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Dramaturgical History: The Roman Triumph

Gabe Kilzer*

Abstract This paper examines an ancient Roman ceremony, the Triumph, and explains the effect this ritual had on Roman civilization during the Empire and the effects it still has on our historical interpretation of that society. Using Erving Goffman's theory of dramaturgy, I compare the leaders of Rome to actors on a stage playing to an audience. In this paper, I argue that the Triumph, which was a ceremony dedicated to the creation of a "God amongst men" in a conquering general, fueled a reciprocal relationship between the actions of society and the way in which we remember the Empire. Achieving a record in historical texts was the primary goal for those who sought immortality; and to attain this they had to be uncommon in a world of commoners. Thus, the imperialistic drive of Roman leaders was not simply about war, it was about becoming a hero of Rome by stretching their empire as far as possible during their reign. The Triumph was the way in which Roman leaders would make sure that the audience, in a controlled environment, would witness this character created through war.

INTRODUCTION

"All the world's a stage, and all the men and women are merely players."
- William Shakespeare -

Our knowledge of the world is the product of voice and pen. Historians pass on verbal memories and literary recordings of individuals and groups whose impact on past and present civilizations in undeniable. Therefore, a sociological examination of history is a step forward towards a further understanding of civilization's evolution. By tracking the actions of individuals along with the consequences of those actions using sociological theory it is possible to determine the impact of certain events on past and present society. Descriptions of civilization during the Roman Empire (27BC-476AD) are a perfect example of how the contextual setting surrounding the individuals within affects historical interpretations. Driven by the desire to

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create a legacy worthy of documentation, this society's fascination with military power and imperialism caused many Roman leaders to conquer at all costs. This paper explains how one specific ceremony, the Roman Triumph, had the ability to create an immortal god, and erase the mortal masses.

THEORETICAL BACKGROUND AND APPLICATION

Applying dramaturgical theory to this point in time offers an explanation and understanding of a Roman leader's dramatic actions as they were attempting to entertain the mob and achieve everlasting glory. Erving Goffman's, *The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life* (1959), offers the interpretive theory of dramaturgy which compares those holding power during the time of the empire to actors on a stage playing to an audience. Within this theatric analogy, actors use impression management methods to switch between front and back stage roles in order to promote their ideal self to the audience. These roles depend on the setting, or physical surroundings, in which the actor will perform for the audience. Once the actor determines the setting, they will begin to create a personal front with whom the audience is able to connect. Using costumes to manipulate the actor's appearance along with altering certain mannerisms, the actor is able to establish their role. With the help of teammates, or co-actors, the actor's screenplay of events becomes reality creating a lasting impression on those serving as the audience.

History is a part of the natural world and consists of both physical (e.g. books) and mental (e.g. memories) states. Therefore, by using a naturalist approach similar to the ancient writer Pliny the Elder (23AD-79AD), author of the encyclopedia *Historia Naturalis*, a sociological interpretation of historical literature and architecture illustrates the effects of dramatic historical recordings on the beliefs and actions of Roman society. Ancient historians Polybius (203BC-120BC), Livy (59BC-17AD), Tacitus (56AD-120AD), and Appian (95AD-165AD) provide ancient

literary descriptions and interpretations of what the Triumph means to the Empire's imperialistic society. The "Arch of Titus" (81AD) is a visual depiction of the ceremony that allows for modern interpretation of the triumphal procession alongside the aforementioned literature. Focusing on the ceremony under examination, H.S. Versnel's, *Triumphus* (1970), provides both an extensive description of the Roman Triumph along with a modern interpretation of its meaning in the ancient world. Keith Hopkins outlines the social context surrounding the citizens of Rome in, *Conquerors and Slaves* (1978), and, *Death and Renewal* (1983), providing insight into what it is like to live in Rome.

Analyzing Past and Present Evidence:

During the Roman Empire the term *Imperator* described an individual who was able to command a standing army. Their control over an army was only applicable outside of the city walls, however. Once they were within the walls of Rome they were no longer able to maintain their command. The usual amount of time given to an *Imperator* by the Senate was two years, unless they applied for another term. After two years, the *Imperator* relinquished control of the troops to the Senate until they named another person to the position. The number of active *Imperators* varied during the Empire from two to eight depending on the emperor's agenda and ability to pass legislation accordingly (Polybius 1975). These laws caused many Roman generals to create war as they only had a certain amount of time to earn the highest honor given to an *Imperator*, the Roman Triumph.

Winning a significant victory on the battlefield over an adversary declared by the people as an enemy of Rome was the only way to apply for the right to a Triumph (Livy 1883:28, 38). Having met this criterion, an *Imperator* could display their achievements to the public by will of the Senate (Polybius 1975:6, 15). Roman leaders sought for this type of public recognition that it may have been a reason for the imperialist nature of that society.

Similar to a modern day parade, the Roman Triumph was a ceremonial procession celebrating an *Imperator's* successful extension and protection of the Roman way of life (Versnel 1970). A ceremony displaying spoils of war was not enough, however. By manipulating the setting in which the audience witnessed the act, the *Imperator* manufactured an image of himself to display to the citizens of Rome. This "self" was a creation borne from the *Imperator's* knowledge of the Romans' love for grandeur. The Senate and citizens of Rome did not want to hold a ceremony simply to praise a victorious general. Instead, they sought the public appearance of a conquering hero that demanded even the Gods' admiration and respect. Roman leaders knew these expectations and acted accordingly in order to create their legacy. Thus the creation of a dramatic personal front was not uncommon as the context created by the idea of an Empire led by the Gods defined the *Imperator's* role prior to taking command of any army.

Historical recordings of godlike heroes prior to the founding of Rome are one of the many reasons for the citizens' grand expectations of leaders. Epic poetry, which marked the beginning of historical documentation, described men who were equal to the Gods because of their ability to win battles and overcome great odds. In this context, Homer's hero Aeneus is comparable to Livy's Romulus and Remus as these individuals became legends by achieving public success. In his book, *From the Founding of the City* (1883), Livy states, "the traditions of what happened prior to the foundation of the City or whilst it was being built are more fitted to adorn the creations of the poet than that of the authentic records of the historian." On many occasions, Livy also writes that if any city should hold a claim to be divine, it should be Rome (1883). The ability to interact with the Gods was essential to the citizens of Rome. They believed that the Gods provided direction in everyday life; therefore, the citizens of Rome believed that they did not worship a subjective entity. Instead, they saw their Gods as

objective beings that walked amongst them controlling everyday interactions (Hopkins 1983). Modern historians believe that the *Imperator* represents an incarnation of Jupiter, the master of all Roman Gods, because during the Empire citizens of Rome saw the *Imperator* as the master of all people (Versnel 1970). Creating a "God-like" character such as this was the only way to please the audience.

The *Via Sacra*, or the "sacred way," is a rather small gateway into the central forum of Rome: the *pomerium* (Ramsey 1875). Although it is not a particularly large road, it offers symbolic meaning as the winding pathway lead the triumphal procession throughout the city providing ample time for crowds to gather and witness the spectacle. This was perfect the stage for conquering generals to enter Rome. Citizens of Rome would gather along the pathway to pay homage to the protector of Roman life (Versnel 1970). Gathering crowds would applaud the *Imperator's* dramaturgical teammates (soldiers, Senators, etc…) while simultaneously jeering and taunting those enemies who were now captives of the Roman Empire (Versnel 1970). The role of the historians within the audience was essential to this dramaturgical act as they were not looking to write about common men. These future authors realized that their own place in history depended on captivating present and future audiences and thus as spectators of the Triumph made their own history selective towards those who were seen as uncommon individuals. Only an uncommon individual could achieve such a ceremony which is why those are the characters that dominate Roman history.

A standing army within Rome was very significant, even in the context of a *Truimph*. Laws during the Empire described any military presence within the city walls as a threat to civil society. They enforced these laws by banning any form of weapons in Rome because of the fear of providing tools for a rebellion (Hopkins 1978). Although a true militaristic society in every sense, Romans felt that allowing arms within the walls would make a revolt too simple for

those in opposition with city officials (Polybius 1975). Even the Emperor's *lictors*, or bodyguards, did not carry normal weapons. Instead they were to use *fasces*, which are a tightly bound bundle of rods, to protect the *Imperator*. Some depictions of *fasces*, however, show axes and other solid objects hidden within the bundle of rods in order to be more effective against any invading enemies (Hopkins 1978). More importantly, *fasces* were a symbol of power and protection stemming from the individuals who put them to use in Rome. Having the Senate request a commanding general and his soldiers' presence within Rome represented the trust and respect that the city held for their victorious champion.

In *Roman History*, Appian (2005) provides a first hand description of this symbolic ceremony in his recordings of the Triumph for Publius Cornelius Scipio. This particular Triumph is a celebration of Scipio's victory over the Carthaginians to end the first Punic War. To show all details without manipulation, the accompanying excerpt comes directly from Appian's history. This first-hand account of a *Triumph* gives a true sense of what it is like to be in the crowd witnessing this grand display of military power.

> The form of the triumph (which the Romans continue to employ) was as follows: All who were in the procession wore crowns. Trumpeters led the advance and wagons laden with spoils. Towers were borne along representing the captured cities, and pictures showing the exploits of the war; then gold and silver coin and bullion, and whatever else they had captured of that kind; then came the crowns that had been given to the general as a reward for his bravery by cities, by allies, or by the army itself. White oxen came next, and after them elephants and the captive Carthaginian and Numidian chiefs. Lictors clad in purple tunics preceded the general; also a chorus of musicians and pipers, in imitation of an Etruscan procession, wearing belts and golden crowns, and they march evenly with song and dance. They call themselves *Lydi* because, as I think, the Etruscans were a Lydian colony. One of these, in the middle of the procession, wearing a purple cloak and golden bracelets and necklace, caused laughter by making various gesticulations, as though he were insulting the enemy.
>
> Next came a lot of incense bearers, and after them the general himself on a chariot embellished with various designs, wearing a crown of gold and precious stones, and dressed, according to the fashion of the country, in a purple toga embroidered with golden stars. He bore a scepter of ivory, and a laurel branch, which is always the Roman symbol of victory.
>
> Riding in the same chariot with him were boys and girls, and on horses on either side of him young men, his own relatives. Then followed those who had served him in the war as secretaries, aids, and armor-bearers. After these came the army arranged in companies and cohorts, all of them crowned and carrying laurel branches, the bravest of them bearing their

> military prizes. They praised some of their captains, derided others, and reproached others; for in a triumph everybody is free, and is allowed to say what he pleases. When [Publius Cornelius] Scipio arrived at the Capitol the procession came to an end, and he entertained his friends at a banquet in the temple. (Appian 2005:9, 66)

Appian (2005) describes many of Goffman's dramaturgical concepts throughout this text. Within the procession, the actor's teammates include the magistrates, senators, relatives, and soldiers who were patrons of Scipio. Historians usually would make note of how many of these individuals were loyal to the *Imperator* as it shows their amount of civic and military influence (Polybius 1975). Other teammates include the incense bearers, musicians, heralds, and *lictors*. The number of *lictors* was also of importance as they were in charge of separating the audience from the *Imperator*. This distance is an example of mystification representing the idea that the *Imperator* is separate from the common civilian. Slaves, captured leaders and soldiers, even children were props rather than actual teammates because they did not willingly, or knowingly, play a role in the ceremony. Goods and animals from foreign lands as well as towers bearing inscriptions were more traditional forms of props and are recognizable as direct material gain from victory. Sacrificial bulls and other religious relics displayed the *Imperator's* faithfulness to the gods. This is an essential part to the ceremony because Roman citizens were very superstitious about religious patronage. Any instance in which an individual did not give proper respect to the Gods had set the city up for tragedy (Livy 1883). Other symbolic elements, such as the costumes worn by the teammates, are marks of possession by the *Imperator*. With these symbolic props in place, the conquering general would make his entrance into Rome on a chariot with four white horses pulling the reigns. Wearing a crown of gold covered with an assortment of stones and a purple toga embroidered with golden stars, he yielded both a scepter of ivory and a laurel branch. These are all common symbols of power known throughout the Empire. This costume represented the personal front of the *Imperator* as well as control over all elements of this ceremony (Versnel 1970). Modern historians have

come to believe that there was even a slave riding with the *Imperator* holding the *laurel wreath* above the general's head while whispering, "Remember you are only human," into the *Imperator's* ear (Versnel 1970). There are also references made to the general's face being "red-leaded" signifying him as the Roman deity Jupiter. Visual depictions in either sculptures or inscriptions that still survive today support such detail (Versnel 1970:57).

Using these many visual elements catches the attention of the audience. This ceremony vividly displays the superiority of the *Imperator* through military and political strength and is a way of commanding divine authority over the Empire. As Rome was a patron-client society, those considered teammates participate in the Triumph knowing that they also have something to gain. Some of the slaves may be clients as well; however the nature of the term slave implies a certain degree of forced cooperation. Other props, such as the children and religious symbols show the *Imperator* as someone with whom the audience can relate to. Though the goal of the ceremony is to deify the general, *Imperators* recognize the political importance of appearing as a product of the Roman way of life. This set the stage for future leaders as they see what they can accomplish by promoting the imperialistic nature of war.

