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**WAGE AND PRICE CONTROLS–Z-TEST
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WAGE AND PRICE CONTROLS

Examples of rulers and governments attempting to control prices and wages can be found in distant history, but comprehensive wage-price controls or similar voluntary programs for anti-inflation purposes are really a twentieth-century development. Simple microeconomic analysis suggests that controls that set prices and wages too low will create product or labor shortages. However, under wartime circumstances, governments have sometimes been willing to allow shortages and rationing. And in peacetime, the rationale for wage-price controls was for many years centered on the idea that prices and wages, especially the latter, could be administered.

In the United States and other countries, wage-price controls were enforced to varying degrees during the two world wars. The United States also imposed controls during the Korean and Vietnam wars. Voluntary wage-price programs were initiated during the Kennedy-Johnson and Carter administrations. After World War II, various European countries adopted “incomes policies” similar to the voluntary programs later installed in the United States. Controls during the two world wars and the Korean War were part of larger schemes aimed at diverting resources for military purposes. Beginning in the 1960s, attempts to influence or control wages and prices had a more general macroeconomic justification.

American participation in World War I was relatively brief but involved a diversion to military purposes of perhaps a fifth of the nation’s gross domestic product (GDP). Large corporations had developed by that time, so control administrators could interact with the heads of these

firms. The idea developed that controls could be achieved by involving a few key captains of industry. Just as successful corporations engaged in internal planning, so too could the national economy be planned and—in wartime or other emergencies—controlled. As might be expected, in competitive industries—such as foodstuffs and coal—World War I controls did produce temporary shortages. However, formal ticket-based consumer-rationing schemes were not adopted and reliance instead was placed on patriotic appeals to reduce demand. Unions expanded during the war, and government pushed for industrial peace and production uninterrupted by strikes. In some instances, notably involving the railroads, the authorities seized enterprises when labor strife was threatened.

The World War I experience with controls on wages, prices, and resource allocation tended to reinforce notions of the practicality and virtue of national economic planning. These ideas carried over into the New Deal during the Great Depression and—when World War II arrived—into a cadre of individuals to staff wartime economic planning agencies and, in particular, wage-price control programs. Because of its duration and scale, World War II controls were more extensive than in World War I. Military expenditures exceeded 40 percent of GDP at the peak of the war.

Agencies were established to control prices, wages, and more general resource allocation. Formal ticket-based rationing of consumer goods applied to food, gasoline, and other products. The result was a retarding of officially measured inflation. In some cases, however, black markets developed for goods in short supply. The economic meaning of price indexes based on official prices at which goods were not freely available can be debated. However, the

overall system of controls was justified on the basis of fairness, wartime resource needs, and appeals to patriotism.

Unions had already become powerful during the New Deal, and a pattern arose that carried on into the postwar wage-price programs. Specifically, the wage authorities—the War Labor Board in World War II—established a standard for pay, albeit one laden with exceptions. Price controls—under the Office of Price Administration—were then largely based on markups over costs. In a relatively closed economy, interindustry goods purchases and their costs largely net out, making labor a major cost element. During World War II, the pay standard was based on the “Little Steel Formula,” a wage settlement reached with smaller steel firms. When strikes occurred during World War II for pay above the standard, enterprises were sometimes seized and workers were sometimes threatened with conscription. Inflation and labor disputes were repressed sufficiently so that when the war ended and decontrol commenced, there was a wave of strikes and a burst of measured inflation.

Although federal controls ended, local rent controls lingered in some local jurisdictions, notably New York City. The wage authorities during World War II had tended to allow exceptions to the standard for fringe benefits such as pensions. As a result, pensions and health insurance gained a foothold at the employer level, which expanded after the war into a company-based system of social insurance.

The World War II experience led to public expectations that wars meant consumer goods shortages. Hence, when the Korean War began in 1950, a surge in consumer buying and hoarding led to a jump in inflation and, eventually, a reinstatement of wage-price and resource allocation controls by the Truman administration. In broad terms, the controls followed the World War II model, with a price authority and a wage authority. The program was again generally based on control of pay, with price controls largely to be achieved by allowable markups over costs. However, the overall program was less extensive than before, partly because peak military expenditures during the Korean War were about 15 percent of GDP, a substantially lower ratio than in the earlier conflict.

Presidential authority during the Korean War was also more limited than in World War II. An attempt by President Truman to seize the steel industry during a labor dispute was rebuffed by the U.S. Supreme Court. When President Eisenhower took office in early 1953, the Truman-era wage-price controls were quickly dismantled. Decontrol did not lead to a sharp surge in inflation, in part because the anticipatory price surge had occurred before controls were imposed. Under Eisenhower, activity in the wage-price area was largely limited to exhortations aimed at moderate wage settlements and price behavior.

In the period after the Korean War, a theoretical base developed in academia for wage-price interventions, encouraged in part by the observation of European incomes policies. Such European policies typically involved centralized wage settlements through a tripartite negotiation between employer federations, union federations, and government. With unions at their peak in the United States, notions developed of wage-push inflation and resulting wage-price spirals. These concepts were combined with empirical studies of the “Phillips curve,” which depicted an unpleasant trade-off between wage inflation (and therefore price inflation) and the unemployment rate.

Essentially, the idea was that if wages could be made less “pushy” through some form of governmental intervention, the nasty trade-off of the Phillips curve could be repositioned to allow lower unemployment at a given inflation rate. Later, when the idea of a permanent Phillips curve was replaced by that of a non-accelerating inflation rate of unemployment (NAIRU), the same argument could still be advanced. Intervention aimed at making wages less pushy could lower the NAIRU. There were notions of “key” union pay settlements, which were then imitated elsewhere in the union sector and which spilled over into nonunion pay adjustments. If the key union settlements could be moderated, pay setting would be less inflationary.

The incoming Kennedy administration—whose economists were Keynesians with a focus on lowering unemployment—was particularly receptive to this concept. Under the Bretton Woods fixed exchange-rate system, the United States was committed to maintaining the value of the dollar relative to other currencies and the value of gold relative to the dollar. By the early 1960s, there was a dollar surplus and concern about the dwindling gold stock. Holding down inflation was seen as needed to defend the dollar by maintaining American cost competitiveness in world markets. But absent some other policy instrument, inflation moderation was also seen as requiring a higher level of unemployment than President Kennedy wanted. As a result, the Council of Economic Advisors under Kennedy (and later Johnson) put forward voluntary wage-price “guideposts,” with its wage standard to be based on the trend rate of productivity (seen as a little over 3 percent per annum) and prices to be based on markups.

Steel was again the center of a major dispute. The Kennedy administration intervened in a steel labor negotiation and achieved what it believed was a moderate pay settlement. When the industry subsequently raised its prices, President Kennedy demanded and ultimately received a price rollback. The guidepost program became more elaborate as time went on. But it eventually was

overcome by demand pressures in the labor market and union demands for wage increases above the standard, and it basically faded away.

Inflation became a political issue in the early years of the Nixon administration. In August 1971, President Nixon announced an end to the Bretton Woods system, disengaged the dollar from gold, and imposed a ninety-day wage-price freeze. Thereafter, mandatory controls on wages and prices were imposed, which then passed through a series of phases of varying intensity. The most elaborate was Phase II, which featured a tripartite Pay Board and a Price Commission. This model was subsequently imitated in Britain and Canada.

Although the Vietnam War was in progress, the Nixon controls were not part of a larger scheme to redirect resources to the military. Indeed, the peak ratio of military expenditures to GDP during the Vietnam War was about 10 percent—and that peak had already occurred under Johnson. Moreover, because of earlier ongoing cold war military spending, the ramp-up of such spending to accommodate the Vietnam War was less dramatic than in prior wartime situations.

The initial pay standard after the freeze was based on productivity plus an allowable rate of inflation, with price controls built—as before—on permissible cost markups. Some shortages occurred during the Nixon controls, notably involving meat and gasoline. The Nixon program was largely ended under President Ford in the spring of 1974, except for elaborate controls on oil prices. Ford replaced formal wage-price controls with a program of anti-inflation exhortation coordinated by a Council on Wage and Price Stability (COWPS). This program featured promotion of much-ridiculed WIN buttons (“Whip Inflation Now”) and various announced “inflation alerts.”

President Carter continued COWPS and returned in 1978 to a Kennedy-Johnson-type program of voluntary wage-price restraints, termed “guidelines” rather than guideposts. A wage standard of 7 percent was announced with various exceptions. Academics in the 1970s had toyed with using the tax code to reward employers and/or workers for complying with such pay standards or penalizing those who did not. Reflecting this academic work, the Carter administration proposed an elaborate (and probably unworkable) program of “real wage insurance,” which would have used tax rebates to protect complying workers from inflation above 7 percent.

Subsequently, a tripartite Pay Advisory Committee was established with a vague charter to support the 7 percent target. Congress never enacted the Carter tax program, and the Reagan administration quickly abandoned wage-price interventions altogether, relying on tight monetary policy at the Federal Reserve to reduce inflation. The mandatory controls on oil prices that Carter had inherited

from Nixon and Ford led to very unpopular gasoline shortages, contributing to Carter’s defeat by Reagan in the 1980 presidential election.

Post-Korean wage-price interventions were based heavily on notions of wage-push and wage-price spirals. But starting in the mid-1950s, the union share of the workforce had begun to decline, a process that accelerated during the Reagan years and continued thereafter. In much of the developed world, similar union declines occurred. Thus, the intellectual rationale for wage-price interventions—mandatory or voluntary—largely has disappeared. In addition, wars after the Korean War have not entailed large shares of GDP. Absent the earlier military or macroeconomic justifications, it is unlikely that such programs will be used in the future.

The era of wage-price controls, guideposts, and guidelines, with its accompanying notions of dangerous wage-push pressures and wage-price spirals that needed to be restrained, has left a mark on macroeconomics. Contemporary economists often explain the concept of the NAIRU in language from the era of extensive unionization and collective bargaining. Low unemployment is often said to lead workers to “demand” higher wages or refuse to “accept” wage offers by employers. In fact, the conversion of labor markets to nonbargained pay determination has created what past proponents of mandatory or voluntary wage-price programs had once hoped to achieve. The U.S. economy in the 1990s and thereafter operated with a relatively low NAIRU and without the inflationary tilt feared to exist in the period beginning in the 1950s. Given this institutional change, it is likely that the rhetorical legacy of mandatory and voluntary wage-price programs will eventually also disappear.

SEE ALSO *Carter, Jimmy; Cold War; Deregulation; Economic Crises; Eisenhower, Dwight D.; Great Depression; Inflation; Johnson, Lyndon B.; Kennedy, John F.; Korean War; Monetarism; Natural Rate of Unemployment; New Deal, The; Nixon, Richard M.; Phillips Curve; Prices; Regulation; Rent Control; Statism; Supreme Court, U.S.; Truman, Harry S.; Unions; Vietnam War; World War I; World War II*

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Daniel J. B. Mitchell

WAGES

Wages are remuneration for labor services, in the form of either cash or some other mechanism of compensation. Wages have been the subject of extensive empirical and theoretical inquiry, the focus of which has included causes and consequences of wage variation, implications of evolving labor market conditions, and the effects of wage increases on productivity and growth. Generally, these studies approach such questions through the prism of two alternative labor market circumstances: perfectly competitive markets, in which consumers and producers have no market power to affect prices, and imperfectly competitive markets.

THE LABOR MARKET UNDER PERFECT COMPETITION

Traditionally, economic analysis is predicated on the assumption that labor markets are perfectly competitive. For this to be reasonable, three criteria must hold: There must be no barriers to entry; agents must have complete

information; firm and labor mobility must be costless. When these conditions obtain, wage rates of a given quality are determined by the intersection of the labor supply and demand curves. The labor demand curve reflects the marginal productivity of labor confronting profit-maximizing firms. The labor supply curve reveals the willingness of utility-maximizing individuals to supply labor at each conceivable wage. The intersection of these two curves determines the market clearing wage rate, at which all persons willing and able to work will find employment. In this framework, the wage rate is a market price that effectively allocates labor across alternative (and competing) uses.

One vein of the empirical work mentioned above is essentially rooted in this perfectly competitive framework. For instance, there is a tradition of fairly straightforward examination of inter-temporal wage patterns implicitly interpreted through the lens of perfect competition. Katz and Autor (1999) examine longitudinal wage data in the United States, revealing several interesting patterns. The ratio of wages of those in the ninetieth percentile of workers to those in the tenth percentile has grown substantially in recent decades. Large wage disparities have also been detected by education and experience levels. Nonetheless, wage gaps between white and black males and males and females overall have narrowed.

There is, however, no consensus regarding the causes of these structural changes. An often-cited theory explains wage differentials as a result of investments in human capital (e.g., through education, health, or training). Becker (1964) formalized this idea by demonstrating that greater human capital expenditures could account for empirically observed patterns of wage variation via their impact on the marginal revenue product of labor. This theory received empirical support from Mincer (1974), whose estimates of the returns to education were positive and increasingly significant with controls for years of experience in the labor market.

Numerous studies question this explanation of observed wage differences. For instance, Pritchett (2001) shows that education has contributed very little to economic growth. He speculates that, among other possibilities, this might reflect the irrelevance of knowledge transmitted through formal schooling (in terms of the skills actually required in the workplace). From a slightly different perspective, some (e.g., Spence [1974]) have argued that education contributes little directly to labor market productivity, but instead serves as a kind of signal for ability that allows employers to sort high and low ability workers.

Another avenue for wage variation generally approached through the framework of perfect competition is immigration. LaLonde and Topel (1991) consider

the impact of newly arrived immigrants on the wages of workers born in the United States as well as those who had immigrated to the United States earlier. They find that immigration has a negative, but small, impact on the wages of earlier immigrants and native-born workers who represent close substitutes (i.e., low skilled workers) for these more recent arrivals. This relationship attenuates as the tenure of earlier immigrants in the United States increases. Others (e.g., Borjas [2003]) have disputed these findings, claiming that they stem from the failure to control for the migration of native-born Americans to other cities and states.

A DEPARTURE FROM A PERFECTLY COMPETITIVE LABOR MARKET

The other major theoretical and empirical tradition focuses on possible market failure resulting in involuntary unemployment (a situation where workers willing to work at the prevailing market wage rate cannot find employment). Efforts to explain such failures have centered on two major theoretical possibilities: market failure rooted in the purposeful decisions of optimizing agents and failure as a consequence of government intervention.

The former possibility (failure stemming from the actions of optimizing agents) has received considerable research attention. To begin with, there is the obvious potential for a “menu costs” type situation: Firms may resist adjusting wages to a new equilibrium level if the transaction costs associated with doing so are sufficiently high. Another possibility that has attracted more interest is commonly referred to as “efficiency wages” (e.g., Akerlof and Yellen [1986]). This is the idea that wages might be set above market equilibrium for the purpose of inducing higher worker productivity and efficiency.

Several specific motivations for efficiency wages have been suggested. First, they might reduce shirking and increase the financial penalty associated with termination. Shapiro and Stiglitz (1984) demonstrate that in the face of limited monitoring resources firms are willing to pay efficiency wages for these reasons. Efficiency wages might also lessen turnover costs by rendering workers less likely to quit their jobs (more experienced workers tend to be more productive than new employees, whose training can also be costly). Particularly in the setting of lower income countries, higher wages can improve the health and overall well-being of workers (through greater food and health consumption), potentially raising their productivity. Finally, efficiency wages can help firms avoid adverse selection by encouraging more skilled (and thus more productive) workers to apply for jobs.

Another potential source of market failure comes from the timing of wage contracts. In essence, contracts offer a specified wage payment over some fixed interval of

time during which there might be shifts in labor supply or demand (and hence in the fundamental equilibrium wage that would prevail in an unfettered market). However, such contractual agreements can prevent adjustment in wages toward these new equilibrium conditions (a situation referred to as “wage stickiness”).

State intervention is another major reason that equilibrium conditions in the labor market may fail to obtain. For instance, a legally mandated minimum wage (a kind of price floor) may result in labor market disequilibrium if that minimum wage level is binding in the sense that it exceeds the equilibrium level that would emerge in its absence. Most empirical and theoretical work on the subject suggests that minimum wages that are binding in this sense yield, *ceteris paribus*, lower employment levels. However, a few studies (e.g., Card and Krueger [1994]) have received a great deal of attention for reaching the opposite conclusion. Card and Krueger (1994) examine the effects of an April 1992 minimum wage increase (from \$4.25 to \$5.05 an hour) by exploiting the fact that the increase was implemented earlier in some states than others. Employment levels before and after the change showed no signs of the decline anticipated in the face of an increase in the minimum wage: Employment levels actually increased. However, Card and Krueger (1994) have received a great deal of methodological criticism.

SEE ALSO *Becker, Gary; Employment; Labor Demand; Labor Force Participation; Labor Market; Labor Supply; Signals*

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Mai Noguchi Hubbard

WAGES, COMPENSATING

Adam Smith was the first to suggest that persons in dangerous or unpleasant jobs should be paid a high wage. His example was extreme: public executioner. Smith reasoned that despite the black hood that conceals the executioner's identity, people would not want that job unless they were paid additional compensation above the average wage for the community. Economists have since used the term *compensating wages* to refer to this additional compensation. The compensating wage hypothesis holds that compensating wages are generated in competitive labor markets to equalize the net benefit (wage minus risk) workers derive from safe and dangerous jobs. If true, the hypothesis and corresponding empirical estimates of the amount of compensating wages for different levels of risk have implications for occupational safety and health policy, workers' compensation, and statistical estimates of the value of life.

Evidence for compensating wages is undeniable in high-profile and dangerous jobs such as iron workers constructing tall buildings, airline pilots, bounty hunters, ocean fishers, and coal miners. But these jobs comprise only a fraction of all jobs, and the associated risks are obvious. It is not clear that compensating wages are generated across all dangerous jobs throughout the economy. (See Mason 1995 for a critique of compensating wage differentials.)

The hypothesis requires that workers be mobile, informed about job hazards, rational, and risk averse. Most debate about the hypothesis has to do with mobility and information. Job attachment increases with age, marriage, and children in the family, but jobs can become more or less dangerous over time, and attached workers may not change jobs. In addition, some workers, especially poor ones, may not have much mobility if the only choice is between a dangerous job or none at all. Information is also problematic. Vehicle crashes and

assaults are frequently overlooked by the public as likely job hazards, yet together they are responsible for 40 percent of all fatal injuries. The frequency of vehicle crashes helps explain why relatively low-wage occupations such as gardeners, construction laborers, traveling sales workers, pizza delivery drivers, garbage collectors, and farm workers face excessively high death rates. The rate of assaults helps explain why clerks in convenience stores and fast-food restaurants, as well as gas-station attendants, also face high death rates. In addition, even the strongest advocates for the hypothesis acknowledge that due to lack of information, compensating wages are unlikely to be paid for occupational diseases, yet job-related diseases cause roughly 60,000 deaths per year in the United States, compared to 5,000 injury deaths.

