SCHOOLS AS TRAVEL AGENCIES: HELPING PEOPLE TO MOVE UP, DOWN, AND SIDEWAYS THROUGH HUMAN CULTURE

by

Lee F. Anderson

SOCIAL SCIENCE EDUCATION CONSORTIUM

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PREFACE

In June 1974, the Social Science Education Consortium (SSEC) held an invitational conference on "Intercultural Education: Awareness, Acceptance, Commitment." This paper was one of the two presented at the opening of the conference.

The first paper was "A Microculture View of Intercultural Education," by Carlos E. Cortés. Cortés argued for a multiethnic approach to social education, in accord with the cultural diversity of this country. This paper was not published. Instead, Cortés developed his ideas further during the following year, under the auspices of the SSEC's Ethnic Heritage Studies Project, and the much-refined version of his paper appeared as "Ethnicity in the Curriculum," Chapter 1 of Understanding You and Them: Tips for Teaching about Ethnicity (SSEC, 1976). A shorter version of the chapter was published under the title "Concepts and Strategies for Multiethnic Education" in the November 1975 issue of the SSEC Newsletter.

Lee Anderson was asked to present "the macrocultural view" to the social scientists and educators attending the 1974 conference. The terms of "microculture" and "macroculture" were derived specifically from the work of Paul Bohannan on the notion of the "two-story culture"--presented in A Preliminary Review of the Intercultural Dimension in International/Intercultural Education, Grade K-12 by Bohannan and others (SSEC, 1973)--although a number of other social scientists have worked with similar conceptualizations. Bohannan describes these concepts as follows:

> Young people today, like almost everyone else, live in a two-story culture. There is a large-scale culture, which is shared by much of the world. It has many versions--such as the varieties of democracy, the varieties of communism, and the varieties of third-world socialism--but all of these versions interlock into an international, world-wide, large-scale culture.
>
> There is, at the same time, a small-scale world of family and community, mediated by common interest, sympathy, and trust in face-to-face relationships. The many varieties of small-scale culture need not be in touch; they are many worlds, some of them quite isolated from the others. Whether they be tribal, peasant, or urban, they can operate quite independently of one another--so long as they coexist with some version of the large-scale culture, or macroculture.

> In differing degrees most of us live in both the macroculture and in one or many microcultures. All these cultures may be more or less in or out of phase with one another and with the over-all state of the world. (Bohannan 1973, p. 19)

He goes on to explain that he conceives of the large-scale, or macro, culture as an "upstairs" culture and the small-scale, or micro, cultures as residing "downstairs"--hence, the two-story culture.

Anderson took off from this starting point and expanded the meaning of macroculture to imply not only a particular kind of culture (the Bohannan meaning) but also a "perspective from which to look upon culture as a generic phenomenon." He then proceeds in his paper to describe this "macrocultural perspective" which, he argues, schools ought to foster in children.

Irving Morrissett
Executive Director, SSEC
July 1976

SCHOOLS AS TRAVEL AGENCIES: HELPING PEOPLE TO MOVE UP, DOWN, AND SIDEWAYS THROUGH HUMAN CULTURE

by

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Intercultural education is the subject of discussion at the 1974 SSEC Invitational Conference. I have been asked to comment on the topic from the perspective of macroculture. In pondering my topic--intercultural education seen from a macroculture view--I decided to take advantage of the conceptual ambiguity inherent in the topic. I opted to view macroculture as both a particular kind of culture and as a perspective from which to look upon culture as a generic phenomenon.

The title of the paper reflects the latter emphasis more than the former, so a good starting point for the discussion is an interpretation of the paper's title. The title is intended to imply, albeit elliptically, the two major points I am trying to make in the paper. One relates to my image of the basic goal and objectives of intercultural education, and the other to a conviction about one way schools can help to foster these ends.

Objectives of Intercultural Education

The phrase in the title, "Helping People to Move Up, Down, and Sideways Through Human Culture," is intended to suggest two things. One is that we can look upon culture as a multidimensional space. The other is that we can view the general goal of intercultural education to be that of facilitating both a horizontal and vertical movement of people through this space.