Visual remnants of the ancient Empire confirm our knowledge of this ceremony and provide further detail into its meaning. The Arch of Titus stands at the highest point of the *Via Sacra* and is one of the most dominant features leading into the *pomerium*. An inscription on the top of this arch reads, "Senatus Populusque Romanus Divo Tito Divi Vespasiani Filio Vespasiano Augusto." The translation of this inscription is, "The Roman Senate and People to Deified Titus, Vespasian Augustus, son of Deified Vespasian." This arch is a gift to Titus commemorating his conquest of Judea, an enemy of Rome. The reliefs on the inside of the arch depict the procession accompanying his victory. "The Spoils of Jerusalem" relief shows slaves carrying a menorah, heralds carrying signs, and musicians playing trumpets; all of them

wearing their dramaturgical costumes. On the other side, "The Triumph of Titus" relief depicts Titus, wearing the full ceremonial costume, riding in a chariot lead by four horses. Behind Titus in the chariot is *Victory*, also known as the Roman goddess Victoria, holding a crown over the head of Titus signifying the acquisition of the God's respect. Another deity, *Valor*, is holding of the reigns of the four horses pulling Titus's chariot (Sullivan 2005). This illustrates the idea that Titus's Triumph over Judea is the "will of the Gods" as they lead him through the ceremony. The Arch of Titus reminds individuals of Titus's status as a God every time they see it. Today, this arch still stands as a visual reenactment that is available for modern interpretation making it invaluable to our understanding of the spectacle that was the Triumph.

CONCLUSION

The micro-level interaction and manipulation of one's "self" by individuals extends to have macro-scale effects. This ceremony illustrates the *Imperators'* recognition of the sociological imagination as they realize the individual role they play on the world-wide stage. Tacitus's, *The Life of Agricole* (1998), reminds society of those mortal individuals who are lost over time due to the demand for God-like conquerors by writing about a man who did not achieve divine status yet is an uncommon individual by those who love him. Common citizens like Agricole generally remain a figment of imagination in surviving ancient literature. Although archeology provides insight into the lives of the common people, their actions are left to speculation as true accounts of ancient life focus on those who have a dramatic effect on society. Nothing represents this better than the Triumph and the history surrounding it. Dramatic historical documentation along with visual images of a society seeking to connect themselves to the divine dominates the knowledge of Roman civilization. Thus, the literary rise and fall of the Roman Empire is the remains of characters engaging in an act hoping to

manufacture a legacy worthy of documentation. This is the script for the Roman Triumph and the cause of over-expansion leading to the fall of the Empire.

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Challenges of Good Governance in Post-Conflict Liberia

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Abstract Drawing on Max Weber's theory of bureaucracy, this paper employs a conceptual framework to examine the challenges of good governance in post-conflict Liberia. Good governance is the sound exercise of administrative authority to manage a country's resources for development (Astillero and Mangahas, 2002). Government, a pre-condition to governance, is the dominant decision-making arm of a given state. From 1989 to 1996, and 1999 to 2003, Liberia, a West African country, was involved in two civil wars which destroyed most of its' social institutions. Study reveals that the challenges to good governance are political, administrative, and economic.

INTRODUCTION

The international community's heightened concern about the challenges of good governance in post-conflict Liberia is the impetus of this study. Drawing on the political history accounts and Max Weber's theory of bureaucracy, this paper employs a conceptual framework in figure 1 (Astillero and Mangahas 2002) to examine the rebuilding challenges. Good governance can be broadly defined as the sound exercise of political, economic, and administrative authority to manage a country's resources for development (Astillero and Mangahas 2002). Government, a pre-condition to governance, is the dominant decision-making arm of a given state. From 1989 to 1996, and 1999 to 2003, Liberia, a small West African country, was involved in two civil wars lasting for 14 years, which destroyed most of the social, economic, and political institutions. Consequently, the two civil wars have left many social reconstruction challenges such as political, administrative, and economic governances.

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In general democratic elections held on October 11, 2005, Ellen Johnson-Sirleaf was elected as first female president of Liberia. The aforementioned challenges were reiterated in the text of inaugural address on January 17, 2006, of President Johnson Sirleaf on the question of governance:

> The workforce in our ministries and agencies is seriously bloated. Our administration will therefore embark on a process of rationalizing our agencies of government to make them lean, efficient, and responsive to public service delivery. This will require the creation of a meritocracy that places premium on qualification, professionalism, and performance (P. 5).

In this connection, the public policy making and service delivery systems must be accountable, participative, client-focused, demand-driven, responsive, and results-oriented. The preceding statement encapsulates Max Weber's theory of bureaucracy, which is built on rational-legal authority. It is in this context that the following pages will explore aforementioned challenges in Liberia.

REVIEW OF LITERATURE

In the review of literature, governance has three legs: political, economic and administrative (Hyden, Court, and Mease 2004). Political governance involves the formulation of policy, economic governance involves the decision-making process on how to allocate scarce resources such as education and health care, and administrative governance involves policy implementation. The primary function of government is to govern, while public administration is the management of the state apparatus for achieving the aims of governance. Arguably, the aforementioned three legs are the main challenges of Liberia. In this connection, there are two perspectives, namely a state-centric one and a society-centric one. The state-centric perspective focuses on how the state can promote economic growth, political stability, and security for all its citizens. On the other hand, the society-centric perspective emphasizes a democratic synergy between government and society, thereby giving more priority to societal needs such as citizen participation and accountability. This perspective is consistent with the

calls for the subordination of bureaucracy to society's cultural and political institutions (Mukandala, editor 2000). To strengthen the democratic state, civil society can assist individual citizens, private sector, and government. Examples are non- governmental organizations, charitable institutions, and religious and cultural groups. These are host associations around which voluntary society organizes to provide social services and advocate for social, economic, and political changes. In this connection, civil society can act as a pressure group by demanding accountability and transparency from both private sector and government.

Further, the New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD) designed to fight poverty levels and development, pointed out that governance is one of the five most important challenges facing Africa (Kajee 2003/2004). Governance for Africa especially Liberia, is about the regulation of the peoples' relationship with each other and with their government. This regulation affects decision-making on how to allocate scarce resources such as distribution of income, access to health care, basic education, and the effective management of cultural and ethnic diversity. Hence, the governance model chosen by each country must be one that is relevant to the values of the people to be governed and allows them to maximize those values. Such a governance system can only be secured through democratic that is participatory, bottom-up, inclusive, and people-driven constitution making.

Since independence in 1847, the Republic of Liberia was ruled by the Americo-Liberians, who established the True Whig Party in 1869. The best-known Liberian president was William Tubman from 1944 to 1971. After his death in 1971, he was succeeded by William Tolbert. On April 12, 1980, an indigenous Liberian from the Krahn ethnic group, Master Sergeant Samuel K. Doe, seized power in a coup d'etat and executed President William R. Tolbert, thereby ending 133 years of Americo-Liberian political domination. However, in 1989 due to the repressive nature of Doe and his government, rebels under Charles Taylor invaded Liberia from the Ivory

Coast. Taylor and his National Patriotic Front rebels rapidly gained the support of Liberians. As a result, another rebel group captured and killed Doe in 1990. An Interim Government of National Unity was formed in 1990 and Amos C. Sawyer became President. Taylor refused to work with the interim government and continued fighting.

The rebel groups Liberians United for Reconciliation and Democracy and Movement for Democracy in Liberia fought the Taylor regime. "Later in 2003, under intense United States and international pressure, Taylor resigned and departed into exile in Nigeria. Subsequently, a Comprehensive Peace Agreement was signed on August 18 in Accra, Ghana, laying the framework for constructing a 2-year National Transitional Government. Gyude Bryant was elected chair of the National Transitional Government of Liberia consisting of a 76-Member Legislative Assembly" (Electionworld.org 2007). The Transitional Government served until January 2006, when the winners of the 2005 presidential and congressional elections took office. On October 11, 2005, Ellen Johnson-Sirleaf was elected as the first female president of Liberia and Africa.

Throughout the country's history, Liberian governments have been notorious for using the structures of government to serve the needs and wishes of the elites such as the Americo-Liberians and their foreign benefactors. Little effort has been made to reach out to the masses of people, especially the indigenous groups that make up the greater part of the country. Consequently, an ethnic security dilemma persisted that is members of other ethnic groups fighting for the control of the country (Kew 2005). The indigenous Africans include sixteen ethnic groups, and dominant ones include Kpelle, Bassa, Gio, Kru, Grebo, Mano, and Mandingo (The World Factbook 2006). In fact, during the late 1950s and early 1960s, Liberia claimed to be the only 'real democracy' in Africa and thus, the only one, which actually had a government that was serving the people. Yet, as the evidence has shown, those governments served as

instruments for the capital accumulation activities of the Americo-Liberian elites, while relegating the majority of the people to the periphery of both the economy and the political system. Additionally, the inability of Liberia to effectively manage cultural and ethnic diversity has been a core problem in the country since independence. In fact, one can argue that this failure has been the primary cause of the country's social chaos, including the civil war that lasted more than 14 years.

Liberia, given its top-down, elite-driven and non-participatory constitutional history, constitution making has been dominated and controlled by the Americo-Liberian elite. As a result, most of the indigenous peoples were excluded from participating fully and effectively in constitutional discourse. Against this historical background, it is critical that the whole country engage in the reconstruction and reconstitution of the state through democratic constitution making in order to produce institutional arrangements that are relevant to the majority of the country's stakeholders.

CHALLENGES

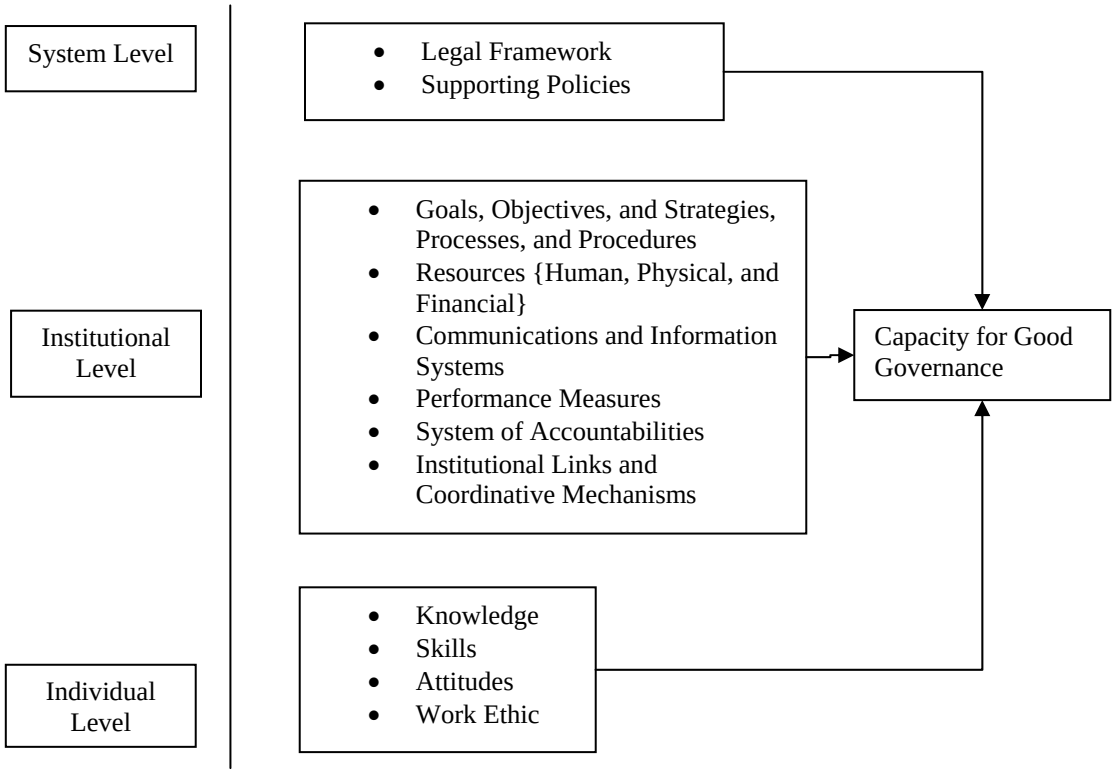
Over the past two decades many African countries including Liberia have made a transition to democratic forms of governance. This social change has led to the promotion of First Generation of Rights such as free speech and individual freedom, and Second Generation of Rights such as respect for international conventions as mandated by the United Nations. However, what still remains a challenge is the inability of African countries like Liberia to attain Third Generation of Rights which involves consolidation of substantive democracy and sustainable human development (Adamolekun 1999).