The empirical evidence with large data sets is mixed. The best evidence supporting the hypothesis derives from U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics data on fatality rates across industries. But these industry data conflate blue-collar with white-collar jobs, and death rates across industries are correlated with historical interindustry wage differentials. For more than 100 years and within many developed countries, wages for blue-collar workers have been high in transportation, construction, and manufacturing, and low in services, wholesale, and retail trade, independent of job hazards. Studies suggest that when interindustry wage differentials are accounted for, evidence supporting the hypothesis evaporates.

Despite the controversy, virtually all economists agree on one point: More information regarding job hazards would help "the market" generate compensating wages. One idea would require firms to include hazard information and fatality rates on job application forms the same way food manufacturers list fat content on packaged food.

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J. Paul Leigh

WAGES, NOMINAL

SEE *Nominal Wages*.

WAGNER'S LAWSEE *Public Sector*.**WALD TEST**SEE *Specification Tests*.**WALDEN**SEE *Thoreau, Henry David*.**WALKER, ALICE**SEE *Womanism*.**WALL STREET**

Wall Street refers to the geographical concentration of financial service providers that constitutes New York's financial district. Its heart is the narrow thoroughfare of the same name in Lower Manhattan that is home to the New York Stock Exchange. The term carries a wide spectrum of meanings that intersect geography, finance, and political economy.

The origins of Wall Street can be traced to the brushwood barricade erected by Peter Stuyvesant along the northern boundary of the New Amsterdam community of Dutch settlers in Lower Manhattan in 1653. The "wall" was meant to protect the early settlers against attack from Lenape Indians, New England colonists, and the British (who dismantled it in 1699). The subsequent growth and lore of local merchants and financiers imbued this simple geographic setting with its modern significance—the story of the formation of a world financial center, the powerful headquarters of U.S. financial capital.

THE RISE OF A FINANCIAL CENTER: FINANCE AND GEOGRAPHY

Wall Street's early history as a financial market began with gatherings of securities and commodities traders during the Revolutionary War. These curbstone and coffeehouse traders first developed financial techniques for loans and shares out of the needs of mercantile trade, a rudimentary copy of the 1600s Dutch exchanges. The consolidation of the New York exchange accelerated with U.S. government demands for new sources of capital to bail out securities issued to finance the Revolutionary War. The first

Continental Congresses in New York issued \$80 million in government bonds under Alexander Hamilton to redeem war debts at face value. Speculators seeking to profit on leaked news of the bailout plan set up operations at the east end of the street to broker insider trading of the government paper.

Wall Street's development during the eighteenth century was shaped by trade in government debt and state-licensed monopolies. During the nineteenth century, railroad shares and bonds fueled the market and its proliferation of trading instruments. Early institutional development was characterized by the monopolization of trading activity that excluded informal curb participants and curtailed the growth of rival exchanges. On May 17, 1792, twenty-four stockbrokers signed the "Buttonwood Agreement" (so named for the sycamore tree on Wall Street under which the signing is said to have taken place). The accord restricted membership and formalized rules for the loosely associated "Brokers for the Purchase and Sale of Public Stock" who conducted their exchange auctions out of the Tontine Coffee House. The financial turbulence of the War of 1812 prompted creation of the New York Stock and Exchange Board (NYSEB) in 1817. The board turned a handsome profit by financing the Erie Canal. It further restricted membership, enforced full commissions and secrecy, and moved member brokers into rented office space. The measures served to snuff out competition from rival curbstone exchanges, such as the 1835 Commercial Exchange Association.

The 1840s to the 1860s produced growth in securities issues associated with railroad stock (first listed in 1830). A major speculative boom driven by Civil War finance (1861–1865) spawned demand for new manufacture and mining and a swelling trade in government debt. This activity fueled persistent attempts to establish rival exchanges to the NYSEB, which culminated in the formation of the Open Regular Board in 1864. Unable to remove the Open Board from the trading arena, the NYSEB was forced to merge with it in 1869. This merger created the New York Stock Exchange as it is now known, with its 1,060 founding members. Subsequent challenges by rival exchanges, such as the Consolidated Stock and Petroleum Exchange (CSPE) founded in 1885, provoked aggressive response by the NYSE, which outlawed CSPE dealings and in 1900 ordered Western Union to stop supplying quotation services to all rival exchanges in New York City (Doede 1967, p. 14).

Financial turbulence in conjunction with the growing concentration of wealth on Wall Street prompted congressional reaction with the Pujo hearings in 1907. Wall Street was implicated in the monopolistic practices of the money trusts that facilitated industrial concentration under the control of a small number of corporations. During the

1920s, Wall Street flourished as a financial center, promoting the rise of large corporations with dispersed ownership and professional management along with a dramatic concentration of capital.

The fragile foundation of this accumulation of financial claims became apparent with the Black Thursday stock market crash of October 24, 1929, and the Black Tuesday sell-off panic that began on October 29. The collapse in equity prices came at the height of Wall Street's reputation and prompted a wave of regulatory legislation, from the 1933 Bank Act to the creation of the Securities and Exchange Commission in 1934. In the world of finance, Wall Street's characteristic business activity had produced a speculative financial frenzy that put short-term capital gains before enterprise, setting the stage for a debt-deflation crisis that brought down more than nine thousand banks and triggered the onset of the Great Depression in the 1930s. From this historical episode, major debates ensued about the role of financial markets in the development process.

Viewed from the perspective of the efficient markets hypothesis, Wall Street is the archetype of a highly competitive, efficient capital market whose prices reflect all relevant information. It is impossible to beat the market, and capital is optimally allocated to productive firms. Viewed from the financial instability school of thought, however, Wall Street is predisposed to speculative excess, where the larger constellation of private credit-creating institutions serve the interests of financial accumulation, distorting the allocation of productive capital in debilitating waves of crisis and bankruptcy. Contemporary reference to the "Wall Street View," coined by Hyman Minsky, derives from this interpretation of the Great Depression's speculative overleveraging and collapse in world capital markets. *Laissez-faire* finance, absent regulation and supervision, produces destabilizing real economic performance.

Throughout the 1930s Wall Street exchanges shrank from losses. Trading during the post-World War II golden age was lackluster until the end of the 1950s. In perspective, NYSE trading for all of 1950 was 525 million shares, which was equivalent to just two hours of an average day's trading volume in 2005. Wall Street emerged by securing its geographic and financial monopoly over U.S. capital markets. The dense area of real estate demarcated by Wall and Broad Streets came to include the New York and American stock exchanges, member firms, over-the-counter firms, government securities dealers, major banks and trust companies, the New York Federal Reserve Bank, and countless insurance, utility, mercantile, and commodity exchanges. The NYSE became the symbolic hub for U.S. financial capital. The amount of new capital Wall Street actually provisioned for "Main Street," however,

proved to be quite low—less than 1 percent of gross domestic product (GDP). It is not new capital but retrading existing capital that defines Wall Street's key development role. Following the 1970s, speculative financial leveraging of accumulation returned to Wall Street, exploding trading volumes, where the banking system was engaged to secure profits on capital gains from asset price run-ups on financial claims. The resulting market volatility made more observers receptive to the financial instability hypothesis.

THE POLITICAL ECONOMY OF FINANCE CAPITAL

In the world of political economy, Wall Street signifies the epicenter of U.S. and global financial capital. In the tradition of imperialist extension, Wall Street is seen as having the power to create or undermine nations in accordance with U.S. national interest. Wall Street speculators, most notably J. P. Morgan, played a decisive role in Panama's secession from Colombia and its birth as a nation in 1903 to ensure huge profits from the construction of the Panama Canal and U.S. controlling interest in the Canal Zone (Diaz Espinoza 2001). Morgan's Wall Street partnership bought up the worthless stock of the failed French Canal Company in 1900 and dispatched Nelson Cromwell to convince the U.S. government to purchase the company's rights and equipment at an exorbitant price. When Colombia's refusal to ratify the Hay-Herran Treaty threatened Washington's rights to build the canal, Wall Street financiers funded an uprising by Panamanian nationalists, causing President Theodore Roosevelt to deploy U.S. troops to the region.

Nineteenth-century political critique faulted Wall Street for advancing the monopoly powers of national capital and imperialist extension. Modern variants of this viewpoint examine in greater detail the evolving technology of financial institutions in promoting "accumulation by dispossession" (Harvey 2003, p. 147), where predatory asset redistributions are produced in the context of speculation-induced economic crises. Attention concentrates on the wave of financialization that occurred after 1973. Transactions involved stock promotions, Ponzi schemes, international debt-pushing and repayment servitude alongside speculative raiding conducted by hedge funds. The global reach of Wall Street's agenda and contribution to financial instability is captured in the reference to the "Wall Street-Treasury-IMF complex." This highlights the desire of large brokerage firms to have access to capital markets throughout the world through enforcement of complete capital account convertibility, while the International Monetary Fund (IMF) asserts its role as an international lender of last resort in the wake of impending crises.

The destruction of Manhattan's World Trade Towers on September 11, 2001, made evident that Wall Street's financial nexus had assumed symbolic dimensions as the center of U.S. financial power and was vulnerable to attack. A previous episode had occurred on September 6, 1920, when a bomb was exploded outside the NYSE building, killing thirty-three people. The post 9/11 geography of money produced a diaspora of the financial industry out of its concentrated center in Lower Manhattan. The disaster dislocated fifty thousand financial service employees to new office space in Midtown Manhattan and nineteen thousand across the river to New Jersey. Over thirteen million square feet of class A office space were completely destroyed, and insurance industry claims from property and life topped \$40 billion.

Wall Street's financial dominance continues despite encroaching competition by rival exchanges trading with new electronic technologies. In 2006 the NYSE acquired Archipelago Holdings, a rival exchange based entirely on electronically traded funds. The resultant public corporation, NYSE Group, took on the all-electronic NASDAQ to consolidate its control in the Internet trading world, where member "seats" and "trading floor" no longer signify geographic reference when accounting for revenue streams. The NYSE Group's subsequent merger with Euronext produced the first transatlantic bourse.

SEE ALSO *Casino Capitalism; Corporations; Economic Crises; Efficient Market Hypothesis; Federal Reserve System, U.S.; Financial Instability Hypothesis; Financial Markets; Great Depression; Hedging; Investment; Market Fundamentals; Random Walk; Regulation; September 11, 2001; Speculation; Stocks; Transaction Taxes*

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Joseph Ricciardi

WALLERSTEIN, IMMANUEL 1930–

Immanuel Wallerstein has been one of the most influential and prolific American sociologists in the post–World War II (1939–1945) period. He obtained his B.A. (1951), M.A. (1954), and PhD (1959) from Columbia University in New York City. In his early years as an assistant professor of sociology there, Wallerstein was primarily a political sociologist. His expertise in Africa's independence movements led to his meeting social theorist Frantz Fanon (1925–1961) while doing fieldwork in the region. The political and revolutionary activity sweeping the African continent in the late 1950s and early 1960s caused Wallerstein to question the traditional focus on the nation-state as a meaningful unit of analysis, particularly in those areas of the world where such entities were an obvious byproduct of prolonged colonialism and imperialism. In the late 1960s, Wallerstein politically sided with students in their anti–Vietnam War (1957–1975) protests against university administrators, a confrontation that resulted in his book *University in Turmoil* (1969) and his decision to leave Columbia to join the Department of Sociology at McGill University in Montreal. It was during his tenure there, and inspired by French economic historian Fernand Braudel's (1902–1985) long-term vision of historical processes, that he published the first volume of *The Modern World-System* (1974), which has been translated into thirteen languages. In combination with Volume 2 (1980) and Volume 3 (1989), the trilogy has had a significant impact in the fields of sociology, political economy, history, geography, and more recently, anthropology and comparative literature.

Wallerstein's main thesis in these and other studies is that capitalism is a specific socioeconomic system, characterized by an axial division of labor resulting from intense yet unequal bulk trade linkages between different zones, which he labeled the *core*, *periphery*, and *semiperiphery*. This capitalist world-system emerged in sixteenth-century Europe and subsequently expanded to incorporate more

areas (e.g., various minisystems and world empires not characterized by the same primacy of ceaseless capital accumulation). In the context of the colonialism and imperialism that unfolded from 1492 until the early twentieth century, the entire world became interlinked through these trade patterns constitutive of unequal exchange. The latter was also a major concern of the Latin American dependency school, which in the 1960s argued that the unequal power relationships reproduced through world trade mechanisms in the context of imperialism were the result of the relationship between *metropolis* and *periphery*. By stressing the importance of economic cycles and the commodity chains of leading sectors, however, Wallerstein espoused the idea that the upward and downward social mobility of specific polities was possible (as demonstrated, for example, by Spain, South Korea, and Taiwan).

Wallerstein also argued against the modernization or developmentalist school, dominant in the 1960s, which assumed that every country could achieve upward social mobility as long as it implemented the correct policies. For Wallerstein, the growth of world trade does not alter the fact that it is essentially a polarizing zero-sum game, reproducing and expanding poverty and inequality on a world scale. The crucial Wallersteinian concept of semiperiphery was introduced to clarify this idea theoretically: the three zones in which different political entities (nation-states, principalities, etc.) are located contain divergent practices (in terms of life expectancy, standard of living, labor control, production of items for sale on the world market, and political regimes) precisely because of their hierarchical location within the capitalist world-economy.

Unlike the orthodox Marxists' focus on the nation-state, Wallerstein and other world-system analysts (e.g., Samir Amin) conceptually regard free labor and slavery as coexisting within the same mode of production. Using the world-economy as the sole unit of analysis, Wallerstein insists that labor control and production for trade are historically, relationally, and therefore mutually constitutive: only because wage remuneration in the periphery, which mostly exports raw materials for the world market, is so low, is wage remuneration so relatively high in the core, where value-added products are exported.

After joining the Sociology Department at the State University of New York at Binghamton, Wallerstein created the *Fernand Braudel Center for the Study of Economies, Historical Systems, and Civilizations* in 1976 and its scholarly journal, *Review*. There he systematically wrote on cycles and trends of the world-economy, commodity chains, hegemony, antisystemic movements, households, racism and sexism, and the geoculture from a world-system perspective. One key historical event was the 1848 world revolution, in which spontaneous antisystemic

(especially socialist and nationalist) movements organized themselves politically in order to obtain state power. Their eventual success in turn led to the 1968 world revolution, engineered by different antisystemic movements from the New Left. Wallerstein claims that 1968 put an end to faith in universal progress and related classical liberal paradigms, which coincided with the beginning of American decline because of its loss of significant economic superiority to Western Europe and Japan and its political-military defeat in Vietnam.

Beginning in the 1980s, Wallerstein argued that the United States was from 1945 onward in de facto collusion with the Soviet Union, and he characterized the latter not as a communist experiment but as a typical powerful semiperipheral state that embraced protectionism (as opposed to the typical state located in the core in favor of free trade). Similarly, World War I (1914–1918) and World War II are interpreted as one major war to determine which state would succeed England as hegemon, the *primus inter pares* in the core zone that temporarily benefits from unprecedented financial, political, and ideological capital. From the late 1980s onward, Wallerstein predicted ever more crisis in the world-system due to a gradually falling rate of profit linked to increasing pressures from antisystemic movements, environmental constraints, democratization, and wage increases concurrent with urbanization. In this period he agreed with most of the studies written by his colleague, Andre Gunder Frank. But in the early 1990s, Frank, who was attempting to trace world-system economic cycles to as far back as 5000 BCE, began to criticize his former collaborator as being Eurocentrist. He also argued, contra Wallerstein, that the modern world-system was not so much in terminal crisis as experiencing yet another transition towards East Asian hegemony.

Starting in the 1990s, Wallerstein's writings focused more on the changing geoculture of the modern world-system. Since his term as president of the International Sociological Association (1994–1998), his scholarly contributions have been particularly geared towards unthinking nineteenth-century paradigms and critically reflecting upon the structures of knowledge production in the academic realm of the world-system. These efforts are best illustrated by his chairing of the Gulbenkian Commission on the Restructuring of the Social Sciences (1993–1995) and his publishing of *The End of the World as We Know It* (1999) and *The Uncertainties of Knowledge* (2004). Not unlike the later years of sociologist Pierre Bourdieu (1930–2002), Wallerstein's increased scholarly recognition—reflected in his move to Yale University in 2000—coincided with an increasing engagement in the political field. Evidence of this can be found in his public interventions at the World Social Forum with regard to potential strategies that progressive movements may consider (see

Utopistics [1998]) and in his desire to engage with a broader audience through public lectures and various biweekly commentaries (posted on the Internet as of October 1998). One of his lasting contributions has been the creation of the Political Economy of the World System Section of the American Sociological Association, which has continually increased its membership over the years and for which he is often the keynote speaker.

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Eric Mielants

WALRAS, LÉON 1834–1910

Marie Esprit Walras was born on December 16, 1834, in Évreux (Upper Normandy, France) to Auguste (1801–1866) and Louise-Aline Sainte-Beuve (1811–1893). Despite having no university degree, Léon Walras was offered a professorship at the University of Lausanne on November 12, 1870. He officially occupied the chair of political economy from October 20, 1871 to 1892, when he retired early for health reasons. His political and social economy is best examined through the trilogy of works titled *Éléments d'économie politique pure* (*Elements of Pure Economics or the Theory of Social Wealth*, 1874–1877, 1889, 1896, 1900), *Études d'économie sociale* (*Studies in Social Economics or the Theory of Distribution of Social Wealth*, 1896), and *Études d'économie politique appliquée* (*Studies in Applied Economics or the Theory of Production of*

Social Wealth, 1898). Walras died at his home in Clarens (Vaud, Switzerland) on January 5, 1910.

Founder of the School of Lausanne, Walras is one of the economists whose contributions have decisively influenced the development of economic theory. Almost simultaneously with, but independently from, Carl Menger (1840–1921) and Stanley Jevons (1835–1882), Walras introduced the concept of marginal utility (*rareté*) and took an important step toward the mathematization of economics. In his view, mathematics is not only one of the possible forms of expressing economics but also is the form necessarily required for a rigorous formulation of economic laws.

