

Migration, ethnocultural diversity and future worklife: challenges and opportunities

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Introduction

Global forces and future worklife

"Future worklife" is being shaped by massive global forces that include sizeable world population increases, endless south-north and east-west migration, endemic world poverty, inequities in the distribution of wealth and resources, scores of low-intensity regional wars, and the quiet desperation of billions of people living lives of deprivation, resentment and anger. Some social commentators are now speaking of "disposable human resources." These global social, political, and economic forces must be considered as we pursue our efforts to understand, clarify, and define "future worklife" because they will ultimately shape and direct it, and overwhelm in importance the local forces at each workplace.

To the extent that we choose to recognize and respond to these global forces, we can perhaps participate in choosing our future. To the extent we avoid them, our future may be determined by a limited number of corporate and government people whose visions and concerns are more narrow and self-serving. I would like to discuss the relationship of migration, poverty, and ethnocultural diversity to future worklife, especially the challenges and opportunities that emerge when people from different racial and cultural groups are required to work competitively in pursuit of wealth, security, status, power, and survival.

Workers from different racial groups and cultural traditions are encountering one another in the contemporary workplace with greater frequency each day as global forces unfold. And in each microcosmic racial and cultural encounter, there are the macrocosmic issues of

power, equality, opportunity, responsibility, justice, and survival. Ultimately, exploring the interface of migration, ethnocultural diversity, poverty, and future worklife raises some of the most vexing and important political, social, economic, and moral questions of our time: What are the rights of nations? What responsibilities do we have as nations, societies, and individuals toward one another? What are the virtues and risks of ethnocultural diversity? Also captured in the dynamics of the migration, ethnocultural diversity, and future worklife interface is the penultimate question "To whom does the world belong?" And, who should be permitted the "privilege" or "right" to survive and flourish?

There may be immediate answers to the problems of improving employee productivity, morale, and health in a culturally pluralistic workplace, but there are no easy answers to the larger social and moral questions regarding our responsibilities to one another as world citizens. Indeed, the only answer may be to pose better questions — questions that raise our consciousness of the challenges before us, and, in doing so, force us to participate more actively in choosing not only our future worklife, but also our future itself.

The Camp of the Saints

In the 1970s, a small book, *The Camp of the Saints*, written by the French author Jean Raspail (1), captured a cult-like following among some social theorists and commentators. In this book, Raspail tells the story of millions of desperately poor Indians from the teeming slums of Calcutta who gather together a flotilla of decrepit ships and boats to sail to the French Riviera, where they intend to enter France in pursuit of food, clothing, and shelter.

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Raspail's scenario is the nightmare of Western governments!

By the end of the book, all the Western nations are faced with similar situations as armadas sail from developing countries to the West and North. They are a determined and unstoppable wave of the world's poor, fearlessly pushing across national boundaries in pursuit of the bounties of the wealthy techno-industrial world. Their gaunt leader yells, "The nations of the world are rising from the four corners of the earth, and their number is like the sand of the sea. They will march over the broad earth and surround the camp of the saints and their beloved cities" (1).

Since Raspail wrote his book, literary images of "fleshless Gandhi-arms" crossing national borders and provoking social and economic problems has been the daily fare of newspaper headlines in many European and North American nations. Let me share some with you: "Illegal Immigrants Plight Dividing France" (2), "Ugly European Backlash Against Foreigners" (3), "Europe Besieged by New Ripple of Ethnic Hatred" (4), "East Germany's Jobless Display Their Resentment of Foreigners" (4), "10,000 Aliens May Be in Isles Illegally" (5), "60% of Americans Say Immigration is Bad for the Country" (6), "Roping Off the border" (7).

Scholarly and policy publications have shown a similar interest and concern in the topic although they have often taken far more words and used greater obfuscation to describe the same problem (8–15). The titles of these books communicate the worries: *Peaceful Invasions: Immigration and Changing America* (9), *The Politics of East-West Migration* (8), *Europe and International Migration* (16), *The Work of Strangers* (15), and *Deconstructing the Nation: Immigration, Racism, and Citizenship in Modern France* (14).

The International Organization for Migration estimates that 70 000 000 persons, mostly from developing nations, are working legally or illegally in other countries as migrants or aliens. They state, "The isolation, even open hostility, to migrant workers and their families is widespread in host countries, despite the fact that few host-country workers would undertake the kinds of menial tasks performed by these foreigners [p 53 in reference 17]".

The concerns and fears are the same throughout the Western world, whether they are expressed in headlines or books. Bouvier (9) offers a "liberal limited immigration policy" that addresses the new challenge posed by the rapid influx of legal and illegal immigrants from Asia and Latin America into the United States. Bouvier argues that limiting immigrants is necessary because the new immigrants create 4 major problems: (i) they take away resources from the existing American underclass; (ii) they steer the economy toward an unskilled labor economy; (iii) they make it difficult for new immigrants

to adapt because the sheer numbers create self-contained societies; (iv) they add to the population and environmental problems. Bouvier suggests that developed countries cannot become "safety valves" for the burgeoning populations of developing countries but rather should assist these countries in their own development. In contrast to scholars' approaches to immigration, lay approaches have often been more destructive.

In Germany, hate groups have bombed, burned and beaten Turks, Kurds, and Afghans with seeming impunity. In France, more than 10 000 foreigners were deported in the past year on highly publicized flights to Africa and the Middle East. One French political leader, Jean Marie Le Pen, called for expelling 3 million immigrants, and a poll showed that 1 in 3 Frenchman agree with his position (2). In England, influxes of Indians, Pakistanis, Chinese, Africans, and Black Caribbeans have led to endless race riots in streets and schools and to cries for a return to "Ye Olde England." In 1961, an estimated 12 000 desperate Albanians crossed the Adriatic Sea to Italy, only to be stopped in Bari and Brindisi by Italian soldiers and returned to Albania.

The WHO European Regional Office (18) has stated:

Since World War II, European countries have experienced a vast international movement of persons: political refugees, labor migrants, immigrants from the (former) colonies. The overwhelming majority of this migrant population, in any country, has a different cultural background than the autochthonous population. This migration has proved to be a permanent phenomenon in Europe. In fact, the migrant population, as a result of migration and birth, is steadily increasing in numbers. European countries, therefore, are becoming increasingly multicultural, multiethnic societies [p 1].

It is clear that the responses to many of the recent arrivals from the Middle East and sub-Saharan Africa have been racist and xenophobic. For example, Riding (19) wrote:

Throughout Western Europe, there is a perception that immigrants — Arabs in France, Turks in Germany, Pakistanis in Britain, and so on, — are "taking over" schools, housing complexes and neighborhoods. . . . That has become a major factor contributing to rising opposition to new immigration. . . . Whether in Birmingham, Frankfurt, Florence, or Marseille, third-world communities have become the target of simmering xenophobia and occasionally racist violence, with some ultranationalist groups even trying to court popularity by demanding that poor foreigners be forcibly repatriated. . . . They [new immigrants] continually run the risk of unemployment, of having to accept the worst housing and of facing disproportionate difficulties in schools. . . . They run the risk of becoming marginalized and remaining marginalized [p 3].

In a syndicated newspaper article, Mary McCrory (20) contends European leaders are acting to limit or prevent future influxes of refugees by using incentives, forced

repatriation, and financial buyouts to get refugees and immigrants to return to their countries. She quotes the Italian foreign minister, Gianni DeMichelis (21), as saying: "It is expensive to keep them there, but to keep them here would be more expensive. . . . We forget that the Iron Curtain protected us, but since November 1989, there is no more protection [p 12 in reference 20]".

In the United States, the resentment and anger toward millions of illegal Mexicans was recently visible in a television video that captured a brutal beating of 2 illegal Mexican immigrants by sheriff's deputies who are part of a border force that is trying to stem the endless tide of Mexicans seeking work in the United States. Yet, one American politician (ie, Bruce Morrisson, D-Connecticut) has proposed a bill that would let in foreign investors as immigrants if they promise to put up USD 1 000 000 and hire 10 American workers for at least 2 years. In a recent *Newsweek* national poll (22, p. 19), 59% of Americans indicated that immigration was *once* a good thing for the country, 60% feel that it is now a *bad* thing, 62% feel immigrants *take* the jobs of American workers, and 59% believe immigrants wind up on welfare roles and raise taxes for Americans.

Donald Huddle (23), an immigration specialist at Rice University in Texas, reported that:

. . . the 19.3 million legal, illegal, and amnestied aliens accepted into the United States since 1970 utilized \$50.8 billion of government services last year. They paid \$20.2 billion in taxes. So the net burden on native born taxpayers was \$30.6 billion — a social welfare cost per immigrant of \$1585. Huddle projects these immigrants will cost taxpayers another \$50 billion a year on average over the next 10 years [p 19 in reference 6].