For instance, the big question is: How can Liberians reconstitute and reconstruct the state to provide institutional arrangements that (1) enhance peaceful coexistence of the country's various population groups; (2) promote entrepreneurship and wealth creation; (3)

eliminate historical inequalities like discrimination against indigenous peoples; (3) constrain state custodians; (4) promote the equitable distribution or allocation of public goods and services; and (5) generally advance political, economic, and social development? The analyses on political, administrative, and economic governance will attempt to answer the big question.

According to Weber, an effective democracy cannot exist without an effective bureaucracy. Therefore, public servants working in a bureaucracy must be engaged in formulating, delivering services and as well as implementing policy. Weber approached organizations through a study of power and authority, and he identified three ways for power to become authority: (1) charismatic, which rests on appeal of leaders, (2) traditional, which is based on customs and conventions, and (3) rational-legal authority, which is anchored in impersonal rules that have been legally established. This type of authority characterizes social relations in modern society (Ritzer 2004). Further, Weber pointed out that the exercise of authority varies from one state to another. For instance, in the African context, it is difficult to distinguish the state from political regime, individual personalities and government (Agbese and Kieh 2007). Drawing on Weber's rational-legal authority that is bureaucracy and a conceptual framework in figure 1 below (Astillero and Mangahas 2002) the following rebuilding governance challenges are examined at the system, institutional, and individual levels: political, administrative, and economic. Additionally, the rebuilding of better relationships between people of different ethnic and cultural backgrounds is necessary. Otherwise, these differences could be used as outlets for oppression and violence. These aforementioned challenges are also highlighted in President Johnson-Sirleaf's inaugural speech as important variables for developing capacities of good governance in Liberia. It is difficult to measure governance, however, development in social indicators such as political, administrative and economic growth will provide evidence of progress.

Figure 1 Conceptual framework: Developing capacities for good governance



Source Astillero and Mangahas 2002

As shown in figure 1 above, first, the system level focuses on bureaucracy, a good example of legal authority, which uses explicit rules and hierarchical ranking to achieve efficiency. That is, the rights and duties of officials are put into written rules and regulations. Second, at the institutional level the focus is on the management of relationships between and among different organizations and sectors. Often this requires a division of labor which stresses functional specialization for doing specific tasks. Third, the individual level gives support and training of personnel because in a bureaucratic administration decision-making is carried out with reliance on technical knowledge and expertise. Therefore, civil servants and stakeholders should have the work ethic, knowledge, attitudes, and skills necessary to perform

their daily tasks. The preceding observations of capacity building for good governance are consistent with Weber's five characteristics of bureaucracy which include division of labor, hierarchical authority, written rules, and regulations, impersonality, and employment based on technical qualifications (Ritzer 2004).

POLITICAL GOVERNANCE

Since the colonial and post-colonial era in Africa, governance and public administration approaches have been dominated by the Weberian ideal type bureaucracy. However, in the 1980s, the Weberian approach has been challenged by the World Bank and International Monetary Fund's Structural Adjustment Program (SAPs). This new program is designed to make countries in Africa qualify for loans from the world financial institutions and also to ensure debt repayment. Additional conditions include combating poor macroeconomic policies in many African countries, which lead to persistent fiscal deficits, price inflation, and unemployment. As a consequence, the Structural Adjustment Program has created a New Public Management approach, which has two forms: one that is informed by neoclassical theories of rationality and focuses on civil service restructuring by recommending privatization, building partnerships and efficiency in the delivery of goods and services; and the second form is normative, which emphasizes the promotion of sustainable human development, good governance and democracy. The main goal of this new management approach is to investigate the past failures and successes in African governance, and recommend an indigenization of the discourse on governance and public administration. Despite the Structural Adjustment Program's main goal of poverty reduction, many critics contend that it has resulted in reduced spending on social programs like public health, education, and economic development, while making as priority debt repayment and other economic policies, thereby affecting general public administration. The most important reason for SAPs failure is the fact that they were externally designed and

imposed on the African economies, with virtually no participation from each country's relevant stakeholders. In fact, in the design of the SAPs, little effort was made to take into consideration the specificities of each African country. Instead, a "one-size-fits-all" approach was used by the economists at the Bretton Woods institutions who designed them. Consequently, the Structural Adjustment Program's implementation and design were capricious for it imposed virtually all the costs on the poor and vulnerable groups like women, rural inhabitants, urban poor, and various minority groups, while allowing the benefits to accrue to the elites (Agbese et al. 2007).

ADMINSTRATIVE GOVERNANCE

The promotion of democracy in post-conflict Liberia cannot succeed without the rebuilding of order such as police and army. So the big questions are: (1) how can Liberia prepare itself for the eventual exit of the United Nations Mission in Liberia (UNMIL)? (2) How can Liberia provide itself with a well-constrained police force like one that is well-constrained by the law and functions effectively to maintain law and order, including the protection of property rights? Answers to the preceding questions require the following reforms: first, decentralize regional governments so that at the county level departments and services can be restructured. This framework can devolve power away from the federal level to local authorities thereby empowering every local community. Second, reform the civil service through the implementation of efficient and effective training methods. This will enable civil servants to acquire technical and managerial skills. Also reform the incentive structures that are hiring, promotion, and pay. Third, create a new national police force. To this end, the United Nations Mission in Liberia is training the new national police force under United Nation's supervision. The former Chairman Bryant encouraged more women to join the police force. Additionally, create a New National Army, which should have a fair ethnic group and geographical

representations. The minimum qualifications for all recruits are 18 years of age, physical fitness, minimum high school education, and no record of human rights abuses. Former fighters from disbanded armed factions who meet the qualifications will also be recruited. Their mission shall be to serve all citizens and not be taken by national leaders to oppress people. Fourth, reform the Criminal Justice System in order to change the perception that justice can be bought. This can be accomplished by replacing the dysfunctional judiciary with an independent and professional one. The main goals shall be to promote the rule of law by punishing criminal offenders; bring to justice those who have committed human rights abuses; and reintegrate former combatants. Fifth, to fight routinized corruption that is ""Get, Grab and Go" by ending the culture of impunity. Corruption has led to ethnic conflicts and civil wars. To fight corruption, the United States is helping Liberia by putting experts in key financial institutions with cooperation from the United Nations, World Bank and the Government of Liberia.

ECONOMIC GOVERNANCE

Lack of economic growth threatens national security because a large number of the youth are unemployed. The solution is to attract needed investments especially in new technologies that will create new employment opportunities for all citizens. The new administration can create jobs by rebuilding the physical infrastructure such as roads, schools, housing, and telecommunication systems. Jobs can also be created by increasing production and export of primary commodities like rubber, iron ore, and cocoa to enhance Liberia's entry into the global economy. This entry can sustain an economic growth that yields employment opportunities for people, and restore Liberia's standing in the international organizations like World Bank, International Monetary Fund, and United Nations.

Education

In any post-conflict society, social reconstruction that is the rebuilding of social services such as education, which is a social equalizer, poses a real challenge. Schools play an important role in shaping the values and attitudes of citizens necessary for the functioning of any democratic society. Therefore, the key activities for rebuilding and stabilization must include primary, secondary, vocational, and higher education. Lack of education is a major cause of poverty, at individual, family, and societal levels. Poverty is likewise a major reason why children fail to enroll in school. Often, poor families give priority to boys' education, as possibly increasing future family income, but many boys from poor families have to drop out of school to earn income. To mitigate these conditions, the new administration should provide free primary and secondary education to all citizens, especially child soldiers who must be reintegrated into society. Implementing a good educational policy will channel youth energy and creativity towards a constructive agenda and reduce high illiteracy. Further, to ensure the strategic vision for educational reconstruction, the new administration must ask for assistance from the international bodies, civil society, and United Nations such as the United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization (UNESCO). The United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF) is providing free primary education to all war affected children and helping on their rehabilitation and reintegration efforts. Additionally, the United States is providing financial and technical assistance in teacher training and school rebuilding efforts. All these efforts will increase capacity building and lead to a more sustainable human development.

Public Health

Another social reconstruction challenge is the availability and delivery of public health services. There is an acute need for medical doctors, nurses, pharmaceutical drugs, and facilities such as hospitals and clinics in order to fight diseases such as Malaria, Tuberculosis,

childhood malnutrition, maternal illnesses, and Human Immunodeficiency Virus (HIV) or Acquired immune deficiency syndrome (AIDS). This challenge can be met by pursuing multiple strategies: (1) develop training programs for healthcare and social service professionals at all levels; (2) integrate mental health into the national heath care system in order to address social problems related to victims of war trauma and substance abuse; (3) shift the orientation from curative to a more preventive system of care; and (4) design a payment system similar to Medicare and Medicaid in the United States. Medicare is designed to provide prepaid hospital insurance for elderly people, while Medicaid can be means-tested to determine eligibility, thereby, help the poor, women, children and disabled members of society. Additionally, more health care services should be provided in the rural communities. All these efforts will require financial resources and assistance from the World Health Organization.

CONCLUSION

Good governance in Liberia requires proactive policies which can be carried out in collaboration with the private sector, civil society, and community agencies. These efforts will make the government become more legitimate and relevant to all citizens. In summary, good governance therefore implies the ability of the government to provide an institutional environment within which all citizens can live together peacefully. That is individuals and groups can engage in productive activities to create the wealth and income that they need without unnecessary molestation from state custodians like civil servants and politicians; and public goods and services are distributed in an efficient and equitable manner. These efforts will strengthen democracy, human rights and promote economic prosperity and social cohesion.

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Multicultural Education: Work Yet to be Done

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Abstract This paper brings to the surface for review, discussion, and debate, some critical issues for which multicultural education specialists need to provide useful theoretical frameworks that may guide our explanations to these issues.

With the embracing of the ideology of multicultural education in the United States, practically every institution of formal learning, from the grade school to the university, is rapidly subscribing or has already subscribed to multicultural curricula. By embracing the multicultural agenda, educational institutions are demonstrating a commitment to broadening students' views of American subcultures (and world cultures). By exposing students to these subcultures, their histories, experiences and contributions to the U.S. society, it is expected that students will appreciate and celebrate cultural differences, and that ultimately, multicultural education will help eradicate all forms of bigotry, such as racial-ethnic bigotry, sexism, homophobia, etc. in the United States.

While the intent of multiculturalism is positive, a critical examination of some aspects of this educational reform endeavor, reveal, at least theoretically, that certain issues in multicultural programming require the development of strong explanatory frameworks. Without adequate explanatory frameworks to explain the issues outlined in this study, these issues may pose great threats to the strength of multicultural education as an interventionist program against bigotry. The area of multiculturalism covered in this study is limited to racial and ethnic (cultural) diversity.

INTRODUCTION

In the 1960s and early 1970s, the United States experienced many social movements, ranging from the Civil Rights to the anti-war movements. Within the larger umbrella of the civil rights movement were specialized movements such as school desegregation, special-needs education, bilingual education, and mainstreaming, designed purposely to make education more accessible to various underprivileged students (Grant 1992). It was from these educational

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reform movements that today's popular multicultural education movement gradually emerged (Grant 1992).

Today, institutions of formal learning use terms like "multiculturalism", "cultural diversity" and "multicultural education" to describe their programs which are designed to broaden students' views of other cultures, especially American minority cultures (Oyinlade 1994). Due to this new commitment, multicultural education has become a popular buzzword and general theme in American education (Ehlers and Crawford 1983; Sowell 1994b). But despite its high popularity, multicultural education is a contentious issue in American education (Stotsky 1992). The debate on multicultural education includes such issues as its definition, goals, and practicality. In the attempt to define multicultural education, scholars have been able to agree only on one thing: there is no one common definition of multicultural education, because there is no one model of what it means to be American (AACTE 1973; Grant 1992; Trevino 1995). This means that one can define multicultural education according to one's perceptions and objectives. Hence, the American Association of Colleges of Teacher Education (AACTE) defines it as education that rejects cultural assimilation and a mere tolerance of cultural pluralism. Rather, it is education that affirms, values, preserves and enhances cultural pluralism (AACTE 1973). Poplin and Wright (1983) agreed with the AACTE's definition but accentuated the role of cultural pluralism to encompass"autonomy for each group to work out its own social future as long as it does not interfere with the same rights as other groups" (p. 367). Further, Banks and Banks (1995) looked at multicultural education as "a field of study and emerging discipline whose major aim is to create equal educational opportunities for students from diverse racial, ethnic, social class and cultural groups" (p. xi).

Regardless of the definition of multicultural education to which one may subscribe,

educators appear to agree more readily on its ultimate goal; the eradication of bigotry and discrimination in the United States (Banks 1994; Lincoln Public Schools 1994). This goal is expected to be achieved through a curriculum change that provides an equitable acknowledgment of the histories, cultures, and contributions of all peoples of the United States (Banks 1995; Felix 1992; Grant 1992; Trevino 1995). This goal especially applies to those who have traditionally been dismissed, ignored, de-emphasized, or scorned by school curricula (Grant 1992; Trevino 1995).