However, Walras's most original and important contribution is the analysis of price determination by means of the interactions between the various markets that make up an economy. The modern analysis of the existence, uniqueness, and stability of general equilibrium had been inspired by Walras's *Pure Economics*. In the 1950s modern theorists, with the use of advanced mathematics, specified the hypotheses enabling them to rigorously prove the existence of a price system equalizing supply and demand on each market—that is, the existence of a general equilibrium. In this perspective, the Walrasian *tâtonnement* (groping) was interpreted as a process of convergence of prices towards equilibrium, a representation of how markets actually work. Nevertheless, in the early 1970s enthusiasm chilled. It was proven that in a general equilibrium framework aggregate excess demand functions have an arbitrary nature, while specific assumption must be made to obtain uniqueness and stability results. To simplify matters rather drastically, as every change in the price system affects one's income and purchasing power, the aggregate excess demand functions that result behave capriciously. In other words, income effects prevent the groping process from leading to equilibrium. So, the correspondence between the hypothesis of the *homo oeconomicus* and the convergence towards equilibrium does not hold, and the *tâtonnement* process cannot be interpreted as the process that allows economic equilibrium to be reached.

Modern developments of general equilibrium have been inspired by Walras's theory of value in exchange (pure economics), while his theories of production and distribution of social wealth (applied and social economics) have been neglected. But from the perspective of the history of economic thought it is not possible to assert that pure economics is separable from the other two parts of the Walrasian triptych (applied economics and social economics) or that pure economics only is worthy of scientific consideration. Thanks to the publication of Walras's collected writings (1987–2005), historians of economic thought now rarely discuss Walras's works referring only

to pure economics, even though there is still no consensus on the relationships between these three components of Walras's political and social economy.

Nevertheless, the actual and fundamental controversy about Walras's writings involves the meaning of general equilibrium theory and what it is supposed to refer to. Most scholars considered Walras's general equilibrium theory as an attempt to represent the actual working of nineteenth-century capitalism, even though they disagreed on its heuristic value. For most critics, the general equilibrium theory is simply inadequate for this task, both in Walras's and in modern versions. Others instead find in Walras's writing some elements pertinent for the understanding of real markets. Finally, some argue that one can learn more from the differences between model and reality than from their alleged similarities.

However, if one takes Walras's philosophy of science seriously, a different point of view emerges: general equilibrium does not refer to actual market working or other economic facts but to the social wealth considered in itself. Pure economics does not aim at representing, in a more or less faithful and simplified manner, the contingent reality but rather at grasping the essence of the reality which does not yet completely exist, a reality in its becoming. For Walras, general equilibrium is the perfect, ideal form, towards which economic systems are evolving but are not yet realized. This ideal form is described in Walras's *Elements of Pure Economics*, but in his other writings he often referred to the economic and social phenomena that were right before his eyes: one might cite the essays on money and credit, monopolies, and railroads, but also on salaries, tax system, and real estate. These studies are definitely far from being an apology of the market as a self-driven and self-regulating mechanism. Instead, they represent a long list of cases requiring State intervention. The State has to organize the economy in order to approach the ideal form represented by general equilibrium but it is also destined to produce as a monopolist where too much competition kills competition.

Finally, three different Léon Walras have to be considered. The first is a neoclassical icon, the founder of neowalrasian economics, but known by economists at best as the author of *Elements of Pure Economics* only. The second is the founder of the School of Lausanne and the father of general equilibrium as a formalized invisible hand. The third, unknown to economists and only recently discovered by historians of thought, is a critic not only of the capitalism of his time, but of market economy in itself.

SEE ALSO *Economics, Neoclassical; Equilibrium in Economics; General Equilibrium; Lausanne, School of; Marginalism; Mathematical Economics; Stability in Economics; Tâtonnement; Walras' Law*

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WALRAS' LAW

Walras' law is a powerful modeling tool that is used by economists when they undertake general equilibrium analysis. It captures the interdependence between markets implied by the budgetary constraint that all individual transactors (i.e., a single person, a household, a firm, or the government) must take into account when they formulate purchase and sales plans.

It is assumed that no individual transactor in a market economy is so misguided as to suppose that he or she can acquire something for nothing. This being the case, the plan to purchase (or sell) something necessarily implies the plan to sell (or purchase) something of equal value. In the language of economics, each individual must satisfy his or her budget constraint. Consequently, for each individual the total value of the planned supply must exactly equal the total value of the planned demand. This means that there can be neither an excess of demand over supply (excess demand) nor an excess of supply over demand (excess supply) at the level of the individual.

It follows by simple aggregation that there can be no excess demand or excess supply in the aggregate whether one is summing over the individuals as individuals or as participants in various markets, and this must be true whether or not prevailing market prices are such as to equate demand with supply for each specific commodity. In other words, the aggregate market value of supply equals the aggregate market value of demand for any set of prices, not just the equilibrium set of prices. This proposition sometimes is called Walras' law but more commonly is known as Walras' identity.

Walras' identity implies that if there is ever an excess of demand over supply for any single commodity, there must be a corresponding excess of supply over demand for at least one other commodity; otherwise the aggregate value of commodities that agents wish to supply could not be equal to the aggregate value of commodities that agents wish to demand. Another way to put this is to say that the aggregate value of the excess demands and the excess supplies over all the markets must equal zero and that this applies whether or not all the markets are in equilibrium.

This proposition is one of a number of logical implications of Walras' identity that is given the name *Walras' law*. Léon Walras explicitly formulated and drew upon this proposition in his attempt to explain how general economic equilibrium may be established in a market economy (Walras [1926] 1954).

Walras' law is a statement that refers to all markets taken together (that is, it refers to the aggregation of the markets for final goods and services along with the markets for raw materials, labor, money, and bonds) and should not be confused with a proposition known as Say's law, or at least one version of it (Sowell 1972), which claims that there never can be an excess supply of final goods and services taken alone. Although Walras' law asserts the logical impossibility of oversupply in all markets taken together, it does not rule out the possibility of there being an oversupply in a particular market, such as the market for final goods and services, taken alone.

Walras' identity and Walras' law are valid whether or not market prices equate demand with supply for each and every commodity, and because of this they have implications for both equilibrium and disequilibrium situations. Those implications are of such fundamental importance in modeling interdependence between markets that they often have been used by writers to define Walras' law.

Equilibrium in a market is a situation in which the price of the commodity is such that the supply of the commodity is equal to the demand for it. Now, suppose a set of prices has been established that will equate demand with supply in every market except the n th market. Because there can be neither excess supply nor excess demand in the aggregate, it follows that if all but one of the markets in an economy are in equilibrium, that other market also must be in equilibrium. Thus, to demonstrate that a situation of general equilibrium holds, it suffices to show that $n - 1$ markets are in equilibrium. This implication of Walras' law plays an important role in models of markets and models of asset portfolios.

In regard to the implications of Walras' law for disequilibrium, the law implies that regardless of the price that is set, the aggregate value of excess demands in the system equals the aggregate value of excess supplies. This carries the implication that an excess supply in any one market must be matched by an equal value of excess demand in some other market or markets. To put this statement slightly differently, if there is a disequilibrium in any one market, at least one other market must also be in disequilibrium.

This implication of Walras' law leads many to be concerned about the theoretical grounding of John Maynard Keynes's theory of unemployment, which seems to suggest that the labor market can be in disequilibrium even if all

other markets are in equilibrium. An important contribution to this debate was made in 1965 by Robert Clower, who pointed out that in Walrasian analysis the excess demands and supplies are measured as differences between planned or "notional" demands and supplies, not between actual or "effective" demands and supplies. Clower suggested that Walrasian analysis is not appropriate for modeling situations in which there is involuntary unemployment (an excess supply of labor) because this excess supply in the labor market will result in household incomes that are lower than what the households were counting on when they formulated their expenditure plans. As a result the excess supply in the labor market will be matched by only a notional and not an effective excess demand for commodities.

Although in this situation certain prices will be at disequilibrium levels, no process of bidding them away from those inappropriate levels may get started, and so it can be argued that unemployment persists because the market signals that are presupposed in much general equilibrium analysis are not transmitted. Consideration of issues such as these has led to the development of non-Walrasian approaches to economics. In particular, in 1971 and 1976 Robert Barro and Herschel Grossman formalized the ideas of Clower and others and laid the foundations for a non-Walrasian macroeconomics.

SEE ALSO *Barro-Grossman Model; Economics, New Classical; Economics, New Keynesian; General Equilibrium; Macroeconomics; Market Clearing; Prices; Tâtonnement; Walras, Léon*

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Robert Dixon

WALTZ, KENNETH

1924–

Kenneth Neal Waltz, born and raised in Ann Arbor, Michigan, is best known for developing the *neorealist* or *structural realist* approach to the study of international relations. A central figure in the development of international relations scholarship in the post–World War II (1939–1945) era, Waltz has also made notable contributions to the understanding of nuclear weapons proliferation and its consequences. Waltz received his bachelor's degree from Oberlin College in 1948 and his graduate degrees from Columbia University in the 1950s. He retired from teaching in the mid-1990s and, as of 2005, was serving as Emeritus Ford Professor of Political Science at the University of California at Berkeley and as an adjunct professor of political science at Columbia University.

Waltz's earliest contribution, presented in *Man, the State, and War: A Theoretical Analysis* (1954), organizes the primary causes of war into three distinct *images* or levels of analysis. The first image considers human nature and whether it can be developed and constrained in such a way as to minimize the likelihood of war. The second image emphasizes domestic political factors as the source of interstate conflicts. Finally, the third image identifies as the key causes of war the structure of the international system and, in particular, the absence of any centralized arbiter to settle disputes among countries, a condition known in international relations as *anarchy*. Through these levels of analysis, Waltz seeks to isolate and therefore better understand the root causes of conflict among countries.

Waltz's most influential work is *Theory of International Politics* (1979), in which he elaborates the principal tenets and predictions of *neorealism*. Sometimes called *structural realism*, neorealism emphasizes third-level causes of conflict among countries. As a result of anarchy, states can trust only themselves to secure their survival. Therefore, they must always be suspicious of others, making cooperation with other countries limited and infrequent. In Waltz's view, even though states must strive for security, they do not intrinsically seek boundless power or territory; therefore, once their security needs are met, most states will accept the status quo and avoid conflict with other states. States whose ambitions exceed these legitimate security needs can be contained by the systemic balance of power.

Beginning in the 1980s, Waltz's research turned increasingly to the implications of nuclear proliferation. The leading *nuclear optimist*, Waltz argues that, given the destruction any nuclear exchange would entail, an increase in the number of states with nuclear weapons makes the international system more stable and armed conflict less likely. In effect, nuclear proliferation obligates states to be more restrained and careful in their relations

with other countries. *Nuclear pessimists*, on the other hand, contend that the proliferation of nuclear weapons destabilizes international relations. Together with Scott D. Sagan, Waltz coauthored *The Spread of Nuclear Weapons: A Debate* (1995), which elaborates the debate between nuclear pessimists and optimists in the context of the cold war's superpower nuclear standoff. Sagan and Waltz reissued their book in 2002 with an expanded discussion of proliferation in India and Pakistan, and of the threat of nuclear weapons being acquired by terrorists.

SEE ALSO *Casino Capitalism; International Relations; Market Fundamentals; Realism, Political*

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Gerald M. DiGiusto

WANT CREATION

Introductory economics textbooks assume consumers are sovereign in the market. The preferences of consumers are supposed to be authentic, self-generated. Consumers' preferences are supposed to determine what producers supply. But this is an age in which producers increasingly contest that sovereignty. With powerful corporations, costly information, pervasive advertising, and persuasive salesmanship, consumers are less independent, their preferences less authentic. Created wants do not arise spontaneously from individual preferences but from advertising and salesmanship. John Kenneth Galbraith described such want creation as "the revised sequence" (Galbraith 1967, p. 212).

Of course, the traditionally accepted sequence still operates. Information about what is wanted still flows from consumers to producers, from the demand side of the product market to the supply side. Not all wants are created by producers. Sovereign consumers have not lost their power. But they do have to share it. Producers no longer respond passively to consumer whim, if they ever wholly did. The sovereignty of the consumer is being challenged on a widening front. A significant flow of information is now going in the other direction. A revised sequence has been established in which information flows from producer to consumer, from the supply side of the product market to the demand side. Supply has begun to create demand. Consumer wants have begun to depend

on producer production. Galbraith coined the phrase “the dependence effect” to describe consumption that depends on production (Galbraith, 1969, p. 143).

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF WANT CREATION

Want creation reduces the authenticity and the urgency of consumer preferences. It undermines much of neoclassical economics. It cuts the hearts out of microeconomic and welfare theory, changes macroeconomic theory, and forces a reconsideration of the benefits of globalization. If taken seriously, want creation would revolutionize textbook economics, where it is still largely ignored.

In microeconomic theory, want creation means that the price mechanism is not the only way markets reach equilibrium. Excess supply of consumer goods may or may not be eliminated by a decline in the market price. It may also be eliminated by an increase in advertising and salesmanship and other alterations in the flow of information from producer to consumer—all intended to shift the demand curve to the right instead of moving downward along the demand curve toward a lower price and higher quantity demanded. Excess demand for consumer goods, likewise but in reverse, may or may not be eliminated by the price mechanism. That is, advertising, salesmanship, and information management may be adjusted downward, instead of price being adjusted upward, to clear the excess demand from the market. Want creation introduces indeterminacy and producer discretion into the market adjustment process (Waller and Robertson 1998).

In welfare theory, want creation destroys the presumption of market optimality. To the extent that wants are created so that producers can profit by supplying them, equilibrium in the product market does not represent optimal consumer utility in the form of consumer surplus. In fact, consumer surplus loses its meaning when consumer wants are created by producers. Furthermore, if workers supply their work in order to buy the products that meet the wants created by the producers who hire them, how can it be said that human welfare is served?

In macroeconomic theory, want creation replaces more orthodox consumption functions with the demonstration effect (Duesenberry 1949). When the desirability of new goods and services is demonstrated to consumers, short run consumption permanently shifts up to include the new item. This makes the average and marginal propensities to consume the same in the long run, even if the marginal propensity is less than the average propensity in the short run. Of course, in the United States, want creation has made the pressure to consume so intense that the marginal and average propensities are both close to unity.

When wants are created, it is questionable to what extent underdeveloped countries benefit from globalization

when it opens them up to the advertising, salesmanship, and information management exercised by the powerful corporations of developed countries (Dugger 1998).

Applied to a wide range of economic doctrines, want creation is a subversive concept.

Among the economists seriously discussing want creation are Robert H. Frank, who is linking individual preferences to social emulation (Frank 1985, 1999), and Juliet B. Schor, whose work is more focused on manipulation by advertisers (Schor 1991, 1998).

SEE ALSO *Consumer; Consumer Protection; Consumerism; Consumption; Functionings; Galbraith, John Kenneth; Hidden Persuaders; Needs; Relative Income Hypothesis; Subliminal Suggestion; Wants; Welfare Economics*

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William M. Dugger

WANTS

In economics, the term *want* refers to a wish or desire to own goods and services that give satisfaction. More generally, the concept involves the endless succession of material wants exhibited by all human beings. Material wants are the desires of consumers to obtain and use various goods and services that provide utility. Usually, wants are backed by effective demand—ability and willingness to pay.

Nature has made lavish the distribution of its natural resources and this has brought about an endless desire for many things even though they may not necessarily be basic needs (food, clothing, and shelter). As basic needs and wants are satisfied, other wants will arise. For this reason, human wants are unlimited: The satisfaction of one want leads to another. At the same time, the means (natural, human, and manufactured) used in satisfying them are limited (scarce).

The study of economics begins with a consideration of scarcity. *Scarcity* refers to a situation in which goods and services are limited in supply, and thus the full demand for those goods and services cannot be met. Because people have unlimited wants—and thus want more than they have or can purchase with their incomes—what they have is never enough, even if they are wealthy. And given that people do not have everything they want, they must use their limited time and income to select those things they want most and forgo the rest. The choices they make and the manner in which the choices are made explain much of why the real world is what it is. A choice is simply a comparison of alternatives. When you choose one thing, the lost benefits of the next best alternative represent the *opportunity cost* of your choice.

The rapid introduction of new products whets our appetites and extensive advertising persuades us that we need countless items we might not otherwise buy. For instance, not too long ago, we did not want light beer, videocassette recorders, fax machines, or compact discs—because they did not exist. The overall objective of all economic activity is to attempt to satisfy material wants, both longstanding and newly created.

The wants of consumers (goods and services) become available through business activities. It is, then, business that produces the food, clothing, shelter, furniture, household utensils, and so on that we all need. It supplies us with all our means of transportation, from the simple bicycle to the sophisticated airliner. It provides all our entertainment, from children's comics to the television programs beamed to us from satellites in space.

Wants expressed as effective demand reflect major economic decisions by states, corporate institutions, and multilateral institutions, and are significantly affected by forces emanating from either the world market or domestic markets. For instance, domestic pricing mechanisms influence the investment decisions of individuals, as well as corporate economic factors. Examples can be found in the stock exchange process, in which decisions to buy or sell stocks are influenced by stock values.

In practical terms, wants for goods emanate from consumers, and thus producers produce what consumers need; if they do not, they may go out of business. Furthermore, if production is undertaken in order to sup-

ply the wants of mankind, then demand must be the basic force in economics. Every individual demands goods and services and when all the individual demands are put together, the resulting composite demand is what industry must meet if people are to achieve satisfaction. Demand for goods that are not to our personal taste, or are less fashionable or less well promoted through advertisement will be weaker. Tastes and preferences, as well as publicity, thus play some part in determining the total want for a commodity or service.

At the national level, the overall want of countries may differ, depending on their level of development (technological, human, and material), income, state of peace or war, and natural resources. For example, a war-torn country will have a constant need to import arms. Because nature has not equitably distributed its resources over the surface of the earth, nation-states depend on one another for those goods for which they have the least comparative cost advantage. The exchange between nations of such resources is an obvious solution to national shortages.

Nations may have diverse wants (perhaps reflected in development programs and projects), but few resources. This scarcity of resources comprises a huge constraint, and thus nations may be forced to drop some of their white elephant projects and arrange their programs in order of importance pending the availability of funds. With scarcity, which ensures that nations' wants exceed what they can actually produce, potential demand will obviously exceed potential supply. As a result, the shortfall in supply of a nation's wants will be made up by other nations.