Let's look first at the matter of moving sideways. What happens to people as they move from point to point on the planet's geographical surface? For example, what happens to me when I move between a small town in Idaho and a big city in Illinois? What happens to children who are bused from homes in the suburbs to schools in the inner city or vice versa? What happens to Americans who travel to Nigeria or to

Nigerians who travel to Chile? The answer is obvious, of course. When we move from place to place, we encounter human beings who are in one way or another culturally different from us. All too often encounters between carriers of divergent cultures give rise to debilitating anxieties, distorted perceptions, and dysfunctional social tensions. Hence, a traditional and time-honored objective of intercultural education is to help people to manage crosscultural encounters more effectively.

However important this objective is, it is not the sole objective of intercultural education. As Bohannan's metaphor of the two-story culture* suggests, culture is not unidimensional. Culture has an "up and down" quality as well as a horizontal dimension. Along the vertical dimension lie the culturally diverse settings we encounter as we move between different levels of human social organization. For example, the Anderson household is culturally different from Northwestern University and this setting in turn is culturally different from School District 65. The culture of the latter is different from the setting of a large-scale business firm and this setting is culturally different from the United Nations General Assembly. Since the culture surrounding most human beings is at least two-storied (I would say multistoried), a second basic objective of intercultural education is to help people to move more competently in and out of culturally diverse settings.

The expanding flow of traffic along both the horizontal and the vertical dimension of culture gives rise to a need that traditionally has not been associated with intercultural education (as far as I know), but I think it should be. This is the need to combine in unique ways elements of human culture to create new settings. I will follow Sarason (1972, p. ix) and define a new setting as "any instance in which two or more people come together in new relationships over a sustained period of time in order to achieve certain goals." For us at this conference there is a highly salient and close-to-home example of what Sarason has in mind. A small group of social scientists and educators created a new setting when they formed the SSEC a decade ago.

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* See preface to this paper.

The survival and success of the SSEC in the intervening years is an exception to a norm. While new settings are desparately needed at all levels of human social organization and a lot of highly motivated people are trying to create them, it is very difficult to establish new settings that have durability and vitality. A great many efforts in creation of new settings fail, as is evidenced by such diverse statistics as the high divorce rate, the high mortality rate of alternative schools, the failure of most political revolutions, and the early death of most communes. I was poignantly reminded of how easy failure comes to new setting creation by a recent article in one of Chicago's better underground newspapers. The author was analyzing the breakup of the youth counterculture and the absorption of its advocates back into mainline U.S.A. He observed: "Can a generation which has scaled the heights of ideological ecstacy have forgotten the view? The answer is yes, god damn it." Thus, it seems to me that a third and very important objective of intercultural education is to help people to identify, marshal, and organize cultural resources more skillfully in the creation of new settings at both micro and macro levels of our species' social life.

These then are the three major objectives of intercultural education as I see them:

--to help people to manage effectively encounters among culturally different individuals;

--to help people to move competently in and out of culturally diverse settings; and

--to help people to utilize skillfully resources of human culture in creating new settings.

The Schools' Task: A Conceptual Map of Culture

Having briefly set forth what I perceive to be three over-arching objectives of intercultural education, I will turn now to this question: What contribution can schools make to these objectives? That is, what can schools do to enhance the likelihood that our children will be more competent than we are as managers of encounters among the carriers of mankind's cultural diversity, as travellers among and between culturally diverse settings, and as creators of new settings?

I think there are several kinds of contributions schools can make to intercultural education. One of these contributions, the one I try to deal with in this paper, is like one kind of contribution a travel agency can make to a successful trip. A good travel agency will provide the voyager with a decent map of and guide to the place to which he or she is travelling. Since the children in our schools are going to be spending their lives travelling up, down, and sideways through culture, it seems to me that schools should furnish children with a reasonably good conceptual map or guide to human culture. At present I don't think a lot of schools, and more broadly the social studies profession, are doing this.

What would a conceptual map of culture appropriate to the objectives of intercultural education look like? Perhaps a better way of putting the issue is to ask: What would a good conceptual map of culture do for kids? In my judgment it would do at least three things. First, it would tell them what culture is, where they can find it, and what they will see when they look at it. Second, a map would tell children how they relate to culture and how culture relates to their natural environments. Third, a good map would illuminate the structure of the cultural universe in which they live. I will comment briefly on these points.

Culture as a Generic Phenomenon

As is implied in the first point above, I feel the first thing a good map of culture would do for children is to provide them with an understanding of culture as a generic phenomenon. Obviously, I don't feel that we are doing a good job of this now or I would not bring the matter up. The reason we are not doing a good job, in my judgment, is that we tend to teach about culture the same way we teach about war. I recall an observation that Larry Metcalf* makes somewhere: when we are through with kids, they know a great deal about a great many wars but they know virtually nothing about war. The same thing can be said about culture. Young people pick up a good deal of information about many different cultures but develop little understanding of culture.

