DETERRITORIALIZATION AND RE-TERRITORIALIZATION OF CULTURAL IDENTITIES

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Abstract *Increasing accessibility in space is manifested in a shift from cohabitation to confrontation and interpenetration of (territorial) cultural identities. A simultaneity of the processes of homogenization and diversification can be understood as appearing at different levels of territorial organization. While the traditional cultural identities (communities) are becoming more similar, the diversity of their (sub)groups (sub-cultures) and individuals is tending to increase. In the past, cultural identities were shaped because of limited accessibility (discontinuity in communication); the trends for the future indicate that intensification of selective communication will lead to increasing cultural diversification on the basis of unique combinations of people, goods and ideas in specific locations in space. This implies both deterritorialization and re-territorialization of cultural identities.*

cultural identities, cultural diversification, deterritorialization, re-territorialization

1. Introduction

This article adresses controversial issues concerning the transformation of the territorial organization of society in the context of the emerging global civilization. It represents an attempt to contribute to the clarification of how widening access in space affects existing territorial cultural identities (systems): does it imply more latitude for their self-assertion, radical transformation (reconstruction) or their break-up?

Nation-state policies tend to be based on simplified assumptions, e.g. that the existing cultural identities (diversity) in Europe will be preserved regardless of the advances towards integration. The analysis reveals:
a) the pretence of national leaders to take part in the process of integration without allowing for internal national differentiation (heterogenization, diversification) and
b) the widely-shared assumption that the extent of openness of the territorial unit is - in both the short and long-term perspectives - manipulable as an item of their discretionary power.

Such understandings are challenged in this article both theoretically (no integration without differentiation) and empirically.

Advocates of the theory of "cultural imperialism" are inclined towards another simplification by pointing out how (external) domination leads to increasing uniformity, without (sufficiently) considering the "local responses to global intrusions".

The following analysis will show that the actual changes are much more complex.

2. From Coexistence to Confrontation

With the growth in the technological capabilities for broadening access to the wealth of diversity[1] there is also a rapprochement of different cultures and nations which previously only cohabited in space. Today temporal and spatial distance have virtually ceased to be mediators in contacts with other cultures. Different cultures are coming into direct confrontation, as evident in the clash between Western liberalism and Islamic fundamentalism. Flows which are free of all ties to place or time are coming to the fore and taking the place of fixed givens and insularity. Expressed in terms of ideal type it may be said that all the world's cultures are becoming accessible and even converging in every place, in every location, at every point in space.[2]

Instead of the former pattern of small and tightly insulated territorial cultural systems co-habiting, the increasingly marked mutual interlinking is bringing greater differentiation of the respective positions or roles of these cultures at the world metropolitan core, the semi-periphery, or the world periphery. Thus, we do not have simply all-round mutual rapprochement on a world scale, for it is becoming increasingly clear that: 1. uni-directional communications predominate strongly; 2. the roles of different cultures are unequal, with some dominant and others subordinate; 3. the degree and dynamics of cultural interlinking no longer depend primarily on spatial proximity or distance (the adjacency principle), but are determined more by location and access to the world metropolitan core; 4. there is a gradual rapprochement between the metropolitan core and the periphery, but through subordination to the core's predominant influence and the inclusion, absorption and a kind of appropriation of elements of the periphery into the core itself.

In all this a situation may of course arise whereby one of the particulars predominates or at least aspires to achieve attributes of universality. Thus the Anglo-Saxon metropolitan core is in direct confrontation with other cultures, being predominant, although it is relatively more open (radially). However, while radial communications are strengthening between the core and the periphery, which is reinforced by the expanding use of the new information and communication technologies, there is - at least at the present level of development - a stagnation in interlinking and even a fall in the intensity of tangential interlinking between peripheral cultural systems.[3]

3. Radial and Tangential Interlinking: the Case of English

We have observed then that direct links are strengthening between the world core, acting as the representative of the global or universal, and the semi-peripheral and peripheral territorial cultural systems. What is currently being asserted as global or universal derives mostly from one of the particulars and, in the historical course of events, is increasingly prevailing over the others (here see also Strassoldo, 1992). It is less a case of the concordant, collective formation of some new identity. This may be illustrated by the fact that a kind of common language, a lingua franca, is rapidly being established. But it is not Esperanto, it is English.