Some of the supporting arguments for multicultural education indicate that through the multicultural imperative, students will expand their "literary cannon of western civilization so that it more accurately and fully reflects the cultures of Africa, Asia, and Latin America" (Trevino 1995:126). Through this, students will gain appreciation for cultural, racial and gender diversity. They will also change how they interact with people from whom they are different through the acquisition of tolerance and acceptance of differences (Adams 1995; Diaz 1994; Sherritt 1990). In addition, multicultural education will enhance equivalency in educational achievement, greater positive attitudes towards members of out-categories and development of pride in the heritage of minority students (Fleras and Leonard-Elliot 1992; Kehoe 1984; Kehoe 1994; Young 1984). Therefore, multicultural education, including a gender perspective, becomes an important "step toward unity with sectors of American society that currently feel alienated" (Diaz 1994:10).

Simultaneously, as multicultural education has been positively reviewed, it has similarly attracted some criticisms. Some critics, for example, have argued that multicultural education lacks an unambiguous definition and it is nothing but a political movement (Wax 1995) with an underlying thrust of rejection of the dominant culture (Elhers and Crawford 1983). This fact was further accentuated by Stotsky who indicated that an important part of the question on

multicultural education is about "who/what is being served; academic or political ends" (1992: 65).

Due to its political status, multiculturalism has been criticized as the new buzzword in educational circles that must not be challenged, else one risks being labeled as intolerant or as a betrayer *of the race, if one were a member of a racial minority* (Sowell 1994b; italic mine). This, ironically, portrays multiculturalists who advocate diversity, as, themselves, intolerant of opposition to their own views. According to Sowell (1994b),

> ...when the buzzword 'diversity' is used, all brain cells are supposed to stop functioning, so that a rosy glow of feeling can take over. Nothing is more rigidly conforming than 'diversity'. Use the generic 'he' and it proves that you despise women. Fail to keep up with the ever-changing names for various racial and ethnic groups, and it proves you are a racist. (P. 69)

Sowell (1994a) further criticized that what is being done in the name of multicultural education is provincial and still Eurocentric due to its focus on discrediting western civilization. Also, Lynch (1987) criticized multiculturalism for ignoring the structural basis of domination and discrimination. That is, multiculturalism fails to critically analyze the complex dynamics of race, power and social stratification within the schools (Adams 1995), and it promotes the “balkanization” of American culture, divisiveness and fragmentation; a complete opposition to the nation's ideals of a melting pot (Stotsky 1992; Wax 1995). Similarly, McCarthy (1990) indicated that multicultural education generally leads to an inadequate discussion of racism, providing avenues for students to talk around racism in generalities and half truths. “By focusing on sensitivity training and on individual differences, multicultural proponents typically skirt the very problem which multicultural education seeks to address; WHITE RACISM” (McCarthy 1990: 34-35). Hence, honest discussions of racism that could make students uncomfortable or angry are avoided (Adams 1995).

In view of the opposing perspectives on multicultural education, this study examines certain areas where the multicultural education agenda could attract more criticism, so that

scholars in the field of multicultural education could develop explanatory frameworks that could be used to address such criticisms. Although this author does not propose any explanatory framework for addressing the issues raised in this study, it is important for scholars and practitioners of multiculturalism to address these issues to prevent these issues from becoming the weak links in the multicultural education agenda. Hopefully, with a recognition of these issues, scholars of multiculturalism will investigate potential explanatory frameworks that will be useful in defraying any attacks on multicultural education. The area of multiculturalism covered in this study is limited to racial and ethnic (cultural) diversity, but the author recognizes that the field of multiculturalism is much larger than the scope addressed in this study.

ISSUES OF CONCERN

Multiculturalism is rooted on the tenets of equality of all cultures residing in America and the eradication (or at least amelioration) of bigotry and dominant-subordinate race-ethnic relations in the country. The following issues in multicultural education are proposed for good explanatory frameworks because of their potentials to weaken the power of multiculturalism in helping to eradicate or ameliorate American bigotry. These areas are selection bias, potential stereotypes, theoretical underpinning, avoidance of ethnocentrism and ethnicism[1], cultural conflicts, and practicality of equalitarian pluralism.

Selection Bias

The concept of multicultural education connotes teaching students about the cultures of the American minorities and elevating each culture to an equal status with the dominant White Anglo Saxon Christian[2] culture. However, several cultures from various parts of the world are represented, to a significant degree, in sub-cultural contexts in the United States. Pragmatically, most of these sub-cultures cannot be covered in a curriculum, therefore, it is unlikely that all ethnicities residing in the country or in any particular state or school district

(especially in areas with many sub-cultures) will receive equal recognition (i.e. coverage) in a curriculum. The selection process for determining the ethnicity to include in a (school's) curriculum is likely to be determined by power differentials among the minorities in a particular state or school district. The more politically powerful minorities in the state or school district stand a better chance to dominate the curriculum, while the less powerful ones risk being given only a glossary mention, if not completely excluded from the curriculum. This is a selection bias that favors the more powerful minorities, making it possible for them to use the platform of multiculturalism to influence educational curricula in similar ways as Whites have traditionally done, due to their (Whites') power dominance over the American society. This phenomenon can be most readily observed in some school districts in Milwaukee, Portland, and Atlanta where African Americans constitute the dominant minority population. These districts adopted in the early 1990s, the Single-Category Studies approach to multicultural education. This approach emphasizes a methodology that focuses on teaching the experience and contributions of one specific minority category (normally, the dominant one in the area) to the United States (Grant 1992; Grant and Sleeter 1989). In the aforementioned districts in Milwaukee, Portland, and Atlanta, the Single-Category Studies curricula have been primarily Afrocentric, centering in some cases, on the Black American male experience (Grant 1992). However, by focusing on the experience of the dominant category (ies), this approach, in effect, discriminates against other (less powerful) minority categories. Hence, a program designed to help eliminate discrimination is in itself discriminatory. This is counter to the goal of multicultural education.

Avoiding Stereotypes

When multicultural education identifies and addresses American populations as Asian, Black, Hispanic, Native American, White, etc. it runs the risk of assuming that Americans are monoliths, thereby overlooking the extensive within category differences that exist among the

various categories. Like Whites, Blacks, for example, vary in their ways of life by geographic location and socioeconomic status. Poor, rural, southern Blacks do not share the same sub-culture as rich, educated, urban Blacks in the North. Although they share the same minority status, they belong to different regional and social class sub-cultures. Using the middle and upper classes as the embodiment of the American White Anglo Saxon Christian (WASC) core culture, Gordon (1964) indicated that the acculturation of Blacks into the core culture was class dependent. He contended that Black elites as well as middle class Blacks were well acculturated into the core culture while lower class Blacks still lagged behind. Similarly however, he indicated that poor, lower class Whites equally lacked complete acculturation into the core culture. Gordon's position remains valid today as seen in the work of Pinckney (2000) who claimed that poor Blacks and poor Whites in the South are not significantly different from each other. For example, they both eat less expensive foods and are both significantly emotional in their religious practices.

In addition to social class differences, Americans of Asian descent also have within category cultural differences by country of origin. They are from countries such as Japan, China, Thailand, Korea, India, Malaysia, Pakistan, Vietnam, Laos, Cambodia, and the Philippines**.** They have neither language nor cultural commonality based on differences which are rooted in thousands of years of cultural traditions of their countries of origin. They "do not see themselves as Asian-Americans and many resent being labeled this way. Many Japanese-Americans do not feel a particular affinity to Filipino- or Pakistani-American, or to Korean-Americans. And, the feeling is rather reciprocal" (Etzioni 1998:60). Therefore, to simplify these various Asian nationalities as one "Asian-American" category under the rubric of multiculturalism is to discount their unique traditions. This is akin to addressing and treating

the citizens of the United States, Canada, and Mexico as indistinguishable North Americans (Etzioni 1998).

The Native Americans and Hispanics are not monoliths either. With over 560 federally recognized Indian tribes and about 278 federal Indian reservations (Marger 2006), traditional Native American cultures are as diverse from one another as they are different from the WASC culture (Lurie 1991; Thornton 1995). Similarly, Hispanic cultures in the U. S. originate from many Latin countries in the Americas and Spain. It is granted that Hispanic peoples have a similar language and religion, but the rest of their cultural characteristics are different. The disappointment, among Americans of Central and South American origins, of being labeled incorrectly, as one people, was expressed by a social service administrator of Spanish ancestry that "...there is no place called Hispanica. I think it's degrading to be called something that doesn't exist. Even Latino is a misnomer. We don't speak Latin" (Etzioni 1998:60). Therefore, when a multicultural curriculum speaks of the Native American, Asian, or Hispanic culture, it runs the risk of either using one cultural variant as a standard for a diverse population or simply focusing on generalized stereotypes to describe the population.

Theoretical Underpinning

The multicultural agenda assumes that Whites are bigots due to their ignorance of the cultures of the American ethnic minorities. Based on this assumption, it is believed that multicultural education would give White students the necessary knowledge and appreciation needed to become non-bigoted. However, no sociological or psychological theory (normative theories, power conflict theories, scapegoat, authoritarian personality) supports this "ignorance thesis". In addition, if cultural ignorance is the true source of bigotry, intra-ethnic prejudice, such as that often found between earlier and later generations of members of the same ethnicity would not exist. Also, well-educated people, such as those with advanced degrees in

the social sciences, history, and the humanities would not be bigots. And, this is not true. Bigotry is distributed across all social classes and educational levels. In fact, Schaefer (1995) questioned the traditional assumption that formal education reduces bigotry by indicating that while surveys typically show an inverse relationship between education and prejudice, educated people are not necessarily less prejudiced. Rather, they have learned to express their prejudice in more subtly aversive ways, and they have learned socially desirable responses to questionnaire and interview items. Therefore, White prejudice has remained widespread, despite their education.

As an interventionist program for bigotry, multicultural education needs a strong and valid theoretical base upon which it can ground its assumptions. Without strong theoretical underpinnings for its assumptions, multicultural education risks being susceptible to attacks as being nothing more than a political or feel-good exercise for school administrators.

Avoidance of Ethnocentrism

Ironically, while multicultural education teaches the embracing of cultural differences, it also holds the potential to increase the likelihood of ethnocentrism and ethnicism. On the positive side, ethnocentrism and ethnicism are intrinsic to culture, functioning to enhance and promote solidarity among the members of a culture, as well as helping to justify why people continue to subscribe to their cultures. According to Healey (1997:66), "without some degree of ethnocentrism, people would not sort themselves out along group lines, and the characteristics that differentiate 'us' from 'them' would not be identified". However, a dysfunction of ethnocentrism and ethnicism is that they cause divisions and segregation among people, thereby discouraging unity among people of diverse backgrounds. This point is central to Noel's (1968) model of ethnic stratification. In his discussion of Noel's work, Marger (2006) indicated that

> ...on initial contact, divergent groups will judge each other in terms of their own culture, that is ethnocentrically. Given the nature of ethnocentrism, such evaluations will usually be negative. The extent of this negative judgment, will, however, depend on the degree of difference between groups: the more dissimilar they are from each other, the more negative the judgment. (P. 49)

This means that through our culture, we learn to favor what is familiar and to reject (discriminate against) what is unfamiliar or different. Even Napoleon Chagnon, a trained anthropologist, expressed his disgust at the appearance of the "burly, naked, sweaty, and hideous" Yanomamo Indians at his first contact with them. He said,

> I am not ashamed to admit that had there been a diplomatic way out, I would have ended my fieldwork then and there. I did not look forward to the next days-and months-when I would be left alone with the Indians; I did not speak a word of their language, and they were decidedly different from what I had imagined them to be. The whole situation was depressing, and I wondered why I ever switched from physics and engineering in the first place. (Chagnon 1983:11)

Due to this *social* inherence of ethnocentrism and ethnicism to culture, if an educational philosophy emphasizes the teaching of cultural differences, regardless of its good intentions, those who are judged to be "different" are likely to be treated differently. This is because discrimination is rooted on the perceptions (real or imagined) of differences (Bogardus 1959; Noel 1968). Being judged to be different would prove detrimental to the minorities, since the power of the distribution of resources lie predominantly with the majority (WASC). By dominating the power of resource distribution, members of the majority category are more likely to favor one another to the detriment of the minorities. This is evident in Bogardus (1959) who demonstrated that those who were perceived to be similar to Americans of White Northwestern European origins were favored over other Americans. The closer the *perceptions* of physical and cultural similarities of an ethnic category to the White Northwestern European Americans, the better the preferences accorded that category (Isaacs 1989; Van den Berghe 1981; Yinger 1981).

Given that discrimination is directed at those that are considered to be different (Bogardus 1959; Isaacs 1989; Noel 1968; Van den Berghe 1981; Yinger 1981), the benefits of

multicultural education, with its emphasis on differences along category lines, will ultimately, accrue to the WASC category more than to minority categories. It is granted that multicultural educational approaches will present differences in positive ways to reduce the likelihood of discrimination against the minorities, however, prejudice is an inflexible emotional state of mind that is normally not discarded simply due to a positive presentation of the minorities or contrary evidence (Allport 1958; Mason 1970; Merger 2006; Pettigrew 1980). Therefore, it is necessary for multicultural education to provide adequate explanation for how students will be able to avoid or abandon ethnocentrism while being taught how others are different, given the fact that an anthropologist of the caliber of Napoleon Chagnon still fell prey to ethnocentrism and ethnicism in his contact with the Yanomamo Indians.