More significantly, national wants determine the level of international trade and what categories of goods (wants) will be imported. For instance, for years the United States stockpiled its own oil resources for strategic reasons and instead used cheap supplies from Venezuela and the Middle East. Similarly, Great Britain has allowed its own cotton industry to run down in the face of competition from the newly industrialized countries of the Far East, whose cheap labor and skillful exploitation of new technology have made them more economical than Lancashire. This economic philosophy of wants has been criticized for being excessively *laissez-faire*.

Wants are driven by self-interest, and in most cases involve a clash of interests. For example, nations may go to war to protect their own "national interest" despite the obvious consequences. Another difficulty connected with the satisfaction of human wants is that people and nations are spread around the world in a very haphazard way, making it impossible to evenly satisfy human wants; furthermore, one person's wants may be another person's needs and vice versa. In addition, the means of fulfilling wants are inherently limited, as the world at any given

time can only produce a limited amount of goods and services due to the limited resources at its disposal.

Wants as an economic desire never cease; they grow in spiral-like movements of business activity. We engage in business activity so that we can satisfy human wants. When we do satisfy these wants, the very act of satisfaction consumes the useful goods or services created and we must start the process again in order to supply a further batch. The process goes from wants through enterprise, production, distribution, and marketing to consumption and satisfaction, and back to wants again.

SEE ALSO *Consumption; Demand; Functionings; Needs; Needs, Basic; Scarcity; Trade; Utility, Objective; Utility, Subjective; Want Creation*

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Cajetan Nnaocha

WAR

In general, war is the outbreak of armed hostilities within, between, or among states or other political groups and communities, in which strategic, political, economic, and other important outcomes are decided mainly by the use of military force. In international law, war is a legal condition of open and declared hostility between or among states, wherein diplomatic relations are automatically severed (if an official state of war is declared) and states may use any military force deemed appropriate or effective, subject only to the laws of war and perhaps to notions of “just war.” According to the Bismarckian *realpolitik* (“realistic politics”) school of international relations, war as organized political violence is the ultimate “self-help” device in the power politics of an anarchic world consisting of sovereign states. The “Iron Chancellor” Otto von Bismarck (1815–1898), architect of Germany’s “reunification from above” during the nineteenth century, recog-

nized the importance of war’s nation-building function, declaring in the German Bundestag that “It is not by speeches and resolutions that the great questions of the time are decided ... but by iron and blood” (Barash and Webel 2002, p. 58).

According to the most illustrious “philosopher of war,” Carl von Clausewitz, a nineteenth-century Prussian army officer best known for his treatise *On War*, war is “not a mere act of policy, but a true political instrument, a continuation of political activity by other means” (Clausewitz [1832] 1976, p. 87). In other words, war is fundamentally a continuation of a country’s peacetime diplomacy by other, more violent methods, rather than a complete break with it. It is not an act of senseless fury and violence, but an orchestrated military action with a particular strategic goal in mind—namely, disarming one’s opponents to the point where they cannot resist one’s demands. This conception of warfare as essentially political in nature is in accord with Clausewitz’s general definition of war as “an act of force to compel the enemy to do our will.” War, he wrote, is “nothing but a duel on a larger scale” ([1832] 1976, p. 75). In contrast, Marxist and neo-Marxist writers emphasize the socioeconomic causes of war, claiming that mankind has been historically in a state of almost perpetual warfare due to the economic interests of the dominant social classes. Since the rise of class-divided society in the Early Bronze Age (c. 3500–2000 B.C.E.), war has been promoted by powerful members of the socially dominant classes who are seeking—out of sheer economic self-interest or imperialist ambition—to gain colonies, export markets, or natural resources abroad; political and economic spheres of influence; regional or global domination; and so on. The American Socialist leader Eugene Debs (1855–1926) told an antiwar rally in 1917: “Wars throughout history have been waged for conquest and plunder.... The master class has always declared the wars; the subject class has always fought the battles” (Zinn 2005, p. 27).

Quincy Wright (1890–1970), a pioneering peace and conflict researcher, considered a war to have taken place either when it was formally declared or when a certain number of troops—at least 50,000 as a minimum—were involved. Other writers have defined wars by the number of deaths incurred, focusing on a minimum of 1,000 combat-related fatalities—either per war or per year of the conflict (see Singer and Small 1972; Eckhardt 1991). Reality is, of course, much more complicated than such definitions of war. In the War of the Bavarian Succession (1778–1779), for instance, after an official state of war had been declared, the Prussian and Austrian armies marched against each other in the field, but not a single shot was fired in anger and, as a result, no one died. In contrast, during the Korean War (1950–1953), in which nearly 3 million people—mostly innocent civilians—were

killed, including more than 54,000 Americans, there was neither an official declaration of war nor the signing of a peace treaty, and the whole conflict was euphemistically labeled a “U.N. police action.” In the First Gulf War (1990–1991), not only was an official state of war never declared, nor a peace treaty signed at the end of the hostilities, but diplomatic relations with Iraq were not severed by most of its adversaries.

The sheer wastefulness of warfare in terms of human, economic, environmental, and social losses has been appalling, even without the use of nuclear weapons. For example, during the Thirty Years’ War (1618–1648) a third of Germany’s population was killed. At least 9 million soldiers and more than 1 million civilians died during World War I (1914–1918), with approximately 20 million more people perishing during the war-driven influenza epidemic of 1918. During the Battle of the Sommes in 1916, the joint British-French forces tried for five months to break through German lines, gaining a mere 120 square miles at a cost of 420,000 British and nearly 200,000 French soldiers; the Germans lost 445,000. Military deaths in World War II (1939–1945), during which nuclear bombs were dropped on the Japanese cities of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, were about 17 million, but civilian deaths—at approximately 35 million—were many times greater than in World War I. Of the 2.9 million Americans who served in the military during the undeclared Vietnam War, more than 58,000 were killed, 3,000 became missing in action, and more than 300,000 were wounded or maimed. Yet these casualty figures convey very little of that war’s horrors, both for those who fought in the war and especially for the peoples of Indochina. In Vietnam itself, the economy and natural environment were devastated, and well over 3 million Vietnamese were killed, more than two-thirds of them civilians. Overall, at least 3.5 billion people are believed to have died as a direct or indirect result of the more than 14,500 wars that have been waged during the 5,000 years since the dawn of human civilization (Beer 1981).

The direct and indirect costs of warfare, and especially the tragic loss of human life, have elicited harsh criticism of war throughout the ages. The ancient Greek historian Plutarch (46-120) complained in the first century C.E. that “the poor go to war, to fight and die for the delights, riches, and superfluities of others” (Plutarch 1948, p. 167). According to Benjamin Franklin (1706–1790), one of America’s founding fathers, “there never was a good war or a bad peace” (quoted in Barash and Webel 2002, p. 12). Ernest Hemingway, a badly wounded World War I veteran and author of the famous antiwar novel *A Farewell to Arms*, agreed: “Never think that war, no matter how necessary, nor how justified, is not a crime” (Hemingway 2003, p. 233). And the famous British philosopher and pacifist Bertrand Russell warned at the

beginning of the twentieth century that “either man will abolish war, or war will abolish man” (Russell 1915).

The march of technology has radically altered the scope and nature of war over the centuries. Technological progress has increased the need to mobilize the entire nation for military-industrial and other production in support of the war effort (the war’s “home front”), but has also made civilian populations a legitimate target for the military in what is often referred to as “total war,” a twentieth-century invention. The technological ability to use lethal weapons at a distance has escalated from primitive warfare’s bow and arrow to today’s supersonic jet and intercontinental ballistic missile, both of which can deliver deadly munitions at a speed of thousands of miles per hour and with pinpoint accuracy. This quantum leap has been matched by similar technological advances in destructive power, from the swords and spears of medieval combat to the massive explosive force of the thermonuclear bomb—measured in millions of tons (megatons) of TNT and capable of completely obliterating even the world’s largest cities.

In the age of nuclear and other weapons of mass destruction, some commentators suggest that their sheer destructiveness has made war obsolete, because no rational goal could be achieved by using such doomsday weapons that are endangering the very existence of mankind and indeed the survival of all life on the planet. For example, the total U.S. nuclear arsenal in 1990 was about 3,200 megatons of TNT, whereas the entire explosive power detonated by all militaries in World War II was approximately three megatons—including the two atomic bombs dropped on Hiroshima and Nagasaki in August 1945, which had the explosive force of 12 and 20 kilotons, respectively. Some scholars believe that the detonation of as little as 100 megatons of TNT, a tiny fraction of the world’s stockpiles of nuclear arms, could trigger a “nuclear winter”—the prolonged darkening and cooling of the planet (temperatures could plummet as much as 50 degrees Fahrenheit). After a nuclear exchange, the huge quantities of smoke and soot generated by the resulting firestorms would rise into the upper atmosphere and absorb incoming solar heat and light, thereby making the Earth cold, dark, and eventually uninhabitable (Sagan and Turco 1990). Even though wars are still taking place, causing immense destruction and misery, the threat of nuclear Armageddon has fostered powerful peace and antiwar movements that are not only deterring the nuclear-weapon powers from using or even testing their strategic arsenals, but also instilling the increasingly widespread belief that war is an illegitimate method for settling grievances.

SEE ALSO *Arms Control and Arms Race; Civil-Military Relation; Conflict; Deterrence; Deterrence, Mutual; Militarism; Military; Military Regimes; Military-Industrial Complex; Peace; Weapons Industry*

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Rossen Vassilev

WAR, SPANISH-AMERICAN

SEE *War of 1898*.

WAR AND PEACE

War and Peace by Leo Tolstoy (1828–1910) is arguably the world's greatest epic novel. Written and published in the monthly *Russkij Vestnik* from 1863 to 1869, the work depicts the years leading up to and including Russia's wars with Napoleon from 1805 to 1812. The novel immortalizes the quiet heroism and spiritual strength of the Russian people in a time of national crisis and historical transition. *War and Peace* began as a social novel called *The Decembrists* about a Russian Decembrist returning from Siberian exile in the 1850s. As Tolstoy worked he realized that in order to describe his hero he would first need to understand his formative years during the Napoleonic wars. A lasting trace of this original conception is the character of Pierre Bezukhov, the hero of the original

novel (named Pyotr Labazov) and a main protagonist in *War and Peace*. What began as a contemporary social study grew into a vast, vivid tableau of early-nineteenth-century Russian life that goes beyond historical fact to capture the emotional, psychological, and moral fabric of the time.

TOLSTOYAN WISDOM IN WAR AND PEACE

War and Peace reflects the deep imprint of French culture on nineteenth-century Russian life, not least in the aristocratic characters' frequent use of French. And yet just as the vast Russian countryside in the novel engulfs the invading French army, so Tolstoy's massive literary landscape assimilates French and other cultural influences into a synthetic creation that encompasses all of life.

In *War and Peace* characters are born, they marry, they decay, and they die. These events occur on a clock that ticks on with slow, implacable calm. This has led some readers to sense in the novel a spirit of fatalism. But *War and Peace* is also a freshly inspiring vision of the world's physical plenitude and of the meaningful moral choices it offers. Many of the novel's greatest scenes, such as Natasha Rostova's first ball, the Rostovs' wolf hunt, and Prince Andrei's vision of the "lofty infinite sky" as he lay wounded on the battlefield at Austerlitz, are among the most enthralling moments in world literature.

Almost all of the main protagonists in *War and Peace* find happiness in a balanced, mature view of the world as a place where joy and tragedy, moral choice and providential design, are present in equal measure. These characters discover that their individual lives are both finite and full of possibility, both solitary and also part of an organic tapestry of human evolution and history. Only Prince Andrei is unable to reconcile his noble ideals with reality. He is the novel's one tragic hero.

If there is an overt ideological thesis in *War and Peace*, it is that great men do not move history but are its slaves and that free will is an illusion, albeit a necessary one to help us get through everyday life. Tolstoy takes particular aim at Napoleon, who arrogantly believes that he shapes events; at historians who accept the great man theory of historical evolution; and at all manner of strategists, military and otherwise, who believe that rational planning affects the outcome of events.

In Tolstoy's novel those characters who live spontaneously are wise and productive because they are in sync with the forces of history and nature. Kutuzov defeats Napoleon not because of strategic planning (he sleeps before the Battle of Austerlitz while his military strategists quibble) but because he instinctively senses the inevitable course of events. Pierre grows wise and finds happiness

after he gives up his Utopian schemes and accepts the world in its beautiful unpredictability.

THE NOVEL IN AN AGE OF SOCIAL UNREST

Tolstoy's initial work on *The Decembrists* and the early drafts of *War and Peace* occurred when he was growing concerned about the impending Great Reforms of Alexander II, begun in 1861. Tolstoy, an aristocrat, believed that the centuries-old system of aristocratic privilege and serfdom, while imperfect, was superior to the chaos—political, social, and spiritual—that the reforms would unleash. Tolstoy's social conservatism is evident in the work's idealized depiction of the landlord–peasant relationship at the beginning of the century. According to prominent Soviet scholar Viktor Shklovsky, Tolstoy distorts historical facts to further his ideological agenda. A prominent example of this described by Shklovsky is the author's suppression of the real reason that Princess Marya's peasants at Bogucharovo rebel in book three, part two, when she offers to take them with her to Bald Hills: because they believed that, by staying at Bogucharovo, they would be freed by Napoleon. Rather, Tolstoy's portrayal of the peasants gives the impression that their uprising was a senseless, isolated event, motivated by their eccentricity instead of their deep-seated dissatisfaction with the social status quo.

Although Shklovsky and some other scholars rightly discover strains of social conservatism in the novel, they reduce the great epic to a web of self-serving artistic illusions. A more likely source of Tolstoy's idealized portrayal of the peasant–landlord relationship is the author's lifelong attraction to the ideals of national unity, social harmony, and universal fellowship of human beings. We may read *War and Peace* as Tolstoy's heroic attempt to create for his discordant Russian society of the 1860s a mythical past in which Russians were secure in their collective identity and unified in their response to a national crisis.

FORM OF THE WORK

When it first appeared, *War and Peace* was a radical departure from the traditional form of the European novel. The work combines elements of the psychological novel, historical novel, family chronicle, epic, and Bildungsroman. It has astonished and confounded readers with its deluge of detail, its vast array of characters who seem to appear and disappear at random, and its inclusion of historico-philosophical essays throughout. Scholars differ about whether the work's idiosyncratic form was intended or “a splendid accident,” as American writer and critic Henry James called it. Twentieth-century scholars suggest that the novel's unconventional form intends to show that real life, like history, does not unfold in neat, narrative pat-

terns. Other scholars argue that despite its strangeness the work contains concealed artistic patterns and unifying aesthetic principles.

Despite its sprawling canvas (approximately 365 chapters, or 1,500 pages in the original publication), *War and Peace* focuses the reader's deepest sympathies on Pierre Bezukhov and the novel's other four main aristocratic protagonists: Prince Andrei Bolkonsky, Nikolai Rostov, Natasha Rostova, and Princess Marya Bolkonskaya. Tolstoy presents their journeys with extraordinary lifelike realism, and he describes how their personal destinies become intertwined with the encroaching forces of war and history.

So interconnected do the “peace” and “war” sections of the novel become that it appears virtually impossible to disentangle them. Power politics, schemes, and stratagems are as present in the St. Petersburg drawing rooms as on the battlefield, and characters are as apt to achieve spiritual illumination in the throes of war as in the joys of family life. The “peace” of the novel's title refers not only to peacetime but also to the spiritual tranquility characters seek amid the confusion of modern life.

FUTURE IMPACT

War and Peace has inspired generations of Russian writers and artists, who have tried to recreate Tolstoy's expansive vision and have regarded Tolstoy's masterpiece as a model for recording the unique destiny of the Russian people. Among the works that *War and Peace* has influenced are Mikhail Sholokhov's novel *The Quiet Don* (1928–1940), Boris Pasternak's *Doctor Zhivago* (1957), and Vasily Grossman's *Life and Fate* (1959). Sergei Prokofiev's operatic version of *War and Peace*, a masterpiece in its own right, beautifully transports to the stage the deep patriotic currents of Tolstoy's novel, as well as the majestic calm of Tolstoy's omniscient narrative voice. Tolstoy's novel remains required reading in Russian schools, and ordinary Russians frequently can recite by heart passages from their adored classic. Even Joseph Stalin, infamous for his ability to harness the power of art for political purposes, recognized the potency of *War and Peace* when he ordered the book to be included in a propaganda series called “Books for Victory” during World War II (1939–1945).

SEE ALSO *Aristocracy; Conservatism; Feudalism; Landlords; Monarchism; Napoléon Bonaparte; Naturalism; Peace; Peasantry; Planning; Stability; Political; Stalin, Joseph; Utopianism; War*

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Andrew D. Kaufman

WAR CRIMES

The notion of crimes of war has been known in the Western legal tradition since classical antiquity. For the ancient Greeks it was part of Hellenic customary law that provided some basic if ill-defined norms for the protection of civilians, suppliants, and prisoners in warfare between the Greek states. While this notion has persisted as the “laws and customs of war,” it was only with the incipient development of a body of international law at the end of the nineteenth and beginning of the twentieth centuries that it began to take shape in its modern form as a central category in the body of norms whose aim is to regulate the violence of armed conflict. The “laws and customs of war,” as the name indicates, apply only in the context of armed conflict. As the dual terminology “laws” and “customs” also implies, in the modern period these norms are regarded as having a dual basis. On the one hand, they are defined by the body of statutory law that has developed since the first Hague Conventions adopted around the beginning of the twentieth century. On the other hand, such conventions represent only one source of the international law of armed conflict. The codifications do not exhaust this body of law, which also arises from the customs and usages of warfare as reflected in the practices of nations.

Three major phases of development of the notion of war crimes in the modern period can be identified. The first begins with the adoption of the Hague Conventions of 1899 and 1907, regulating the conduct of hostilities and the employment of various kinds of weapons and modes of warfare. Most immediately relevant to war crimes is the 1907 Hague Convention IV on “The Laws and Customs of War on Land” and particularly its provisions defining

the limits of military necessity and limiting the violence that may be employed against cities and other civilian targets (Articles 22–28). While the treatment of prisoners of war is addressed in the Hague Conventions, it was the Geneva Convention of 1929 that provided the basic legal framework for this subject in the pre–World War II (1939–1945) era. While the distinction between “Geneva law” and “Hague law” was widely regarded as fundamental in earlier periods, it has, as we will see, largely ceased to have any relevance in the contemporary period.