The pressures for migration have spawned a new multi-million dollar illegal industry — "immigrant smuggling". It is impossible to determine the actual numbers of illegal immigrants that are entering developed countries each year. However, it seems certain that the numbers far exceed acknowledged figures based on estimates of those who are caught at borders. For example, a *New York Times* article describes a huge pipeline of illegal Asian immigrants into the United States that went from Russia to Cuba to Central America (24):

Chinese, Indian, and Pakistani migrants paid up to \$28,000 each to smugglers for a grueling clandestine journey that climaxed in this border city where teenagers ferried them across the Rio Grande to a muddy floodplain south of McAllen, Texas. . . . In December, a federal study of alien trafficking estimated that some 100,000 Southeast Asian and Chinese immigrants pass through Central America and Mexico each year on their way to the United States [p A-8].

It is noteworthy that the head of the illegal immigration ring was making in excess of 1 million US dollars a year from immigrant payments.

The problem of illegal immigrants is, however, 2-sided. Host countries may share partial responsibility for the illegal immigrant. Because of our global interdependency, countries cannot be pitted against one another without worldwide consequences. Solutions must be mutual because the problems are mutual. Johnson & Williams (10) wrote:

. . . migration problems can yield only to a persistent, multilevel response to their causes and consequences. . . . current national policies tend, at both the sending and receiving ends, of the continuum, to embrace a "lifeboat ethic" of survival detrimental to the millions of people asserting, through their migration, their right to a dignified and productive life. To the extent that "quality of life" is realizable for these millions, and everyone else in the hemisphere, it is attainable not by pitting sending against receiving nations, but through cooperative policies inspired by the hope that viable strategies can be designed to cope with problems stemming from migration, of whatever sort. To think less is to accept the classic hobbesian fate, with all the human misery that implies [p 186].

Today, Franz Fanon's (25) "poor and wretched of the earth" are coming from all corners of the globe: China, Mexico, Central America, North Africa, Eastern Europe, India, Southeast Asia, and sub-Saharan Africa. They are using every legal and illegal means to enter Western nations. In a preface to a later edition of his book, written in 1982, Raspail (26) talks of an apocalyptic vision he had as he once gazed at the shores of the French Mediterranean from his home:

A million poor wretches, armed only with their weakness and their numbers, overwhelmed by misery, encumbered with starving brown and black children, ready to disembark on our soil, the vanguard of the multitudes pressing hard against very part of the tired and overfed West. I literally saw them, saw the major problem they presented, a problem absolutely insoluble by our present moral standards. To let them in would destroy us. To reject them would destroy them [p 66 in reference 27].

Raspail's words produced outcries of "racism" from French intellectuals because of his harsh and cruel descriptions of the "poor and wretched of the earth". But regardless of Raspail's motives and beliefs, one cannot deny the fact that his book captures some of the complex political, economic, social, and moral dynamics that are being played out in today's world. For some conservatives, reactionaries, and panderers of hate seeking stricter immigration controls, including the use of military force, Raspail's book is a dire warning of the future need to keep the "aliens" out of Western nations. Invoking the lessons of ancient Rome, they cry "The barbarians are at the gate!" For liberals and progressives, Raspail's words provoke moral outrage and cries for a "new world order" dedicated to peace, equity, and social justice. The reactions are different, but neither side can deny the reality

of the determinants and consequences of human migration.

Brain drain: taking a nation's resources

Although the previous discussion focuses on the migration of the poor seeking refuge in a new land, it is also critical for us to recognize that another serious problem has developed for both home (sending) and host (receiving) countries regarding the migration of highly educated professionals, including doctors, engineers, scientists, professors, and businessmen. Many countries openly recruit immigrants in these categories to meet professional service and technical skill needs. This problem, long known as the "brain drain," constitutes a serious problem for the home country since talent is often limited and the loss of each professional and technically skilled person hurts national growth and productivity. The poor and unskilled may be turned back at national borders, but the rich and skilled are recruited and encouraged to come.

While race and color may be considered and prejudices may be present in quotas, the talents these persons bring seem to override hesitations. In many respects, this simple fact illuminates the complexity of the migration, ethnocultural diversity, and future worklife interface. These issues are not about immigration alone, but rather they have deep implications for national security, economic solvency, and survival.

Ethnic and racial minorities

Similar tensions and concerns are also being raised about increases in ethnic and racial minority groups who possess citizenship in these countries. In 15 major cities in the United States, ethnic minority populations (ie, Black, Asian, American-Indian, and Hispanics) are now the dominant population sectors for example in New York (eg, from 47% in 1980 to 57% in 1990), Houston (eg, from 47% to 59%), San Francisco (46% to 53%), Memphis (49% to 56%). (See reference 28.) For these groups, powerful efforts are in progress to limit welfare and other forms of societal support to the poor, most of whom are from ethnic and racial minority groups.

In the face of these pressures, individual and group violence has become commonplace. Across the United States, there have been growing examples of persons from racial and ethnic minority groups who have held hostage and killed co-workers because of perceived inequities. These persons have often lacked the social and education-related skills to compete in new workplaces. They often have low wages, no job security, and no opportunity for upward mobility. They are, in brief, "expendable" or "disposable" (29).

The Los Angeles riots of 1993 reflected the repressed rage, anger, and fury of Blacks and Hispanics. Much of this was directed toward Korean shop owners, new im-

migrants who had come to establish their lives and were succeeding in business, but at the perceived expense of the other ethnic and racial minority groups. Many such riots are contained in the poor sections of the cities, but how long will it be before they go beyond the boundaries of their own neighborhoods to the those of the wealthy? In multicultural countries such as the United States, the quest for cultural understanding poses a major challenge and a major opportunity. I will return to this point at the end of this paper. Now let me turn to a focused discussion of migration, culture, poverty, and work.

Migration: some background information

Some terms of reference

Migration refers to the process of moving from one location to another. When we use the term "international" migration, we are referring to the process of moving across national boundaries. While this typically refers to more or less permanent changes in domicile, we must also recognize that there are migratory workers who travel across boundaries to engage in seasonal or specialized labor tasks. The greater concerns are usually over migration for the purpose of immigration, which can be defined as seeking permanent residence in a foreign country. Writers speak of settlers, professional workers, contract workers, illegal aliens, asylum seekers and refugees (15). Still others have created a new speak that includes terms such as "skilled transients," multinational transferees, and "capital-assisted migrants" reflecting the impact of the multinational corporation on migration (30).

Refugees, of which there are an estimated 40 million in the world today, are people seeking "refuge" or safety as a result of political and or religious causes. Some refugees are dislocated because of natural or human-made disasters. Nevertheless, they constitute a special case of migration. Thus one is left with the interesting task of combining a score of terms: forced immigration, voluntary immigration, temporary immigration, long-term immigration, permanent immigration, legal immigration, illegal immigration, and a score of others that address the impulse, reason, legality, and time period.

History and migration

Migration has occurred since the earliest days of human history. Ever since Adam and Eve were asked politely to leave the Garden of Eden, we can safely say that all of our ancestors were migrants! The well-known "exodus" of the Jews from Egypt is one early example of a migration wave. Other early migrations were more massive in scope and consequence such as the great Celtic migration waves that swept across Europe as early as 2500 BC and the early Asian migrations that crossed the Bering

Straits into North and South America, populating the lands with diverse Indian tribal cultures. The impulse of these migrations came from many sources, including the search for better lands, the escape from oppression and war-like neighbors, and, perhaps, simply some primitive urge or whim to push beyond one's horizons for the sheer sense of mastering the unknown (*wander lust*).

By the first few centuries AD, many of the migratory impulses became intertwined with conquering others, including the Gothic/Germanic invasions of the Roman empire, between the 3rd and 6th centuries, the Arab/Moor invasions of Europe in the 7th and 8th centuries, and the westward invasions of the Mongols into Eastern Europe in the 13th century. Nor should we forget the great migration waves that proceeded from South Asia through Oceania and eventually to Hawaii, where Polynesian settlers arrived around 100 AD or earlier (31).