Cultural Conflicts

Bearing in mind that multiculturalism teaches the acceptance and embracing of cultural traditions of others (who are culturally different), would multicultural education promote the teaching and embracing of cultural phenomena that stand in complete contrast to the American dominant culture? For example, would multicultural education teach students to accept, appreciate and respect practices such as polygyny and the wearing of veils among some Arabs, the eating of dogs among some Vietnamese and Chinese, female circumcision among some Africans, and the phenomenon of child bride among some Arabs and Asians? The likelihood of implementing multicultural education to the extent of embracing these practices by Americans is highly unlikely due to our WASC cultural opposition to these practices. Yet, such acceptance is necessary if we are to be true to the ideals of multiculturalism that advocate the embracing of different cultural ways of life and elevating all American minority cultures to equal status with the WASC culture.

The dilemma of embracing the ideals of multiculturalism in a situation of cultural conflict was evident in a 1996 case in Lincoln, Nebraska, in which two Iraqi men aged 34 and 28 married to two sisters aged 14 and 13 respectively. As reported in the major local newspaper, the Lincoln Journal Star, the marriages were approved by the girls' parents and were based on Islamic laws and customs. All the participants in these marriages, including the girls' parents were recent Iraqi immigrants (refugees) to the United States, and they had no knowledge of American laws regarding marriage. Both weddings[3] involved the payment of dowries (not required by state law) by the men to the girls' parents, but excluded marriage licenses and blood tests which were required by state law. Upon hearing about the marriages, Lincoln Police arrested and jailed the girls' father and his two sons-in-law under charges of child abuse and first-degree sexual assault of a child, respectively (Mabin 1996).

What happened in Lincoln was, arguably, a simple clash of cultures whereby the Iraqi refugees practiced their marriage customs which conflicted with the laws of their newly adopted home. These men were given prison terms; a rather big price to pay for being culturally different. Their imprisonment confirms that cultural difference is not acceptable as a reason for violating a law; rather, cultural conformity is expected. According to the prosecuting county attorney, "people can make comments about a clash of cultures, but my sworn obligation is to enforce the criminal laws of the state. “Culture doesn't really enter into a determination of whether the criminal laws should be enforced" (Zeleny 1996:9A).

One may say that if the Iraqi men in the Lincoln story had been well exposed to multicultural education, they would have been made aware of US marriage customs, and would have avoided violating Nebraskan marriage processes. While this point is valid, one is simultaneously implying that the Iraqis should not practice an aspect of their traditional marriage customs in the US because the practice is in conflict with our American customs. This

is tantamount to advocacy for Anglo conformity and assimilation rather than multiculturalism. Hence, if multiculturalism cannot be used as a platform for engaging in one's *legitimate* cultural practice that conflicts with the dominant American culture, multicultural education would be teaching only conformity to the dominant WASC culture that it intends to de-emphasize.

Practicality of Equalitarian Pluralism

Multicultural education seeks to legitimize pluralism in its contributions to eradicating or ameliorating bigotry in the US. Through pluralism cultural differences are expected to be fostered and strengthened in positive ways (Kitano and Daniels 1988; Marger 2006). With this perspective, two patterns of pluralism; equalitarian and inequalitarian are possible (Marger 2006). Equalitarian pluralism is characterized by complete *equality* in access to opportunities and outcomes of effort by members of every ethnic category. In equalitarian pluralism, there is an absence of dominant-subordinate ethnic relations, but there is maintenance of cultural and structural separation of the minorities from the majority. For equalitarian pluralism to happen, however, certain conditions must be met: different ethnicities must be territorially based in separate geographic areas of the country where they are native due to long historical roots, the national government must distribute national resources (economic, political etc.) proportionately by ethnic population, and the language of every ethnicity would be formally equally recognized as official lingua franca (Gordon 1981; Lijphart 1977; Marger 2006). These conditions make equalitarian pluralism impracticable in the United States because ethnic minorities are not territorially based in any one specific part of the country; they are dispersed throughout the nation. Also, the multiple lingua franca requirement is unlikely to be met due to the dominant Anglo Saxon history of the country, and a power imbalance which favors the Whites who predominantly speak only English.

The other type of pluralism is inequalitarian. Under the inequalitarian system, separate ethnicities have *unequal* access to national resources (Marger 2006), the minorities are treated with coercion by the majority, and the state protects the interests of the majority (Smith 1969). Also, the wealth of the nation is dominated by the majority who dominates the prestigious and highly-rewarding jobs, while the minorities are disproportionately represented in menial, poorly paid, labor intensive and non-prestigious jobs (Rex 1970; Van den Berghe 1978). This is the current pattern of pluralism in the United States, and it is hardly a good alternative for the minorities.

CONCLUSION

This paper brings to the surface for review, discussion, and debate, some critical issues for which multicultural education specialists need to provide useful theoretical frameworks that may guide our explanations to these issues.

Prejudice and discrimination remain perennial problems of the American society and efforts must continue to find viable avenues for their demise. Multicultural education, with its valid and admirable tenets, was conceived to be one such viable solution. But as outlined in this paper, multicultural education is an approach that needs to develop some frameworks for explaining and strengthening certain areas that could prove to be its weak links.

It is important that scholars and practitioners in the field of multicultural education provide a nondiscriminatory method of selecting the ethnicities that are included in a multicultural educational curriculum. It is equally important that multicultural education curriculum be designed to recognize within category differences, so that no category of people is treated as monoliths or stereotyped as conforming to the standards of one variant within a broader category.

Multicultural education specialists also need to help develop explanatory frameworks and methods for dealing with ethnocentrism and ethnicism which are inherent in culture. All cultures give their members standard ways of life which are used (by members) to measure other cultures with which they (members) make contact. This is an ethnocentric quality of culture. Since all cultures carry ethnocentric properties, teaching cultural differences, even in the most positive ways, is to create a room for evaluations and judgments of the "other" culture. Such evaluations and judgments typically reflect ethnocentrism and ethnicism, since one is more likely than not, to favor the values of his/her own culture over those of others. Therefore, it is important for scholars and practitioners of multicultural education to provide explanations for how students would accept and embrace cultural differences that conflict with their American cultural values. This fact is especially important given the recognition that prejudice is rooted in people's emotions, and it is not abandoned simply due to a positive presentation of the category to which one may hold negative feelings.

It is also important for multicultural scholars and practitioners to succinctly explain the nature of pluralism that multicultural education intends to promote. Literature on multiculturalism overwhelmingly proclaim strong support for pluralism, but none has explicitly explained the nature of pluralism it advocates, though I assume the equalitarian type. I assume that multicultural education will seek equalitarian pluralism because of its goal of elevating minority cultures to *equal* status with the WASC culture. However, no literature has explained how this equality is to be achieved and maintained. The challenge, therefore, is for multicultural education scholars to help explain how equalitarian pluralism is to be accomplished and maintained in the US, given the fact that the country is not currently structured to meet the necessary conditions for establishing equalitarian pluralism outlined under "practicality of equalitarian pluralism" (see also Gordon 1981; Lijphart 1977; Marger 2006). And, if American

equalitarian pluralism can be accomplished by conditions other than those outlined under "practicality of equalitarian pluralism", it is important that such conditions be made part of the literature on multicultural education and pluralism.

Lastly, as indicated in this study, the multicultural agenda assumes that people are bigots due to their lack of knowledge of other people's ways of life. Based on this assumption, multicultural education attempts to educate students, especially White students, on various cultures with the expectation of making the students less culturally ignorant, and hence, less bigoted. But as earlier indicated, no sociological or psychological theory supports the notion that bigotry is caused by ignorance, it is therefore imperative that multicultural education scholars provide a sound theoretical basis for the "ignorance thesis" that underlie multicultural education philosophy.

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NOTES

1. A distinction is made here between ethnocentrism and ethnicism to show two different elements of culture. While ethnocentrism refers to the attitude of judging the traits of other cultures by the standards of one's culture, ethnicism describes the prejudicial attitude of claiming cultural superiority. That is, ethnicism is the belief or attitude that one culture is inherently superior to another. While ethnocentrism is a necessary prerequisite for ethnicism, not all incidence of ethnocentrism leads to ethnicism. For example, Whites from the dominant culture often positively evaluate the academic achievements of members of some Asian-American sub-cultures. Although such evaluation is in comparison to the standard of achievements among Whites, i.e. ethnocentric, it is none-the-less favorable to the minority. On the other hand, to believe that the WASC culture is superior to an Asian-American sub-culture is ethnicism. Therefore, ethnicism is to culture as racism is to race.

2. White Anglo-Saxon Christian (WASC) is adopted in this study to describe the dominant (core) American culture of today instead of the commonly used White Anglo-Saxon Protestant (WASP) description. This is because this author believes that while the early part of American life was dominated by protestant values, today, American culture is predominantly Christian, regardless

of denomination. There has been a significant social intercourse between Catholics and Protestants to transform the American culture from being strictly Protestant to being generally Christian.

3. The weddings cited here were used strictly as an example of cultural conflicts that make the practice of true (equalitarian) multiculturalism highly difficult, if not out right improbable, in a society like the U.S. that has a strong dominant culture. The weddings are not cited in this article as a show of support or opposition by this author for what many may (rightfully or wrongfully) consider as forced or improper marriages.

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Agricultural Producers' Use of Genetically Modified Organisms

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Abstract A random sample of agricultural producers from North and South Dakota, Minnesota, Iowa, and Wisconsin is used to examine producers' decisions to use or not use genetically modified organisms. Using the rational choice theoretical framework to guide analyses, the associations between proportion of genetically modified corn acres grown by agricultural producers and perceived cost, perceived risk, and perceived benefit. Results indicated that 1) perceived cost was significantly, negatively associated with proportion of GM corn acres planted; 2) perceived risk was significantly, negatively associated with proportion of GM corn acres planted; and 3) perceived benefit was significantly, positively associated with proportion GM corn acres planted.

INTRODUCTION

Agricultural producers (farmers and ranchers) have adopted genetically modified organisms (GMO)[1] at arguably the quickest rate of any farming technology in history (Conko 2003). The genetic modification of agricultural plants and animals—often referred to as agricultural biotechnology—has sparked substantial debate (Barham 1996; Barham and Foltz 2002; Darr and Chern 2002; Foltz and Chang 2002; Lawson et al. 2003a; Nelson 2001; Shanahan et al. 2001; Wimberley and Thompson 2002; Zarnstorff 2003). Such debate involves not only the biological and agricultural science issues of gene discovery and gene manipulation, but also economic issues such as concerns about the marketing of GMOs, ethical concerns, such as issues related to moral acceptance, and social dimensions, such as consumer attitudes and concerns about the use of GMOs (Lawson et al. 2003a). Opinions range from those suggesting

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[1] A genetically modified organism may be defined as an organism that has been modified by genetic engineering to contain a gene from an outside source (Nelson 2001).

GMOs should be banned altogether to those strongly supportive of their development (Barham and Foltz 2002; Darr and Chern 2002; Foltz and Chang 2002; Lawson, Stover, and Hess 2003; Shanahan, Scheufele, and Lee 2001; Zarnstorff 2003). Proponents of GMOs point to benefits such as their insect, weed, and disease resistant capabilities, while opponents mention issues such as possible threats to human and environmental health. The former argue that GMOs result in saved time, fewer farming inputs, saved money, and increased crop yields, while decreasing reliance on chemical use (Conko 2003). The latter argue that GMOs may be unsafe for human consumption and that wild biodiversity may be harmed by the elimination of beneficial insects, among other living organisms (Conko 2003).

Thus, factors associated with the use and non-use of GMOs by agricultural producers have been extensively reviewed (ACGA 2001a; ACGA 2001b; Barham 1996; Barham and Foltz 2002; Chen, Barham, and Buttle 2001; Christison 1998; Darr and Chern 2002; Foltz and Chang 2002; Lawson et al. 2003; Lawson, Stover, Hess, and Gorham 2003; Light 2000; NASS 2002; Nelson 2001; Shanahan et al. 2001; Wimberley 2002; Wimberley and Thompson 2002; Yearley 2001; Zarnstorff 2003). Some commonly identified factors that positively influence the adoption of GMOs are lower expenses and higher profits (NASS 2002), decreased labor involvement, improved weed control and a reduction in herbicide use (Chen et al. 2001). However, factors such as having to apply more insecticide than expected, having higher expenses than anticipated, and realizing lower profits than expected, have been noted for their adverse influence on the adoption of GMOs (ACGA 2001a). Additionally, consumer and foreign market concerns (ACGA 2001a), the issue of segregation (ACGA 2001b), and possible adverse effects on human and environmental health (Christison 1998; Light 2000), have also been noted as reasons for the de-adoption of GMOs.