The experience of “total war” in the European and Asia-Pacific theaters in World War II involved the total destruction of major civilian centers, the displacement of entire populations, industrialized murder, civilian deaths in the tens of millions, and devastation on a scale hitherto unimagined. Total war led to a widespread recognition that the laws of war had to be revised so as to reflect the exigencies of a new age. The first major step in this direction was taken by the victorious Allies in the creation of two international criminal tribunals in Nuremberg and Tokyo to try German and Japanese military and civilian leaders for crimes against peace, war crimes, and crimes against humanity. The definition of “war crimes” in the Nuremberg Charter provided an important and expansive definition of the scope of such criminal conduct:

Violations of the laws or customs of war. Such violations shall include, but not be limited to, murder, ill-treatment or deportation to slave labor or for any other purpose of civilian population of or in occupied territory, murder or ill-treatment of prisoners of war or persons on the seas, killing of hostages, plunder of public or private property, wanton destruction of cities, towns or villages, or devastation not justified by military necessity.

For the first time governmental and military leaders were held criminally responsible as individuals and punished by the Nuremberg and Tokyo tribunals for their roles in planning, instigating, ordering, or perpetrating such war crimes. In addition, building upon the Nuremberg and Tokyo Charters, the Allies created a legal framework for national war crimes tribunals that convicted thousands of Japanese and German war criminals of war crimes. This step marks the decisive move into the contemporary age of individual accountability for war crimes and other violations of international law regulating armed conflict.

During the same period in the aftermath of World War II, the four Geneva Conventions of 1949 and the Genocide Convention of 1948 also represent major landmarks in the development of the contemporary legal framework regulating armed conflict. The Geneva Conventions of 1949 greatly expanded and refined this framework and also made decisive contributions to the law of war crimes. Particularly

grave violations falling within the category of war crimes were designated as “grave breaches” of the conventions. These include: wilful killing; torture or inhuman treatment; biological experiments; unlawful deportation or transfer, taking of hostages, etc. (The 1977 Protocol 1 to the 1949 conventions greatly expands the category of grave breaches, particularly by including various limitations on the conditions under which civilian targets may be made the object of attack.) Further, for the first time the coverage of this body of law was extended to noninternational conflicts. That is, previously war crimes by definition involved violations committed in time of war or serious armed conflicts between nations. The hitherto seemingly inviolable principle of national sovereignty had protected governments from interference with what they did within their own territory to their own citizens. The development of the category of “crimes against humanity” represented one important prong in limiting this principle, and Article 3 of the 1949 Geneva Conventions represented another. The coverage of the 1949 conventions as to war crimes was extended further by the two 1977 protocols to the 1949 conventions, the first covering international conflicts the second internal ones.

Common Article 3, so called because it is found in all four of the 1949 conventions, extends basic minimum protections of international law to purely internal conflicts and thus brings the notion of war crimes into the sphere of the kinds of internal conflicts that have been so prevalent in the post–World War II era. Common Article 3 provides:

In the case of armed conflict not of an international character occurring in the territory of one of the High Contracting Parties, each party to the conflict shall be bound to apply, as a minimum, the following provisions:

1. Persons taking no active part in the hostilities, including members of armed forces who have laid down their arms and those placed hors de combat by sickness, wounds, detention, or any other cause, shall in all circumstances be treated humanely, without any adverse distinction founded on race, colour, religion or faith, sex, birth or wealth, or any other similar criteria.

To this end the following acts are and shall remain prohibited at any time and in any place whatsoever with respect to the above-mentioned persons:

- (a) Violence to life and person, in particular murder of all kinds, mutilation, cruel treatment and torture;
- (b) Taking of hostages;
- (c) Outrages upon personal dignity, in particular, humiliating and degrading treatment;

- (d) The passing of sentences and the carrying out of executions without previous judgment pronounced by a regularly constituted court affording all the judicial guarantees which are recognized as indispensable by civilized peoples.

The third phase in the development of the body of law defining and punishing war crimes began with the creation of the Ad Hoc International Criminal Tribunals for Rwanda and the former Yugoslavia (ICTR and ICTY) in 1993–1994. Whereas war crimes had not been punished by international tribunals since Nuremberg and Tokyo, the ICTY and ICTR ushered in an age of the institutionalization of such prosecutions, reaching fulfillment in the creation of the permanent International Criminal Court (ICC) in the Hague in 2002. All three of these bodies have made important contributions to the definition, jurisprudence, and punishment of war crimes, as have the so-called international “hybrid tribunals” in East Timor, Kosovo, Bosnia, Sierra Leone, and Cambodia.

The statutes of all three of these international criminal tribunals include war crimes as one of the major categories of violations of international law within the jurisdiction of these courts. (See, e.g., ICTY Statute Articles 2 and 3; ICC Statute Article 8.) The Appeals Chamber of the ICTY has clarified the relations between the categories of “grave breaches,” other violations of the “laws and customs of war” defined by the Hague and Geneva Conventions, and common Article 3. It has ruled that all of these norms are war crimes and that the previous distinction between “Hague law” and “Geneva law” is no longer relevant. (See, e.g., the Tadic Jurisdiction Decision, para. 87, and the Celebici Appeals Judgment, paras. 132–133.)

The statute of the ICC makes this clear in Article 8 by specifying that the category of war crimes includes grave breaches and “other serious violations of the laws and customs of war applicable in international armed conflict” as well as common Article 3 and other “serious violations of international law applicable in non-international armed conflict.” The category of war crimes has thus expanded to encompass a very wide range of offenses committed in international or internal conflicts. These offenses have also become much more clearly defined than in previous eras. In particular, the jurisprudence of these courts has provided authoritative discussions and definitions of the elements of these offenses. This represents an important contribution to the interpretation and applications of such crimes because the post–World War II trials had left them largely undefined. Most recently, the ICC has promulgated the Elements of Crimes, which also includes definitions of each of the key components of all major crimes of war. As the ICC assumes an ever more prominent role in the application of international humanitarian law, its definitions of

the elements of war crimes is likely to prove to be of decisive influence.

SEE ALSO *Genocide; Holocaust, The; War; World War II*

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David Cohen

WAR OF 1898

The Spanish-American War of 1898 presented a series of opportunities and consequences for both nations. For example, Spanish historiographers have evaluated the war as a disaster after which Spain experienced decades of disarray and disorder. For Cuba, the Philippines, Hawaii, and Puerto Rico the year 1898 represented a transition from colony to nation status, although not without fierce opposition from resistance fighters such as Emilio Aguinaldo and leaders such as Queen Liliuokalani of Hawaii who fervently protested foreign encroachment on their sovereignty. Moreover, U.S. historians have debated whether to describe the war as an “accidental” conflict, a war for territorial expansion, or an inevitable war induced by public opinion. In the end, as “benevolent” victors, most Americans believed that they had acted as humanitarian benefactors on behalf of their neighbor Cuba.

A major cause of disarray on the island had been the appointment by Spain of Valeriano Weyler y Nicolau as the governor of Cuba in 1896, a period of heightened insurgency. His cruelty captured the attention of American newspapers dominated by William Randolph Hearst’s sensationalist *New York Journal* (the Yellow Press). Governor Weyler disturbed humanitarian observers by establishing “reconcentration” camps that were designed to confine the peasants in detention facilities and thus isolate the insurgents, who theoretically would remain outside the quarantined areas. Although unintended, conditions in the camps caused the malnutrition of hundreds of thousands. The estimates of those who died from disease and hunger approach 321,934.

In 1898 a private letter written by the Spanish foreign minister, Enrique Dupuy de Lome, who was stationed in Washington, characterized U.S. President William McKinley as “a would be politician.” Cuban revolutionaries intercepted the communiqué and offered it to the American print media. Portions of the infamous “de Lome letter” were published throughout the United States.

The primary event that justified going to war occurred in the middle of the controversy about Governor Weyler and the danger to American investments on the island. Americans labeled it “fiendish treachery” on February 15, 1898, when the American battleship *USS Maine* suddenly and without warning exploded in Havana Harbor. Out of a complement of 354 officers, 266 perished in the explosion. The *Maine* had been situated in what had been recognized as Spanish waters. The cause of the destruction of the *Maine* was uncertain. Nonetheless, on March 28 a report of the U.S. Naval Court of Inquiry determined that the explosion had been caused by a mine planted by Spanish operatives. On April 19, after a short period of deliberation, Congress voted for the immediate outbreak of hostilities against the Spanish forces in Cuba by a margin of 311 to 6 in the House and 42 to 35 in the Senate.

The first battle of the war occurred halfway across the world from Cuba, on the high seas in Manila Bay in the Philippines. The famous orders at Manila Bay to “fire when ready” were issued by the commander of the Asiatic Squadron, Commodore George Dewey. Dewey transferred the fleet from Hong Kong to the Philippines when briefings arrived on April 24. Dewey’s strategy included the broadsiding of the Spanish fleet, which had been caught by surprise and ultimately proved obsolete compared with the U.S. fleet. In Cuba the American forces first landed at Guantánamo Bay and then at San Juan Hill (the site of Teddy Roosevelt’s dangerous assault with the American volunteer force known as the Rough Riders), El Caney, and Santiago de Cuba. The Spanish surrendered at Santiago de Cuba on August 12. Overall, the United States lost 379 troops in combat and an estimated 5,000 as a result of disease and tropical conditions.

The war concluded with the Treaty of Paris, which was signed on December 10, 1898. The Cuban government was denied the opportunity or right to participate in the peace negotiations. Congress followed the cessation of hostilities with the Platt Amendment, guaranteeing the right of the United States to intervene militarily in Cuba any time internal disarray attracted its attention.

In the aftermath of the war the United States acquired Hawaii, Guam, the Philippines, Cuba, Puerto Rico, and the Wake Islands. Those territorial acquisitions allowed the United States to penetrate foreign markets, most importantly China, and end a decade of economic depression. The United States elected to maintain a naval station at Guantánamo Bay that proved to be a vital security installation. Securing Cuba had been a longtime priority because of its proximity to American shores and former control by a European government. President McKinley delivered the Imperial Gospel speech in 1899, in which he offered a justification for conquering foreign territories that seemed reasonable to business advocates,

the military, and imperialist patriots: “to uplift, civilize and Christianize them.” Seemingly overnight America became a world colonial power.

SEE ALSO *Colonialism; Concentration Camps; Guantánamo Bay; Imperialism*

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Jonathan Jacobs

WAR ON DRUGS

SEE *Drug Traffic*.

WAR ON POVERTY

The war on poverty of the John F. Kennedy (1917–1963) and Lyndon B. Johnson (1908–1973) administrations grew out of the civil rights movement of the 1950s and continued from 1964 to 1981. It had antecedents, beginning with the 1941 state of the union address of President Franklin Delano Roosevelt (1882–1945), in which he enunciated “freedom from want” as one of four fundamental human rights. This pronouncement was taken as a program by Governor W. Averill Harriman (1891–1986) in New York state from 1954 to 1958.

A more direct antecedent had developed in New York City in 1946 at the Lafargue Psychiatric Clinic at the Saint Philip's Episcopal Church in Harlem, where Shelton Hale Bishop (1889–1962) served as rector. The clinic was named for Paul Lafargue (1842–1911), a medical doctor and the son-in-law of Karl Marx (1818–1883). Its director was psychiatrist Frederic Wertham (1895–1981). Thurgood Marshall (1908–1993) and Kenneth B. Clark (1914–2005) were members of this church. Wertham, Marshall, and Clark collaborated to help the NAACP win the 1954 U.S. Supreme Court case, *Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka*, which outlawed segregation in public schools.

MOBILIZATION FOR YOUTH

Three years later, an organization called Mobilization for Youth was incorporated on the Lower East Side of New York City by the Henry Street Settlement House with the

collaboration of the Columbia University School of Social Work. In 1959 the National Institute of Mental Health (NIMH), which had just received increased allocations from Congress, provided a two-year planning grant, and Columbia sociologists Richard A. Cloward (1926–2001) and Lloyd Ohlin were retained as consultants. Cloward and Ohlin had developed an extension of Durkheim-Merton alienation/anomie opportunity theory in sociology, and in 1960 they published *Delinquency and Opportunity*, in which they argued that delinquents behaved in unapproved ways precisely because they had accepted approved social goals but found no socially approved means by which they could attain those goals, and so resorted to unapproved means. To motivate delinquents to adopt not only the goals but the approved means, opportunity must be provided. In support of this idea, Leonard S. Cottrell Jr. (1899–1985) of the Russell Sage Foundation testified on March 10, 1960, before a subcommittee of the House Appropriations Committee that delinquency was not so much a matter of curing sick individuals but of curing sick communities.

Mobilization for Youth's final planning report, “A Proposal for the Prevention and Control of Delinquency by Expanding Opportunity,” was presented December 9, 1961, and was submitted to the NIMH for funding. The NIMH, the President's Committee on Juvenile Delinquency and Youth Crime (PCJDYC), the U.S. Department of Labor and other federal agencies, the New York City government, and the Ford Foundation subsequently funded Mobilization for Youth for \$12.5 million for three more years. In April 1962 Mobilization for Youth submitted “Youth in the Ghetto: A Study of the Consequences of Powerlessness and a Blueprint for Change” to the PCJDYC review committee, headed by Cottrell. This committee recommended that one million dollars be granted to the program. The city of New York, under Mayor Robert Wagner (1910–1991), then allocated \$3.5 million from its antipoverty funds. The Department of Labor under the Manpower Development and Training Act granted another half million dollars for job training aspects of the program. The initial directors were Cloward and George A. Brager (d. 2003).

In his first race for the office of New York City mayor in 1977, Edward Koch coined the terms *poverty pimp* and *povertician* to refer to Raymon Velez of the South Bronx. Velez, born in Puerto Rico in 1930, had developed beginning in 1968 a network of organizations in the South Bronx funded by the Office of Economic Opportunity (OEO). He had earned a BA in history and political science from Inter-American University of Puerto Rico, after which he became a school teacher. Immigrating to New York, Velez became a social worker. On the basis of his antipoverty network, which provided needed social services and jobs to residents of Puerto Rican neighborhoods,

he gained popularity and turned this social and economic success toward politics. Velez became the “boss” of South Bronx politics, securing the election of many Puerto Ricans to city, state, and federal office. In the 1980s he was elected to the New York City Council, a step downward in his estimation, and served only briefly. This evidently was a slap at Democratic primary opponent, Herman Badillo, whom Velez supported. The rise of Puerto Rican political power in the South Bronx was attained at the expense of Jewish politicians who previously had controlled the area. Changing demographics accounted for the transition.

THE FEDERAL ANTI-POVERTY PROGRAM OF THE KENNEDY-JOHNSON ADMINISTRATIONS

In the presidential election campaign of 1960, John F. Kennedy promised a “war against poverty and degradation” and “an economic drive on poverty” to address the high and persistent unemployment of the 1957–1958 and 1959–1960 recessions. His thought on this issue was based largely on John Kenneth Galbraith’s (1908–2006) *The Affluent Society* (1958), especially chapter 23, “The New Position on Poverty.” Upon Kennedy’s election, the president’s Council of Economic Advisors and the Budget Bureau immediately advocated a tax cut, accompanied by an increase in spending as a Keynesian economic remedy for the recession. The result would be a deliberate increase in the federal deficit. This was an attempt to establish Keynesian economic theory as a viable basis for government economic policy. The president accepted this advice.

The particular cabinet departments and programs involved in the spending increases and tax cuts were determined in other ways. In March 1961 Kennedy called a President’s Conference on Juvenile Delinquency, chaired by his brother Robert F. Kennedy (1925–1968), the new attorney general. Based upon the recommendations of the March conference, the PCJDYC was established on May 11, 1961. The PCJDYC was to finance projects seeking a solution to juvenile delinquency. Robert Kennedy selected his friend David Hackett as executive director.

In September 1961 Congress passed the Juvenile Delinquency and Youth Offenses Act, which authorized demonstration and training programs in finding “the most effective ways of using total resources to combat juvenile delinquency in local communities.” It authorized an expenditure of \$10 million over three years for the program. In 1962 the committee gave planning grants to agencies in sixteen cities. The act also funded Mobilization for Youth in late 1961 to develop a plan of action to curb juvenile delinquency on New York’s Lower East Side. Cloward then lent his principal assistant, sociologist James A. Jones (1932–1992), to Kenneth Clark to

design a similar program for Harlem. Clark and Jones in 1962 established Harlem Youth Unlimited Inc. (HARYOU), of which Jones became research director. Harlem Congressman Reverend Adam Clayton Powell Jr. (1908–1972), the new chairman of the House Education and Labor Committee, formed a rival Harlem organization, Associated Community Teams (ACT). He then insisted that HARYOU be merged with ACT, and when this was accomplished, Clark resigned. He was replaced by ACT executive director Livingston Wingate (1916–1995), Powell’s assistant.

In December 1962 President Kennedy asked his Council of Economic Advisors chairman, Walter W. Heller (1915–1987), to pull together all available information on the poverty issue. Heller assigned this task to council member Robert J. Lampman (1920–1997). He and Heller suggested that Kennedy read socialist Michael Harrington’s (1928–1989) *The Other America: Poverty in the United States* (1962), along with Leon Keyserling’s (1908–1987) *Poverty and Depression in the United States* (1962). Harrington was considered a “responsible radical,” because he was a follower of former Trotskyist Max Schactman, whose tactic was to “bore from within.” This meant that instead of running Socialist Party candidates for elective office, the party would support Democratic Party candidates. Harrington, thus, had been a well-known worker for left and liberal organizations and journals throughout the 1950s. In July 1959, he wrote an article on poverty for *Commentary Magazine*, and it was from this article that the book *The Other America* grew. In an approving commentary of Galbraith’s book *The Affluent Society* (1958), he noted the existence of 50 million impoverished people in the United States, about one quarter of the total population. Poverty persisted from generation to generation, helped by what Oscar Lewis called a “culture of poverty,” a non-Marxist idea. It was precisely this idea that recommended him to the Kennedy administration, because it undercut left leadership of the anti-poverty struggle. Harrington’s entire body of work thus led to an eager anticipation of the book, and accounted for the wide extent of its positive reception. That he had worked for Catholic organizations did not hurt his acceptance by the president, even though he had lapsed from the faith by then. After Lampman reported that the U.S. poverty rate was increasing, Kennedy directed Heller to include a “war on poverty” in the 1964 White House legislative package for Congress.

On the day after Kennedy’s November 22, 1963, assassination in Dallas, Heller met with President Johnson and suggested to him that a war against poverty might be a good way to begin his presidency. Johnson agreed. In his 1964 state of the union address, titled “The War on Poverty,” he called on Congress to enact a package of measures embodying programs that would eliminate

poverty “in our lifetimes.” On February 1, 1964, Johnson appointed Kennedy’s brother-in-law and Peace Corps director Sargent Shriver to head a Task Force on Poverty.

