ACCESS △

Culture and identity, community and survival: What is the cultural in multiculturalism?

Thomas K. Fitzgerald

ABSTRACT

Naisbitt and Aburdene (1990) make the futurist prediction that, worldwide, we can expect to see a renaissance of language and cultural assertiveness (Naisbitt & Aburdene 1990). Cultural diversity is "in"; monoculturalism passé. Although the "discourse of futurology" has from time to time confused culture and identity, Naisbitt and Aburdene (1990: 129) seem to recognise that, despite the levelling of culture by modem media, there will be a corresponding accent on tradition, symbolic or real, and identities - whether these identities are religious, cultural, national, linguistic, or racial in origin (1990: 147). However, they do not attempt to explain what sounds like a contradiction in this statement. Cultural differences, where these indeed exist, are important. Unfortunately, there is the tendency today to misinterpret and over-interpret such differences. So-called cultures are described in strokes so broad that noncultural differences (for example, communication styles and other social behaviours) are not fully explained. I argue in this article that linguistic and cultural assertiveness need not imply more cultural diversity. Furthermore, paradoxically there is a compensatory need to assert distinctive identities - most likely due to mediated communication influences - which parallels the homogenization of cultures throughout the world. Strictly speaking, it is not always culture that is at issue, but identities - with or without matching cultures.

There is an enormous gap today between everyday social realities and rhetoric about culture. How do we make sense of this rhetoric? What are the so-called culture debates all about? Identity, culture, multiculturalism, community.

Culture and Identity

Naisbitt and Aburdene (1990) make the futurist prediction that, worldwide, we can expect to see a renaissance of language and cultural assertiveness (Naisbitt & Aburdene 1990). Cultural diversity is "in"; monoculturalism passé.

Although the "discourse of futurology" has from time to time confused culture and identity, Naisbitt and Aburdene (1990: 129) seem to recognise that, despite the levelling of culture by modem media, there will be a corresponding accent on tradition, symbolic or real, and identities - whether these identities are religious, cultural, national, linguistic, or racial in origin (1990: 147). However, they do not attempt to explain what sounds like a contradiction in this statement.

Cultural differences, where these indeed exist, are important. Unfortunately, there is the tendency today to misinterpret and over-interpret such differences. So-called cultures are described in strokes so broad that noncultural differences (for example, communication styles and other social behaviours) are not fully explained.[1]

I argue in this article that linguistic and cultural assertiveness need not imply more cultural diversity. Furthermore, paradoxically there is a compensatory need to assert distinctive identities - most likely due to mediated communication influences - which parallels the homogenization of cultures throughout the world. Strictly speaking, it is not always culture that is at issue, but identities - with or without matching cultures.[2]

Communication between diverse groups - whether social or cultural - nonetheless, remains essential for our global survival. Acceptance of different lifestyles, sexual minorities, and ethnic interest groups (as well as different cultures) will be the ultimate challenge of the identity of the future. We need to understand identities more than putative cultures inasmuch as social identities, in an information society, take on special functional significance for humans trying to cope with the "flood of imagery" produced by the mass media (Lifton 1970: 318).

One basic function of communication is to effectively control the environment. Hence, competence becomes a reflection of social skills (cultural knowledge) and social outcomes (social activity), as well as, naturally, some desire (psychological motivation) for acting out these skills. In this performance model, behavioural flexibility means essentially adaptation in face of situationally variable environments (Sypher 1984: 110). Henry Treuba (1990: 123) gives a pointed example of the educated Mexican-American who, rather than choosing between Chicano culture or the mainstream American one, maintains flexibility by developing bicultural skills in "code-switching" between the two contexts.

Furthermore, culture and communication are crucial for our understanding of how human beings achieve a sense of community. It has been argued that community depends on effective communicating. Community and communication, according to Glenn Tinder (1980: 131), are both fundamentally matters of "sharing". Authentic community, then, implies a collection of people that share and exchange ideas freely, the ultimate goal no doubt being a communicating global society. Although community as romantic metaphor may in the end be largely unattainable, community of some sort can come about only through serious attempts at interpersonal and intercultural communication.