While the rate of GMO use has been extensively reviewed, there has yet to be an attempt to explain why individual agricultural producers choose to use or not use GMOs. At a recent international conference on agricultural biotechnology, Darr and Chern (2002:21) commented: "The study completes the objectives and offers a challenge to future researchers to answer not only how quickly are GMOs being adopted, but why farmers are adopting them." The current study responds to this challenge through the use of a rational choice theoretical framework which views the most basic unit of social life as individual human action (Coleman 1990; Scott 1999).

The current paper thus examines the individual agricultural producer's decision to plant GMOs, testing hypotheses stemming from a rational choice theoretical framework that suggests that individuals make decisions after an assessment of costs, risks, and benefits. In applying this framework, three indices are constructed: 1) cost index; 2) risk index; and 3) benefit index. Then, focusing specifically on the adoption of genetically modified (GM) corn, the following associations are examined: 1) the association between producers' scores on the cost index and the proportion of GM corn grown on their farming operations; 2) the association between producers' scores on the risk index and the proportion of GM corn grown on their farming operations; and 3) the association between producers' scores on the benefit index and the proportion of GM corn grown on their farming operations.

Rational Choice Theoretical Model

According to a rational choice perspective, agricultural producers who choose to use GMOs do so because it helps them maximize their utility in reference to their hierarchy of value preferences. That is, use of GMOs is believed to be a benefit to the agricultural producer because they help in achieving a highly valued preference—for instance, profitability (Saltiel et al. 1994). If an action is perceived to benefit the actor by helping that actor achieve a highly

valued preference, the actor will engage in that act. Thus, perceived benefit should be positively related to GMO use if it is believed that GMO use will help achieve a valued preference. At the same time, agricultural producers also factor in the rational calculation of costs and risks associated with their choices. This is because costs and risks influence the likelihood of achieving the highly valued preference (Hechter 1987; Oberschall 1994). According to a rational choice perspective, then, agricultural producers choose to use GMOs after an assessment of cost, risk and benefit. Perceived cost and risk should be negatively associated with GMO use and perceived benefit should be positively associated with GMO use.

Agricultural Producers' Decisions to Use or Not Use GMOs

According to the literature, some of the key benefits perceived to be associated with GMO use are their ability to cut operating expenses like herbicides and fertilizers (Carpenter and Gianessi 2001; Chen et al. 2001; Darr and Chern 2002; Lawson et al. 2003a; Lawson et al. 2003b), their ability to increase crop yields (Carpenter and Gianessi 2001; Lawson et al. 2003b), and their ability to help solve farm surplus (Lawson et al. 2003b; Lemaux 2001 Thompson 2000). The perception that GMO use entails these benefits should positively influence a producer's decision to use the technology.

Further, the perception that GMOs are costly should be negatively associated with an agricultural producer's decisions to use GMOs. The main perceived costs associated with GMO use are that they increase farm surplus (ACGA 2000; Bessieres 2000; Lemaux 2001; Thompson 2000), they require impractical segregation (ACGA 2000b; Lawson et al. 2003b), and that they pose a serious health hazard to consumers (Chandler 2000; Krebs 2000; NFFC 1999; NFFC 2001). The perception that GMO use entails these costs should negatively influence a producer's decision to use the technology.

Lastly, the perception that GMOs represent a risk should be negatively associated with an agricultural producer's decision to use GMOs. The calculation of the expected benefit that might be gained by choosing to use GMOs is tempered by the perception of how probable the receipt of the benefit will be (Turner 1991). Risk influences this calculation. Some of the main perceived risks associated with GMO use are issues of domestic market risk and their future acceptance by U.S. and foreign consumers (ACGA 2001a; Chandler 2000; Darr and Chern 2002; Goldberg 2002; Lawson et al. 2003b) and concern about risks to human health (Chandler 2000; Krebs 2000; Lawson et al. 2003a; Lawson et al. 2003b; NFFC 2001). The perception that GMO use entails these risks should negatively influence a producer's decision to use GMOs.

METHODOLOGY

Sample, Data Collection, and Research Instrument

As part of the research activities of a consortium[2] investigating the social, economic, and ethical aspects of agricultural biotechnology, in July, 2002, a survey on that topic was mailed to a randomly selected sample of agricultural producers in Iowa, Minnesota, North Dakota, South Dakota, and Wisconsin. The survey was designed to determine respondents' attitudes, values, and practices related to GMOs, as well as their thoughts concerning the practical challenges of GMO use. To assure adequate representation of organic producers, the survey was also sent to a sample of certified organic producers in the same five states. The latter sample was obtained from Northern Plains Sustainable Agricultural systems. The larger sample was obtained from a commercial firm that provides names and addresses for samples. The efforts resulted in a sample size of 937 agricultural producers. The response rate was 31 percent.

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[2] The Consortium to Address the Social, Economic, and Ethical Aspects of Agricultural Biotechnology. Funded by: The Initiative for Future Agriculture and Food Systems, Cooperative State Research, Education, and Extension Service, United States Department of Agriculture, Under Agreement No. 00-52100-9617.

Null Form of Research Hypotheses

$H_0$1: There is no association between the perceived cost by agricultural producers of using GMOs and the proportion of GM corn acres planted.

$H_0$2: There is no association between the perceived risk by agricultural producers of using GMOs and the proportion of GM corn acres planted.

$H_0$3: There is no association between the perceived benefit by agricultural producers of using GMOs and the proportion of GM corn acres planted.

Variables and Their Measurement

Dependent Variable. The dependent variable in this study was proportion of GM corn acres planted. This was a ratio comparing the number of GM corn acres a producer had planted relative to the total number of acres the producer had planted in that same crop. Corn is one of America's leading crops (Barkema 2000). The proportion of GM corn acres planted was used as the dependent variable in this study because of the prevalence of GM corn in U.S. agricultural (Conko 2003; Zarnstorff 2003). In 2002, 34 percent of all corn grown in the U.S. was a GM variety (Conko 2003). Additionally, agricultural producers have indicated that among the reasons they use GMOs is because of their resistance to herbicides and pesticides. Some GM varieties have genes inserted that make them resistant to the former and some to the latter. GM corn includes varieties of both types.

Proportion of GM Corn. Respondents were asked, "In 2001, how many total acres did you plant and how many did you plant with GM varieties?" Included in the response category was corn and genetically modified corn. The proportion of GM corn acres planted relative to the total number of corn acres the producer had planted was determined by calculating the ratio.

Independent Variables. The independent variables used in this study were perceived cost, perceived benefit, and perceived risk. An index for each of these variables was created.

Perceived Cost Index. The index measuring perceived cost consisted of four survey items (see Table 1) and resulted in a Cronbach's alpha reliability analysis indicated a reliability coefficient of .7151.

Table 1 Perceived Cost Index* (Independent variable for hypothesis 1)

Response Category				
Recoded Items*	***Strongly Disagree***	***Disagree***	***Agree***	***Strongly Agree***
The use of genetically modified organisms will harm American farmers by increasing farm surpluses.	1	2	3	4
The segregation of genetically modified crops from non-genetically modified crops is not practical.	1	2	3	4
If genetically modified crops had to be segregated from non-genetically modified crops at the farm level, I would not plant genetically modified crops.	1	2	3	4
Foods that have been produced using genetic modification pose a serious health hazard to consumers.	1	2	3	4
Range of Possible Scores♦	4			16

•Level of data is ordinal.
*Each item in this index counts equally. Items are not weighted.
♦The range of possible scores for this index is 4-16. The greater the index score, the greater the perceived cost.

Perceived Risk Index. The index measuring perceived risk consisted of five survey items (see Table 2). Cronbach's alpha reliability analysis indicated a reliability coefficient of .7476 for this index.

Table 2 Perceived Risk Index* (Independent variable for hypothesis 2)

Response Category				
Recoded Items*	***Strongly Disagree***	***Disagree***	***Agree***	***Strongly Agree***
I am concerned whether or not U.S. consumers will accept genetically modified crops in the future.	1	2	3	4
I am concerned whether or not foreign consumers will accept genetically modified crops in the future.	1	2	3	4
Farmers have been adequately informed of domestic and export market risk for genetically modified crops.	1	2	3	4
Consumers have been adequately informed about the health risks associated with genetically modified food products.	1	2	3	4
Consumers are adequately protected by the governmental approval process for genetically modified food products.	1	2	3	4
Range of Possible Scores♦	5			20

•Level of data is ordinal.
*Each item in this index counts equally. Items are not weighted.
♦The range of possible scores for this index is 5-20. The greater the index score, the greater the perceived risk.

Perceived Benefit Index. The index measuring perceived benefit consisted of three survey items (see Table 3). Cronbach's alpha reliability analysis indicated a reliability coefficient of .6835 for this index.

Table 3 Perceived Benefit Index* (Independent variable for hypothesis 3)

Response Category				
Recoded Items*	***Strongly Disagree***	***Disagree***	***Agree***	***Strongly Agree***
The use of genetically modified organisms will help solve the problem of farm surpluses by finding new uses for crops and livestock.	1	2	3	4
Genetically modified seeds increase crop yields.	1	2	3	4
Genetically modified seeds cut operating expenses like fertilizers and herbicides.	1	2	3	4
Range of Possible Scores♦	3			12

•Level of data is ordinal.
*Each item in this index counts equally. Items are not weighted.
♦The range of possible scores for this index is 3-12. The greater the index score, the greater the perceived benefit.

Data Analysis and Characteristics of the Sample

Data were analyzed using the SPSS computer software program. Descriptive statistics were used to describe the characteristics of the sample and hypotheses were tested using Spearman's rho. Thirty-two percent of the producers' corn crops consisted of GM corn. The median level of education was some college or technical school training but no degree. The average age of the producers was 51.64 years, approximately 95 percent were male and approximately 99 percent identified their race as White.

Results of Hypothesis Testing

The objective of this section is to provide the results of the tests of hypotheses. The decision to accept or reject the null hypothesis is provided. The magnitude and direction of associations are determined using Spearman's rho, and significance is determined with chi-squared.

Hypothesis One: Perceived Cost and GMO Use

The following are the test results for hypothesis one: the greater the perceived cost by agricultural producers of using GMOs, the lower the proportion of GM corn acres planted. The results indicated a significant, moderate, negative association between perceived cost and proportion of GM corn acres planted (rho= -.226, p= .000, see Table 4). Based on these findings, the null hypothesis of no association is rejected. While association is not the same as causation, because of the statistical significance, for our population of agricultural producers, perceived cost might help explain decisions to not use GMOs.

Table 4 Measure of Association with Regard to Hypothesis 1: Proportion of GM Corn Acres Planted by Perceived Cost: 2002

H_R	Statistic	Independent Var.	N	Median	Range	Strength	P Value
H1	Rho	Perceived cost	234	9.00	23-81	-.226***	.000

*p < .05 (one-tail test) **p < .01 (one-tail test) ***p < .001 (one-tail test)

Hypothesis Two: Perceived Risk and GMO Use

The following are the test results for hypothesis two: the greater the perceived risk by

agricultural producers of using GMOs, the lower the proportion of GM corn acres planted.

The results indicated a significant, moderate, negative association between perceived risk and proportion of GM corn acres planted (rho= -.239, p= .000, see Table 5). The null hypothesis of no association is rejected. For the population from which this sample was drawn, perceived risk might help explain decisions to not use GMOs.

Table 5 Measure of Association with Regard to Hypothesis 2: Proportion of GM Corn Acres Planted by Perceived Risk: 2002

H_R	Statistic	Independent Var.	N	Median	Range	Strength	P Value
H2	Rho	Perceived risk	263	13.00	27-86	-.239***	.000

*p < .05 (one-tail test) **p < .01 (one-tail test) ***p < .001 (one-tail test)

Hypothesis Three: Perceived Benefit and GMO Use

The following are the test results for hypothesis three: the greater the perceived benefit by agricultural producers of using GMOs, the greater the proportion of GM corn acres planted.

The results indicated a significant, moderate, positive association between perceived benefit and proportion of GM corn acres planted (rho = .229, p= .000, see Table 6). The null hypothesis of no association is rejected. Because of the statistical significance, for the population from which this sample was drawn, perceived benefit might help explain producers' decisions to use GMOs.

Table 6 Measure of Association with Regard to Hypothesis 3: Proportion of GM Corn Acres Planted by Perceived Benefit: 2002

H_R	Statistic	Independent Var.	N	Median	Range	Strength	P Value
H3	Rho	Perceived benefit	232	8.00	22-89	.229***	.000

*p < .05 (one-tail test) **p < .01 (one-tail test) ***p < .001 (one-tail test)

Table 7 Measure of Association with Regard to Hypotheses: Proportion of GM Corn Acres Planted by Several Independent Variables: (2002)

H_R	Statistic	Independent Var.	N	Strength	P Value	Decision on Null Hypothesis (No Association)
H1	Rho	Perceived cost	234	-.226***	.000	Reject
H2	Rho	Perceived risk	263	-.239***	.000	Reject
H3	Rho	Perceived benefit	232	.229***	.000	Reject

*p < .05 (one-tail test) **p < .01 (one-tail test) ***p < .001 (one-tail test)

SUMMARY

Null hypotheses one through three were rejected (see Table 7). For producers, the perception of cost and risk were significantly, negatively related to the proportion of GM corn acres planted, and perception of benefit was significantly, positively related to proportion of GM corn acres planted (see Table 7). For the population from which the sample was drawn, as

measured by the indices in the current study, there was evidence to support that decisions to use GM corn are associated with the perception of the crop either being costly, risky, and beneficial.