There has been a move to form tangential coalitions as one possible reaction to the pre-dominance of a centre (Mlinar, 1986). This involves the intensified interlinking of peripheral units to combat the *divide et impera* tactic and the domination of the centre. On the international plane, moreover, after a critical assessment of 'cultural imperialism', etc. the Third World (nonaligned) countries launched a joint action to establish a new international information order. Despite some success with this kind of sporadic action, particularly through UNESCO, the fundamental question still remains whether radial or tangential information flows are established faster within a given temporal framework. Under the conditions of mass society the former have tended to predominate over the latter more and more. In other words, as links to the predominant culture of the world core become closer, direct links between particular national and regional cultures are being increasingly marginalized on a world scale.

This is confirmed by various analyses showing characteristic changes in the teaching and use of foreign languages, particularly the English language. These changes became more pronounced with the onset of the age of satellite communications, particularly satellite television (Destefano, 1989). It is significant that linguistic barriers in Europe are still strong; nevertheless the smaller nations are unquestionably lowering their barriers, particularly in regard to English. The question is only how far and how fast Anglo-American influence will continue to grow (Findahl, 1989; Domenacq, 1991; Fishman, Cooper, Conrad, 1977). Its influence is evident in both the various issue areas in communications and the dynamic spread of the use of English in past decades.

On the other hand, more or less parallel with the burgeoning of this 'world language', which rests on an infrastructure of radial communications on a world scale, connections between nations based on adjacency or the kinship principle are weakening as a result of the focus on the world core. The adjacency principle refers here to links arising from spatial proximity and crossing a mutual (ethnic or state) border. The kinship principle concerns links based on the degree of similarity of language and culture deriving from a common ancestry.

English is increasingly becoming the main or even sole foreign language taught in primary and secondary schools. English phrases are characteristically penetrating various techncial fields as universal labels in all countries. Specialists in most European countries, for example in computer sciences, can no longer (easily) translate new technical terms from English and seem to be

yielding to the English 'flood'. Technical journals in Germany, France, the Netherlands, Scandinavia and elsewhere more and more often publish articles and even their entire contents in English.

Similarly the influence of television broadcasts in English, which are available on all continents, indicates that the use of this language will escalate. While the older generations still feel strong inhibitions to watching satellite television, the younger generations accept English with increasing selfconfidence. Some young people even feel English is actually no longer a foreign language (Findahl, 1989). This tacit penetration (to use the term analogously to Susic, 1983, who wrote of the 'tacit assimilation' of the Slovene minority in Italy) can easily advance to the point where English completely overwhelms and supplants the native language and culture, or reach a stage where thought turns to the threats to a particular cultural identity and the threatened react. In such 'counterattacks' the sense of belonging to a specific territorial identity is reinforced and lays a foundation for the formation of ethno-regional movements (Williams, Kofman, 1989).

The focus on communicating with the metropolitan core, the external expression of which is the increasing spread of the 'metropolitan language', necessarily leads to a restructuring of basic information flows. As already indicated, this relates mainly to the declining role of the adjacency and kinship principles. Information about events in the world core become more easily accessible through the radial communication infrastructure to all nations (regional cultures) than events in nearby, neighbouring nations. At the same time it may also be expected that linguistic kinship will have less and less influence on the probability and frequency of interactions, at least relatively, i.e. in proportion to radial communications with the world core. An extreme example of this is the division of the 'Serbo-Croatian' language.

In Finland, for example, the former tendency of young Finns to choose Swedish as a second language in school is waning. Swedish is being undermined by English, notwithstanding efforts by the government to preserve its position.