As a starting point, commitment to global communication calls for more cultural and social awareness. Identity becomes highly significant in understanding human communication and community-building. How can we rise above cultural limitations (ethnocentrism, sexism, and racism, to name only a few), using our identity potential to enhance, rather than restrict, our lives? We need to be more aware of the diversity of cultures and subgroups, even if some of them - strictly speaking - lack cultural authenticity. In other words, we need to know why and how communication most effectively occurs, taking into account factors such as race, ethnicity, gender, sexual orientation, physical fitness, and religion.

Reaching Beyond Culture

Becoming intercultural or multicultural, in point of fact, can be seen as a process of reaching beyond culture for "full blossoming of our uniquely human adaptive capacity" (Kim & Ruben 1988: 315).

It is identity - not just culture - that aids in making the individual psychologically flexible in diverse and changing environments. Harris and Moran (1989: 11), nonetheless, prefer to call this same process "achieving cultural synergy". When it comes to learning new knowledge, human beings have an enormous capacity for growth and adaptation. As we open ourselves to new

awarenesses, adjusting the self accordingly, our identities can become increasingly flexible. The real challenge, however, is how to reach beyond culture.

Quoting from Renato Resaldo (1989: ix) in Culture and Truth:

These days questions of culture (my emphasis) seem to touch a nerve because they quite quickly become anguished questions of identity (my emphasis).

Although we can learn to recognise, appreciate, and respect cultural differences where they genuinely exist, there are important social, psychological, structural, and symbolic similarities and differences that also have to be considered.

Certainly, diversity is the raw material out of which we create new elaborations and transformations in the communication process. This emphasis on diversity generally has been seen as positive. But, what are the characteristics of diversity in an emerging world culture? Are all cultures equal? Do we want to preserve behavioural patterns demonstrated to be ineffective (no longer functional) in a changed environment? What are the complex - often contradictory - relationships among identity, community, and survival?

First of all, we must recognise that diversity is more than cultural diversity and comes from differences in age, gender, class, physical fitness, race, and sexual orientation - incidentally .. all more or less characteristics shared by groups previously neglected by the social sciences.

Culture surely helps to delineate identity groups, but identity groups do not always constitute separate cultures (Hoopes & Pusch 1980: 3). Identity, although not equally experienced by all individuals within a group, has become the critical focus around which many minorities in the 1990s have polarised - I believe, at least in part, because of increased media attention.

It is my thesis that more and more people of different social - sometimes cultural - backgrounds share an overlapping culture influenced by mediated communication. At the same time, there is a strong tendency for certain groups to insist that they are at least symbolically distinct. Evidence suggests that, in today's information society, we are in fact dealing with less with cultural revival and more with assertions of identity.

This peculiarly modem tendency for minorities to try and keep their somewhat tenuous cultural traditions (by clinging to a separate identity) has created the gap between rhetoric about culture and the realities of political change and social adaptation. What is called for is a rethinking and clarification of the culture label.

To assume that each group constitutes a difference culture, because it is in some way distinctive, may be a serious error. Rather than being lumped into the wastepaper-basket category of "culture", such groups may need to be explained differently. One must not fall into the trap of assuming that where you find identity assertions, you necessarily find corresponding cultures. In fact, the loss of culture is often accompanied by an intensification of identity: The real challenge is to find ways of communicating with individuals and groups that may be different in a variety of ways from our own, at the same time "reaching beyond culture".

Multiculturalism and the Educational Debates

What can the much-used term "multiculturalism", and the educational debates surrounding it, tell us about these complex issues? Tensions between diverse groups in the United States have recently crystallised around the debates over what should be taught to whom in the schools. Paraphrasing Sollors (who is quoting Josiah Royce), one may evoke the metaphoric symphony of American pluralism, but the real question is which instrument will be played? (1986) This image-metaphor epitomises the contemporary multicultural debates. In a nutshell, the issue is one of power. Who ultimately will control what is taught in the American school system?