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*Lawrence E. Metcalf is Professor of Education at the University of Illinois, Urbana.

Defining Culture. I suspect one major reason why this is the case is that the operating definitions of culture undergirding much of social studies instruction leave a lot to be desired. In my judgment, these definitions take off from both the wrong unit and the wrong level of analysis. They treat culture as if it were a group attribute or even a possession of a particular group. This is reflected in definitions of culture found in many widely-used elementary social studies texts--for instance, "Culture is the complete way of life of a society, including its customs, manners, and arts," or "Culture is the way a people live in a particular place and time." Since definitions are stipulations they cannot be wrong, but they can reflect a poor way of perceiving the world. I think the above conceptions--and they are not atypical cases in social studies--represent a way of looking at culture that is not particularly conducive to good intercultural education.

Okay, I have thrown down the gauntlet; can I come up with anything better? One would think this would be reasonably easy since there are more than 100 definitions of culture that circulate through the behavioral science literature. To my way of thinking one of the most useful conceptions is found in a book that social scientists and educators sometimes allude to but rarely footnote in our professional discourse. This is the book of Genesis. You will recall that the first chapter of this book contains a somewhat personalized case study of evolution's decision to make one species of life human and that the account of this decision is followed by what political scientists call an impact study of the decision.

Specifically, you will remember that, in eating of the fruit of the Tree of Knowledge, Adam and Eve acquired a power unique among God's creatures. This is the power to create environments as well as adapt to them. Until Adam and Eve's decision, the only environmental engineer on Planet Earth was God. Or to put the point in the jargon of my discipline, God had granted to living things the power to react but retained for himself the power to initiate. Pine trees, toads, roses, and cats were an integral part of nature but they, like all living things, were powerless either to add to or to take away from the rest of nature. The decision of our ancestors to become a culture-creating animal changed

all of this. Now the planet's biogram contained one species that could add things to the rest of nature as well as adapt to it.

This decision to challenge God's monopoly of the creation business had a profound and far-reaching impact, as well you know. God expelled us from our ancestral home and placed at the gate of the Garden a flaming sword that turns in all directions. Thus, as a species we human beings are forever banned from experiencing nature as the rest of nature experiences itself.

An Illustration. To illustrate what I mean, let me compare the sex life of two organisms. One is me and the other is our family cat, Hunter. Comparing ourselves to plant life, Hunter and I have a good deal in common by virtue of our shared memberships. We both are animals. He is a vertebrate and so am I. I am a mammal and so is he, and we are both males. Moreover, we have similar tastes. Hunter likes female cats. I like female human beings. But our respective ways of relating to females is quite different. By virtue of the fact that his species never elected to go into the culture-making business, Hunter can relate to female cats simply as females. In contrast, by virtue of the fact that my species did go into the business of making culture, there is no possible way (even in fantasy) that I can relate to female human beings simply as females.

Intervening between me and every female is the flaming sword God placed at the gate of the Garden. This sword is an environment of human creation which controls, structures, and in countless ways mediates our interactions. Among the various elements making up this mediating environment are institutionally-defined roles such as husband and wife, lover and mistress, prostitute and trick, rapist and victim, old man and young girl, intimate friends and casual acquaintances. Also, that environment contains a myriad of beliefs in the form of images, values, and attitudes. These beliefs serve to make some things right and other things wrong; some things attractive and other things unattractive; some things, socially forbidden and other things, socially mandatory.

Interacting with social institutions and beliefs is a set of complex languages through which females and I transmit information to one another, distribute rewards and punishments, and control the actions and feelings

of one another. Needless to say, Hunter and the females in his life also communicate, but as far as I can see the repertoire of languages available to him is much more limited than mine. I can tell a woman, "I love you," through a variety of languages that make differentiated and complex use of sounds, sights, touch, smells, and taste. This, of course, does not make me superior to Hunter, only different. Human languages, like the rest of culture, are a curse as often as they are a blessing. In many ways Hunter is better off than I; for one thing, he can tell and be told fewer pain-inducing lies.