In Western history, massive "invasion" migrations yielded to individual and family migrations early in the 16th century as North and South America became the preferred destination of new migrants. Spurred by the pursuit of religious freedom, escape from starvation and disease, economic opportunity, and adventure, scores of millions of migrants from European countries settled in the new lands. It is estimated that 65 million people migrated to the "new world" from the 17th and 20th centuries. More than a million Irish came to America to escape the potato famine and English oppression. And it is important to recognize that many migrants came as slaves from Africa and some as indentured slaves from Europe. Later, unknown thousands of people were sent from England to other lands as "criminals", as was the case for Australia. The consequences of war in World War I & II brought massive migration shifts within Europe as Southern and Eastern Europeans and Turks moved from their lands to Northern European countries. And, of course, there was the massive wave of migration that occurred as India and Pakistan were partitioned in 1947, as Hindus went to India and Muslims went to Pakistan. (See references 31, 32, and 15 for excellent overviews of migration history.)

Today, according to Sowell (34), Germany has more than 5 million foreigners living within its borders, one-third of all the foreigners living in Europe. But all countries in Europe are now multicultural because of the spectrum of racial and ethnic groups within their borders. Sowell (34) states:

The largest number of migrants in Europe come from poor countries. More than a million were from Morocco, nearly a million and a half from Iran, more than a million and a half from Italy, and well over two million from Turkey. . . . Italians were more than one-fourth of the foreigners living in Belgium and one-third of the foreigners living in Switzerland but they were only a 10th of the foreigners living in West Germany, where Turks were nearly one-third of the

foreign born population. In the Netherlands, Italian immigrants are outnumbered ten to one by Moroccans, even though there were more Italians than Moroccan immigrants in Europe as a whole [p 38 in reference 35].

Though the figures are interesting, it is more important to remember that the story of migration is the story of human history and that migration waves have proceeded from and toward virtually every continent for reasons of conquest, colonization, adventure, and the simple pursuit of a "better" life (36). And all of these reasons were always made easier by improvements in transportation from walking to horses to boats to automobiles to airplanes. As soon as rocket ships are improved, humans will colonize Mars and beyond.

The economic issue: migrants and work

In the minds of many governments, economics has emerged as the most important contemporary dimension of migration. The debate over the economic impact of immigrants for the host country has been extensive and complex. While writers suggest that immigrants have only minimal negative effects upon the economy (37, 15), others suggest the opposite to be true (9). It is clear that, regardless of the position favored, immigrants have an impact on 3 areas of the economy: (i) jobs and wages, (ii) economic growth and productivity, and (iii) the distribution of income and wealth (38). To these, of course, must be added the possible drain on welfare, education, health, and other social service funds. In addition, while crime is not limited to immigrants, the development of "alternative illegal economies" in the face of inequity and opportunity must be considered an economic consequence. Lastly, as Muller (37) has pointed out, immigrants create a fundamental tension between governments and the businesses that employ immigrants. Furthermore, native groups feel that their sense of social cohesion is disrupted or destroyed (39).

Fear of immigrants and rising xenophobia

Although many countries once welcomed immigrants for a score of political, social, economic, and moral reasons, attitudes and national policies are now changing. Citizens of many Western countries fear that immigrants will take jobs, start alternative economies (eg, drug subcultures), engage in sexual relations, and even marry their children. They fear the immigrants will introduce "alien" ideas and life-styles that may challenge, undermine, or overwhelm existing ways of life. There is also the fear that the immigrants may be there for the express intent of "destroying" the society, as is the case with "international terrorists". "Chain migrations", the process by which members from the same regions or families follow previous immigrants, is a major source of fear since it sets up an endless "supply" of migrants.

The fear is the same around the world: "They are not like us, and they do strange things". "I don't trust them; they are different from us". The element of "difference" is important, since there are generally no complaints about immigrants who possess similar racial, cultural, or historical similarities (eg, white English people migrating to the United States). However, admittedly even these "similar" groups are often assigned statuses that are considered "lower" or "inferior" (eg, Irish to England, Sicilians to Northern Italy). Threats to social cohesion elicit reflexive defensive positions that are difficult to counter.

Perhaps there is something within the "primitive" reflexive areas of our brain that arouses fear when we encounter those who are different. It is possible that there is survival value in avoiding or dominating people who are different. Yet it is also clear that differences have been overcome when people feel secure and when they are faced with common goals. In addition, one cannot help but wonder if the pressures of rapid social change and the breakdown of familiar institutions and moralities has spawned national psyches that are fearful of our uncertain times. Our world seems to be unraveling, things seem out of control, and, under these circumstances, all changes are suspect.

Clearly, immigrants, because of their differences, make it difficult to establish a shared vision for a society, and, with it, a sense of civic and moral cohesiveness and predictability. This is especially true when the new scale of our communities, cities, and nations has assumed such Brobdingnagian proportions. We are running from fundamental questions that must be asked. We flee to the opiate-like power of television, movies, sports, and rock music and thus avoid issues of individual and societal purpose, choice, and destiny. Indeed, the struggle may not be one of erasing or constraining individual and national identity, but rather one of strengthening them so that people can feel confident and secure in their choices, and also consciously involved in shaping their future. The struggle also involves developing transnational identities, since we must all live globally as well as locally and nationally. More on this point later. Suffice it for now to say that differences can be used as sources of creativity and solution if there is a felt sense of certainty and predictability in our lives.

Efforts after immigration control

Today, migration has become more controlled through highly national immigration laws that limit entrance to (i) national quotas from certain countries, (ii) family members of citizens and former immigrants who are now citizens, (iii) certain desirable or needed occupational specialists or professions, and various refugee concessions. Efforts to classify migrants are filled with categor-

ical spillovers because of the complexities involved in sorting out reasons for immigration, legal requirements, residential options, and economic priorities. There are also foreign students, migrant laborers, and tourists who enter countries legally and illegally. Some immigrants eventually hold dual national citizenships. Although every nation is carefully constructing immigration acts to control the legal flow into the country, the big concern for the past few decades has been the illegal immigrant, including the clandestine, unsanctioned, fraudulent or undocumented entry. (See reference 10.)

Contributions of immigrants

The positive contributions of immigrants to the national development of all Western nations is unquestionable. These contributions have been documented in scores of books and will not be dealt with in depth here simply because of their obvious nature. (See reference 34 for a sweeping summary of immigrant contributions.) Suffice it to say that immigrants often accept jobs no one else will do, contribute to economic development through taxes and investment of foreign money, and bring countless intellectual and artistic talents that stimulate the host culture. One fact demonstrates this clearly. Of the 2000 high-technology companies in America's famed Silicon Valley in California, 500 are run by people of Asian ancestry (40). American hospitals and research centers would collapse overnight if recent immigrants were required to leave because many are staffed and operated by immigrant physicians and nurses from Canada, England, India, Korea, and the Philippines.

Sowell (34), in his recent book on culture and migration, wrote:

For what migrations have meant has been not merely a relocation of bodies but, more fundamentally, a redistribution of skills, experience, and other 'human capital' across the planet. It is the process of cultural change which has transformed nations and continents [p 38].

In agreement with this position, Portes & Rumbaut (41) wrote:

Immigrants and refugees will continue to come, giving rise to energetic communities, infusing new blood in local labor markets, filling positions at different levels of the economy, and adding to the diversity of sounds, sights, and tastes in our cities. The history of America has been to a large extent, the history of its immigrants — their progress reflecting and simultaneously giving impulse to the nation's expansion. Although problems and struggles are inevitable along the way, in the long run, the diverse talents and energies of newcomers will reinforce the vitality of American society and the richness of its culture [p 246].

In similar support of the virtues of immigrants, Muller (37) stated that through American history, immigrants have helped the "revitalization of cities" by:

... taking any job however harsh the working conditions [p 72] ... [thus increasing] the demand for skilled labor, professionals, and clerical workers — positions that were filled largely by native workers [p 89].

Clearly, human history could well be told as the story of human migration. For demographers, the patterns, times, and compositions of migration are often represented in careful columns of figures, much like an account ledger. But, ultimately, migration is a story of distinct persons pushed to escape from poverty, famine, disease, crowding, violence, and persecution and pulled by the possibility of hope, opportunity, relief, freedom, and survival. Massey (42) offers a review of the many theories of international migration. When offered equality, immigrants respond with loyalty to their new country. But when denied equality, the seeds are sown for discontent and resentment. Yet it is also clear that the circumstances surrounding immigration in past decades and centuries are not the same today because of increases in population density and decreases in natural and fiscal resources. This situation may call for new views and values on migration and immigration. In the following sections I would like to discuss briefly some global forces that have an impact on future worklife. I will focus on population growth, migration pressures, and poverty.