For many, the debate is over how to preserve a sense of an American community to which all diverse groups might ultimately belong. As Diane Ravitch (1990:4) points out, in her excellent summary article, "Multiculturalism: E Pluribus Plures": "It is not necessary to denigrate either the one or the many".

Pluralism, of course, is a positive value in American society; but public education, she argues, has as its primary purpose the creation of a national community, "a definition of citizenship and culture that is both expansive and inclusive". The debate, as Ravitch (1990: 2-4 demonstrates, has polarised between two educational extremes: On the one hand, the "particularists", with intellectual roots in a separatist ideology, propose an ethnocentric curriculum to raise the self-esteem and academic achievement of children from the historically disadvantaged minorities. By contrast, the "pluralists" argue that racial and ethnic minorities should simply become a part of the larger American culture.[3] The pluralist argument is that the effects of "particularistic multiculturalism" are mostly counter-productive. Ravitch, in fact, calls particularism "a bad idea whose time has come".

The demand for "culturally relevant" studies, it has been claimed, may detract attention from the real needs and interests of school children (Edwards, 1985). The public function of education, so the argument goes, exists to teach general skills and public knowledge needed to survive in American society - not a world view that rejects our common culture. Unfortunately, debates that frame arguments either "for" or "against" are rarely adequate. Both sides of this discussion, from time to time, take on an excessively self-righteous tone. This may be especially the case when academic dialogues are articulated in a modem media context. Is there not some middle-ground in the balancing of unity or diversity.

Although scholars have typically skirted around the issue of multiculturalism - not squarely facing up to its ultimate implications - John Edwards (1985: 109) states unequivocally that multiculturalism (a British term that once stood for "pluralism") and national unity may be largely "incompatible". Part of our heated rhetoric (unsupported discourse) derives from our intellectual heritage of "cultural relativism" (cultural relativity) that states that all cultures are valuable and worthy of support - an idea, he argues that may present more problems than it solves. "Social evolution involves judgment, evolution, repudiation and change". (1985: 114)

In its heyday, cultural relativity was a powerful doctrine of intellectual critique - a strong liberal challenge to the neglect of human diversity (Marcus & Fischer 1986: 20). Extreme forms of relativism, however, easily lead to a position without objective standards. The result has been an unwholesome polarisation where anti-relativism is offered as a "cure" for the excesses of cultural relativity. There must be some middle ground in this heated debate. Edwards (1985: 116) reminds us that anti-relativism presents its own set of problems. Rather than relativism or anti-relativism, Edwards favours some sort of liberal pluralism as a more natural social process.

He further argues that ethnic groups are more "mainstream" than generally believed. Ethnic groups themselves generally desire change (1985: 107). Edwards supports the notion that ethnic revivals are largely a romantic view of the past and, as such, disguise harsh realities: There simply is no concrete evidence, he states (1985: 101), that people en masse wish to escape modernity, least of all ethnics themselves. Minority parents do not want minority studies for their children so much as a good basic education in science, history and geography.

Unfortunately, today's debates in the culture dialogue represent examples of contradictory rhetoric often supported by the media's attention to so-called "balanced" coverage. Symbolic ethnicity is rampant in mass media reproductions. Whether real or not, these images can be powerful indeed. One might compare the nostalgic movie, **Dances With Wolves,** with its over-romanticisation of American Indians of yesteryear. Similarly, ethnicity is typically glorified in media presentations in the name of community as romantic metaphor. a national culture and identity are often viewed with suspicion, almost as if threats to ethnic consciousness.