DISCUSSION

Perceived Cost

Some producers view GMO use as costly in the sense that such use is harmful because it increases farm surplus. While previous analyses indicated mixed results, it has been shown that some producers believe that GM crops worsen the perceived (Baldwin 2003) food surplus problem in the U.S. (ACGA 2000; Bessieres 2000; Lemaux 2001; Thompson 2000).

Further, segregation has been shown to complicate the farming practice (Zarnstorff 2003). Segregation could require that producers ensure purity from the planting stage until the crop is sold (Zarnstorff); it could expose producers to lawsuits stemming from cross-pollination (ACGA 2000b); it could necessitate the use of documentation to verify segregation (Zarnstorff 2003); and it could necessitate the use of additional facilities to ensure that segregation takes place (Zarnstorff 2003). Previous analyses indicated that if GM crops had to be segregated from non-GM crops, many producers would plant fewer acres of the former crops (ACGA 2000b; Lawson et al. 2003a), or not plant GM crops at all (Lawson et al. 2003b).

Additionally, previous analyses have indicated that some agricultural producers are very concerned about possible adverse health effects of GM food (NFFC 1999; NFFC 2001). While these findings are based on nonparametric analyses, it is likely that they hold beyond the current study's sample of producers. It is likely that the influence of the costs of GMOs on decisions to use GMOs would also be felt in the larger population. There is no reason to believe that the influence of such costs would affect producers in the population differently than in the sample.

Perceived Risk

Uncertainty and concern about the future acceptance of GM crops by U.S. and foreign consumers has been documented in previous analyses (ACGA 2001a; Darr and Chern 2002; Lawson et al. 2003b). The current findings supported Lawson et al.'s (2003b) finding that a majority of producers are concerned about domestic consumers' future acceptance of GM crops. The current findings also supported the fourteen-state ACGA survey that reported that a key reason for a de-adoption shift of GM corn varieties from 2000 to 2001 by Wisconsin farmers was to keep foreign markets open (ACGA 2001a). Further, there was support for Darr and Chern's (2002) finding that foreign market concerns play a role in a declining adoption rate of Bt-corn by Ohio grain farmers. This result was also a possible indication that agricultural producers agree with Goldberg's (2002) warning that producers must be well-informed about the risks of the domestic and export GMO market. It could be suggested that the results of hypothesis two indicated that producers believed that being uninformed about such risks and benefits was in itself a risk that decreased the proportion of GM corn acres planted.

In terms of the significant, negative relationship between risk and proportion of GM corn acres planted, of particular relevance, given the measurement of risk in the current study, may again be that producers' value beneficence (Goreham et al. 2004). The risk index used in the current study included a measure indicating concern about whether foreign consumers would accept GM crops in the future. Goreham et al. (2004) measured producers' value of beneficence using, among others, an item concerning the promotion of GMOs in developing countries to improve incomes of small farmers and an item that indicated that GMOs should be promoted worldwide to produce more food for hungry people. It is possible that if producers, whose value preferences have been demonstrated by Goreham et al. (2004) to be partially characterized by beneficence as measured by the above items, are concerned that foreign

consumers will not accept GM crops in the future, this may be a risk that promotes the decision to not use GM corn. If producers believe that foreign consumers will not accept GM crops, they might also believe that they should not be promoted in developing counties because the incomes of small farmers may not be improved. Also, hungry people, even in developing countries, will not benefit from GMOs if they do not accept them.

It was not surprising that producers might have viewed health-related issues as a risk. This finding lent support to the NFFC's (1999) report that indicated that one of the main areas of concern that farmers have about GMOs are their health effects. This finding also supported the more recent NFFC (2001) finding that agricultural producers' attitudes toward GMOs are characterized by an extreme concern regarding their impact on human health. Findings of a recent analysis indicated that there was a demand by agricultural producers for an immediate assessment of the health effects of GMOs (NFFC 2001). Findings of recent analyses also indicated that agricultural producers believe that consumers are not adequately informed of the health risks of GMOs (Lawson et al. 2003a; Lawson et al. 2003b). When these findings are coupled with the finding that agricultural producers base their GMO planting decisions on ethical considerations (Lawson et al. 2003b), it was not surprising that health risks would be part of a risk index that was negatively associated with proportion of GM corn acres planted.

These findings are based on nonparametric analyses. However, again, it is likely that they hold beyond the current study's sample of producers. It is likely that the influence of the risks of GMOs on decisions to use GMOs would also be felt in the larger population. There is no reason to believe that the influence of such risks would affect producers in the population differently than in the sample.

Perceived Benefit

While some agricultural producers believe that GMOs exacerbate the proposed food

surplus problem in the U.S. (Baldwin 2003) and therefore are costly, others believe that surplus crops can be profitable because they can be exported to third world countries to combat world hunger (Lemaux 2001; Thompson 2000). Many agricultural producers believe that GM crops will enable surplus to be exported to third world countries when before it could not. This is because surplus GM crops can consist of modifications that result in food that contains vitamins or nutrients that are severely lacking in the diets of the poor, and livestock that can be modified to, for instance, produce more milk (Thompson 2000). Also, some agricultural producers believe that GMOs will help solve the problem of farm surpluses by finding new uses for crops and livestock (Lawson et al. 2003b).

This finding supported previous analyses that indicated that greater crop yields are a factor that increases the adoption of GMOs. According to agricultural producers, a major impact of GM crops is their ability to increase yields (Carpenter and Gianessi 2001; Lawson et al. 2003b), and analyses have supported this belief (Carpenter and Gianessi 2001; Conko 2003). A benefit of increased crop yields perceived by some producers is profitability (Lawson et al. 2003a). GM crops, such as Bt-corn, provide protection from insects that were before difficult to control, which resulted in billions of dollars lost to lower crop yields (Conko 2003). Results of the current study indicated support for previous analyses that have found that agricultural producers perceive increased crop yields as a benefit of GM crop use.

Additionally, the current study's finding that perceived benefit was positively associated with GM corn acres planted, was not surprising when considering that the index included a of measure of decreased operating costs. This finding lent support to Darr and Chern's (2002) finding that decreased operating costs were the main benefit of GMO adoption. Also supported is the finding indicated in the NASS (2002) survey that agricultural producers based decisions to plant more acres of GM corn in 2002 than in 2001 because of lower operating expenses.

Further, there was support for Chen et al. (2001) finding that a reduction (cut in operating costs) in overall herbicide need was a main reason that agricultural producers planned to increase future adoption of herbicide resistant GM crops. Support was also given to Lawson et al. (2003a), who found that agricultural producers believed they were better off financially planting GM seed because such seed cuts herbicide costs. Additionally, support was found for Fitzgerald (2003) and Lawson et al. (2003a), who found that a primary benefit of GM seeds according to agricultural producers is the belief that they help cut operating costs by reducing the need for fertilizer.

While these findings are based on nonparametric analyses, it is likely that they hold beyond the current study's sample of producers. It is likely that the influence of the benefits of GMOs on decisions to use GMOs would also be felt in the larger population. There is no reason to believe that the influence of such benefits would affect producers in the population differently than in the sample.

WEAKNESSES

This study contained several weaknesses. Results were based on a sample that was quite homogenous in terms of demographic characteristics. Additionally, the indices of the current study would have likely been improved if a measure of the impact that GMOs have on the environment had been included. Due to data limitations, the current study omitted the consideration by producers of what is probably considered a vital aspect of GMOs. By not including a measure of the impact that GMOs have on the environment, this was not considered in producers' assessments of cost, risk and benefit. Lastly, hypotheses one through three were tested without controls for possible confounding variables. Thus, while associations were examined, it is unknown what the independent effects of the independent variables on the dependent variable were.

IMPLICATIONS OF RESEARCH FINDINGS

This study attempted to add to the literature that addresses GMO use. The adoption-diffusion model had guided previous research on GMO use, which explained factors related to the rate of GMO adoption. The current study tried to answer the call for an investigation of not only how quickly GMOs are being adopted, but also why they are being adopted. The rational choice theoretical framework provided an alternative approach to guide the investigation. Some evidence was found to support the idea that agricultural producers might assess cost, risk, and benefit when they decide to use or not use GMOs.

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Midwest Consumers' Beliefs and Attitudes Regarding Agricultural Biotechnology: An Executive Summary

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INTRODUCTION

As part of a project investigating the social, economic, and ethical issues related to the application of biotechnology to food production and to the adoption or rejection of genetically modified organisms (GMOs), we conducted a survey using a questionnaire mailed to a randomly selected sample of consumers in five Midwestern states—Iowa, Minnesota, North Dakota, South Dakota, and Wisconsin. This report highlights the responses of the 458 respondents to that completed and returned questionnaire.

CONCERN ABOUT THE SAFETY OF BIOTECHNOLOGY FOOD

In the survey, we sought to determine the extent to which potential consumers were concerned about the safety of food generally and biotechnology food specifically. The issue of food safety was addressed in several ways: consumers were asked if they were concerned about food safety, if they worried about food safety, and finally if food safety was a major concern. The overwhelming majority of respondents gave affirmative responses to all three items.

However, that concern did not necessarily translate into a major concern with biotechnology food. Consumers were asked in several ways about the safety of food produced

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through biotechnology: they were asked if food produced through biotechnology was safe, if eating biotechnology food was safe, and if eating biotechnology food frightened them. In general only about one in five indicated any concern at all about biotechnology food. About half indicated they were not concerned about the safety of these foods and the remainder gave neutral responses to the items.

Clearly, the great majority of respondents are concerned about food safety. However, only a very small minority of them have a concern about the safety of biotechnology food.

TRUST IN INFORMATION ABOUT BIOTECHNOLOGY

A second topic on which we focused was the trust that potential consumers have with respect to information they receive concerning biotechnology and the sources of that information. We asked questions about this topic in two different ways. We first asked about their overall trust in potential sources of information about biotechnology. We asked about their trust in university scientists, in the Food and Drug Administration, and in public health officials in general. The overwhelming majority trusted all three; for each of the three, at least two out of three of the respondents indicated trust.

We then asked to what extent they trusted these three if the three had taken a position supporting biotechnology. While the level of trust was not quite as high when these sources had taken a position, it was still substantial. For all three, at least half of all respondents expressed trust. And in most cases, the remaining respondents did not indicate distrust, they were merely ambivalent. No more than one in five expressed distrust in any of these three sources after a pro-biotechnology position had been taken.

INFLUENCES ON THE PERSONAL ACCEPTANCE OF BIOTECFHNOLOGY

People are often influenced by decisions made by organizations, agencies, and family and friends. To determine the extent to which such influences affect the consumer's

acceptance of biotechnology, we asked these respondents if they would go along with an indication of approval of biotechnology by potential sources of influence.

Two entirely different sets of responses are evident. Support by university scientists, the Food and Drug Administration, and public health officials were salient to most of these respondents. Most respondents (at least one out of two for all three sources of potential influence) would go along with the support of these three potential influences. A further two out of ten are ambivalent about the support indicating the support of these three is not crucial in their decision to use biotechnology. Finally, only about two out of ten would refuse to go along with the support for biotechnology offered by these three influences.

An entirely different pattern can be seen with respect to family and friends. No more than one out of three respondents indicated they would go along with the support of biotechnology by family or friends. Another one out of three responded the support of these potential influences was not crucial in their decision about biotechnology.

It seems clear that with respect to influences on the acceptance of biotechnology, approval from individuals or agencies that supposedly have more information about biotechnology was important to more of these respondents than was approval from family and friends.

THE ACCEPTABILITY OF BIOTECHNOLOGY APPLICATIONS

The range of potential applications to which bioengineering can be applied is large. We assumed that the range of the acceptance to these applications might also be large. To investigate this possibility, we developed a set of potential applications for biotechnology and asked the respondents to indicate to what extent the applications were acceptable. We included food related applications and well as non-food related applications.

A clear pattern is apparent from the answers provided by these respondents. The respondents were much more likely to accept genetic modification of non-food crops than to accept genetic modification of food crops. Depending on the specific application, anywhere from two out of three to seven out of ten of these respondents declared the genetic modification of non-food crops to be acceptable. They accepted genetic modification of non-food crops to resist insects, to make them resistant to plant diseases, and to resist weed killing chemical spray.