Global challenges

Population growth and migration pressures

The world's population is today approximately 5.8 billion people. Table 1 shows some of the changes in population since 1750. The present world population of 5734 billion is distributed very unevenly. North America has 292 million (5.1%), South America 481 million (8.4%), Europe 509 million (8.4%), Asia 3247 billion (57%), Africa 878 million (15.3%), the former United Soviet Socialist Republic (USSR) 298 million (5.2%), and Oceania 29 million (0.5%). The population increases in Asia, the Middle East, South America, and Africa will reach staggering proportions by 2025 (43), and 2 of every 3 people among the expected world population of 8.3 billion people will be living in cities where living conditions may be impossible.

Table 1. Changes in world population: 1750—1995.

Year	Population
1750	725 million
1850	1175 billion
1900	1600 billion
1950	2556 billion
1980	4458 billion
1995	5750 billion
2010	7027 billion

Source: World Almanac, 1996, p 838

According to Desjarlais et al (44):

Most of the population increase will occur in the world's poorest countries, those least equipped to handle the economic, nutritional, housing, and environmental needs of their growing populations. The changes that the population pressures will bring include continued urban growth, high rates of labor force growth, degradation of land and water resources, continued deforestation, desertification, food shortages, and the spread of infectious disease. ... Degraded living conditions in various regions may quite possibly force impoverished people to move to more prosperous regions in search of food, land, and housing. Along with the constant flow of political refugees, many of these 'environmental refugees' will be at risk for economic exploitation, substandard living conditions, social isolation and psychological distress. ... One ominous development is the increase in anti-immigration sentiments in European and North American societies which are geared toward isolationist policies rather than efforts to deal directly with the roots and problems of dislocation [p 27—28].

In brief, it is likely that the developed nations can expect increases in legal and illegal migration from the poor countries of the world. The sources of their migrations are clear: safety, security, and survival. These are basic impulses! At some point, the risks and dangers of migration are outweighed by the problems of remaining in home countries. The immigrants will come. Furthermore, prosperity in developing countries may actually increase the problem because it provides the residents with the money and skills to flee their country.

World poverty

Some basic facts. Absolute poverty constitutes the most pressing moral, economic, and political challenge to the world's developed and developing nations. The appendix lists some facts regarding world poverty. As it indicates, the scope and consequence of absolute poverty is a moral, political, and economic problem of unparalleled proportion. If the world's future is dependent upon its children, then it is clear that the plight of the children in the developing world points to unheralded disaster (46, 44, 47). As populations increase and resources diminish, the context is being created for both national and international aggression and hostilities, environmental disasters, and social disintegration.

Duhl (48) notes that many of the world's people are becoming unneeded in the new economic work force. He states:

Currently, we are faced with a fragmented world, with a vast separation of poor and rich, conflict and inability to find a coherent solution to these and other issues. There are too many people, considered by the current value system, to be superfluous. It is said that 40% of the world's population can perform all the functions necessary today. What is life to be for all these apparently unneeded people [p 1]?

Carlos Fuentes (49), a Mexican author and social critic, wrote of the apocalyptic implications of this current state of affairs for the global community:

We leave behind us a century of scientific light and political shadow, a century of unequaled progress and unequaled inequality, a century of technology became universal, but so did violence; a century that opened a wide chasm between scientific progress and moral lag, between technological wonders and political miseries. . . . The homelessness, violence, drugs, declining standards of education, insecurity, rotting infrastructures, unattended problems of the old age, women, children, the AIDS pandemic; these are indeed, the cavalries of the Apocalypse in the first world — but also in the Third World. . . . This is the novelty. There is a Third World in the First World, just as there is a First World in the Third World [p 8].

Poverty and political stability. Whether the poor remain in their own countries or whether they choose to migrate, the outcomes may well be the same: violence and political instability. In poverty is bred desperation! Desperate people will do desperate things! Though they may be bought off temporarily with handouts from the ubiquitous refugee centers of nongovernmental organizations, they will in time ask questions of themselves and others that cannot be answered: "Why must we live like this when others do not?"

In many countries, urban riots have already occurred. Governments often attribute these to "a few troublemakers". But the basic cause is more complex. It is a function of the hopelessness and alienation that comes from perceived inequity. For the marginalized, disenfranchised, and underprivileged, there is no felt investment in their nation's identity or goals. Helman & Ratner (50) pointed out that nations such as Somalia, Cambodia, and Liberia have failed to achieve national stability, while others, such as Peru, Sudan, Turkey, Mexico, and Zaire, are challenged by insurgent groups. Others, such as Columbia, Haiti, Guatemala, and Brazil, are scenes of extensive civil violence. Government responses are often repressive. Harff & Gurr (51) report:

State sponsored massacres of members of ethnic and political groups are responsible for greater loss of life than all other forms of deadly conflict combined. . . . On average, between 1.6 and 3.9 million unarmed civilians have died at the hand of the state in each decade since the end of World War II [p 26 in reference 44].

Juan Somavia, Chilean Ambassador to the United Nations, and Chairman of the 1995 UK World Summit on Social Development in Copenhagen, called attention to the implications of inadequate national development efforts for national and international security (52):

Security has always been a national issue. But people don't realize that you can have secure states full of insecure people. All we have done since the cold war is replace the

nuclear bomb with a social one. Poverty, unemployment, and violence are now our security problems and you can't apply military solutions to solve them [p 12 in reference 53].

At the founding of the United Nations, Edward Stettinus, Secretary of State in the United States in 1945, stated (17):

The battle for peace has to be fought on 2 fronts. The first is the security front, where victory spells freedom from fear. The second is the economic front and social front where victory means freedom from want. Only victory on both fronts can assure the world an enduring peace. . . . No provisions that can be written into the Charter will enable the security Council to make the world secure from war if men and women have no security in their homes and jobs. [p 31].

Through the mass media, the world's poor are shown daily the joys of life in Western nations. They watch advertisements on television for pet food served to "fat cats" off of silver plates by beautiful and voluptuous women. Television dramas from the West do more than entertain, they inform about a way of life that stands in stark contrast to the daily realities of the world's poor. In their minds, Western nations offer them hope, opportunity, security, self-esteem, and comfort. According to Morgenthau (6), it is estimated that 600 000 illegal immigrants enter the United States each year, and there are no "natural forces" that seem to be able to stem the tide. Cue (2) estimates that France presently has somewhere between 250 000 — 600 000 illegal immigrants. Jean Philbert, the Chairman of the French Parliamentary Commission on Immigration, states (2):

We have to be careful because France is a country that is slowly becoming xenophobic and racist. . . . If we don't do something, the situation will become worse. . . . France cannot integrate its 5 million legal foreigners if the government doesn't crack down on illegal immigrants [p A-22].

From global forces to local workplaces

Ethnocultural influences on behavior

In the previous pages, I have suggested that there are major global forces acting upon future worklife, including global population increases, migration, poverty, and international political stability. At a national level, these forces assume new forms and processes, including restrictive immigration policies, institutional racism and ethnic bias, and welfare programs and strategies. In the workplace, these forces become the grist for cultural variations in communication, values, life-styles, work-styles, and job satisfaction. In combination with biological, psychological, and environmental factors, culture shapes human behavior. Culture influences human be-

havior in a number of ways (all of which have implications for the workplace), by shaping the following: (i) values, attitudes, beliefs, and standards of normality and abnormality; (ii) notions of time, space, and causality; (iii) patterns of human communications and interaction, including verbal, nonverbal, and paraverbal communications; (iv) expressive styles and preferences in clothing, food, art, and recreation; (v) familial, marital, and child rearing practices and preferences; (vi) preferred cognitive styles and coping and problem-solving styles; (vii) interpersonal relationship patterns, especially regarding authorities, gender, elderly, and the like; and (viii) the structure and dynamics of such institutions as the family, schools, government, religion, and the workplace.

Ethnocultural diversity in the workplace

Ethnocultural diversity will play an important role in future worklife. A recent analysis of ethnocultural diversity in the American workplace (54) revealed that, while the total work force in the United States increased across all groups, 11.8% for men and 26.9% for women, the increases for ethnocultural minorities exceeded these figures dramatically. Among African-Americans, men increased 16.2% and women 29.8%; among Hispanics, men increased 63.9% and women 72.3%; among Asians, men increased 105.2% and women 107.2%; and among Native Americans, men increased 36.7% and women 56%. At present, the work force of the United States consists of 77.9% Whites, 10.4% African Americans, 8.1% Hispanics, 2.8% Asians, and 0.6% Native Americans. These proportions will change rapidly as population growth shifts to the minorities.