Minorities no doubt need a feeling of closeness that comes with group identity; and, if accused of falsely pretending to be different culturally, will react as if this unity were in jeopardy. Jean Jackson (1989: 139) gets at the heart of the multicultural debates with this penetrating question: Is there a way to talk about "making culture" without "making enemies"? She believes that what we need are more neutral terms (culture is rarely a value-free word these days) to describe ethnic (minority) resurgence that "neither overly romanticises nor denigrates the process" - a process she nicely but, perhaps simplistically, refers to as "inventing culture".

In the battle over control of information in this mediated society of ours, certainly we could use better models and metaphors to analyse, in non-derogatory language, the contemporary phenomenon of group assertiveness. A major problem with Jackson's position, however, is its tendency to equate culture and identity. Part of the difficulty, then, remains purely semantic. Groups claiming to "invent culture" are today mostly asserting identity in the name of culture! Current evidence favours identity over culture (Edwards 1985; Keefe, et al. 1989; Roosens 1989; Spindler & Spindler 1990). My book, Metaphors of Identity (1993), attempts to solve the dilemma of "making culture" or "making enemies" by separating culture and identity.

Self-conscious group awareness refers mostly to identity; culture - invented or not - may have little to do with it! Having a separate identity may be a noble - more importantly, functional thing to do - whether groups can authenticate a corresponding culture or not. If culture is the logic by which we give order to our worlds, then something is "out of sync" when groups use mainstream logic to bolster rhetoric about non-existent cultures.

Ironically, the battle to preserve ethnic "culture" becomes the very thing that may doom certain minorities to academic failure (Foley 1991: 66). The question is whether well-meaning supporters of cultural diversity are, in fact, preventing minorities from effectively functioning in the mainstream culture. If the school goes against mainstreaming, Edwards (1985: 118) has argued convincingly, education ultimately may be seen as limiting children's chances in life.[4] This is a strong statement.

Arguing much the same point, Mosgrove (quoted in Edwards 1985: 120) stressed that multiculturalism is valuable if it promotes sympathy for other groups, but schools must be "open windows onto wider worlds". basically, education can open doors to employment opportunities. Continuing with this didactic metaphor, the "culture" debates today threaten to close these metaphorical doors or windows.

Distinguishing between public versus private educational goals can be crucial in avoiding convoluted thinking in this emotionally charged debate. The role of the school, a public institution, is primarily to transform cultures in contact. It would seem that all of us have a duty to assume a national identity with common public goals, without this loyalty necessarily implying the wholesale destruction of private social or cultural behaviours that retain positive psychological meaning for individuals or groups.

A simple example might illustrate the distinction between the public-private dimensions of education. At the public level, it can be argued that we must integrate, i.e., share in a common set of assumptions about society. All nations, to my knowledge, expect group loyalty and public patriotism. Allowing for gradual change, schooling inevitably must support the values of the dominant culture. Private sentiments, however, are another matter. Moslems in Great Britain, for example, may make accommodations to public cultural arrangements without repudiating all private cultural beliefs and practices. The Salmon Rushdie affair, nevertheless, showed how easily this distinction can be discarded.

Although these conclusions remain controversial, the dialogue itself suggests that increased tolerance for diversity often goes hand-in-hand with increased social fragmentation. The contemporary resurgence of minority consciousness is glorified in the name of community as romantic metaphor. Inherent contradictions remain in the debates over the role of the school in maintaining group identities.

Ultimately, the result of over-enthusiastic approval of "militant" multiculturalism, we are reminded (Edwards 1985: 136), can have the reverse effect of forcing people into a stance of less awareness of ethnic or other differences.[5] In the end, education becomes regressive. Tolerance for diversity, Edwards argued, should not be equated with the active promotion of diversity in its original form. the issue may be one of social participation rather than cultural exclusiveness. Separating identity from culture, I believe, is one way out of this dialectical dilemma.

