面倒なトラブルが生ずる。これは、一般人のみでなく、社会科学に精通している専門家の人びととて例外ではない。そこには、知的理解を超えた問題が横たわっているのだ。それはなにか。一言でいえば、意識を超えたレベルにおける文化的齟齬、つまり、かくれた次元に由来する問題があるのである。

Hall は、この「かくれた次元」の認識の必要性を力説している。「かくれた次元」の認識に際して、Hall は context (文脈) という概念を提示する。彼はそこに、high-context と low-context という対比を愛用する。high-context とは、いわば以心伝心でコミュニケーションができるのであるが、反面、そうした前提条件をあらかじめ用意するために時間と労力を要するという文化である。一方、low-context の文化では、だれでもが容易にコミュニケーションをはじめられるが、それが通じ合うのはきわめて困難である。

こうした二分法は、若干、単線的なうらみもある。しかし本書は、それを超えた魅力をもっている。見落としがちな“小さな事実”の意味を、幅広い視野のなかで掘り起こしているのが、本書のユニークさでもある。そうした作業のなかで、沈黙のことばに耳を傾け、かくさ

れた次元に目をこらすことによって、無意識のうちに人間を拘束している文化から、人間が徐々にでも自らを解放すること、それが Hall の提唱である。これこそが、まさに「文化」を「超える」ことなのである。

Hall は、現代アメリカのすぐれた文化人類学者である。1914 年にミズーリ州に生まれ、コロンビア大学において Ph. D. を受け、ミクロネシア文化やアメリカ・インディアン文化の研究に従事し、現在はノースウエスタン大学教授の地位にある。彼は、伝統的な学問分野の領域を打破し、人類学はもとより、動物行動学、社会学、生物学、心理学、言語学など、あらゆる学問分野をふまえての、総合科学的研究の先駆者としても知られている。

原典は、序章を加えて全体が 16 の章から構成されているが、本テキストでは、序章のすべて、第 1, 2, 3 章は、原著者の考え方を知るに足るだけのものをコンパクトに編集した。本テキストの第 4 章 Hidden Culture は、日本(人)の文化を取り扱っている。その意味で、欧米人が日本人を、また日本人が欧米人を、どのように理解していくか、興味ある一章であると思われる。

国際化社会のなかに放り込まれた日本人にとって、Hall の提言は刺激的なものとなろう。しかも自文化へのより深い認識をもつことこそ、今日、もっとも必要とされていることである。

1986 年 秋

編 注 者

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1. Two related crises

Environmental problems and cultural crises

There are two related crises in the world of contemporary man. The first and most visible is the population/environment crisis. The second, more subtle but equally lethal, is man himself—his relationship to himself, to his extensions, his institutions, his ideas, to those around him, as well as between the many groups that inhabit the globe; in a word, his relationship to his culture. 5

Both crises must be resolved or neither will be solved. For there are no technological solutions to the problems confronting man and his eternal conflicts. At the same time, technical solutions to environmental problems will never be applied rationally until man has begun to transcend the limitations imposed by his institutions, his philosophies, and his cultures. Particularly pressing are the world's hot spots, such as the Middle East. 10 15

Politics is part of life—beginning in the home and becoming more and more visible as power is manifest in the larger institutions on the local, the national, and the international levels. We should not be fooled
5 by either politics or political institutions. What we are talking about here is power and its use. But there is more to life than sheer power; at least, one hopes that in time the power motive will diminish. Apart from power, culture still plays a prominent role in the
10 relations between the Russians and the West. Culture has always been an issue, not only between Europe and Russia, but among the European states as well. The Germans, the French, the Italians, the Spanish, Portuguese and English, as well as the Scandinavian
15 and Balkan cultures all have their own unique identity, language, systems of nonverbal communication, material culture, history, and way of doing things. Europe is relatively calm now. But what about China and its neighbor Japan? Any Westerner
20 who was raised outside the Far East and claims he really understands and can communicate with either the Chinese or the Japanese is deluding himself. On the horizon are the multiple cultures of Africa and the emerging nations of Latin America demanding to
25 be recognized in their own right. The future depends on man's transcending the limits of individual cultures. To do so, however, he must first

recognize and accept the multiple hidden dimensions of the nonverbal side of life.