The challenges of making ethnocultural diversity work in the workplace are many. Iwata & Rowe (55) stated:

In the headlong rush to create America's rainbow workforce, companies large and small are finding agony and challenge in a seemingly simple task — melding a staff reflective of the mix of races and backgrounds in the United States. As with every rainbow, the pot of gold at the end looks easy to reach. Hire a diverse workforce, comply with the law, and reap the benefits of increased creativity, productivity, and profitability that comes from a richer talent pool. Yet the reward has proved elusive, mostly because companies that have tried to hire a good mix of workers often have no idea how to get them to work together [p D-2].

Mercer (56) reported that, among 55 surveyed corporations (employing 1.5 million people), 32% have cross-cultural communication programs and 31% are developing them; in addition, 3 corporations provide multilingual training programs. In *Managing Workforce 2000: Gaining the Diversity Advantage* (57), the authors, Jamieson & O'Meara, argue that diversity in the workplace is creating challenges that have never been faced before by

businesses. They point out that, in addition to racial and gender diversity, workforce members will also have different skill, education, age, life-style, and ability levels. In addition, ethnocultural differences must be considered. However, they also point out that by understanding the virtues of diversity, businesses can prosper rather than stumble. The globalization of labor, the changing nature of the work force, customer markets, and organizations also demand new policies on ethnocultural diversity.

A multicultural orientation in the workplace has many positive implications. It can be (i) a force against ethnocentrism and racial bias, (ii) a force for tapping the skills and energies of different cultures, and (iii) an opportunity to test multiple management strategies and individualized supervisory practices. However, planning is necessary to make a multicultural workplace work.

Ethnocultural and racial minorities in the workplace

Unless we are careful, the workplace can become the location where ethnocentric bias and racial and cultural hatred may be focused, nurtured, and elaborated into a national problem. Such a development can have dramatic implications for national solidarity, economic productivity and profit, organizational image and identity, and, ultimately, worker and workplace well-being. It is important to understand the burden that work-related stress imposes upon the members of ethnocultural and racial minority populations. The following list summarizes some of the better known problems that the author has been able to identify from both professional and mass media sources: (i) employment: finding a job; (ii) underemployment: limited, part-time or insufficient work; (iii) low status employment: positions in the service industry, civil service, or manual labor; (iv) high risk employment: exposure to hazards, toxins, and pollution because these are the only jobs available; (v) low financial compensation: low wages, no benefits; (vi) exposure to prejudice and racism: often expressed in the form of humor and jokes at the expense of the minority, and, in some instances, in physical violence; (vii) poor skill and technical training advantages because of formal education deficits; (viii) limited opportunities for advancement and the development of special talents; and (ix) culturally biased work contexts: insensitivities to the values, language, dress, food, and personal styles of different ethnocultural groups.

While the physical context of the workplace may constitute a stressful burden for all workers, the psychosocial context is particularly a source of stress for ethnocultural minorities. Figure 1 displays the range of psychosocial stressors that can occur in the workplace for ethnocultural minorities (58). As figure 1 indicates, the sources of work stress can be stress from conflict, confusion, deprivation, denigration, or discrepancies, and they

	Parameters	Psychosocial behavior				
		Needs	Values	Roles	Status	Identity
		Clarity				
		Conflicts				
		Deprivation				
		Denigration				
		Discrepancy				

Figure 1. Matrix of psychological stressors for ethnocultural minorities.

can cut across critical psychosocial behavior patterns, including needs, values, roles, status, and identity.

Yet another way to look at the problem of work stress for ethnocultural minorities is to consider the endless cycle that continues to sustain the problem. The cycle begins at the *ideological level* with the problem of societal racism and ethnocentrism. This level is transformed into the *attitudinal level* in the form of prejudice, and, this, in turn, evidences itself at the *behavioral level* in the

form of discrimination. Discrimination then finds itself represented at the *expressive level* through such avenues as oppression, exploitation, stereotyping, powerlessness, and forced acculturation. The ethnocultural minority worker may find himself or herself underrepresented, outvoted, and manipulated with resulting consequences for the *biopsychological level*, with problems of inferiority, depression, anger, fear, and low self-concept (59). This analysis is displayed in figure 2.

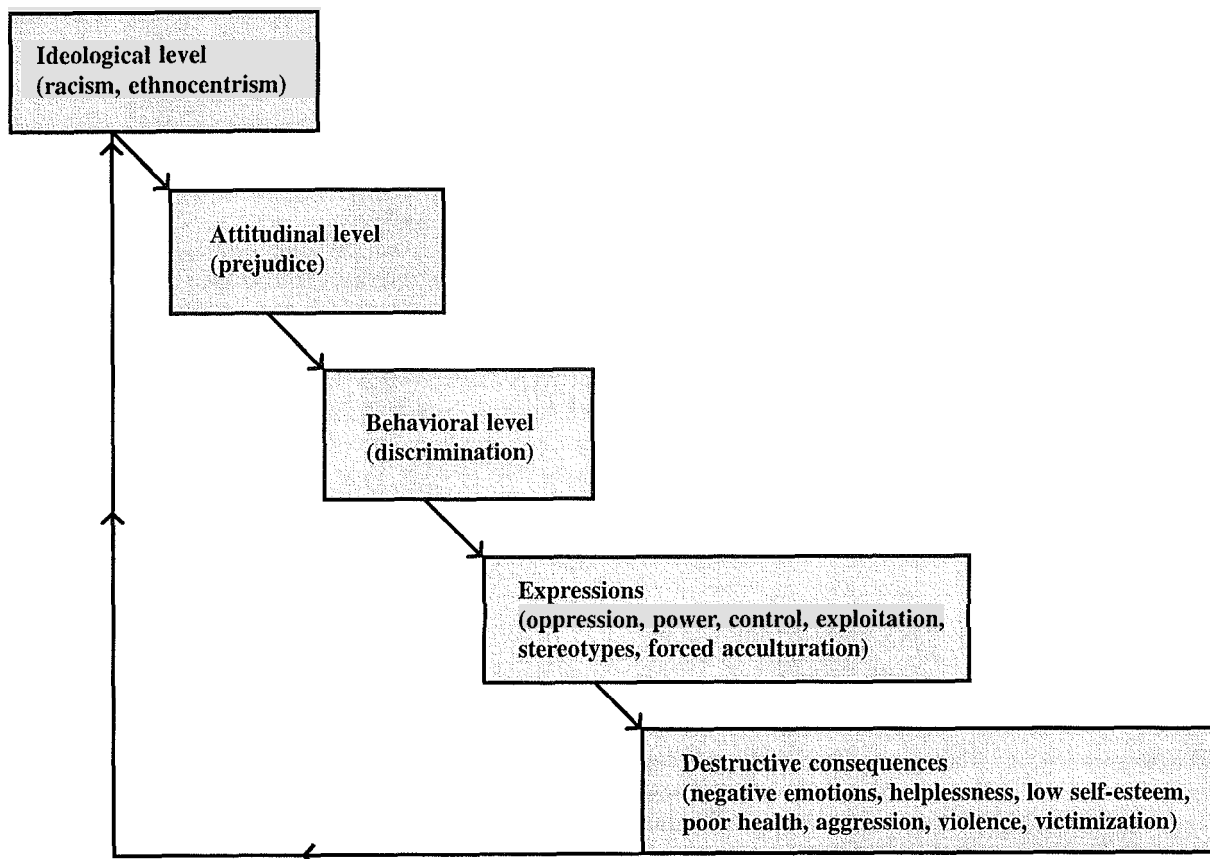


Figure 2. Problem cycle of the ethnocultural minority workplace (modified from reference 59).

Stressors and failures engendered in the workplace because of racial and cultural biases are often expressed as frustration, anger, and illness in the nonwork environment. The angry, bitter, and frustrated worker may well manifest his discontent in family abuse, alcoholism, substance abuse, and physical violence. These are problems for both the individual person and for society. James (60), Kasl (61), Landy (62), and Warr (63) provide literature reviews and updates of the many mental health consequences of work stress.

Constant exposure to stress from these problems eventually erodes the coping skills of ethnocultural and racial minorities and results in increased risks for illness and disease, as well as increased problems in such areas as marital and family relationships and social functioning. Ultimately, many ethnocultural and racial minority members find themselves relying upon defensive behavior that serve neither the purposes of the workplace nor the worker. In brief, the workplace is a major determinant of mental health and well-being.

Responsibilities of the workplace

Work as a socialization context. The workplace can be a resource or burden for both the individual person and society. If it is to be a resource, our ideas regarding the nature of the workplace's responsibilities toward the workers and toward larger society will need to be changed. In my opinion, the workplace has special obligations towards the worker that exceed a simple *quid pro quo* relationship of compensation for labor.