THE EQUAL OPPORTUNITY ACT

David Hackett and Richard Boone of PCJDYC suggested that their community action model should be the vehicle for this war on poverty. Other departments proposed programs over which they had jurisdiction. At this point, the Budget Bureau, headed by economists Kermit Gordon (1916–1976) and Charles L. Schultze, became involved. Budget Bureau staff member William B. Cannon wrote a memorandum suggesting that the community action program begin with ten demonstration areas across the country, and that a development corporation be established in each. Schultze suggested similarly that poverty funds be allocated to “pockets of poverty,” rather than uniformly across the country. He also suggested using the term *action program*, from Cannon’s memo, rather than *development corporation*. Someone added *community* to *action program*, and the community action title of the proposed legislation was born. The task force developed the plans for an organization to conduct the “war on poverty,” and submitted them to the president on March 15, 1964; he then disbanded the group. The next day, on the basis of the task force report, Johnson delivered a message to Congress calling upon it to enact legislation creating such an agency. He stated that the program would not consist of top-down planning from Washington, but would involve the talents of people from all over the country, at every level of society. He also called for the establishment of an office of equal opportunity. In testimony before Congress in 1964, Shriver listed 137 people who had participated in writing the legislation. On August 29, 1964, Congress passed, and Johnson signed into law, the Equal Opportunity Act of 1964. The act created the OEO, and on August 30, 1964, Congress gave the OEO \$947.7 million for ten programs.

The OEO was initially lodged in the Office of the President, but subsequently became an independent agency. Shriver was named director of the OEO and served until 1968. Economist and AFL-CIO lobbyist Hyman H. Bookbinder, a member of Shriver’s 1964 task force, became associate director.

The Equal Opportunity Act also created an OEO Advisory Committee of fourteen, which was appointed by President Johnson on January 29, 1965. Perhaps the most important arm of the OEO administrative structure, although it had no program responsibilities, was the Office of Research, Plans, Programs, and Evaluation, which might be called the “war room” of the war on poverty. Here were placed those economists who had actual experience in administering economic planning.

The first director of this office was Joseph A. Kershaw (1913–1978), who served from 1964 to 1966. He was succeeded by Robert A. Levine (1966), Robinson G. Hollister (1966–1968), and Walter Williams (1968–1969). Levine attempted to establish a five-year plan to end poverty that proposed a national negative income tax program to replace Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC). The OEO funded the New Jersey Negative Income Tax demonstration project to estimate the cost of the program.

The war on poverty required for its success a definition of poverty and a means of measuring it. In March 1965, Kershaw and the Office of Research, Plans, Programs, and Evaluation used the work of economist Mollie Orshansky of the Social Security Administration to establish such a definition. Two months later, the OEO officially adopted the Orshansky poverty thresholds as a working definition of poverty.

The unique feature of the Equal Opportunity Act was Title II: the Rural and Urban Community Action Program. The OEO divided the country into seven to ten regions, each with a regional director. Fieldworkers in the Washington headquarters traveled to regions to help establish and monitor the operation of community action agencies located in the major cities of each region. In addition, the OEO funded national organizations to facilitate theoretical and empirical research on the issue of poverty. Chief among these were the Harvard-MIT Joint Center for Urban Studies, the National Association for Community Economic Development, the Institute for Research on Poverty, the Urban Institute, the Center for Community Economic Development, and the National Rural Center.

THE INSTITUTE FOR RESEARCH ON POVERTY

The Institute for Research on Poverty was established at the University of Wisconsin by Lampman, who was considered the leading expert on the economics of poverty. Its first director was Harold W. Watts (1966–1971). By 1985, with the OEO no longer in existence, oversight of the Institute for Research on Poverty had shifted to the assistant secretary of Health and Human Services for Planning and Evaluation. By 1996 the institute was no longer the national poverty center, but only one among several area poverty centers. The Center for Community Economic Development in Cambridge, Massachusetts, was codirected in 1971 by Geoffrey P. Faux, who had been director of the OEO Economic Development Division from 1967 to 1970. The National Rural Center was established in 1975, with F. Ray Marshall as president and director. When President Jimmy Carter named Marshall his secretary of labor in 1977, John M. Cornman replaced him.

Half of the OEO's community action program funds went to prepackaged national programs such as Head Start. The other half went to local initiative programs developed by the community action agencies themselves.

New York City, where the theory and operational model for the war on poverty had been developed, now received feedback from the federal government. In 1962 Mayor Wagner had created a Council on Poverty and an Anti-poverty Operations Board. Surgeon Arthur C. Logan (1909–1973) was the first chairman of the community action program under Wagner. Wagner was defeated in 1965 by former congressman John V. Lindsay (1921–2000), who in 1966 established a Mayor's Task Force on Poverty, headed by Mitchell Sviridoff (1918–2000). The task force recommended the establishment of a superagency comprised of all agencies having any responsibility for providing services to the poor. On September 15, 1966, Lindsay established the Human Resources Administration, which included the Community Development Agency and the Manpower and Career Development Agency, among other agencies. The Community Development Agency was designated the New York City community action agency under the OEO. Sviridoff served as head of the Human Resources Administration from 1966 to 1967.

New York's Community Development Agency was headed by George Nicolau from 1966 to 1967. He was replaced by Major Owens in 1968, and Owens served until 1973. In 1968 the agency wrote a grant proposal to NIMH for a Brownsville Community Council economic advocacy planning project. The NIMH funded the proposal, its first grant to a community action agency to conduct economic advocacy planning, and the Brownsville Advocacy Planning Agency was born. The agency's staff included graduate students in economics from Yale and Columbia universities.

A participant in the 1949 founding of the NIMH, and a member of its advisory board at the time of this grant, was Eli Ginzberg (1911–2002), director of the Conservation of Human Resources Project of Columbia Business School. His staff at Columbia in 1956 consisted of two economists and four psychologists and social psychologists. The grant to the Brownsville Community Council was a departure, as advocacy planning was developed largely by architects and city planners. Columbia's School of Architecture, for example, was responsible for the creation of the Architect's Renovation Committee of Harlem and the East Harlem Studio of the Real Great Society Uptown. In the 1950s the NIMH had established a unit to finance outside research. In response to Johnson's war on poverty, the NIMH established centers for minority group and urban mental health problems. It was the conjuncture of these institutions and forces that enabled the grant to the Brownsville Community Council in 1968.

Robert Kennedy resigned as attorney general and was elected senator from New York in 1964. In 1966 he and Jacob Javits (1904–1986), the senior senator from New York, introduced the Kennedy-Javits Amendment to the Equal Opportunity Act, creating a new Title I-D, the special impact program (SIP). This title caused a shift in the OEO toward community-controlled business development through community development corporations. The community development corporations were designed as community holding companies or community trusts. To administer the new program, the OEO established the Economic Development Division, under which the Bedford-Stuyvesant Restoration Corporation in Brooklyn, New York, and the Hough Area Development Corporation in Cleveland, Ohio, were funded in 1966 as the first two community development corporations in the nation.

In 1967 the Edith Green Amendment placed a ceiling of 33 percent for representatives of the poor on a city's community action agency. In the meantime, Kenneth Clark in 1967 founded the Metropolitan Applied Research Center and served as president until 1975. The Metropolitan Applied Research Center received a grant of \$190,000 from the Field Foundation. In 1970 the center and Howard University, with an \$860,000 Ford Foundation grant, established the Joint Center for Political Studies in Washington, D.C., with Howard law professor Frank D. Reeves (1916–1973) as director.

From 1968 to 1969, New York's community action program guidelines made advocacy planning the highest project-funding priority, leading to the funding of the Pratt Institute's Center for Community Development; Harlem Commonwealth Council's (HCC) Commonwealth Holding Company, Inc., a subsidiary, with the Black Economic Research Center in Harlem as a major consultant; and the Brownsville Advocacy Planning Agency. These organizations were intended to provide economic expertise and advocacy for their respective communities in dealing with the City Planning Commission and other relevant city, state, and federal agencies in developing and locating commercial, industrial, and service enterprises.

The Ford Foundation, a major partner of the federal and city governments in the war on poverty, provided grants for advocacy planning to the Black Economic Research Center from 1968 through 1980. The center developed the theory that the major economic problem of black Americans was not labor market inequality but capital market inequality, which included access to the major stock and commodity exchanges, as well as to the Treasury Department, which represented capital interests, on a communal basis. Current capital reallocation was necessary, and the first stage of such a transfer was social capi-

tal, including infrastructure, and educational facilities with financing for operations.

Current income redistribution was also deemed necessary, along with future nondiscrimination in markets to maintain the gains achieved. These developments were a direct confrontation of the theory upon which the war on poverty was based—that a change of unmeasurable internal states of being could result in a measurable diminution of poverty in a finite and short period. It also confronted the theories of economists Gary S. Becker, Theodore Schultz (1902–1998), and Milton Friedman (1912–2006), which defined lifetime earnings as capital stock, human capital, and focused on future income distribution and not current income redistribution. This polemic was one of the sources for the development of the reparations argument in the black community. Reparations as a large lump sum would enable the purchase of capital assets by the residents of black communities, and avoid the necessity for politically impossible capital expropriation. This concept, which had been a tenet of black nationalist doctrine since the 1920s, began to gain academic and social respectability at the Black Economic Development Conference in Detroit in 1969.

DEVELOPMENTS UNDER NIXON AND LATER ADMINISTRATIONS

The election of Richard M. Nixon (1913–1994) as president in 1968 heralded the demise of the OEO and the war on poverty. In April 1969, Donald H. Rumsfeld was appointed OEO director with the charge to dismantle the agency. He selected Richard B. Cheney as his assistant. Howard Phillips was appointed as OEO director in 1973 to succeed Rumsfeld. However, court decisions forced the administration to expend the funds appropriated, because the Equal Opportunity Act had a ten-year life by law. In 1970 amendments to the Equal Opportunity Act created SIP Title VII. Title VII funds went to, among other entities, the Federation of Southern Cooperatives, which created surplus-earning entities in rural areas of southern states. OEO programs were transferred to the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, and to the Department of Labor. By the time Nixon resigned on August 8, 1974, the war on poverty was essentially over.

The coup de grâce occurred from 1974 to 1976 during the Gerald R. Ford (1913–2006) administration. Funding for OEO programs could now be legally cut, and the OEO was actually abolished by the Headstart, Economic Opportunity, and Community Partnership Act of January 4, 1975, which created the Community Services Administration (CSA), the name suggesting a retreat from community action by citizens to government provision of services to citizens in communities. For the horizontal relationships among equal citizens uniting to

achieve a commonly determined purpose at the neighborhood level was substituted the old vertically hierarchical relationship between the rulers and the ruled.

From 1977 to 1981 the Carter administration attempted to resurrect the war on poverty by increasing funding for the CSA and enacting legislation expanding the SIP emphasis. Chief among the new institutions established by Congress was the National Consumer Cooperative Bank, signed into law in 1978 and opened for business in 1980, and the Rural Development Loan Fund, established in 1981. Both had boards of directors consisting of representatives elected by residents of low-income communities. The National Consumer Cooperative Bank made federally subsidized below-market-rate loans to consumer and producer cooperatives in largely urban areas. From the Community Economic Development Act of 1981, the Rural Development Loan Fund was to consist of all remaining funds from Part A of Title III of the Equal Opportunity Act and the funds from Title VII community development credit unions. It was located in the CSA, and provided one-percent interest rate loans for rural business purposes.

The OEO, the Rockefeller Brothers Fund, and the Ford Foundation had earlier financed the development of the idea for these financial institutions. Edward K. Hamilton and Belden Hull were hired as consultants by the National Rural Center and the Opportunity Funding Corporation (established in 1970) to design the bank as an experiment in development finance. The Opportunity Funding Corporation was an OEO demonstration project in community capital development, led by John Gloster, a former Atlanta insurance executive. The National Rural Center invited experts from Europe, Canada, and the United States to a conference at the University of Wisconsin to provide ideas on a design. The final design drew upon the Treasury Department's new Federal Financing Bank, established in 1973. This design was negotiated largely at the Treasury Department with an interagency task force appointed by President Carter.

With Carter's defeat by Ronald Reagan (1911–2004) after one term, however, the fate of the war on poverty was sealed. The Equal Opportunity Act was repealed on October 1, 1981. The Community Development Block Grant was established in 1981, ensuring that federal funds would not go directly to neighborhoods but would be filtered through established political groups at the state and municipal levels. Then CSA was abolished, although the Rural Development Loan Fund was allowed to remain.

Despite these developments, the national advocacy groups for community development corporations continued the battle against poverty, financed as before the war on poverty by religious organizations, universities, private foundations, and unsystematically by federal, state, and

local government. The war on poverty had degenerated from a massed frontal assault into a guerrilla war. In addition, the surpluses generated from the operation of community development corporations and cooperatives were plowed back into operations to help finance operations and expand capital equipment. And the national financial institutions still existed. As of 2005, at least 80 percent of counties in the United States still had community action agencies or community development corporations.

CONCLUSION

The war on poverty involved socially well-placed individuals using social science ideas to create new institutions in low-income communities, and at the national level to assist these local institutions. These individuals and institutions then engaged in actions that created historic events. The social science ideas reflected Keynesian economic theory, as well as opportunity theory in sociology and social psychology, and the political science theory of urban politics that maintained that urban neighborhood communities should be self-governing, independent political entities.

The new institutions created were, at the first level, community social service agencies in poor communities. The organizations responsible for these creations were private religious organizations, universities, and foundations. Using these community organizations as models, the federal, state, and local governments transformed their structures to replicate those of the private social service agencies for these functions, and wrote these changes into law. These practices thereby became obligatory for the nation as a whole and, importantly, became familiar to the large portion of the electorate who were neither poor nor involved in service to the poor.

SEE ALSO *Culture of Poverty; Great Society, The; Johnson, Lyndon B.; New Deal, The; Poverty; Poverty, Indices of; Roosevelt, Franklin D.; Welfare State*

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Julian Ellison

WARFARE, NUCLEAR

Nuclear warfare consists of armed conflict between states in which one or more sides employ nuclear weapons. Because no war since World War II has involved nuclear weapons, how such a conflict would be triggered and executed is largely a matter of theoretical speculation. Furthermore, the sophistication and destructive scale of the nuclear weapons used against Japan pale in comparison to modern weapons. A nuclear war between two nuclear states would result in the deaths of hundreds of thousands, if not millions, of people. The areas surrounding locations hit with nuclear weapons would be highly contaminated with radioactive fallout. In addition, depending on the number of weapons used, such a war could have long-term devastating effects on the earth's ecosystems and atmosphere. Because today only a few countries possess nuclear weapons, the number of conflicts that could conceivably escalate to nuclear war is limited. These countries include the United States, Russia, China, Great Britain, France, Israel, Pakistan, India, and most likely North Korea. Proliferation to additional countries remains a continual problem for international security.

The destructive power of nuclear weapons makes nuclear warfare fundamentally different from traditional conventional warfare. The single fifteen-kiloton bomb dropped on Hiroshima, for example, destroyed 80 percent of the city, immediately killing between 66,000 and 80,000 people and injuring roughly 70,000. As Wilfred Burchett (1945), the first journalist to report on the devastation, put it: "Hiroshima does not look like a bombed city. It looks as if a monster steamroller has passed over it and squashed it out of existence." The city of Hiroshima estimates that the total killed from the explosion and subsequent radiation poisoning is over 240,000. Nagasaki saw high casualties as well, with 39,000 immediately killed and 25,000 injured, and many others who later died due to radiation poisoning.

How nuclear weapons would be used in war, and whether a nuclear war between two nuclear powers could even be won, has been a central problem facing military strategists and planners. Because of the devastating effects of nuclear weapons, they are less useful in battle than conventional weapons. However, because such weapons exist and because no country can be sure of what another's

intentions would be in the event that they were to gain a dominant nuclear advantage, the major nuclear powers have continued to develop nuclear war strategies. That said, nuclear powers have shown extreme caution when conflict develops with other nuclear powers, out of fear that a minor crisis could escalate into an unwanted nuclear war; this was displayed during the 1962 Cuban missile crisis. Nuclear powers have also been reluctant to use their nuclear capabilities in conflicts against a non-nuclear power, as with the United States in Vietnam or Israel in its 1973 war with Egypt and Syria.

COUNTERFORCE, COUNTERVALUE, AND MUTUAL ASSURED DESTRUCTION

Nuclear strategy makes distinctions between *counterforce* and *countervalue*. Counterforce strategies are intended to affect an opponent's capabilities, whereas countervalue capabilities affect an opponent's will. Counterforce targets an opponent's armed forces and military-industrial installations, limiting the opponent's ability to retaliate in a counterattack. A country that struck first in a nuclear war would most likely employ a counterforce targeting strategy. Countervalue strategies target an opponent's cities—that is, things of human and emotional value. A country that feared a nuclear attack by an opponent would threaten a countervalue retaliation with the hope that even the possibility of its opponent losing one city would be enough to deter a nuclear first strike. Of course, for a countervalue deterrent to be effective, the country being deterred must believe that at least some of its opponent's nuclear arsenal would survive a first strike. It also must believe that the damage that that remaining arsenal could deliver would outweigh the benefits gained from striking first. With nuclear weapons it is oftentimes difficult to distinguish between what constitutes a counterforce and what constitutes a countervalue target. Military targets are often found in population centers and given the large radius of damage caused by a nuclear attack it is extremely difficult to target the one without hitting the other. For example, when U.S. war planners began looking for military-industrial targets across the Soviet Union after 1945, every sizeable Soviet city was deemed to contain military targets.

The logic behind counterforce and countervalue, as well as first-strike versus second-strike capabilities, is encompassed in the idea of *mutual assured destruction* (MAD). MAD describes a state of affairs in which both sides' nuclear forces are such that a sufficient percent would remain after an attack that it would still be possible to bring about the near total destruction of the attacking state. The hope of MAD was that this mutual suicide pact would prevent either side from ever being tempted to use nuclear weapons. In order for MAD to be viable, however,

it required the United States and the Soviet Union to stockpile large quantities of nuclear weapons and to develop targeting lists of single targets that would be hit multiple times. In addition, U.S. and Soviet force structures were designed to survive a possible first strike. Achieving this involved spending on difficult-to-target nuclear forces, such as submarines, hardened missile silos, and continually in-flight bomber fleets.

MAINTAINING A STRATEGIC BALANCE

Those who wanted to maintain a strategic nuclear balance put emphasis on developing less-accurate, single large warheads that would be unable to hit anything smaller than area targets. Such missiles would be effective against countervalue targets, which do not require precise accuracy to be effective; but would be less effective hitting silos or airfields.