Studies of foreign TV programme viewing in Sweden have shown that Swedes accept programmes in English more readily than in Danish. Further, it is significant that the older generations generally follow Nowegian programmes more easily while the younger show a reorientation towards English.

Similarly there are symptomatic changes in foreign TV programme viewing in Belgium. In the 1980s Flemish-speakers were shifting from German programmes to the BBC. This expresses a general reorientation in knowledge of foreign languages amongst Flemish Belgians; the younger generations know English better than German (De Bens, 1986).

The foregoing may be interpreted as showing that at least from the linguistic points of view, global communications are strengthening at the expense of tangential or lateral interlinking, even if not in the strict sense of a zero sum game.

Reverse Invasion

Thus a significant restructuring is underway which is (relatively or absolutely) diminishing the strength of lateral or tangential communications between territorial cultural systems. This weakening may be transitional and dependent on the dynamics of the integration of peripheral and semi-peripheral systems in the global culture of the world system. At the same time however this is not solely a matter of the unilateral domination of the metropolitan core. The core itself is changing in this process too. As the dominant culture on a world scale it appears to be the most autonomous, the least susceptible to penetration by other cultures. However, just as in the economy, the developed world is realizing in the cultural sphere that it has underestimated a kind of 'reverse' invasion as the rim, the periphery, infiltrates the metropolitan core. The developed world, Western Europe and the USA are undergoing a change in their own identities as they broadly absorb the world's wealth of cultural diversity. In this sense, for example, Kevin Robins evaluates the present situation in England and finds that "in a country that is now a container of African and Asian cultures, what is English can no longer be established with the former assurance and certainty" (Robins, 1989).

In this respect, then, there is an interesting dialectic which shows that the broadening of the area of domination is accompanied by greater inclusiveness with respect to the cultural diversity of this growing area; this in turn leads to the transformation of the source itself. Thus a widened framework of integration of diversity would at the same time mean that the process of globalization is grounded less and less on the assertion of the *dominance* of one of the particulars and moves closer and closer to a *representative* pattern of the diversity of local, regional and national cultures.

However, this explanation leaves many issues unresolved and more empirical research is needed to reach a firmer conclusion. For the next few decades, at least some of the problems of the transitional period will be greatly exacerbated. The danger is especially increasing that the inclusion of specific regional and national cultures will proceed more slowly than the spread of the metropolitan core's domination, thus displacing the present cultural diversity on the periphery and even leading to its extinction.

4. Spatial Mobility and Cultural Standardization

With the increasing spatial mobility of people, goods, capital and information and the more or less parallel process of dynamizing mobility in social space, there is a tendency towards destructuring, flexibility and even fluidity with the melding of even the underpinnings of former collective and especially territorial identities.

The question arises of the extent to which there are distinctive features at different levels of socio-territorial organization and whether there is a general trend so that in the course of time there is a sequence of levels. Previously there was a melding of particular local and regional cultural identities, e.g. a dying out of dialects and regional architecture, while today the question of national identities is foremost. In regard to the former, two things are significant: on

the one hand this is taking place everywhere; and on the other, the disappearance and erasure of the distinctive features of small units is proceeding unnoticed, or at least it is not producing the same strong reactions as at the national level.

The increased mobility of people over a broader space has in several respects undermined the foundations of distinctive local and regional identities. It has involved a one-way flow of migration and a kind of paralysis of rural-farm communities. The prospect of increased spatial mobility has also induced a tendency towards cultural standardization which has been promoted most strongly by national education systems. Namely, had schools taught and trained their pupils for work on the farm in the home village they would have became a major factor in the preservation of *local distinctiveness* and identity. Since fewer and fewer pupils remained in the village there was all the more reason for the introduction of a *universal programme* as a preparatory step and springboard to work or further education in urban areas. The prospect of this leap then gave legitimacy to the trend towards standardization, although it amounts indirectly to the negation of local or regional cultural identity. In the former 'socialist' countries this legitimacy also rested on a view of progress as a move away from the peculiarities and restrictedness of (private) farming in general.