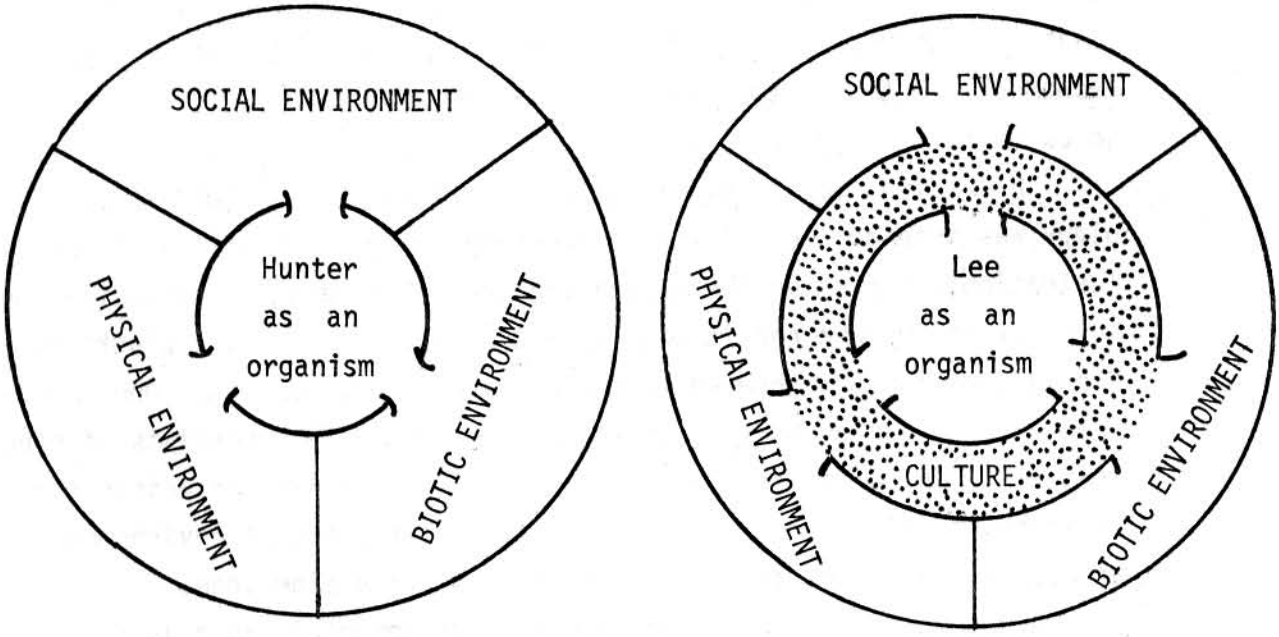
Finally, the crust of culture mediating between me and female human beings contains an array of tools. Mentally inventory the range of tools that can come into play during the biologically simple act of intercourse: beds, lights, pills, diaphragms, condoms, perfumes, mirrors, and cars as movable boudoirs. These are but a few of the many bits and pieces of technology that help to transmute a simple biological act into an event in cultural history.

Three-dimensional Environment. This sojourn into comparative sexology was intended to illustrate a general point so I will drop the illustration and take up the generalization. Surrounding and sustaining every organism--whether it be a geranium, a prairie dog, a plankton, or a human being--is a three-dimensional natural environment. One dimension we call and organism's social environment. This consists of other members of the organism's own species. Thus, other human beings comprise my social environment, other cats Hunter's social environment, and other pine trees the social environment of a pine tree.

A second dimension of the natural environment is an organism's biotic environment. This consists of members of other species. For Hunter, Charlotte and I along with our children are elements of his biotic environment and rank only below tuna fish and birds in importance. Hunter in turn is part of the biotic environment of the Andersons together with the micro-organisms that alternately keep us alive and make us ill, the carrots and radishes and pigs and birds that we eat, the plants that we use to decorate our living room, and the trees from which comes the paper on which I am writing.

The physical environment is a third dimension of an organism's environment. This consists of inorganic systems of matter and energy. The ground on which we move, the water and air around us, and the sun in the sky are parts of the physical environment the Anderson family shares with the plants and animals that cluster around our household.

With minor exceptions, in nature-minus-man the interaction between an organism and its social, biotic, and physical environments is direct and unmediated by anything that the organism itself or its species in general has created. In contrast, the way you and I relate to other human beings, to other species of life, and to inanimate matter and energy is always mediated. I can illustrate the difference by a simple comparative map of Hunter and his natural environment and me and my natural environment.