Acknowledging the widespread inclination today to confuse "social" issues with "cultural" ones may be the real key to understanding the contemporary multicultural debates. Michael Prosser (1989: 197) believes that Ward Goodenough, a cognitive anthropologist, was responsible for defining "subjective culture" as human cognitive processes, thereby reducing culture to each individual behavioural reaction. With such an elastic definition, everything humanly experienced by any individual becomes a part of this subjective "culture" - no doubt, a case of "idealism gone to seed" (quoted, p. 197).

Although not dealing directly with the cultural debates in American institutions of higher education, George and Louise Spindler (1990) make the important observation that cultural minorities, regardless of numbers now or in the future[6], are largely defined by what they refer to as the "American cultural dialogue", defined as an historically stable national character which includes a constellation of value orientations that constitutes our American culture.

Even when minorities share mainstream cultural values, many today want to retain separate group identities. Cultures often change while identities persist, precisely because each fulfils different and important functions for the individual and/or society. The Spindlers argue convincingly that no group in america is entirely outside the American cultural dialogue? no matter how exclusive (1990: 39). In short, they call for an educational system (curriculum) that would include all of these diverse elements - within our common national culture.

Thus, they would agree with Edwards that cultural assimilation - an unpopular idea today - is taking place, and has always taken place, in America. Ethnicity is simply being "reshaped" in the process. Today we can observe the virtual creation of so-called cultural identities that often have no separate cultural supports. Culture and identity are not always the same. What seems most relevant today is identification, not cultural placement.

What we are witnessing, in fact, are dramatic exhibitions of identities based on ethnic/gender/ sexual orientation, at the same time that we are clearly seeing more and more media-induced cultural homogenization of American (read, Western) societies.

From the individual's point of view, the positive side of identity is self-growth, self-actualisation, through our relationships with others in the human family. On the negative side, however, are the more familiar_ narcissistic tendencies of our times: an unwholesome focus on self-gratification for individuals and the horrendous consequences of nationalism for groups. To over-emphasise narrow cultural or personal identity is to work against interpersonal and intercultural communication, the result being a form of narcissistic self-indulgence and/or group-indulgence.

Universally, we need to affirm our solidarity with other human beings, regardless of differences. Reaching beyond culture, how do we maintain the positive aspects of human identity: the celebration of diversity and the re-affirmation of our common humanity, a sense of being part of a larger community? What type of personality will be socially and psychologically most adaptive for survival in a global society? How do you achieve diversity and at the same time a sense of community?

Flexible Identity and the Global Person

The information society has brought us closer to a global culture (Featherstone, 1990). In this emerging world culture, there must be understanding and appreciation of "fundamental

differences" between groups (with emphasis on diversity) but, equally, a recognition of "fundamental similarities". These cultural universals can link us to a common humanity (Brown, 1991).

The tendency today has been to exaggerate human differences, when in reality we generally are more alike than different. Often the things that most divide people today are not cultural differences per se, but age, sex, and class barriers that we feel less inclined to acknowledge, much less deal with.

We need to maintain an openness to new meanings - whether social, cultural, or sexual in origin - increasing our knowledge of similarities and differences that can help us avoid mis: understanding and mis-communication. Too much concentration on differences among groups, however, can obscure our real similarities.

In a society emphasising communication, the identity of the future[7] will be one able to successfully adapt and communicate in a variety of challenging situations, e.g., mixed gender encounters. Such a flexible identity suggests a person psychologically secure, able to handle diversities of many sorts - in short, a mediating personality that believes in the common unity of humankind, one flexible in face of social changes. Condon and Yousef (1975), however, have warned against what they call the "myth of the universal communicator", the idea that a universal type can really be generalised across all cultures except in the broadest of terms. Such concepts do sound overly grand. Nonetheless, empirical evidence suggests that people, in fact, can become more "empathic", i.e., less judgmental about other people (Pusch, et al. 1980: 91).[8]

Several concepts have been employed to typify this cognitively "flexible" identity of the future. Since Peter Adler first argued for "the multicultural person" (one socially and psychologically committed to the unity of all human beings), some of the terms used to describe this "new" personality type have included the following: "international", "universal", "communitarian", "communal", "transcultural" and "cosmopolitan", to name only a few (Prosser, 1985: 71).