Exacerbating the world's political and cultural problems are environmental and economic crises. As Hardin showed with wisdom and insight in an article titled "The Tragedy of the Commons," mankind cannot continue to increase the consumption of the world's finite resources. The classical English pattern of using the village commons (communally owned and used land which was available for pasturing *private* livestock) did not involve a conflict between public and private welfare as long as there was enough land. However, as herds increased, the overgrazed land became less productive, so that herdsmen had to increase their stocks in order to stay even, and thus the commons were destroyed. The tragedy was that profits accrued to the opportunistic herdsmen who exploited the commons the most, while losses were shared by *all* the users. Those who exercised restraint were doubly penalized. Not only did they suffer losses from the overgrazing of neighbors, but they were unable to exploit the market by means of their own production.

Darwin approach

Today, the sea, the air, the waterways, the earth,
The land and what it produces have *all* become
commons, and all are vulnerable to overuse. Appeals
5 to altruism are futile and in one sense foolhardy.
Technology alone will not get us out of this dilemma,
because these are human problems. Hardin argues
that the single-track, Newtonian approach will satisfy
only the politicians and the big exploiters of the
10 commons. What is needed, he feels, is a more
comprehensive, Darwinian (Dionysian) approach
that can be used as a basis for establishing priorities,
alternatives, and options. In a word, unless man can
learn to pull together and to regulate his own
15 consumption (and production) patterns, he is
headed for disaster.

The tragedy of the commons is one of those
irrationalities discussed in others. The answer lies not
in restricting man but in opening up new alterna-
20 tives, new possibilities, new dimensions, new options,
and new avenues for creative uses of man himself that
do not use resources and are not ego-dependent. Ego
needs, particularly if they are neurotic, almost
inevitably are irrational, obsessional, compulsive,

gained at the expense of others, and make extensive use of material resources.

This brings us to an important question that has grown in my mind in the process of living. It has to do with man's basic and underlying attitude toward himself. I am not speaking of something superficial, which can be easily observed or experienced, but something else, deeper and more subtle than surface man. The question is: *Why are most people so unnecessarily hard on themselves?* And why do they not make better use of their talents? Why is mankind so hard on mankind? It is as though we nurtured the child that is in all of us and, in being childish, were afraid of each other. This is not a simple problem, and it may be world-wide.

Extension transference

We see evidences of man's putting himself down in folklore, religions, philosophies, institutions, as well as in daily life. The processes certainly are not within the reach of conscious control but deep within us. Freud was so struck by these processes that he posited a death instinct and built his theories around the notion that man inevitably advances at the expense of himself. Freud believed that the basic energies, the

libidinal forces of man, had to be repressed in order for man to live in groups, and that the libidinal energy was "sublimated" into the creative, cooperative drives that produced modern institutions. That is, creativity was a by-product of the necessity for man to repress his basic drives and to control himself. Like all of us, Freud was a product of his times, which were characterized by such thinking, and given the times, much of Freud's thinking made sense. Nevertheless, the study of man's past as well as his present—in his many forms—fails to confirm Freud's view that man advances and builds his institutions through a process of sublimation of sexual energy; i.e., by suppressing sex in its widest possible connotation.

I would suggest another alternative, namely that once man began evolving his extensions, particularly language, tools, and institutions, he got caught in the web of what I term extension transference and was both alienated from himself and incapable of controlling the monsters he had created. In this sense, he has advanced at the expense of that part of himself that he had extended, and as a consequence has ended up by repressing his nature in its many forms. Man's goal from here on out should be to rediscover that self.