Quite simply, the workplace must be recognized in a socialization context that is as important as the family and the school in shaping our society's well-being and future. To the extent the workplace abandons this responsibility in favor of a pure "profit motive," without respect for its larger social functions and responsibilities, the workplace may survive commercially, but only at the expense of the well-being of the worker and the larger society of which he or she is a member. Research has been clear in pointing out the close relationship between quality of life and work satisfaction (64). This is not a topic of debate! Galinsky (65) concluded that work stress spills over into family life more than family life problems affect work.

Socializing multiculturality. It is within the context of the workplace that multiculturalism or ethnocultural pluralism — as a value, an ideology, a historical reality, and a biosocial or evolutionary principle — may assume its greatest meaning and importance. The workplace that denies, limits, prevents, or otherwise hinders the expression of this powerful social force does so at great cost to us all. The workplace, as a major socialization context for ideas, values, and normative behavioral patterns,

needs to support and promote multiculturalism if the force is to be sustained. I feel the following factors are important ethnocultural considerations in the workplace: (i) the importance of work; (ii) work-related values, attitudes, beliefs, and needs; (iii) perceptions of work and the workplace; (iv) expectations regarding work roles; (v) commitment to work responsibilities and role patterns; (vi) the nature of job satisfaction and job satisfaction levels; (vii) managerial-worker relationships; (viii) workplace communication patterns; (ix) decision latitude and personal control preferences and patterns; (x) workplace impact on psychological needs; (xi) design of the workplace; (xii) patterns of organizational loyalty and alienation; (xiii) preferences for certain approaches for conflict and dispute resolution; and (xiv) patterns of health and well-being, especially as these are expressed in emotional communications.

A good example of cultural variation in the meaning and consequences of work is the Japanese phenomenon called *karoshi* or "death from overwork". Recent newspaper articles (66, 67) described Japan's concern with the growing number of Japanese business men who were dying from overwork because of the "perverse pride in the extraordinary sacrifices of time, energy, family life, and health that company loyalty demands [p D1 in reference 67]". This loyalty emerges from the socialization practices that encourage collective identity and well-being at the expense of individual identity and well-being. According to Jones (66), "*Karoshi* occurs most commonly in workplaces where jobs require strenuous effort and where people work without the help of other employees. It usually refers to acute heart failure following high blood pressure, arteriosclerosis or cerebral hemorrhage [p A11]".

As is well known, the Japanese company or corporation mimics the Japanese family ideal. It offers group identity and economic security and expects, in return, extraordinary effort, diligence, devotion, and loyalty. The price is high! Hiroshi Kawahito, the head of Japan's National Council for Victims of *Karoshi*, said "Japanese workers are sacrificing their health, and all too often their lives for the sake of their companies [p D1 in reference 67]". He claimed that nearly 10 000 Japanese die each year because of overwork. In response to this problem, the Japanese Ministry of Labor recently initiated a 2 million dollar study of job-related illness.

Clearly, the ethnocultural background of a worker has a profound impact upon the entire spectrum of work-related behavior. For example, workers from a Chinese cultural tradition may well be imbued with a Confucian work ethic that emphasizes sobriety, educational achievement, family obligations, respect for authority, and hierarchical social status (68). Hui (69) suggests that cultural values constitute the basic foundation for job satisfaction since they determine worker values. The worker's val-

ues, in turn, mediate job outcomes and job expectations, both of which influence job satisfaction.

Tannebaum (70), Hofstede (71), Hui (69), Triandis (72), and Smith et al (73) provide excellent overviews of the cross-cultural literature on organizational psychology and work-related behavior, especially with reference to work attitudes, managerial patterns, leadership styles, and communication styles. Hofstede's (74) important publication on cultural differences in work values among collectivistic and individualistic cultures has become a landmark cross-cultural study. Hofstede (74) described the characteristics of the individualistic society as (i) "I" consciousness, (ii) self-orientation, (iii) identity based in the individual, (iv) individual emotionally independent of organizations and institutions, (v) emphasis on individual initiative and achievement, (vi) right to private life and opinion, (vii) decisions to be made individually, and (viii) universal applications of value standards

For many non-Western ethnocultural minorities, this orientation is in direct opposition to their sociocentric and collectivistic traditions. It creates added stress for them within the workplace, since the latter brings many of the individualistic-collectivistic conflicts to the forefront of daily behavior. In some instances, a bizarre accommodation strategy is played out in which the ethnocultural minority member must learn one set of behaviors for the workplace and another for their homelife. This is sometimes called "biculturalism", and, while it may be a virtue, it may also result in stress.

Work: a human resources perspective

As long as many sectors of our society choose to limit their definition of work to the expenditure of energy (ie, labor) for purposes of financial compensation (ie, wages), the economic, political, and spiritual growth and development of American society will be limited. This view denigrates and denies the importance of individual and cultural variation and dignity, as well as the importance of work as a determinant of individual and societal health and well-being.

Marsella (75) offered a human resources' definition of work that considers work's consequences for personal growth, development, and well-being. He stated that work can be defined as:

Those activities (i.e., labor) which an individual engages in for purposes of (1) financial reward and compensation, (2) personal satisfaction and development, and (3) the promotion of societal well-being. These activities result in the production of a particular product (i.e., material goods, services, ideas and/or knowledge and wisdom) which have individual and/or societal value and worth for which there is compensation in the form of wages. These activities have far reaching consequences for an individual's sense of self worth, dignity, and physical and mental well-being [p 156].

The challenges that arise from work can cause serious medical and mental illness (pathogenesis) or health and positive well-being (salutogenesis) (figures 3 and 4). These consequences have been amply documented (60, 76, 77, 62, 78, 63). However, for many ethnocultural minority workers, the usual concerns for work stressors must be expanded to include the struggles against racism, prejudice, oppression, and inequality, and the burdens they impose upon the psyche and spirit.

The ethnoculturally sensitive workplace proactively addresses the challenges of salutogenesis and pathogenesis for workers and the organization through the implementation of enlightened policies and programs. In the author's opinion, the policies and programs must include the following basics: (i) strong commitment to philosophies and programs of equal employment opportunity and affirmative action; (ii) vigorous on-the-job training opportunities; (iii) race and cultural relations programs; (iv) multilingual communications; (v) public relations programs that communicate a commitment to ethnocultural pluralism; (vi) frequent worker evaluation of the workplace climate and culture with regard to pluralism and diversity; (vii) attention to elements of job satisfaction for ethnocultural minority workers; and (viii) sensitivity to and awareness of ethnocultural differences in human behavior and the role that these differences play in work.

Social psychologists have long understood that racial and ethnic prejudices can be increased or decreased by creating certain contexts that reduce competition and promote cooperation across racial or ethnic lines. For example, Amir (79) (see reference 59) noted that prejudice can be reduced in situations like the workplace when 4 conditions are present: (i) when there is equal-status contact and power distribution between members of various ethnic groups; (ii) when an authority favorably promotes intergroup contact; (iii) when intergroup contact is rewarded; (iv) when members of both groups interact functionally in important activities, developing common goals or superordinate goals that rank higher than the goals of each group. More recent comments on the importance of group cooperation in reducing ethnic tensions in the workplace have been published by Gaertner et al (80).

Challenges and opportunities of ethnocultural diversity

Assimilation or separatism?

In the past, there were pressures on immigrants, refugees, and ethnic and racial minorities to assimilate in pursuit of job security and upward mobility within the majority society. This situation prevailed for many West-