Nigel Grant (see Corner, 1984) similarly points to this problem in presenting the consequences of migration from the marginal and hill regions of Scotland, Wales and Ireland to central industrial and urban areas. Schools assumed the task of actually preparing young people for emigration, which led to the disparagement of the local culture. The paradox was that the 'success' of the school system actually contributed to the decline of the peripheral rural areas.

The history of France down the past two hundred years is often cited in the literature as a highly illustrative case of a diversity of local and regional cultures melting into a uniform national space. The consolidation of the national culture has in many respects meant the restriction and elimination of territorial and social pluralism. Since the French revolution a policy of cultural and linguistic standardization has prevailed. Weber (1976) describes the process of the modernization of the French countryside and turning 'peasants into Frenchmen' (the title of his work). Up to the first decade of the Third Republic (1870-1914) the French national space was made up of separate, often isolated communities, each with its own variety of French; at the same time there were also regional languages such as Breton, Corsican, Flemish, etc.

Retrospectively, then, we discover a transition from localism to provincialism and then to state nationalism. In the process, uniformity burgeoned throughout the national space, greatly supported by the diffusion of the press, compulsory schooling, military service, etc. Local societies thus came into contact with the increasingly dominant national culture whose source was the culture of the middle-class strata of the urban population. Furthermore, compulsory schooling placed great emphasis on geography and history, which concentrated on the national level; on the other hand local patois and dialects were banished from the schools, and there were even penalties for children caught using them (Williams, Kofman, 1989).

5. Homogenization and a Plea for Dissociation

The threat to territorial (cultural) identity is not restricted to the level of individual districts, regions, national minorities or small nations. It is also evident in one way or another at the level of the greatest and even the dominant nation states.

For example, the movement for 'official English', which sought the adoption of a restrictive national language policy, began in the USA in 1983. Within a few years it had grown from small groups of conservative activists into a wide, financially wellbacked and relatively effective movement which enjoyed support irrespective of party, class or race. It thus represented an effort to legislate the predominance of English and enforce its exclusive use in public life (Tarver, 1989; Fiszman, 1988). To this end a special organization was formed called US English.

This movement took shape in response to a perceived threat to English (!) and the appearance of other languages in public life in America. The aim was to stop the spread of foreign languages in official, public activities. Ultimately, as Tarver notes, there was a deeply-embedded fear regarding the future of white America, which was being displaced by other 'foreign' languages and cultures (Tarver, 1989). In recent years a number of American states have passed laws which in one way or another establish 'official English'. All this unquestionably shows that any kind of bilingual education or administrative use of several languages is being prevented by recourse to legal statutes. In this way, along with a restrictive immigration policy and growing antipathy towards foreigners the 'movement for Americanization' attempted to affirm the acculturation of all immigrants in the name of national unity.

All this expresses a view that the greatest possible internal homogeneity has to be achieved in order to establish national unity. Tarver categorizes this kind of thinking as the conservative view of American identity. It takes the English language as the core of the American national identity. But there is an alternative concept of national identity, emphasizing cultural pluralism instead of homogeneity and giving precedence to individual freedom over tradition. This is the liberal conception of American national identity. It recognises cultural heterogeneity as a national treasure that has been built from the various traditions of the immigrants while the USA had the advantage of a common language linking the various nations and establishing harmony amongst people.

Numerous communication studies and other investigations have warned of a one-way flow of information between the world core and the periphery and the tendency towards 'cultural imperialism'. Advocates of the dependence theory start precisely from the fact that the linking up of formerly autonomous territorial communities, which were viable, to the developed world has put them in a subordinate position of dependence and exacerbated the problem of their under-development. Thus, for example, Keith Griffin writes that Europe did not 'discover' the undeveloped countries; rather, it created them. These countries were quite often developed, encultured and rich in their own ways.