It was feared, however, that a number of innovations and weapons systems could disrupt this strategic balance. Such a disruption could lead one side to perceive a "window of opportunity" in which they would be tempted to launch a preventive war before new technological innovations either restored the balance or shifted first-strike advantage to the opponent. For example, declarations of "bomber gaps" or "missile gaps" by United States politicians, particularly in the late 1950s and early 1960s, led many to fear that (alleged) Soviet advantage could lead to a devastating first strike. The development of multiple independently targeted reentry vehicles (MIRVs), which are intercontinental ballistic missiles (ICBMs) carrying multiple warheads that can be individually programmed to hit separate targets, was also seen as destabilizing, as one missile could target multiple ICBM silos. This offensive advantage, it was feared, could tempt one country to launch a preemptive attack out of fear that it would suffer a debilitating blow if it were not the one to attack first.

Another potential innovation capable of disrupting strategic balance is some form of missile defense system. While an effective missile defense system could protect a country from nuclear annihilation, it would also provide it with an overwhelming first-strike advantage, as its opponent would be unable to retaliate, regardless of the number of surviving nuclear forces. There would also be an incentive to strike sooner rather than later, as military history has shown that all defenses are eventually penetrable.

Arms control agreements between the United States and the Soviet Union during the Cold War were primarily designed to stabilize the strategic balance between the two sides. By limiting each side's ability to gain first-strike advantage, the hope was that neither side would be tempted to carry out a preemptive first strike. The Anti-Ballistic Missile (ABM) Treaty, Strategic Arms Limitation Talks

(SALT I and II), the Strategic Arms Reduction Treaties (START I and II), and the Strategic Offensive Reduction Treaty (SORT) were all designed to provide a framework in which the United States and the Soviet Union (now Russia) could maintain a nuclear balance without engaging in a costly and potentially dangerous arms race.

CURRENT CONCERNS AND FEARS

Since the end of the Cold War, fears of a nuclear exchange between the United States and Russia have subsided. However, a number of concerns still remain. India and Pakistan, which both officially declared their nuclear status with a series of tests in 1997, have a long history of conflict, specifically over the contested Kashmir region. This history of conflict, their contingent border, and an underdeveloped command and control system, make a nuclear exchange (either intentional or accidental) a very real possibility.

It is also feared that a “rogue” state could develop a nuclear weapon and be able to hold the world hostage by threatening to use it against a major world city if its demands were not met. While the world could easily retaliate if such a threat were carried out, the question remains whether there would be a willingness to risk giving up an important city in the first place. It is this potentiality that has led world leaders to take aggressive stances (with mixed success) against such potential proliferators as North Korea, Iraq, Iran, and Libya.

The final fear is that a terrorist organization would be able to acquire a nuclear device by stealing, buying, or being given it from a country’s arsenal. This is a particularly difficult scenario because normal countervalue threats would not have a very strong deterrent effect on a small, decentralized, apocalyptic terrorist organization.

SEE ALSO *Cold War; Defense; Defense, National; Deterrence, Mutual; Disarmament; Proliferation, Nuclear; World War II*

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David R. Andersen

WARREN, EARL 1891–1974

As the fourteenth Chief Justice of the United States, Earl Warren presided over a Supreme Court that handed down landmark rulings in the areas of race relations, school prayer, political representation, and criminal justice. Warren was born to Scandinavian immigrants in Los Angeles, California, on March 19, 1891. He was raised in Bakersfield, where his father worked for the Southern Pacific Railroad, and he himself worked a variety of summer jobs with the railroad. He put himself through school, earning both his undergraduate and law degrees at the University of California at Berkeley.

Warren began his political career as the district attorney of Alameda County, California. He went on to serve as California’s attorney general, and in 1942 he was elected governor. During his state service, Warren supported the evacuation of persons of Japanese ancestry from the West Coast during World War II. Throughout the remainder of his political career, Warren publicly defended his action, which stands in stark contrast to his role as one of the staunchest civil libertarians ever to serve on the U.S. Supreme Court.

Warren sought the Republican presidential nomination in 1948 and 1952. In 1948 he was chosen as Thomas Dewey’s running mate, but the Dewey–Warren ticket was defeated. In 1952, the Republican nomination, and the presidency, went to General Dwight D. Eisenhower. Following the unexpected death of Chief Justice Fred Vinson in the summer of 1953, President Eisenhower appointed Warren to fill the vacancy.

On the Supreme Court’s docket for the 1953 term was *Brown v. Board of Education*, a group of cases challenging the racial segregation of public primary and secondary schools. At the time, one-third of the states and the District of Columbia maintained segregated schools by law, often with vast disparities in school funding and facilities for black and white students. The Warren Court handed down a unanimous ruling in the *Brown* cases in May 1954, declaring that “separate educational facilities are inherently unequal.” A year later, in *Brown II*, the Court ordered that public schools be desegregated “with all deliberate speed.” In subsequent decisions, the Warren Court struck down racial segregation in public buildings, transportation, housing, and recreational facilities. The

Brown decisions were not the only Warren Court rulings that impacted public education. In *Engel v. Vitale* (1962) and *Abington School District v. Schempp* (1963), the Court ruled that state-sponsored prayer and Bible reading in public schools were establishments of religion in violation of the Constitution.

During the 1960s the Warren Court instituted a constitutional revolution in criminal justice. In a series of decisions, the Court used the Fourteenth Amendment to apply many of the guarantees of the Bill of Rights—the protections against self-incrimination and double jeopardy, the right to counsel, the right to a jury trial and to confront witnesses—to the states. Some of these protections were encapsulated in what became known as the Miranda warnings. According to the Court's decision in *Miranda v. Arizona*, criminal suspects who are in custody must be informed of their constitutional rights, and they must waive those rights before any questioning may occur.

The Warren Court significantly altered the system of political representation in the United States as well. The first half of the twentieth century saw substantial population shifts from rural to urban areas, yet many state legislatures did not redraw representational districts to reflect these shifts. In a previous decision the Court had declined to address the apportionment issue, describing it as a "political thicket" that the Court should avoid. But in its 1962 ruling in *Baker v. Carr*, the Court rejected this reasoning, opening the door to a series of decisions establishing the "one person, one vote" principle for political representation and applying this principle at the congressional, state, and local levels. After leaving the Court, Warren described *Baker v. Carr* as the most important decision handed down during his tenure.

Warren resigned from the Court in 1969 and was replaced as Chief Justice by Warren E. Burger. He died on July 9, 1974, following a series of heart attacks, and was buried in Arlington National Cemetery.

SEE ALSO *Brown v. Board of Education, 1954; Brown v. Board of Education, 1955; Civil Liberties; Concentration Camps; Eisenhower, Dwight D.; Incarceration, Japanese American; Judicial Review; Supreme Court, U.S.; Warren Report*

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WARREN REPORT

Warren Report is the abbreviated, unofficial name of the Report of the President's Commission on the Assassination of President John F. Kennedy. This commission's unofficial, commonly used name is the Warren Commission because it was chaired by Earl Warren, chief justice of the U.S. Supreme Court. President Kennedy was assassinated in Dallas, Texas, on November 22, 1963. President Lyndon B. Johnson established the Warren Commission on November 29, 1963. The Warren Report was published on September 27, 1964.

Shortly after Kennedy's assassination, there was widespread speculation that Kennedy's assassination was the result of a conspiracy, probably involving the Communist governments of Cuba and/or the Soviet Union. President Johnson was concerned that widely held conspiracy beliefs might undermine the legitimacy of the American presidency and detrimentally affect American foreign policy. Johnson hoped that a presidential commission that carefully investigated Kennedy's assassination and published a well-researched conclusion would dismiss or discourage irresponsible, groundless, alternative explanations of Kennedy's assassination. He assumed that the public credibility of the Warren Commission's investigation and report depended on the objectivity, integrity, and expertise of the commission's members.

Consequently, Johnson appointed Democrats and Republicans, current or former members of all three branches of the U.S. government, and senators and representatives to the commission. With Chief Justice Warren as its chairman, the commission also included Democratic Representative Hale Boggs of Louisiana, Republican Representative Gerald R. Ford of Michigan, former World Bank president and Kennedy adviser John McCloy, former CIA director Allen W. Dulles, Democratic Senator Richard Russell of Georgia, and Republican Senator John Sherman Cooper of Kentucky. During its ten-month investigation, the Warren Commission received testimony from 552 witnesses, reports from the FBI, CIA, Secret Service, and other federal agencies, tests on ballistics, and information from officials in Texas.

The major finding of the Warren Report was that Kennedy's assassination was not the result of a conspiracy. The report found that Lee Harvey Oswald acted alone in killing Kennedy and wounding Governor John Connally of Texas. The report concluded that Oswald fired three bullets from the Texas School Book Depository. One bullet hit Kennedy in the back, went through his throat, and struck Connally. A second bullet fatally struck Kennedy in the head. A third bullet missed Kennedy's car entirely.

The Warren Report also stated that there was no evidence to prove that there was a second gunman who shot at the motorcade from a different location. The report

Malia Reddick

rejected the idea that Jack Ruby, who shot and killed Oswald shortly after Oswald's arrest, was part of a conspiracy to silence Oswald. Chapter 8 of the Warren Report detailed what the commission regarded as lax, inadequate, and outdated practices by the Secret Service in planning and protecting Kennedy's trip to Dallas. In particular, the report noted the Secret Service's use of its outdated security plan for Franklin D. Roosevelt's 1936 visit to Dallas as the basis for Kennedy's visit, its inadequate coordination with Dallas officials in planning and conducting security for Kennedy's visit, and the lack of a bulletproof cover for Kennedy's car in Dallas. The Secret Service also failed to thoroughly search all buildings, rooftops, and windows along the motorcade route before the motorcade began.

By the late 1960s, independent researchers and the American public increasingly doubted the findings of the Warren Report, especially its "lone gunman" and "single bullet" theories. The first two well-known books challenging the Warren Report were Edward J. Epstein's *Inquest* and Mark Lane's *Rush to Judgment*, both published in 1966. Lane's book was also made into a documentary. Epstein especially challenged the feasibility of the "single bullet" and "lone gunman" theories, and Lane asserted that Oswald did not assassinate Kennedy. In general, both books criticized the Warren Commission for intentionally ignoring or rejecting important evidence that threatened its anticonspiracy bias.

By the 1970s, with the Watergate scandals and Richard M. Nixon's forced resignation from the presidency, more Americans were willing to believe that government officials and agencies, especially the military, FBI, and CIA, engaged in conspiracies, cover-ups, and abuses of power. The congressional investigation of Watergate was followed by highly publicized congressional investigations of the FBI and CIA, including allegations that the CIA was connected to assassination conspiracies directed against foreign leaders. Most significantly, the 1979 report of the House Select Committee on Assassinations (HSCA) rejected part of the Warren Report and concluded that a total of four shots were fired, one of which was fired by a second gunman from Dealey Plaza's grassy knoll.

During the 1980s and 1990s, the number and variety of conspiracy theories rejecting the Warren Report increased. Some theorists claimed that Kennedy was killed by organized crime because gangsters were angry that Kennedy had betrayed them by allowing the Justice Department to vigorously prosecute them and by failing to overthrow Fidel Castro. Others asserted that wealthy, right-wing extremists in Texas hired assassins to kill the president. Oliver Stone's 1991 film *JFK*, based on Louisiana attorney James Garrison's investigation of Kennedy's assassination, implied that a government con-

spiracy that included the CIA, the military, and Johnson killed Kennedy.

Partially to refute this film, Gerald Posner researched and wrote *Case Closed: Lee Harvey Oswald and the Assassination of JFK* (1993). Posner criticized some of the Warren Commission's efforts as too hasty and incomplete, but he generally reaffirmed the Warren Report's conclusions, especially the "lone gunman" and "single bullet" theories. Shortly after Posner's book was published, Harold Weisberg countered with *Case Open: The Omissions, Distortions, and Falsifications of Case Closed* (1994), which rejected the Warren Report and Posner's defense of it. It is unlikely that there ever will be a definitive, widely shared public acceptance of the Warren Report.

SEE ALSO *Kennedy, John F.*

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Sean J. Savage

WARS, CIVIL

SEE *Civil Wars*.

WARSAW PACT

The Warsaw Pact was signed on May 14, 1955, in order to create an organization of Central and East European Communist states. It is different from the Warsaw Convention, signed in 1929, which is an international convention regulating liability for commercial airlines transporting persons, luggage, or goods.

The formal name of the Warsaw Pact was the Treaty of Friendship, Co-operation, and Mutual Assistance. It was created for two reasons: first, to counter the threat from the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), an alliance established six years earlier; and second, in reaction to the admission of West Germany into NATO. The initial members of the Warsaw Pact were the Soviet

Union, Albania, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, East Germany, Hungary, Poland, and Romania. Yugoslavia was the only Communist state not to sign the treaty. Albania withdrew from the pact in 1968. Despite being initially created to counter the threat of NATO, in practice the pact was a tool of the Soviet Union, used to strengthen its hold over its satellite countries. In contrast to NATO, the Warsaw Pact was completely subordinated to a single power. The pact allowed the Soviet Union to impose its military and political agenda on Central and East European countries through the use of both its military and economic power. The pact was supposed to last for only twenty years and become void if any of the members decided to drop out. Nonetheless, the agreement was renewed in 1975 for another ten years, despite Albania's unilateral withdrawal from it seven years earlier.

PRINCIPLES

The signatory parties of the Warsaw Pact agreed to abstain from violence or from the threat of violence in international relations. The treaty established the goals of the members, which included world peace and security, and global disarmament. Countries also had to confer with each other on matters of international affairs and agreed that in the event of outside aggression against one member, all member countries would defend the threatened country together. However, the Soviet Union also wanted to use the Warsaw Pact as a bargaining tool with non-Communist European countries. This is evidenced by the concluding article of the pact, which stipulated that the agreement would lapse in the event of an East-West collective security pact.

The treaty, signed in 1955, was supplemented by numerous bilateral treaties between the Soviet Union and satellite countries. Among other things, these treaties gave Soviet troops the right to be on the soil of signatory countries. Some countries, such as Poland, allowed the stationing of Soviet troops on their soil under the 1945 Potsdam Agreement and through a separate bilateral treaty. Hungary also had a bilateral agreement with the Soviet Union. Soviet troops prevented Hungary's 1956 attempt to secede from the organization and crushed liberal movements in Czechoslovakia that emerged in what came to be known as the "Prague Spring." Czechoslovakia only signed its bilateral treaty with the Soviet Union *after* the Soviet invasion and was essentially forced to accept the "Brezhnev Doctrine," which limited the sovereignty of the Communist states and granted the right of Soviet intervention.

The extent to which the Soviet Union maintained a military presence in the satellite countries depended on its assessment of each individual member's risk of defecting from the organization were it to be pressured to allow

Soviet troops on its soil. Thus, when the bilateral agreement with Romania expired in 1958, it was not renewed, because of Romania's wish to avoid the presence of Soviet troops, even for temporary purposes such as maneuvers. Soviet troops were stationed in Bulgaria, on the other hand, though only for temporary purposes, such as military exercises.

Even though the Warsaw Pact allowed for military alliances outside the Communist-bloc countries and functioned as an instrument of Soviet policy, it had no provisions concerning activities outside the European continent.

ORGANIZATION

The Political Consultative Committee (PCC) was the highest governing body of the Warsaw Treaty Organization. Its permanent members were the Communist Party's first secretaries and the premiers and foreign ministers of member countries. The PCC had managerial authority over the cultural, political, and economic spheres of the entire organization. However, its most important function was deciding when a crisis met the criteria for executing the provisions of the military clauses. In practice, the PCC's power could be limited, as shown by the 1968 invasion of Czechoslovakia, which was not decided on by the PCC.

The secretary general of the organization was always a Soviet general or Soviet foreign ministry official and control was always held in Moscow. The Committee of Defense Ministers (CDM), which decided on directives communicated to national defense planners in member nations, was subordinate to the PCC and was also located in Moscow.

THE END OF AN ERA

Even though NATO and the Warsaw Pact were created to counter each other's dominance, the member countries never engaged each other in armed conflict, though they did engage in "proxy wars." In December 1988, Mikhail Gorbachev, then leader of the Soviet Union, declared that the Brezhnev Doctrine would be abandoned and that the Soviet Union's satellite countries could do as they wished. Soon after, a number of political changes swept across Central and Eastern Europe, leading to the end of Communism. After 1989 the Warsaw Pact started losing the support of its members. In January 1991, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, and Poland announced they would withdraw all support within six months. Bulgaria followed suit in February 1991. The Warsaw Pact was officially dissolved at a meeting in Prague on July 1, 1991.

SEE ALSO *Brezhnev, Leonid; North Atlantic Treaty Organization*

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Dagmar Radin

WASHINGTON, GEORGE

1732–1799

George Washington was the first president of the United States of America. He was born in Westmoreland County, Virginia, on February 22, 1732. Washington's father, Augustine Washington, died in 1743 and his older half brother, Lawrence Washington (1718–1752), was subsequently responsible for George Washington's upbringing and training as a surveyor and tobacco planter. Lawrence also nurtured Washington's interest in military service.

Partially because of his protégé relationship with Thomas Fairfax (1691–1782), a Virginia planter influential with British nobility, and his replacement of Lawrence as district adjutant in 1752, Washington was promoted to the rank of colonel in the Virginia militia in 1754. Shortly before the outbreak of the French and Indian War (1756–1763), Washington led a military expedition to the westernmost boundaries of Virginia because French troops and their Indian allies threatened British-claimed territory. He ordered his men to build Fort Necessity in this area but soon abandoned the fort because of superior French and Indian forces in 1754. After the arrival of British troops, Washington became an aide to British general Edward Braddock (1695–1755). Washington distinguished himself in combat, especially in the campaign against Fort Duquesne, and was elected to Virginia's House of Burgesses in 1758.

In 1759 Washington married Martha Custis (1731–1802), a wealthy widow, and increased his ownership of land and slaves. He was active in local politics, but he mostly focused on his agricultural and financial interests. Washington had admired Britain's army, aristocracy, and mixed system of government since childhood. But he gradually concluded during the 1760s and early 1770s that new British taxes and regulations reflected "taxation without representation" and their implementation by British troops and officials increasingly violated Americans' legal rights as British subjects. While he was occasionally disturbed by the more extreme rhetoric and behavior of revolutionary leaders in Boston, Washington eventually became committed to the cause of rebellion

and then independence. He concluded that the American colonies must become a separate nation in order to protect their liberty, self-government, and economic interests.