Hunter's interaction with his natural environments occur through doors that directly link organism and environment. In my case, there are no points of direct entry and exit. All traffic between me as an organism and my natural environments passes through a zone of culture.

Three Caveats. Three brief caveats are in order at this point. One: as I have stated the matter here, I have undoubtedly stereotyped and inadvertently exaggerated human/nonhuman differences. For one thing, social institutions, languages, beliefs, and technology--the major components of

culture--have roots in the planet's biogram that are much older than homo sapiens sapiens.

Two: I should not imply, as I have done, a uniformity in the depth of the crust of culture either among different groups or between different settings. For example, my interaction with the atmosphere is less mediated when I am standing on top of Pike's Peak than when I am flying over Pike's Peak in a airplane. Similarly, the crust of culture between an Eskimo and the organisms he or she consumes as food is "less thick" than the crust between me and the organisms I normally eat, at least in respect to the number and complexity of social institutions and technologies involved.

Three: I do not mean to imply that culture does not affect other species' ways of living. Obviously it does. Hunter's way of living as a domesticated cat in the midst of human culture is different from that of his counterpart in an environment free of human culture. But the important thing here is not that cats and all other living things are affected by culture but rather that cats do not create culture while humans do.

A Summary of the Definition. I will try to summarize what I am suggesting. I began with a dissatisfaction about the way culture is frequently conceived in social studies education and then set forth a somewhat different conception. What is culture? Culture is a man-made environment. Where do you find culture? Culture is found at points of interaction between people and people, people and other living things, and people and their physical environment. What do you see when you see culture? You see:

--technologies (i.e., tools and skills to use tools)

--social institutions (i.e., regularized, learned patterns of action)

--languages (i.e., symbols and signs)

--beliefs (i.e., images of what is true, good, beautiful, and right)

And of course you see these basic elements of culture combined in different ways in different settings to form the various systems of culture observable at picnics, on battlefields, on freeways, in schools, on farms,

at construction sites, at births, marriages, and funerals,--in a word, at all points where one finds human beings relating to one another, to other life, and to inorganic matter and energy.

Individual and Culture; Culture and Environment

If we could succeed in getting children to see and to analyze culture as the human-created cocoon that envelops them as they play in the rain, have fights with friends, watch TV, and read about the strange ways of other people, then perhaps we could help them to do something else. This something else is develop a progressively more sophisticated awareness of themselves in relation to culture and of culture in relation to natural environments.

How do individuals relate to culture? It seems to me that it is useful to view ourselves and other human beings as animals who eat, digest, and excrete culture; who carry culture through time and space; who use culture in adpating to and changing social, biotic, and physical environments; who create new culture; and who can be victimized by culture. Thus, when I speak of developing children's awareness of themselves in relation to culture, I have in mind the development of an awareness or self-consciousness of themselves as eaters, digesters, and excreters of culture, as carriers of culture, as users of culture, as creators of new culture, and as victims of culture.

By eating, digesting, and excreting culture, I am referring, of course, to the process of personality development broadly conceived. I use the biological metaphor since there are some analogues between these biological processes in relation to physical growth and the process of assimilation, accommodation, and rejection in relation to cognitive, emotional, and moral development. And I feel that these analogies might serve as useful handles in helping children to understand better the substance, structure, and sources of their psychological life.

By developing children's awareness of themselves as carriers of culture I have in mind helping them to see two things about themselves. One is that, as they grow older, they not only "take in" new culture but they also carry old culture with them in somewhat the same sense that they eat

a meal at noon, they are still carrying some of the food they ate at breakfast. The other is that, as they migrate from setting to setting (e.g., home to school to street to a new neighborhood to a new city), they carry with them culture acquired in one setting to another setting. Among other things, this process sometimes makes them aliens or outcasts, sometimes rebels, and sometimes agents of cultural diffusion and change.

Children, like all of us, also relate to culture as users of culture in adapting to and/or changing natural environments. To sensitize children to this role implies a great many things. For example, it implies a self-awareness of how they use language in rewarding and punishing a friend, in their efforts to influence the behavior of adult authority figures, and in controlling the behavior of pets. It implies a consciousness of how they use different technologies in meeting their nutrient and protective needs.

Children, perhaps far more than adults, do a lot of culture creating. This is what they are doing when they invent secret languages that only the initiated understand, when they use objects as unique tools, and when they make up new games or new rules for old games, to cite but a few examples. But children don't know this. A good conceptual map of culture would let them in on the secret.