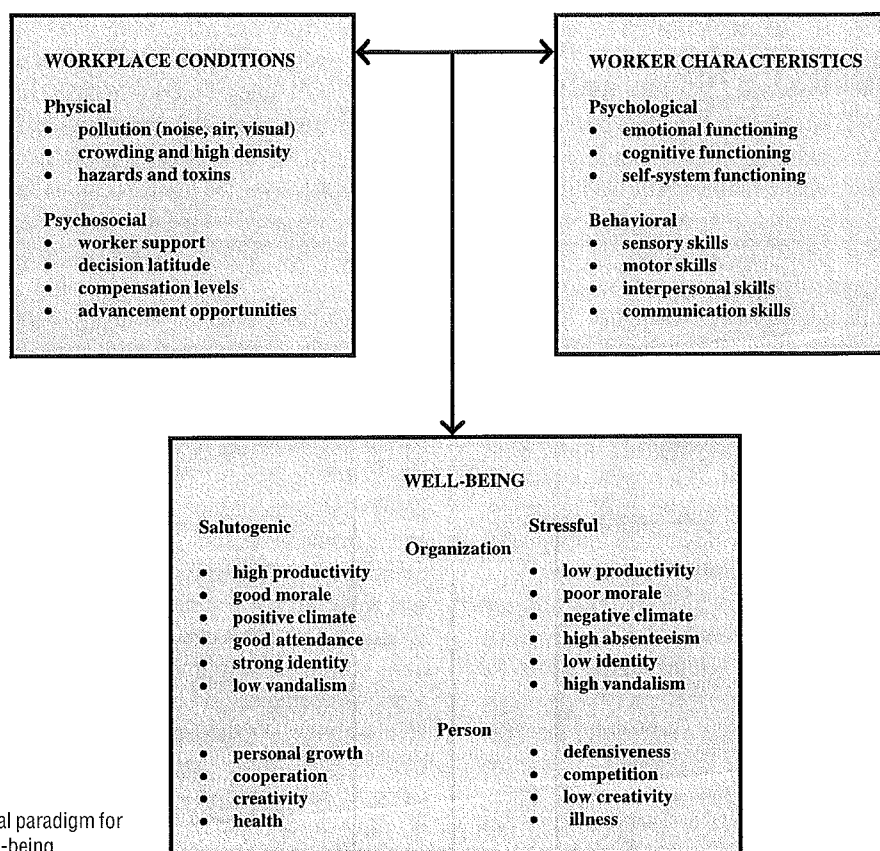


Figure 3. Ecological paradigm for work, worker, well-being.

ern industrial countries at the turn of the century and in the first few decades following World War II. But something began to change by the 1970s. Waves of immigrants and refugees from Africa, Asia, the Mediterranean Basin, and the Middle-East began to flood European and North American countries in proportions that were no longer easy to integrate and control. The life-styles of the new wave of people were radically different in language, social structure, religion, and cultural tradition. Unlike previous groups, the new wave of migrants did not pursue assimilation because of value conflicts and because they were denied equity. They maintained their former identities and ways.

Some writers, such as Schlesinger (81), feel this trend poses serious political problems for national unity. Schlesinger (81) wrote: "The contemporary ideal is shifting from assimilation to ethnicity, from integration to separatism [p 2]", and "Group separatism crystalizes the differences, magnifies tensions, intensifies hostilities [p 21]".

In India, there are more than 150 different languages, although the government recognizes only 15. In Indonesia there are more than 250 mutually unintelligible languages, while in the Philippines there are 7 different major language groups and more than 80 different regional dialects. And, of course, there is also China, the

world's most highly populated nation. In China, Mandarin is considered the national language, but the number of other languages and dialects that are spoken may well exceed a thousand. In Fukien Province alone, more than 108 dialects are spoken, and cultural diversity is thriving. Among Sweden's 8 000 000 citizens, it is now estimated that at least 12% are foreign born, and this number does not include the ethnically-different Lapps who inhabit the northern areas of Sweden.

In still other instances, there are ethnic groups, such as the Kurds, who lack a nation and whose people are widely distributed across a half-dozen different countries (eg, Syria, Iraq, Iran, Turkey, the former USSR), all of which are antagonistic to them. As a result, the Kurds are constantly subjected to inequity and brutality by their governing nations. Ethnocultural groups such as the Kurds lack both national and international empowerment, and they are forced to live under subjugation.

In addition to the Kurds, a growing number of ethnic and racial groups are now pushing for separate nationhood. The press has brought international attention to the recent separatist movements of the Baltic States (ie, Lithuania, Estonia, Latvia) from Russia, Tibet from China, Mindanao from the Philippines, French Quebec from Canada, and the American Indians and Native Hawaiians from the United States.

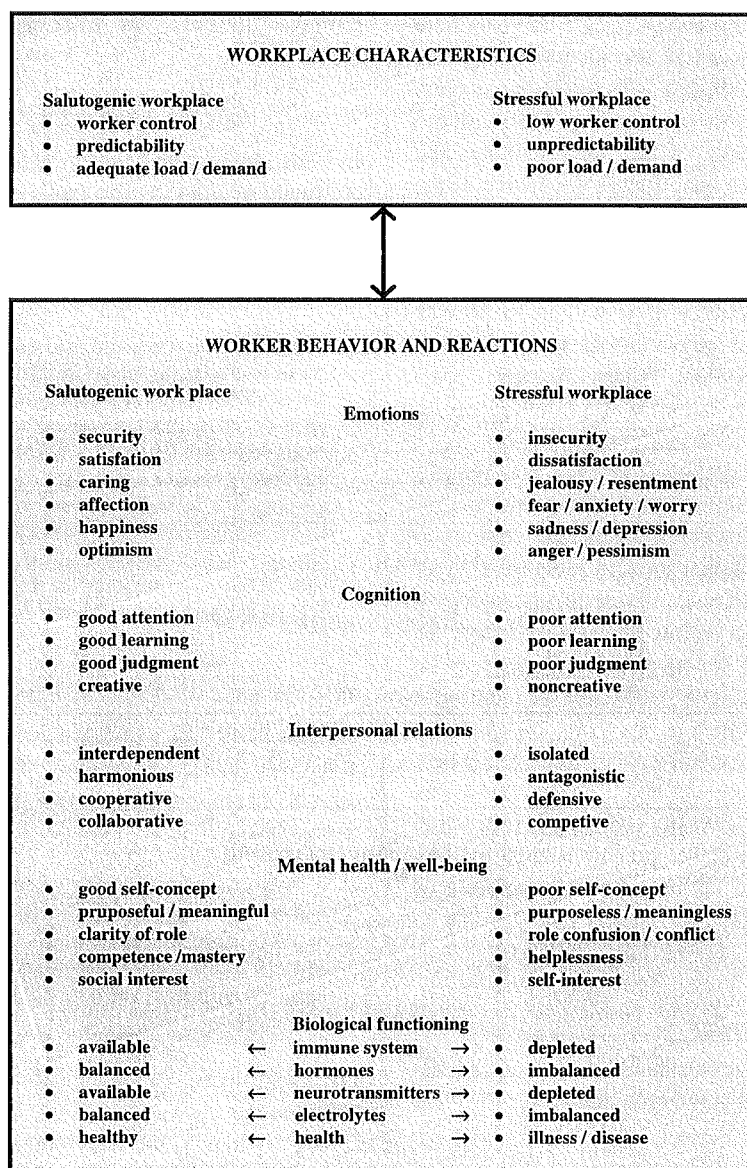


Figure 4. Consequences of stress and salutogenesis for the worker.

Within the United States, perhaps the world's most ethnically diverse nation, the population of 263 000 000 people includes approximately 12% Afro-Americans, 9% Hispanic-Americans, 5% Asian-Americans and American Indians, and scores of European-tradition stock. Among the last-mentioned, sharp contrasts in life-style continue to exist among those who trace their roots to Northern Europe, Southern Europe, and Eastern Europe. To highlight the extent of the diversity, one can look at the Dade County Public School System in Florida (the 4th largest in the United States), which includes students from 123 countries (82).

In commenting on the ambivalent attitude toward ethnicity in the United States, Meg Greenfield (83), a news commentator, wrote:

Our main problem with the idea of ethnicity . . . is that we spend half our time embracing the idea and the other half repudiating it. When we are not thanking our lucky stars that we have assimilated ourselves into ethnicity-free Americanness, we are organizing ourselves into ethnic extraction lobbies and/or singing the praises of newly rediscovered ethnic consciousness. The fundamental contradiction extends to our attitude toward people and countries abroad [p 70].

Value of ethnocultural diversity

The value of ethnocultural diversity in the workplace and a nation has been gaining increasing credence in recent years. We can promote ethnocultural diversity without destroying the larger social fabric of a society. We can use ethnocultural diversity as an expression of the self-

assertive tendencies of a group of people, helping them to define and refine their nature and identity, while still promoting the group's linkages with the larger society. But the key to this pathway is equality. Ethnocultural diversity is not the source of the many national and international conflicts we face. Rather the source of the problems resides in the prejudice, intolerance, bias, and hostility that our failing to cope with ethnocultural diversity generates. A society can tolerate and utilize extensive ethnocultural diversity if it is willing to provide members from different ethnocultural traditions with equal opportunity and freedom. Within this kind of society, diversity will thrive, but so will a commitment to national unity.

This was, in fact, the dream of America. For America never succeeded in erasing or eliminating its citizens' commitments to their ethnocultural heritages, contrary to the claims of the assimilationists. Old roots were never lost, new roots merely grew along side them, making an ever stronger tree. When Arthur Schlesinger Jr worries about the "disuniting of America," he only needs to be reminded that "pluralism" and "unity" are different sides of the same American coin.