Harris and Moran (1989: 9) refer to the global manager of the future as the "cosmopolitan": "a sensitive, innovative, and participative leader, capable of operating comfortably in a global or pluralistic environment", whether in an organisational context, in terms of intercultural performance, or with minorities of diverse cultural, social, and sexual orientations. The cosmopolitan person, they have argued, may be a more relevant identity for the future. I prefer the term "global" person, rather than "multicultural" or "cosmopolitan", because both of these terms today carry associations that go beyond their original meanings.

In the culture dialogue, with its increased awareness of social and cultural identities and communication skills, emphasis is on building upon cultural and communication skills, emphasis is on building upon cultural and social differences for mutual growth and enrichment of humanity. Identity may be the key to connecting diversity and community.

Community as Romantic Metaphor

If "adaptation" was the construct of the 1980s, the building metaphors of "construction" and "transformation" characterize the 1990s. Suggested is the image of a global person who constructs and transforms self and, in the process, creates community. What are the positive and negative challenges to these notions of identity transformation and community as romantic metaphor for an idealised self-in-society?

Our modem understandings of community, as typified in the romantic image of the ancient Greek city-state, Glenn Tinder (1980: 79) calls "reflections on a tragic ideal" and, more importantly, considers them questionable as a viable community ideal in our modem, communication-driven world. The expression, ··romantic metaphor of community", suggests the possibility of "perfect unity" (social solidarity) brought about by rational human beings more or less totally in control of

their destinies. this romantic ideal is appealing and simple, but intellectually suspect (1980: 125). Our metaphors of American idealism may delude us about community, creating some irresolvable tensions in the process. Community has become the romantic metaphor of our times.

We live in a world of seeming paradoxes. On the one hand, we talk and write endlessly about our efforts to establish community, but are daily faced with both perplexing and contradictory evidence of the extremes of "anti-community" (Wilkinson: 1988). Social theory, nonetheless, has continued to be concerned about "loss of community" (Scheff 1990). Although certainly the ideal of community still strongly moves us, we apparently live in a universe not favourable to this utopian vision.

Ours is a world made up of various factions (political, economic, social, racial, gender, and so on), the opposite of "true" community because factionalism rejects the larger society in favour of closed societies. In the name of community, particular groups today uncompromisingly defend their own turf while stubbornly refusing to consider joining larger associations. Such groups use the romantic metaphor of community to enhance "compulsive intolerance" of those who do not belong to their particular factions (the extremes of "educational particularism" are a case in point). This may be too "exclusive" a definition of community.[9] The ultimate goal is not particular communities (loyalties are too narrow) but a community that embraces the entire human race.

Challenges to this utopian, romantic ideal are everywhere evident in today's world. We use the rhetoric of community but, rather than trying to achieve a global citizenship, prefer to strike a pose of particularism and exclusiveness. Such ethnic or group resurgences - in reality, identity assertions - are too often the antithesis of community.

In fact, we seem content with our romantic illusions. Nostalgia in the contemporary world has become big business (Davis 19891: 219). Rosaldo (1989: 87) has pointed out the ironic contradictions of an "imperialist nostalgia": the curious phenomenon of modem-day people's longing for what they themselves have already destroyed. Nowhere is this idea better illustrated than in the debates over what constitutes culture today. Anthropologists and tourists, Rosaldo (1989: 69) suggests, are paradoxically the ones who most mourn the passing of cultures they themselves have helped to transform. This tendency to overly romanticise visions of bygone, harmonious societies remains a paradoxical challenge to the goal of achieving a more encompassing, all-inclusive world order.

> The romantic notion of community as a "small, isolated and harmonious unit" may need to be abandoned, or at least reworked, in the context of a modem information society (Prosser, 1985: 25).