Finally, a map of culture would sensitize children to the fact that they and other human beings can be victims of culture. They need to learn to see that beliefs that dehumanize, such as racism; language that humiliates; technologies of which the only use is to maim and kill; and institutions that inequitably distribute such human values as wealth, power, affection, respect, and enlightenment are cultural disasters in much the same sense that hurricanes and earthquakes are natural disasters. Accompanying the development of this kind of awareness should be the cultivation of a conviction that it is possible for us human beings to plan and act upon programs in the prevention and control of cultural disasters as we can in the case of natural disasters.

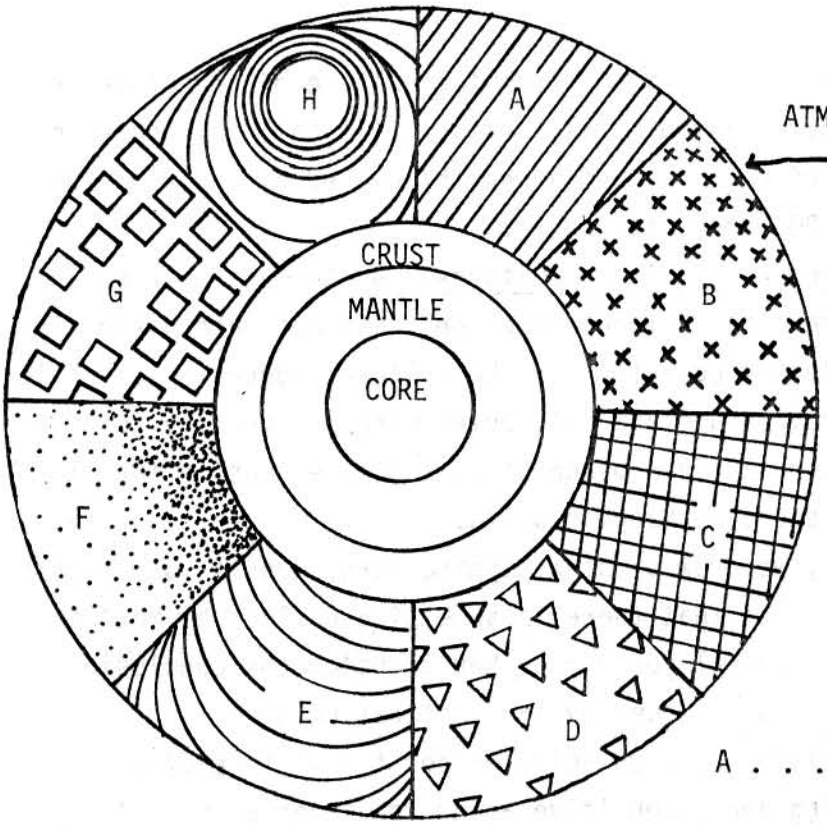
The development of children's awareness of their relation to culture is one side of a coin. The other side is the development of an awareness of the relation of culture to their natural environments. The task

here is to cultivate some understanding of the fact that it is largely culture that determines the boundaries of one's natural environments as well as one's relationship to them. It is beliefs that determine whether dead ancestors are or are not active members of a person's social environment. It is change in culture that makes people in the Chinese government a part of my social environment whereas no Chinese was ever part of my Norse ancestors' social environment. Culture makes fruit growing in Japan part of my biotic environment. The beliefs, technologies, and languages developed by astronomers make faraway galaxies a part of my physical environment. They are not a very important part, admittedly, but my indifference to them is itself a product of culture. Were I in the institutionally defined role of astronomer, what I did or did not do about distant galaxies might well influence the status, wealth, and self-fulfillment I enjoy.