Following this line of reasoning, the world's great cultural diversity is an expression of the differ-
ent ways in which people have historically adapted to their particular and sometimes quite unique
environments. However the exceptional diversity of the world's cultural systems is disappearing
because of unprecedented cultural synchronization. Hamelnik (1983, 1993) warns that the sur-
vival of autonomous cultural systems, particularly in the Third World countries, has come into
question because of ever-stronger inundation by the culture of the industrially developed world.
There are more and more instances of cultural survival merely at the level of folklore. Today's
technology does allow mutual cultural exchanges but the facts show that centrally-controlled
technology has become a tool for the destruction of this diversity and its substitution with a single
global culture.[4]

This goes to the heart of the problem but as a partial description no longer fits the latest
trend and development strategy of the big transnational corporations. These are still seeking
to expand on the world market but they are doing so with increasing sensitivity and adapt-
ing to different national and regional markets. Hamelink does not entirely overlook this,
however, because he supplements the above formulation with: "What complicates the matter
even further is that the transnational corporations do not necessarily erase national cul-
tural characteristics; on the contrary, in some cases these corporations exploit the local
culture to promote the sale of their products."

Although Hamelink cites this as an example of the metropole's (capital's) adjusting its ef-
forts to continue to or to better prevail over the periphery, it is also possible to see in this
elements of a potential transformation of the classic imperialistic pattern of relations.

If the threat to autonomy and the lags in development have come about through closer
interlinking on a world scale and with the metropole in particular, as proponents of the
theory of the dependency of the world system and cultural synchronization argue, then a
logical conclusion about what needs to be done to avoid this seems essential. Like solutions
proposed in the economic domain, Hamelink presents a *plea for dissociation* with respect to
cultural autonomy.[5]

If dissociation means 'disengagement' and withdrawal (if a country decides to disengage
and delink) from international relations that restrict its autonomous development this would
ultimately amount to a break or withdrawal from all international relations. It has to be
borne in mind that every link in a sense also constitutes (although not only) a limitation of
autonomy. Authors using the concept of dissociation stress that it must not be equated with
complete autarchy. Nevertheless it is still assumed that linking with and thus dependency on
the metropole can be reduced together with a reorientation towards self-reliance on local
resources. The concept of dissociation thus stands as the opposite to the concept of integration.
But greater self-reliance and a more autonomous role in discovering and activating domestic
development potentials do not necessarily imply they can be more easily attained by fewer links to
the outside world. Whether it is a matter of preparing or implementing a program for greater
autonomy, in both cases needs for links with the outside may actually increase. Especially in a
long-term view, greater autonomy may best be achieved by means of greater interlinking. This

may widen the 'room for manoeuvre' and enable more selective interlinking on the basis of one's own criteria instead of completely open reception of random impulses, or those based on the interests of other partners in the broad environment.[6]

6. National Openness and the Threat of Uniformity

"Cultural imperialism" theory assumes that one-way information flows from the West or North to the non-West or South is endangering the cultural identities of the non-Western or Southern nations. But as Ito (1988) argues, the case of Japan cannot be explained by this theory. From his description of this "case" we may identify three general factors determining the degree to which greater openness represents a threat to a given cultural identity:

1. Cultural Similarity or Difference between Territorial Units
On the basis of Japanese experience Ito (1988) concludes that "between culturally different countries, excessive influence of foreign cultures will not be a serious problem. However, between culturally similar countries such as between the US and Canada, the US and Europe, Japan and Korea, and Japan and Taiwan, this can be a serious problem". Thus, according to him, East Asia will be able to develop economically and technologically while maintaining a strong sense of cultural identity.

However this "factor" cannot by itself explain why for example even the most different indigenous cultural (territorial) identities dissolved under the impact of the West.

2. One-Way or Two-Way Influence
"If Nation A always influences Nation B and Nation B never influences Nation A ... people in Nation B will begin to feel that their culture is inferior; their cultural identity may be endangered ... In the extreme case, Nation B loses cultural integrity, imagination, creativity and energy and is eventually led to a complete cultural and social collapse. On the other hand, if Nation A and Nation B influence each other and learn from each other, the cultures of both nations will be enhanced" (ibidem).