The read educational challenge in situations of diversity will be to encourage a strong national identity, while at the same time still recognizing a variety of different interest groups, ethnic styles, and the persistent need for separate minority identities - and it should go without saying, identities that carry with them a degree of self-esteem, dignity, and pride. This pattern of recognising identities - whether with or without matching cultures - fits the official, though at present unrealised, goal of emerging diversification in many Western, media-drive societies.
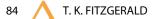
Notes

1. Edelstein and associates (1989: 43) propose a theory of "the problematic situation", which supports a situational rather than a cultural interpretation of communication. What seems to be cultural, they argue, often are better accounted for by reference to situational differences.

2. Much of the discussion that follows is drawn from my book, Metaphors of Identity (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1993), which addresses not only the "culture debates" but the influence of mediated communication on social behaviour. For a fieldwork discussion, see Fitzgerald, T.K., "Media Ethnicity and Identity", in Culture and Power, eds. P. Scannell, P. Schlesinger & C. Sparks, Pp. 112-133 (London & Newbury Park: SAGE Publications).

3. Diane Ravitch (1990: 2) points out an obvious, but often overlooked, fact that "the unique feature of the United States is that its common culture has been formed by the interaction of its subsidiary cultures". We are one common culture today fashioned from a multicultural base. To confuse the diversity of this base with its evolving future leads to an unwholesome polarisation. It is important, she adds, that we preserve a sense of an American community to which we can all belong (1990:4).

4. John Edwards (1985: 128), however, denies any profound influence from the schools. He argues persuasively that "real-life contexts tend to dwarf what goes on in school". Education, in spite of the heated debate, is unlikely to appreciably alter self-perceptions or the progress of cultural pluralism.

5. Censorship is an important issue in the debates over "multiculturalism" which can act to inhibit artistic creativity. London musical hit was cancelled in New York, when American Equity barred Jonathan Pryce from the lead role, on the grounds that it was "an affront to the Asian community" for a Caucasian to play the part ("Miss Saigon Pulled Out of Broadway After Ethnic Row," The Daily Telegraph, Thursday, August 9, 1990: 6). Racial prejudice was allowed to gain ascendancy over creative freedom. In actual fact, the play afforded ethnic minorities an opportunity to find much-needed work. The American attitude was viewed in Great Britain as "counter-productive, racist, and narrow".

6. Mainstream american academics worry a lot about future numbers. It is probably that by the year 2000, so-called "minorities" will constitute about 1/3 of the total U.S. population; but, as the Spindlers (1990: 15) point out, the actual number of people who exhibit behaviours, aspirations, beliefs, and values that place them in the mainstream culture is higher than such statistics would suggest. Many minorities have, in fact, acquired mainstream cultural values, or wish to, while claiming separate identities.

7. Albert Einstein is said to have remarked, when asked what he thought about the future: "The future? Of course I am interested in the future. It is where I plan to spend the rest of my life!" (quoted in Edelstein, et al. 1982: 139).

8. this broad perspective is emotionally appealing, but sometimes the logic behind such typologies fails to be convincing when sociocentric assumptions about classes, races, sexes, and people of different sexual orientations have to be made more or less out of context. Obviously, then, correlates of the "global personality" are hard to generalise across cultures, not to mention from one unique situation to another!

9. In explaining social dislocations as far-reaching as nationalism, Thomas Scheff (1990: 14) comments on the notion of "pseudo-bonds", i.e., sects, cults, and other "exclusive" groups that furnish only the semblance of community. Metaphorically, he describes them as "cancer cells", self-reproducing and entirely dedicated to their own survival rather than serving the larger system of which they should be a part.

References

Adler, P.S. (1987) 'Culture Shock and the Cross-cultural Learning Experience. In L.F. Luce & E.C. Smith (eds.), *Toward Internationalism,* Cambridge, Mass.: Newbury: 24-35.