Certainly, there are tremendous areas of conflict

between Western man and his material as well as his non-material extensions. The instrument he has created is like an ill-fitting shoe. According to some of the most distinguished and thoughtful students of the mind, one of the most devastating and damaging things that can happen to anyone is to fail to fulfill his potential. A kind of gnawing emptiness, longing, frustration, and displaced anger takes over when this occurs. Whether the anger is turned inward on the self or outward toward others, dreadful destruction results. Yet, how man evolved with such an incredible reservoir of talent and such fantastic diversity is not completely understood. Man is not anywhere nearly enough in awe of himself, possibly because he knows so little and has nothing to measure himself against.

Man's creativeness and institution

People get cast in molds (of status and roles) for which they are variously equipped. The problem lies between man's creativeness and diversity and the rather specific needs of his institutions, for most cultures and the institutions they engender represent highly specialized solutions to rather specific problems. For example, in England during the early days

of the industrial revolution, villagers and field hands were brought into the factory to work. These first generations of mill hands were not conditioned to the whistle. Like all preindustrial peoples, when they
5 earned enough to pay off their debts and keep them for a while they quit and went home. This situation could have continued indefinitely if there had not been a hidden trap—children. There were no child labor laws and no one to care for the children at
10 home, so the children worked with the parents in the factory and became imprinted by the whistle. They then brought up their own children accordingly.

If the totality of man's experiences with factory work and schedules means anything at all, and if
15 current pressure on the part of workers to do something about the monotony is significant, industrialists could hardly have done better at creating an anti-human work situation if they had deliberately set out to do so. Man has put himself in his own zoo.
20 He has so simplified his life and stereotyped his responses that he might as well be in a cage.

The result is that, since people can't fight the institutions on which their lives depend, they unconsciously first turn their anger inward and later
25 outward against the "enemies" of the institutions to which they have sold their souls. Someday, man will no longer need ideological crutches. To coin a

phrase, ideologies are the opiate of the people and have taken the place not of religion, but of religious institutions.

The powerlessness and lack of self-affirmation

But, to continue with our basic theme, many 5
people's sense of worth, the value they place on the
image of the self, is directly related to the number of
situations in which they are in control, which means
that many people have a problem with their self-
image, because they are in control of so little. The 10
ultimate in human degradation and the subservience
of human needs to institutional forms is shown in
Kesey's novel ONE FLEW OVER THE CUCKOO'S
NEST. Big Nurse, in Kesey's book, epitomizes all the
anti-humanism and destructiveness, all the distortions 15
of the communication process, all the violations of
cultural norms that one finds in the bureaucracies
that man has created. The book is a statement of the
powerlessness and lack of self-affirmation so common
in our times. 20

Powerlessness and lack of self-affirmation lead to
aggression, as repeatedly asserted by psychologists
and psychiatrists. Psychological powerlessness is the
result of past events, but situational and cultural

powerlessness are here and now. Blacks and students rioted in recent years not only because they were powerless to make the system work, but because *they saw themselves as powerless*. There is no other way to
5 explain the incredible outburst of rage triggered by the assassination of Martin Luther King or the “incursion” into Cambodia. The groundwork had been laid long before, but it was suddenly and overwhelmingly apparent to those concerned.

10 Things are quieter in the ghettos now because the rhythm of black life is in a quiet phase—they are taking a breather. It is quieter on the campus since the winding down of the Vietnam War. But a major and continuing source of frustration exists because
15 the many gifts and talents of women, black people, Indians, Spanish Americans, and others are not only unrecognized but frequently denigrated by members of the dominant group. It is the corrosive daily and niggling frustration, the inability to communicate or
20 to establish meaningful relationships that is so soul-shrinking.

The cultural and psychological insight that is important for man to accept is that denying culture can be as destructive as denying evil. Man must
25 come to terms with both. It is man’s powerlessness in the face of culture and the limitations placed on the development of self that result in aggression.