Thus Ito reduces the problem only to cases of unequal, uni-directional flows and influences, which are the focus of "dependistas" and of authors drawing on the concept of cultural imperialism. Some authors argue that even one-way flows (like watching "wall to wall" Dallas) do not necessarily imply suppression of diversity; one has to consider that the same programme is differently received in different contexts and by different individuals, etc.
In addition, however, not even balanced, two-way influences guarantee the survival of distinct territorial identities. With an increasing proportion of global flows and the expansion of "decontextualized culture", the model of exchange between particular units becomes less applicable. Globalization involves a shift in emphasis from bilateral interactions to transactions. But the problem of threatened identities may even intensify.

3. Duration of Exposure (Involvement)

A third factor determining the outcome of the increased openness of a territorial system concerns the duration of exposure to foreign influence or involvement in trans-border linkages. There is a common fear that, for example, imported television programmes will in the course of time drastically change the traditional way of life and endanger the cultural identity of the nation. In terms of the Japanese experience, however, Ito argues that such a drastic change in cultural identity does not occur, for instance, within 10 or 20 years (even if television networks carry many foreign programmes); but it may do so in a period of 100 years or more.

This example raises some further issues. One is the fact that the experience of intensive exposure to foreign mass media covers too short a period of time to give a full picture of the consequences. Further, for Japan - as indicated - this was only a transitional experience because it soon developed its own television production facilities: "domestic programmes began to achieve higher ratings than foreign shows and foreign programmes gradually disappeared from Japanese networks without any government intervention" (ibidem). But many small or less developed countries cannot realistically count on such a prospect.

In addition to the above, differential responses to the threat of uniformity may be, at least hypothetically, interpreted in terms of the following explanatory factors:

Physical distance, geographical location

The perception of a threat (and the intensity of response in terms of protective measures) depends on the proximity/distance of the dominant and the threatened country. The greater the distance, the less the perception of threat, other things being equal. In addition to sheer distance, territorial discontinuity is also important. If the two countries are not adjacent, but have a *buffer zone* in between, actual domination (e.g. via mass media and cross-border data flow) will be perceived as less threatening than if they are adjacent. Transnational flows within "electronic space", even if predominantly uni-directional, are not considered as threatening as the more tangible "geographical" mobility of people and goods.

Competitive position

The more competitive the two countries, the more each will tend to be self-assertive and exclusivistic. The smaller nations tend to be readier to accept Anglo-American cultural dominance because they cannot compete. While English and French and to a lesser extent Spanish, and possibly some other languages, are still competing for the role of *lingua franca*, Danish, Portuguese, Czech and Slovene are not. This may be important in explaining differences in acceptance of English in cross-cultural communication.

Intensity of Actual Exposure (Impact)

Response to "global" (American) influence will depend on the intensity of the actual exposure of the threatened nation. In some situations, as in Eastern Europe today, earlier restrictions on "alien influences" have given way to a policy and practice of widely opening borders and welcoming the intensified inflow of information. Previous inaccessibility created an idealized image of

the outside (Western, American) world which, at least temporarily, has lead to a swing to the opposite extreme (for Hungary - see Szekfü, 1989).

Institutional Structure, Independent State

The presence or absence of an institutional framework for territorial identity seems to be another explanatory factor, as seen in the differences between nations organized in nation states and stateless nations. The current ethno-regional movements in Europe striving for political independence and international recognition as sovereign states are to a large extent motivated by the expectation that this will be an important mechanism for asserting their identity. Particularly the national or nationalistic movements in some of the smallest nations of Europe harbour great hopes in this regard. This is so in spite of the current view that the nation-state is obsolete and withering away in the context of the emerging global civilization.