Condon, J.C. & F.S. Yousef (1975) *An Introduction to Intercultural Communication.* New York: Macmillan Publishing Company.

Davis, F. (1981) 'Contemporary Nostalgia and the Mass Media'. In: E. Katz & T. Szecski (eds.) *Mass Media and Social Change.* Beverly Hills: SAGE Publications: 219-230.

Edelstein, A.S., Ito, Y. & Kepplinger, H.M. (1989) *Communication and Culture: A Comparative Approach,* New York: Longman.

Edwards, J. (1985) *Language, Society and Identity,* New York: Basic Blackwell, Ltd.

Featherstone, M. (ed.) (1990) *Global Culture: Nationalism, Globalisation and Modernity.* London & Newbury Park: SAGE Publications.

Fitzgerald, T.K. (1993) *Metaphors of Identity: A Culture-Communication Dialogue.* Albany: State University of New York Press.

Foley, D.E. (1991) 'Reconsidering anthropological explanations of ethnic school failure'. *Anthropology & Education Quarterly, 22* (1): 60-86.

Harris, P.E. & Moran, R.T. (1989) *Managing Cultural Differences,* Houston: Gulf Publishing Company.

Hoopes, D.S., & Pusch, M.D. (1980) 'Definition of Terms'. In *Multicultural Education: A Cross-cultural Training Approach,* Yarmouth, Maine: Intercultural Press: 1-8.

Jackson, J. (1989) 'Is there a way to talk about making culture without making enemies?' *Dialectical Anthropology 14:* 127-143.

Keefe, S.E. (ed.) (1989) 'Negotiating ethnicity'. *Napa Bulletin No. 8.*

Kim, Y.Y. & Ruben, B.D. (1988) ' Intercultural transformation: A systems theory'. In Y.Y. Kim & W.B. Gudykunst (eds.) *Theories in Intercultural Communication,* Newbury Park: SAGE Publications: 299-322.

Lifton, R. (1970) *History and Human Survival.* New York: Random House.

Marcus, G.E., & Fischer, M.M.J. (1986) *Anthropology as Cultural Critique.* Chicago: The University of Chicago.

Naisbitt, J. & Aburdene, P. (1990) *Megatrends 2000: Ten New Directions for the 1990s.* New York: William Morrow & Company.

Prosser, M.H. (1985) *The Cultural Dialogue: An Introduction to Intercultural Communication.*

Washington, D.C.: SIETAR International.

Pusch, M. (ed.) (1980) *Multicultural Education: A Cross-cultural Training Approach.* Yarmouth, Maine: Intercultural Press.

Ravitch, D. (1990) 'Multiculturalism: E Pluribus Plures. *The Key Reporter 54* (1): 1-4.

Rosaldo, R. (1989) *Culture and Truth: The Remaking of Social Analysis.* Boston: Beacon Press.

Roosens, E.E. (1989) *Creating Ethnicity: The Process of Ethnogenesis.* Newbury Park: SAGE Publications.

Scheff, T.J. (1990) *Microsociology: Discourse, Emotion, and Social Structure.* Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.

Sollors, W. (1986) *Beyond Ethnicity: Consent and Descent in American Culture.* New York & Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Spindler, G. & Spindler, L. (1990) *The American Cultural Dialogue and its Transmission.* London & Philadelphia: The Falmer Press.

Sypher, B.D. (1984) 'The importance of social cognitive abilities in organizations. In R. Bostrom (ed.) *Competence in Communication.* Beverly Hills: SAGE Publications: 103-127.

Tinder, G. (1980) *Community: Reflections on a Tragic Deal.* Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press.

Treuba, H. (1990) 'Mainstream and minority cultures: A Chicano perspective'. In G. & L. Spindler (eds.) *The American Cultural Dialogue and Its Transmission.* London & Philadelphia: The Falmer Press: 122-143.

Wilkinson, R. (1988) *The Pursuit of American Character.* New York, London: Harper & Row, Publishers.