The Structure of the Cultural Universe

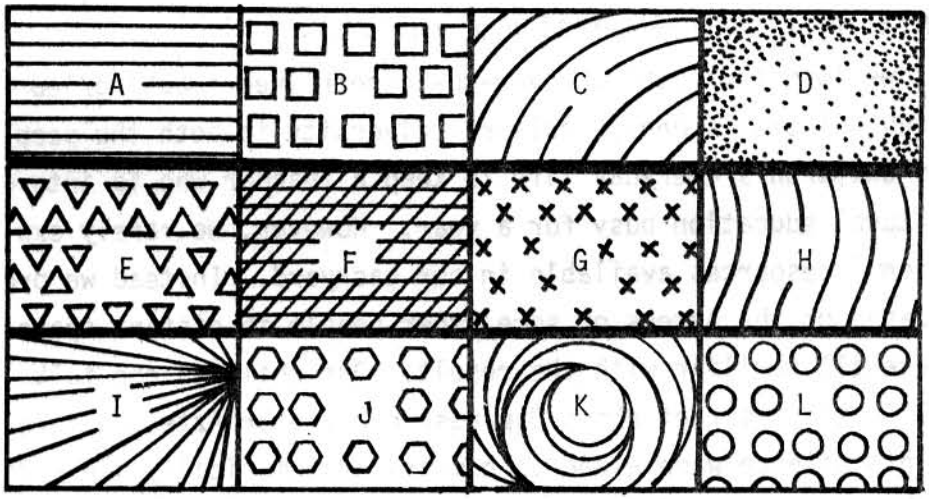
I have been arguing that one thing schools can do for intercultural education is to provide children with a good conceptual map of culture. So far I have said that a map can be judged good to the extent it provides an understanding of culture as a generic phenomenon and an understanding of the relation of individuals to culture and the relation of culture to an individual's natural environments. There is a third thing a good map of culture would do for children. This would be to provide them with an understanding of the structure of the cultural universe they inhabit by virtue of their particular birthdate in human history.

The Flat Earth/Patchwork Quilt Image. Imagine that we taught children their meterology using the climate map on the next page. The map indicates: (1) there is no global climate; (2) within each climate, there is no variance in weather; (3) between climates there are no commonalities in weather. We would be badly misinforming children about the atmosphere in which they live, and with adverse consequences. Imagine the "weather shock" they would experience if they travelled from Duluth to Moscow and experienced the same weather after having been told that Duluth is in Climate A and Moscow in Climate F, or the shock they would experience if they travelled to Miami from Duluth in February after having learned that Duluth and Miami are both in Climate A.



A . . . H = Climates

I know the charge I am about to make is exaggerated as well as grossly unfair to a number of good teachers and many good programs, but I will make it anyway. I submit that there are parallels between the way we teach children about the structure of their cultural universe and the lesson in meterology outlined above. The following is my rendition of the operating map we use in a good deal of social studies education.



THE WORLD

A ... L = World Cultures

The earth's surface is divided into N number of territorial units. (1) Each unit has one culture and one culture only. (2) The culture of

any one unit is different from the culture of any other unit. (3) There is no culture shared by all units. I'll call this perspective on the structure of culture "a flat earth covered by a partchwork quilt view," or the FE/PQ image, for short.

Heterogeneity Within Cultures. As far as I can see, the FE/PQ image distorts reality in three important ways and each distortion has its own unfortunate consequences for the cultural education of children. In the first place, this image attributes more homogeneity to the culture that "hovers over" a given piece of real estate than in fact exists. This leads to several unhappy results.

First, we grow up stereotyping large groups such as nations. If a child is taught that there is something called The Mexican Culture, then it is very logical for him or her to reach the conclusion that all Mexicans are surrounded by an identical culture.

Second, we grow up being either the victims of cultural imperialism or unknowing and insensitive agents of imperialism. If I learn that the culture surrounding me is The American Culture and then meet someone culturally different from me, then it logically follows that he or she must belong to a subculture existing somewhere below the main culture. In short, if I think about the world from the perspective of a syllogism whose major premise is that all societies have a culture and whose minor premise is that the U.S. is a society, I am precluded by my own thinking from seeing the United States as a confederation of cultures.

Three, we lose invaluable, never-to-be-retrieved teaching/learning opportunities. There is enough cultural diversity in both the people and settings of children's everyday life to keep a teacher who is interested in intercultural education busy for a year. However, we rarely exploit the educational resources available in our backyard. Instead we prepare a unit on Japan or the Aztecs or some other people in distant space or time. We are all familiar with the result. Our children can talk rather well in the abstract about Japanese culture or Aztec culture, but they fall into silence when asked to compare systematically the culture of their school and the culture of their homes. Their silence reveals that they are thinking, namely, our schools and homes don't have cultures; only people in faraway places that we read about in school books

have culture. They are right. For them, their homes, schools, streets, movie houses, play yards, and churches don't have cultures because we do not teach children to see the cultures or to analyze the cultural diversity to be found in everyday life.