7. Concluding Remarks

The growing use of new information, communication and transportation technologies is radically altering the meaning of space and spatial distance. The decline of the role of space as a barrier to connectedness is the focus of attention. Less often it is observed that the *protective function* of space is also weakening and that this is mobilising people, goods and ideas and threatening the survival of specific territorial (cultural) identities.

In social development, then, it is not just that the territorial framework of social life is widening. Rather, a contradictory process is involved which includes a tendency towards internationalization and globalization together with the strengthening of autonomy and the distinctiveness of small social groups and individuals. However both of these undermine the particular territorial cultural identities we have known to date, which in turn triggers important self-defensive mechanisms. Such reactions act within the system as pressures towards homogenization, and in relation to the outside world as a tendency towards dissociation. The latter is expressed in heightened intolerance to the different or, in extreme forms, in equating the different and the hostile. Dissociation points to a search for a solution in the sense of affirming "identity as an island" rather than "identity as a crossroads". But decades of experience with the former socialist states, which avoided 'foreign influence', shows that in fact they went into stagnation and today are themselves endeavouring to attract as much foreign know-how, culture and capital as possible.

The simultaneity of the processes of homogenization and diversification - which perplexes many writers - may be clarified by the conclusion that what we are dealing with here are *different levels* of territorial organization: at the level of the (hitherto existing) territorial communities, it may be said that they are becoming increasingly similar. Within them, however, there is emerging and increasing diversity, which will be all the more important for shaping the unique identities of individuals and (sub)groups.

Although it might seem that homogenization would, in global terms, eradicate the differences between territorial units (Boulding, 1985), a more through analysis yields a different conclusion. Diversification in space is likely even to increase, although on a *different basis*. While in the past territorial characteristics (identities) were shaped because of *limited accessibility*, in the future they will be more and more determined by *increased* (non-limited) accessibility, which will allow for the unique combination of people, goods and ideas in specific locations in space.

It may therefore be expected that the future socio-spatial restructuring process will lead to de-territorialization (reduction of the differences between "inherited" territorial identities) and also to the re-territorialization (creation) of new identities in specific locations in space.

NOTES

1. For example, direct intercontinental phone calls, various kinds of satellite communications and cable television, satellite transmission of entire daily newspapers which are printed simultaneously in different places, the expansion of the telefax, the international computer network and data banks, and the rising flow of data across state borders, etc.

2. In the empirical sense many concrete instances may be cited to illustrate these shifts, although there are at the same time great differences according to location in the space of the 'world system'. Although we may in general speak about regional cultures (in the broad sense) drawing together and about the growing diversity of elements of material and spiritual culture accessible to people in their everyday milieu, nevertheless this is not some frontal, equal rapprochement and enhancement of the heterogeneity of cultures.

3. A series of questions arise here for further, more detailed study of the phenomenal forms and the causes of different dynamics of the spread of radial and tangential communications. A focus on the world core has completely predominated in the mass media (television, radio, newspapers); the share of American films shown on television is rising; the films of nations that are geographically, linguistically and culturally closer are shown relatively rarely. The apparent choice from an increasing number of TV stations in Europe is actually devolving into a sweeping prevalence of American programmes.

4. "Advertisements for the products of big consumer goods manufacturers in the USA are helping to determine basic needs in the Third World countries. The products are not adapted to local needs, but local needs, under the sway of the advertisements, are adapting to the products."

5. Like economic dissociation, cultural dissociation posits autonomous development through self-reliance. It would ensure the necessary conditions for each country to identify by itself its developmental potentials, which would not be subordinated in the first place to the needs of the metropole. Practical application of the concept of dissociation would vary according to the type of relations between the metropole and the periphery.

6. A broad review is needed of different concrete forms of response, by particular countries or other protagonists, which fall under the category of cultural dissociation. An analysis of their effects under specific circumstances would be an important supplement to these general considerations.

In this connection it may be noted that in Canada regulations have been passed to reduce the impact of the US mass media and the flood of one-way cross-border information flows. This is an attempt at defence against 'cultural pollution' which is believed to be threatening Canadian identity.

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