How much ethnocultural diversity can a society take before it ceases to function as whole? The answer to this is simple: Ethnocultural diversity can exist in proportion to the society's commitment to guarantee equality, justice, and opportunity to all its citizens, regardless of ethnocultural differences. The citizens will then act to preserve the unity of the society (85).

Prizing diversity: Octavo Paz

The Nobel Prize Winner, Octavo Paz, recognized the importance of cultural diversity for human survival. He wrote (84):

What sets worlds in motion is the interplay of differences, their attractions and repulsions. Life is plurality, death is uniformity. By suppressing differences and peculiarities, by eliminating different civilizations and cultures, progress weakens life and favors death. The idea of single civilization for everyone, implicit in the cult of progress and technique, impoverishes and mutilates us. Every view of the world that becomes extinct, every culture that disappears, diminishes a possibility of life.

Paz understood that ethnocultural variability, like biological variability, promotes and sustains life. To the extent that we insist on homogeneity, we are closing ourselves to needed options and alternatives. Successful evolution requires variability because variability creates the differences necessary for adaptation to changing environmental demands. The "unenlightened" society will continue to insist on "cultural homogeneity" and, in doing so, will foster its own demise. The enlightened society, and the enlightened workplace, will acknowledge and

promote "diversity" and, in doing so, encourage its survival.

To whom does the world belong?

In 1948, almost a half century ago, the World Federation of Mental Health (86) also spoke of a new global orientation for human beings when it set forth the foundations for the concept of "world citizenship." The statement read (86):

The question must be faced as to whether survival is possible without adapting human institutions so that people can live as world citizens in a world community, in which local loyalties are rendered compatible with a wider allegiance to mankind as a whole. . . . World citizenship means an informed, reflective, responsible allegiance to mankind as a whole. The movement toward world citizenship is one which fulfills, rather than goes counter to, the trend of history. . . . It is possible to envisage a world community built on free consent and on the respect for individual and cultural differences [p 4 in reference 87].

International civic responsibilities and structures

William Pfaff (88), a political commentator, was cynical in his response to the capacity of the United Nations to respond equitably to the diverse people of the world. He wrote (88):

. . . The vast majority of the U.N.'s members are unrepresentative governments, class or interest-bound oligarchies or dictatorships with abominable records of human rights abuse. It seems scarcely the suitable agency for establishing world democracy and respect for human rights [p 29 in reference 89].

The magnificence of the idea of a global union committed to human rights and welfare has failed to propel the United Nations to the forefront of influential organizations in resolving the international immigration problems of recent decades. The national interests of powerful countries have primarily dictated global political, social, and economic dynamics and outcomes. But this situation cannot continue! The Raspail scenario becomes a more realistic possibility each day. We need to rethink local, national, hemispheric and global futures with a special concern for morality and humanitarian values.

In spite of the Darwinian "survival of the fittest" impulse that is part of our nature, we cannot ignore the fact that the human socialization experience has made us also creatures of conscience. To avoid this aspect of our human nature by turning our backs on the needs of others will ultimately "dehumanize" us and create a world in which suffering, hopelessness, and violence are acceptable and tolerable. Some would survive, but is this the future we choose to shape?

Johnson & Williams (90), in the introduction to their provocative book, *Illegal Aliens in the Western Hemi-*

sphere: Political and Economic Factors, capture some of the dilemmas we face:

We believe in the natural right of all human beings to enjoy the physical and emotional inviolability of one's self. This includes the right to try to find a better life in another country; and it is instinctive for each person to violate that country's immigration laws, if necessary, in the quest for a better life. Obviously, the target nation has a countervailing juridical right to try to enforce its laws. The conflict of right against right in this process can, and should, be managed by the hemispheric community so that the human rights of all can be preserved. These include the right to decent space in which to live, enough food to eat, clean air to breathe, and a reasonable expectation that one's offspring can also find a life that is free of want, suffering, and oppression. It also means the natural right of human beings to have an opportunity to fulfill their talents and aspirations, not to be perpetually restrained by artificial political borders [p 4].

Johnson & Williams (90) go on to say that we need to rethink our concepts of civic structures and national identity. They suggest that some changes (eg, a Chicano Quebec in California) could prove to be a viable option. They write:

Thus, in a hopeful way, we might speculate that the creation of a "Chicano Quebec" could be accomplished without destruction of the United States and that French Canadians can preserve their distinct ethnicity without destroying the Dominion of Canada. And we would hope that El Salvador and Honduras might even be merged politically for the socio-economic betterment of both nations and that this could, in the future, be accomplished without war. Following so risky a vision as that, we might even think in terms of hemispheric cooperation to share food, mediate conflict to avoid war, and plan resource and environmental conservation. Starting at the hemispheric level may be less utopian than continuing to expect world government somehow to emerge from the United Nations. But we need something definitely stronger and more independent than the existing Organization of American States [p 5].

Michael Sandel, (91) a Harvard University professor of government, suggests that

The most promising alternative to the sovereign state is not a cosmopolitan community based on the solidarity of humankind but a multiplicity of communities and political bodies — some more extensive than nations and some less — among which sovereignty is diffused. Only a politics that disperses sovereignty both upward and downward can combine the power required to rival global market forces with the differentiation required of a public life that hopes to inspire the allegiance of its citizens.

Sandel notes that national sovereignty is being eroded from above by 3 factors: (i) mobility of capital, goods, and information across national boundaries, (ii) integration of world financial markets, and (iii) the transnational character of industrial production. He also feels national sovereignty is challenged from below by the resur-

gent aspirations of subnational groups for autonomy and self-rule. Sandel feels this situation is creating some interesting options. He stated:

As their effective sovereignty fades, nations gradually lose their hold on the allegiance of their citizens. Beset by the integrating tendencies of the global economy and the fragmenting tendencies of group identities, nation-states are increasingly unable to link identity and self-rule. Even the most powerful states cannot escape the imperatives of the global economy; even the smallest are too heterogeneous to give full expression to the communal identity of any one ethnic or national or religious group without oppressing others who live in their midst [p 74].

For Sandel, this situation calls for a new citizen who can "abide the ambiguity associated with divided sovereignty" and "who can think and act as multiply situated selves." The new world will require "multiple loyalties [p 74]". The requirement of multiple loyalties, multiple identities, multiple citizenships relating to cities, nations, regions, and ultimately the world, all promise to challenge the prior ways of thinking about immigration, ethnocultural diversity, and work. Future worklife, quite aside from any new technical or professional work requirements, will be the place where new national, regional and international values and behavior patterns are forged and promoted because the global forces of population increase, migration, poverty, urbanization, multinational corporations, and mass media must now be considered to be among the proximate and immediate determinants of behavior in the workplace.

Acknowledgments

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Appendix

Some important facts on world poverty¹

1. Nearly one-third of the population in developing countries lives in "absolute poverty", (a condition considered one step above survival).
2. One-third of all children in the developing nations will suffer negative physical and mental development problems because of malnutrition.
3. Approximately 1.3 billion people in the developing world are denied access to safe drinking water.
4. In 1992, six million children under 5 years of age died of pneumonia and diarrhea.
5. The livelihoods of 1 billion rural residents are at risk because of environmental degradation.
6. There are more than 23 million people classified as refugees or living in refugee circumstances. (Note: This may be an underestimate. Actual rates may be as high 40 million people if the dispossessed in their own countries are considered.)
7. Since the end of World War II, it is estimated that more than 23 million people in the developing world have been killed as a result of wars.
8. There are approximately 100 million homeless children or youth ("street children").
9. Girls spend half as many years in school as boys in developing countries.

¹ Source for these facts in the UNRISD as published in Political Summit, Copenhagen Denmark, March 5, 1995, p 9.

10. Over the past decade, 90 million people were displaced from their homes by programs to build or improve infrastructures (eg, dams, roads, ports).
11. The richest 20% of the world's population controls 83% of the wealth; the poorest 20% controls 1.4% of the wealth.²
12. Official development assistance is at its lowest level in 20 years. Less than 6% of all foreign aid now goes to health care and family planning combined, and barely 2% to primary schools.³
13. Over the past decade, wars have killed about 2 million children, disabled 4 to 5 million children, turned 5 million children into refugees, and left 12 million children homeless.³
14. The governments of the developing world spend only 10% of their total budgets on nutrition, health care, primary education, family planning, clean water, and safe sanitation.³

² Somavia J. In: Time to talk about people, political summit, March 5, 1995: p 12.

³ United Nations Children's Fund. State of world's children. New York (NY): United Nations, 1995.