Uniformities Among Cultures. A FE/PQ view of the structure of culture distorts reality in a second major way. At the same time it is obscuring the cultural diversity extant among different individuals and settings within the United States and other national societies, it obscures cultural uniformities between societies. In many respects, the cultural world of an affluent, middle-class, suburban child (black, white, brown, yellow, or red) in Chicago, New York, or Denver is more like the cultural world of his or her counterpart in Paris, Moscow, or Rio than the cultural world of a poor child in rural Appalachia or a poor child in an inner-city housing project. There are more similarities between large department stores in every major city of the world than between Marshall Fields in Chicago and the Economy Cash Market in Aberdeen, Idaho.

The evolution of a transnational network of culturally similar people and settings is attributable to the growth of what the rationale statement for this conference calls macroculture. Using the components of culture noted previously, macroculture might be defined this way. Technologies, social institutions, languages, and beliefs are macro to the extent they meet two criteria:

--They "belong" to the human species in the sense that their use is not owned or controlled by one territorial subgroup.

--They are diffused on a global scale.

The technology most of us employed in getting to this conference--air travel technology--is an obvious example of a macrotechnology as defined by these criteria. While it is true that particular individuals and groups own, in an economic sense, particular airplanes, hangars, and other tools comprising this technology, airline technology itself does not belong to the United States or to Russia or Panama or any other nation. It is one item in a planetary tool shed.

Calculus, Fortran, rock music, and cubist sculpture are examples of macrolanguage. French, German, Russian, English, Spanish, and Chinese are examples of traditional languages that are acquiring a macrolanguage status.

There are many examples of macrobeliefs. The world of science abounds with them--germ theory of disease, the theory of relativity, and the theory of evolution are obvious cases in point. Marxism, Christianity, Buddhism, and a commitment to economic growth are examples of other kinds of macrobelief systems.

An obvious example of a macroinstitution is a large-scale bureaucracy. Other examples are such practices as elections and representation.

To the extent that we fail to alert children to the fact that their culture contains technologies, languages, institutions, and beliefs shared by all mankind, we do them a great disservice. For one thing, it is as much culture shock to encounter the familiar when you expect the strange as it is to encounter the strange expecting the familiar. For another thing, if, as we keep telling ourselves, many of the basic social problems we experience can be alleviated only if they are managed on a transnational basis, then the children in our schools ought to be learning as a matter of course that when they become tomorrow's labor union leaders, engineers, foreign service officers, doctors, city councilpersons, and business managers, they will be working with their counterparts from many different parts of the world.

Common and Shared Culture. The "flat earth/patchwork quilt" image of human culture distorts reality and hence obscures children's understanding of the structure of their cultural universe in a third way. The growth of macroculture not only increases crossnational commonalities in the culture of people and settings; it also generates shared culture and a need for more shared culture. Let me indicate with a couple of illustrations what I have in mind by shared versus common culture. My neighbor and I have identical cars, but he does not use my car nor do I use his. On the other hand, when he goes to Chicago, he uses the elevated train and when I go to Chicago I also use the elevated train. Our cars are common technology and the elevated train is a shared technology. The Soviet Union and the United States have highly similar missile technologies, but these are not shared (as far as I know!). In contrast, the hot line between Moscow and Washington is a shared technology.

Our traditional treatment of the structure of human culture in the schools fails to highlight the fact that the planet is becoming criss-

crossed by a good deal of shared culture, particularly in respect to social institutions and technology. The rapidly growing number of transnational organizations, both governmental and nongovernmental, are examples of shared social institutions, while communication and weather satellites are among examples of shared technology. Of even more importance, we fail to highlight the need for more shared culture.

While the growth of transnationally shared macroculture has been rapid over the past few decades, it is all too plain that the growth of transnationally shared problems has been even faster. We are all familiar with these, thanks to the work of such scholars as Falk (1972), Brown (1972), Reischauer (1973), Ward (1966), and Mesarovic and Pestel (1974), to name but a few of the people who are seriously concerned about the health of Planet Earth. While these problems are in many ways mysterious to me, four facts seem clear enough. Fact one: The threat to human welfare and survival will simply intensify to the point where macroculture will turn upon its creator and destroy us unless new settings are created. Fact two: The old people (mostly old men) who now manage the macroculture enveloping the planet cannot create any new settings. Fact three: If new settings are created at all, it will be the kids who are now in school who will do the job. Fact four: The only resource they will have to work with is human culture.

Perhaps we could be of some small help to them if we become better travel agents and give them a good map of culture.

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