The application of genetic modification techniques to food crops was much more problematic for these respondents. With a few exceptions, these respondents were split approximately evenly into three categories of acceptability of applications; roughly one in three indicated they were acceptable, one third were unsure, and one in three indicated they were unacceptable. The applications characterized by this split were the genetic modification of food crops to make them resistant to diseases, genetically modifying food crops to resist weed killing chemical spray, genetically modifying food crops (by inserting anti-freezing genes from artic fish) to extend their growing season, genetically modifying food crops (by inserting human genes) so they could be used as edible vaccines and human disease treatments, genetically modifying pigs to make them grow more rapidly with more protein and less fat, genetically modifying chickens to produce low-cholesterol eggs, genetically engineering salmon for faster growth, genetically engineering cows and goats to produce milk useful in treating human diseases, and deactivating genes in pigs to facilitate the use of pig organs for human transplant.

The two food related applications not characterized by this split were modifying food crops to make them more resistant to diseases and modifying food crops to increase their vitamin and mineral content. And even for these two, only a bare majority (52% for the former

and 55% for the latter) found them acceptable. The remainder were uncertain or found the applications unacceptable.

ATTITUDES, VALUES, AND BELIEFS ABOUT BIOTECHNOLOGY

An additional topic on which we focused was the attitudes, values, and beliefs of consumers concerning GM crops. We asked about the inherent nature of genetic manipulation, the desirability of limits of genetic manipulation, the importance of informed choice by consumers, the implications of the spread of genetically manipulated organisms, and the control of genetic technology.

The Inherent Nature of Genetic Manipulation. Many of these respondents viewed genetic manipulation from a practical standpoint. Only about one in four responded that genetically engineered organisms were good since they represented the latest in scientific advancement. Further, about half responded that they felt that naturally occurring crops were preferable to genetically engineered. Despite these responses indicating a less than enthusiastic endorsement of genetically manipulated organisms, three out of four responded GMOs were not inherently good or bad. Rather, they indicated GMOs should be judged in terms of their outcomes.

The Desirability of Limits of Genetic Manipulation. Even though these respondents are pragmatic in terms of the use of GMOs, they preferred controls on their use. Six out of ten wanted limits on genetic manipulation of crops and seven out of ten desired controls on the genetic manipulation of animals. Finally, more than eight out of ten would allow the release of genetically modified crops only if there was absolute confidence there is minimal risk associated with their use.

The Importance of Informed Choice by Consumers. When asked about the right to choose or reject GMOs, about six in ten respondents agreed that consumers should have the

right to make their own choices. And these respondents wanted their choice to be an informed one; nine in ten of these respondents agreed that consumers have a basic right to know if their food contains genetically modified ingredients.

The Implications of the Spread of Genetically Manipulated Organisms. We asked about both positive and negative implications of the spread of GMOs. Only about four in ten of respondents agreed that GMOs should be promoted in developing countries to improve the incomes of farmers, while a similar number took no position on the issue. About half of the respondents agreed GMOs should be promoted worldwide to feed the hungry. However, there was concern about the power implications of the spread of GMOs; four in ten felt their worldwide spread unfairly increased the power of corporations relative to farmers.

The Control of Genetic Technology. Summarizing the issue of control of GMOs is difficult because there seems to be some inconsistency in the responses of these respondents. On the one hand, half responded that corporations should be allowed to patent their genetic innovations. Further, only one in three responded that seed genetics should be made freely available to the public. However, only one in four responded that corporations should have the right to prevent farmers from saving GMO seeds and planting them year after year. Further, more than six in ten felt that the choice to plant GM crops should be made by farmers and six in ten responded farmers should have the basic right to plant GM seeds if they wished.

PERSONAL CHOICES CONCERNNG BIOTECHNOLOGY

To get a sense of the hierarchy of values pertaining to genetic manipulation, we presented the respondents with a set of hypothetical situations and asked them to make choices. The respondents were instructed to assume that two versions of a food product – one labeled as containing GM ingredients and the other labeled as having non-GM ingredients -- cost the same. After the purpose of the GM ingredient was identified, the respondent was

asked to indicate the extent to which he or she would seek to purchase the food with the GM ingredient. The results were surprisingly consistent. For all eight scenarios, at least seventy percent of the respondents indicated he/she would seek out foods with the GM components. In other words, at least seven out of ten respondents would: (1) seek food containing GM ingredients designed to eliminate the need for herbicide spray; (2) seek food containing GM ingredients designed to resist insect pests; (3) seek food containing GM ingredients designed to improve the product's taste; (4) seek food containing GM ingredients designed to enhance the product's texture; (5) seek food containing GM ingredients designed to preserve the product's shelf life; (6) seek food containing GM ingredients designed to improve the products' cooking or baking qualities; (7) seek food containing GM ingredients designed to increase the product's nutritional value (e.g., by adding vitamins or minerals); and (8) seek food containing GM ingredients designed to provide a pharmaceutical treatment for a disease.

PERSONAL INVOLVEMENT WITH BIOTECHNOLOGY ISSUES

Finally, we asked about personal involvement in biotechnology issues. We asked about the nature of discussions the respondent might have had about GMOs and also about medical conditions that might ultimately be treatable with genetically engineered organisms.
When asked about discussing the topic with others, two out of three indicated they had not. For those who had, no more than one in three had been involved in conflicts over the topic. When asked about the emotional tone of the discussions, less than three in ten of those who indicated they had discussed the topic indicated any tension in the conversations. As for the medical conditions, less than ten percent indicated they currently suffered from a medical condition that might be treatable with genetically engineered organisms and about 15 percent indicated a family member or friend suffered from such a condition.

CONCLUSION

Several themes are apparent in these consumer responses to questions about agricultural biotechnology. First, while most had thought about the safety issues of biotechnology, they were not particularly concerned about its safety. Second, there seemed to be a substantial reservoir of trust in public agencies providing information about biotechnology. These respondents were more likely to be influenced by such agencies than by family and friends. Third, consumers tend to take a pragmatic approach to the use of agricultural biotechnology. Most do not believe GMOs are either inherently good or bad. Rather, they believe GMOs should be evaluated by their outcomes. Fourth, while they are much more likely to accept genetic modifications of non-food organisms than food related organisms, they will not consciously avoid foods with GM ingredients that have specific designed purposes. Consistent with this view is the importance of informed choice. They believe consumers should be able to choose to use or not to use GMOs from among products that are labeled has having genetically modified ingredients. Fifth, while they have an over-all positive orientation toward genetic manipulation, they do want some controls to ensure safe use of GMOs. Finally, they are somewhat inconsistent with respect to the intellectual propriety aspects of genetic manipulation. On the one hand, they tend to believe those who develop GMOs should have the right to patent their innovations. On the other, they believe farmers should make the choice about planting genetically modified seeds and that farmers should have the basic right to plant those seeds.

Book Review

Thinking the Unthinkable: The Riddle of Classical Social Theories by Charles Lemert

Reviewed by: Thomas C. Langham*

Lemert, Charles. *Thinking the Unthinkable: The Riddle of Classical Social Theories*. Boulder, CO: Paradigm, 2007. 195 pp. $60.00 cloth, $22.95 paper.

Social theory in the modernizing Western world began as a critique of modernization. Charles Lemert, a professor of sociology, in his work *Thinking the Unthinkable: The Riddle of Classical Social Theories* not only discusses selected classical social theories as his title in part promises but also like the early theorists takes up their task in providing his own critique of contemporary global modernization. This book accordingly moves in two directions providing both a discussion of classical social theory and a sometimes theoretical and sometimes personal commentary on contemporary life. Lemert unifies both of these directions asserting that the classical social theorists as well as what he writes involves "Thinking the Unthinkable" about the very rapid development that first took place in the West and has now become a worldwide phenomenon. What Lemert means by "Unthinkable" comes from Immanuel Wallerstein, the progenitor of world systems theory, who has asserted that it is a dangerous liberal "belief that the modern world is progressive and reasonable" (p. 10). Lemert in his title finally suggests that the "Unthinkableness" of modernization has produced and has left social theorists confronting a number of riddles – puzzling, even dark, questions. He argues, like his classical

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colleagues, that these riddles are intractable problems that modernity seems to produce rather than resolve. Lemert writes with flair that entices the reader, but there is pessimism, even a kind of nihilism apparent in his work. Early on he recounts an incident in his first year of college when a fellow dorm mate unexplainably attacked him. This incident becomes a parable for his work in which he warns how rationality and reason have failed thinkers in their efforts to explain the social world.

The best of Lemert is embodied in the direction that he takes when he writes what amounts to a fairly standard treatment of classical social theory. There is really nothing new here in his handling of Karl Marx, Max Weber, Emile Durkheim, or Sigmund Freud. He presents each as being guided by a social theoretical riddle, presented in the form of a question, which relates to a different and debatably "contradictory" facet (inherently unsolvable problem) of modernization. Marx accordingly asks why the modernist (liberal capitalist) revolution has not brought a better way of life for most persons. Weber asks why rational rules intended to lead to progress have brought about only an unreasonable excess of rules that have oppressed rather than freed persons. Durkheim asks how, with the decline of Christian faith in the West and more generally religion in the world, social order can be maintained or, as Lemert writes, how "social conflict" can be avoided. And, Freud asks what if the unconscious is so important in shaping human thought and behavior that rationality alone cannot explain social thinking. Lemert also adds a fifth, non-social theoretical commentator, Charlotte Perkins Gilman, a late nineteenth century author most famous for her short story "The Yellow Wallpaper" (1892) which recounts her bout with depression and the poorly conceived medical treatment that she received. Perkins asks what, looking to women but also others who have been marginalized due to social differences, is the place of those who are categorically different in the modern world. Readers will also want to notice that Lemert explores the ideas of additional social thinkers beyond the

most widely known of classical social theoretical period. Among these others are W. E. B. Du Bois, Anna Julia Cooper, Georg Simmel, and Ferdinand de Saussure, all of whom provide variations on what Lemert describes as the "classic riddles."

While the questions, riddles that Marx, Weber, Durkheim, Freud, and Gilman as well as the variations provided through the other thinkers have certainly been central to social theorizing, what is also quite interesting are the social thinkers that Lemert fails to mention and the ways in which he characterizes the ideas of those that he does discuss. For instance, not only are thinkers who write in the early functionalist tradition left out, so too is Auguste Comte, the founder of the discipline of sociology. To leave Comte out in a discussion of classical social theory seems remiss. Comte, of course, does ask his own question, coming out of the traditions of the Scottish Moralists, Christian Social Philosophers, and other Enlightenment thinkers, which, using Lemert's paradigm, forms its own riddle. Comte asks how might social forces external to the individual account for order as well as change. This question seems particularly pertinent in a present-day world that struggles with the problems of order and change that have accompanied global development and its very serious but interim byproducts of overpopulation, absolute poverty beyond the most developed areas, and violence as social dislocation and consolidation take place. Beyond his riddle Comte notably offers his thought that social theoretical knowledge should be used to help humanity, a point sorely missed in this work.

Further, Lemert also suggests in error that Marx was "the first thinker in modern time to develop the structural method" (p. 49). This method can arguably be traced back at least to Bernard Mandeville, the author of *The Fable of the Bees: Private Vices, Publick Benefits* (1714), up through the Scottish Moralists, including Adam Smith's introduction of "invisible hand" in *An Inquiry into the Nature and Cause of the Wealth of Nations* (1776) and Christian Social Philosopher Joseph de Maistre's actual use of the words "social structure" in *Considerations on*

France (1796), and finally to Comte with his discussion of "social statics." Lemert also seems much too quick to dismiss and blame the classical liberal outlook as misguided and give up on the project of the Enlightenment as he argues from the beginning to the end of his work that liberal capitalism is responsible for widespread poverty, inequality, violence, and the notion that human progress is possible. One might contrarily argue that contained within the works of the classical liberals is a solution to many of the riddles that Lemert complains, a solution which is still playing itself out as progress is being made toward realizing a world in which individual striving brings about collective good.

Lemert is decidedly less useful when his work takes the direction of personal commentary concerning modernization in today's world. Hinting at what will come in the course of his work Lemert early on comments, "this, I now realize, is life as it actually is behind the intricate stage settings that play up the good life to cover up the dirty backstage" (viii). For Lemert the "dirty backstage" includes complaints that life is filled with liminality, irrationality, inequality, and violence among other ills, all of which he attributes to the path of development, rooted in liberalism, that the West has pursued and that has now spread around the globe. While taking such a standpoint has long been a tradition among social theorists, a more constructive approach might have better served scholarly discourse and humanity in general. Lemert ultimately offers only the insights of critical theory as a possible avenue for gaining additional understanding of humanity with the added possibility that Westerners as they come into contact with the East might find their own future. Perhaps Lemert and others who have criticized the course of global modernization would do well to reflect on the many gains that have improved the human condition over the past five hundred years and the many more that will certainly come. He and the others might also wisely take note that pretty much the entire world is moving rapidly toward embracing the capitalist, if not liberal, model of development.

The writing of Lemert is beguiling as well as needlessly bleak and those who might choose to read his book should approach it with caution as the theory it offers and history it tells are both very much incomplete.