In 1774 Washington was elected as a delegate to the first Continental Congress. John Adams (1735–1826), a delegate from Massachusetts, became acquainted with Washington. Adams was impressed by Washington's military service and political status in Virginia. Wanting to increase national, and especially southern, support for the American Revolution against Britain, Adams secured Washington's appointment as general and commander-in-chief of the Continental Army in 1775. Washington then traveled to Massachusetts and assumed command on July 3, 1775. After placing artillery to threaten British ships in Boston Harbor, Washington forced the British to evacuate Boston on March 17, 1776.

Until the British surrender at Yorktown, Virginia, in 1781, Washington's strategy was to continue the American military and political effort until the British government decided to end the war as too costly. Washington generally avoided large-scale, prolonged battles and relied on surprise attacks, like the Battle of Trenton (1776), and tactical retreats to limit American casualties. During the Revolutionary War, Washington gained a national reputation among Americans for his endurance, integrity, and strength of character in the cause for independence. He struggled to maintain discipline, order, and professional military standards among American troops. Although Washington was critical of Congress for not providing enough pay and supplies for his troops, he always yielded to Congress's civilian supremacy over his military command. After the Treaty of Paris officially ended the war in 1783, Washington voluntarily surrendered his commission as commander-in-chief to Congress and returned to Mount Vernon, his plantation in Virginia.

After the Revolutionary War, Washington struggled to improve his neglected finances. Like other planters, however, Washington suffered from the disruption of pre-war trading relationships with the British Empire, high inflation, and trade barriers that states imposed against each other. The weak national government of the Articles of Confederation was unable to solve or alleviate these economic problems. Washington was also troubled by Shays's Rebellion in Massachusetts in 1786 and other events that indicated that the nation might dissolve into anarchy, disunity, and political radicalism.

In his personal life, Washington had no legally recognized children, although he may have fathered a child with Venus, his half brother's slave. He was an Anglican (or Episcopalian) but was not a frequent churchgoer. Like many upper-class Americans in the late eighteenth century, Washington was a deist who perceived God to be

impersonal and rational. Nevertheless, his private and public statements reveal his belief that God, or Providence, had a special destiny for the American nation. Later in his life, Washington expressed the need for religion to promote civic virtue.

Washington was known for treating his slaves more humanely than other slave owners. He encouraged marriage among his slaves and refused to break up slave families by selling them to other planters or investing in the “breeding” of slaves. As he became older, Washington became more troubled by the moral dilemma and economic burden of slave ownership. Nonetheless, Washington accepted the institution of slavery, and his wife inherited his slaves after his death.

Washington reluctantly returned to public life and was elected as a Virginia delegate to the Constitutional Convention in Philadelphia in 1787. Washington’s fellow delegates unanimously elected him to preside at the convention. As president of the convention, Washington maintained order during the debates and rarely expressed his political opinions. Washington’s judicious reticence further enhanced his reputation among delegates as a dignified, virtuous, self-restrained national leader who could be entrusted with executive power. Alexander Hamilton (1755/57–1804) was a delegate from New York who served as a staff officer for Washington during the war and revered him. Hamilton shrewdly promoted the common assumption that Washington would be the first president in order to gain delegate support and later ratification for the strong presidency that he explained and advocated in *The Federalist Papers*.

George Washington was unanimously elected president in 1789 and inaugurated in New York City, the nation’s first capital under the Constitution. John Adams was elected vice president, and Washington’s first cabinet included Thomas Jefferson (1743–1826) as secretary of state and Alexander Hamilton as secretary of the treasury. Washington was unanimously reelected in 1792 and inaugurated in Philadelphia in 1793. He disliked the growing partisan and policy conflicts between the Federalists and Anti-Federalists, especially between Hamilton and Jefferson, and warned the nation of the dangers of partisanship in his farewell address of 1796. Washington struggled to be nonpartisan during his first term but became a Federalist during his second term, partially because of the criticism of his presidency and policies from Anti-Federalist newspapers and politicians.

George Washington’s interpretation and use of presidential powers established several important precedents for the American presidency. First, Washington established the belief that a president should limit himself to two terms of office, a practice that continued until President Franklin D. Roosevelt (1882–1945) was elected

to a third term in 1940. The Constitution was amended in 1951 to formally limit a president to two elected terms. Washington had previously rejected the suggestion that he be appointed as a monarch or president with a life term of office. He later rejected a request that he run for a third term.

Second, Washington believed that a president should only veto bills that he regarded as unconstitutional. Consequently, he vetoed only two bills during his presidency. It was not until the presidency (1829–1837) of Andrew Jackson (1767–1845) that a president actively vetoed bills because of political or policy differences with Congress.

Third, while Washington believed that a president should be self-restrained and generally defer to Congress on domestic legislation, he also asserted that a president should exercise more discretionary and dominant power in foreign and defense policies. He interpreted the president’s power to “receive Ambassadors” in Article II of the Constitution to mean that the president alone can decide whether to recognize a new foreign government as legitimate for a regular diplomatic relationship with the U.S. government. Fourth, after a frustrating experience with the Senate in negotiating a treaty with the Creek Indians, Washington began the precedent of a president initiating and conducting treaty negotiations and only seeking the Senate’s “advice and consent” afterward for ratification. Likewise, he refused to provide diplomatic correspondence pertaining to the Jay Treaty to the House of Representatives because the Constitution did not require him to do so. This was an early example of *executive privilege*, that is, the president’s limited, unwritten constitutional right to withhold information from Congress.

Washington also developed the president’s symbolic role as the head of state who represents all Americans both nationally and internationally. He contributed to this role by occasionally visiting the various states and issuing proclamations. He proclaimed Thanksgiving as a national holiday in 1789. More importantly, he proclaimed American neutrality between the warring governments of Britain and France in 1793. Washington also insisted that all of his cabinet members publicly support his policies. For example, Washington forced the resignation of Secretary of State Edmund Randolph (1753–1813) in 1795 because he suspected Randolph of being pro-French, despite American neutrality.

Although Washington usually deferred to Congress on domestic legislation, he relied on Alexander Hamilton, his first secretary of the treasury and closest adviser, to formulate and promote legislative passage of his economic program, which included a national bank, a hard currency, and tariffs and excise taxes to liquidate Revolutionary War debts and provide adequate revenue to

maintain a national army. Because of Article II's "take care" clause, Washington believed that a president should exercise broad, discretionary powers to enforce federal laws. This belief was especially evident in Washington's firm, decisive suppression of the Whiskey Rebellion of 1794. Washington personally led troops during part of their expedition to western Pennsylvania to end mob violence against the collection of the federal excise tax on whiskey.

Despite the efforts of Hamilton to persuade Washington to remain in office, Washington publicized his farewell address on September 19, 1796. In addition to warning the public about how partisan conflict threatened liberty, order, civic virtue, and national unity, Washington stated that future American foreign policy must continue to avoid "permanent alliances" with foreign governments that endangered American independence, liberty, and peace. Shortly after John Adams was inaugurated as president on March 4, 1797, Washington returned to Mount Vernon.

During his retirement, Washington busied himself with improving his finances and repairing buildings on his plantation. In 1798 Washington accepted a commission as a lieutenant general from President Adams and the Senate. He avoided public statements on politics and refused to undermine Adams's authority as president. He was dismayed that the Federalist Party became bitterly divided between pro-Adams and pro-Hamilton factions and that war with France seemed more likely.

Washington returned home after inspecting his fields on December 12, 1799, and became ill with a severe cold. Further weakened by the use of bloodletting as a medical treatment, Washington died on December 14, 1799. General Henry Lee's (1756–1818) funeral oration, delivered before Congress on December 26, 1799, popularized Washington's historical and patriotic reputation as "the father of his country." The nation's new capital city was named after Washington, as were many towns, counties, schools, and a state. The most nationally prominent artistic dedications to George Washington include the Washington Monument in Washington, D.C., and an enormous sculpture of his face on Mount Rushmore in South Dakota. His birthday was celebrated as a separate national holiday but was more recently incorporated as part of Presidents' Day in February.

SEE ALSO *American Revolution; Constitution, U.S.; Presidency, The; Slavery*

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Sean J. Savage

WASHINGTON CONSENSUS

The phrase *Washington Consensus* has come to refer to a neoliberal economic agenda for developing countries and carries the implication that the Washington, D.C.-based public organizations concerned with development agree on the appropriateness of this agenda. *Neoliberal* refers to the ideas about the virtues of free markets and small, regulatory states emanating from the Mont Pelerin Society and developed primarily by Milton Friedman and Friedrich von Hayek, and to some extent implemented by Ronald Reagan, Margaret Thatcher, Augusto Pinochet, and the New Zealand Labour government during the 1980s.

The phrase had more modest beginnings. It was coined in a 1990 article by the British economist John Williamson, who had spent years working in a Washington, D.C., think tank, the Institute for International Economics. Williamson noticed that during the second half of the 1980s Latin American countries experienced a major change in economic policy norms. Previously, Latin American governments tended to think that import substitution, state enterprises, and inflationary finance constituted the core of development strategy, and that macroeconomic stabilization, free trade, and a framework-providing state were only appropriate for the already-developed countries. In the wake of the 1980s debt crises, both Latin American governments and the Washington organizations "saw the light" and concluded that what was appropriate for the developed countries was also appropriate for them.

Williamson's list of what he considered to be generally accepted policy priorities in Washington and in Latin America by the late 1980s included the following:

1. Keep budget deficits small.
2. Shift public expenditure priorities from non-merit subsidies to expenditures that are pro-growth and pro-poor, like spending on basic health, education, and infrastructure.
3. Construct a tax system that combines a broad tax base with moderate marginal tax rates.

4. Liberalize interest rates (meaning that while independent central banks should fix the base rate, commercial lenders should be free to set whatever the market can bear on top of base rate).
5. Maintain a competitive exchange rate via an “intermediate” regime, between fixed and free-floating.
6. Liberalize trade.
7. Liberalize inward foreign direct investment—but without pursuing comprehensive capital account liberalization.
8. Privatize state enterprises.
9. Ease sectoral barriers to entry and exit.
10. Provide the informal sector with the ability to gain property rights at acceptable cost.

After Williamson published his list, champions of neoliberalism deployed the phrase *Washington Consensus* for their own purposes. They detached it from Williamson’s policy list by adding elements like low taxes, a minimal state, and rapid liberalization of cross-border financial flows (“opening the capital account”). They also detached it from its regional origin, implying that it applied to all developing countries, including those “in transition” from socialism to capitalism. In this newly fundamentalist form it coursed through the echo chamber of the Washington-based organizations, including the International Monetary Fund, the World Bank, the U.S. Treasury, USAID, and think tanks; through transatlantic components including *The Financial Times*, *The Economist*, and the U.K. Treasury; and into finance and development ministries in many developing countries.

“Stabilize, deregulate, open up, and privatize” became the slogan of technocrats and political leaders through the 1980s, and it inspired a wave of reforms that had transformed the policy landscape of much of the developing world by the early 1990s. The common denominator was the drive to extend private property rights geographically and “vertically,” to types of assets not previously privately owned, and in this way expand profit opportunities for global firms facing declining profits at home. The reforms accelerated the “financialization” of the world economy and the shrinkage of the economic sovereignty of the state. Yet economic performance of most developing countries remained disappointing. Many countries that adopted this approach to a high degree had worse performance than during the era of “bad” import-substituting industrialization, and worse performance than those that adopted it to a small degree. In particular, many countries that followed the neoliberal prescription of “economic growth with foreign savings”—which entailed

opening the economy to free flows of finance—were hit by financial crises through the 1990s.

In response a new consensus, sometimes called the *Augmented Washington Consensus*, began to emerge by the mid-1990s (see Williamson 2003). It said that neoliberal policies would not have lasting effects where institutions were unfriendly to markets, an argument in line with the major thrust in development economics over the 1990s to assert the role of institutions in affecting transaction costs and thereby economic performance. “Get the prices right” had to be supplemented with “get the institutions right.” The new “good governance” agenda called for reforms in the civil service (the budget office, the central bank, the customs bureaucracy), the judiciary, the financial sector (the accountancy profession, the rights of minority shareholders, credit registries), systems of primary education and primary healthcare, and microcredit.

The Augmented Washington Consensus retained the neoliberal premise that the state was the problem and the market the solution, and the aim was to make markets work better and to extend surrogate markets into the state. The word *reform* was reserved for changes in this direction. Many champions hoped that financial reforms would strengthen regulation sufficiently so that opening the capital account could again become a top global priority. Issues of equity, income distribution, technology, firm-level capabilities, and industrial policy remained firmly off the radar screen.

However by the late 1990s some parts of the “international development community,” notably the United Nations’ General Assembly and the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), began to unite around an action agenda that emphasized poverty reduction and investment in primary health and primary education. This perspective was spelled out in the Millennium Declaration and in the Millennium Development Goals adopted by the UN in 2000. Critics of neoliberalism took advantage of the new discussion to declare that the Washington Consensus was dead and had been replaced by a “Post ‘Washington Consensus’ Consensus,” which held that “countries should be given scope to experiment, to use their own judgment, to explore what might work best for them” (Stiglitz 2004, p. 12).

A more open-minded stance toward policy experimentation is surely a good thing. But pragmatism is not a strategy. At the operational levels of the Washington-based organizations and in the most powerful agencies in developing countries—finance ministries as distinct from development ministries—the Washington Consensus is far from dead, if only because nothing coherent has emerged to replace it. Development technocrats find it a huge advantage to be able to use the Washington Consensus one-size-fits-all approach; whatever the coun-

try, they know what the government should be doing. Certainly the Millennium Development Goals are an add-on rather than an alternative because they assume that the core microeconomic reforms of the Washington Consensus are necessary conditions for achieving the goals. In short, reports of the death of the Washington Consensus are greatly exaggerated, whether for better or for worse.

SEE ALSO *Neoliberalism*

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Robert H. Wade

WATER RESOURCES

The planet Earth is inherently short of freshwater, the proportion of which is as little as 3 percent of all available water. The remaining 97 percent of water is saline and is stored in the oceans. Of the 3 percent of water that is freshwater, only 0.3 percent flows through surface water systems such as rivers and lakes; the remaining 2.97 percent is frozen in glaciers and ice caps or held in the ground.

This inherent scarcity has been worsened by the accelerated diversion of water for agricultural, commercial, industrial, and residential uses, which has increased greatly in response to a growing world population that reached 6.5 billion people in 2006. As much as 95 percent of that growth has taken place in the water-deficit developing world, predominantly in Asia and Africa. Among all human uses, agriculture tends to use 70 percent of the available freshwater. According to experts, 1 ton of grain requires 1,000 tons of water. As agriculture increasingly is becoming dependent on irrigation, especially in Asia, the most populous continent, the availability of water for industrial, commercial, and municipal uses has been shrinking.

WATER SCARCITY AND THE HUMAN CONDITION

The impact of dwindling water supplies on humankind is evident worldwide. According to a 2006 report by the United Nations Development Program, over 1 billion people are without clean drinking water and over 2.4 billion lack basic sanitation. Access to clean drinking water is lowest in Africa, and Asia has the largest number of people without basic sanitation. The human toll of the inaccessibility of water and sanitation runs as high as 2 million child deaths a year (United Nations Development Program 2006). In all, in the early years of the twenty-first century 12 million people died each year from drinking contaminated water.

In 2003 the United Nations World Water Development Report estimated that \$110 billion to \$180 billion would be needed each year to provide safe drinking water to the poor in developing countries. Although an annual outlay of that size for water resource development seems prohibitive for low-income nations, the economic benefits of such an outlay would be two to three times as large. Recognizing those benefits, the United Nations Millennium Development Project planned to widen the access of the poor to safe drinking water by 50 percent by 2015. The economic benefits of increased access to safe drinking water in terms of health, longevity, and time saved in fetching water range from \$300 billion to \$400 billion a year.

PRICING AND PRIVATIZATION OF WATER

International development agencies such as the World Bank and the Asian Development Bank (ADB) plan to broaden the access of the poor to safe water by pricing water use and privatizing water resources. Water pricing means consumers will pay the fees, taxes, or charges for water supplies they use. It has been argued that water privatization can meet the water needs of the poor effectively. In 2005 Segerfeldt pointed out that public water systems in developing countries tend to serve wealthy and middle-class households, whereas the poor are left to draw from municipal water mains. However, 80 percent of the poorest parts of the population in fifteen developing countries are not served by municipal water supplies (Segerfeldt 2005). Although privatization is intended to bring the entire water supplies and treatment systems of developing countries into the private market, in the first decade of the twenty-first century only 3 percent of the poor worldwide were served by private-sector water supplies.

Critics see water privatization as a “global water grab” with disastrous outcomes in places such as Cochabamba, Bolivia. Between 1989 and 1999 the proportion of Bolivian households connected to the public water system

fell from 70 percent to 60 percent. Water was available only sporadically; 99 percent of the wealthier households were receiving the subsidized water, whereas in some poorer suburbs less than 4 percent were receiving water.

FATE OF PRIVATIZATION IN INDIA AND CHINA

In 2002 Vandana Shiva blamed the World Bank and the ADB for creating water markets to benefit multinational corporations (MNCs). Privatization, she argued, is preceded by a hike in water tariffs to “secure private sector investment in risky countries” (Shiva 2005). The tariff increase, Shiva asserted, exceeds by ten times the “full cost recovery,” although this is rationalized by privatization supporters. Using the case of her native India, Shiva stated that private operators will harvest public investment of 1 trillion rupees for private gains through water privatization in India (Shiva 2005).

Pricing and privatization of water are intended to rationalize water use. In light of worldwide extreme income inequalities, however, it is feared that privatization will save water by diverting it from the poor to the rich and from rural areas to urban centers. In 2005 Shiva argued that the best way to conserve water is to make a radical shift from water-intensive chemical farming to organic farming, along with a reversal in export-led agricultural production, which amounts to exporting “virtual water” to the rich consumers of the North at the expense of the poor in the South.

Like India, China is poor in freshwater supplies, the per capita availability of which is one-fourth of the world average (Yu and Danqing 2006). The pollution of rivers and groundwater from industrialization and urbanization has exacerbated the water shortage. In the first decade of the twenty-first century, two-thirds of Chinese cities had an insufficient supply of freshwater and 110 of them had critically inadequate access to freshwater.

Beijing’s plan to meet the water needs of urban centers angered Chinese rural residents. On July 6, 2000, thousands of farmers in the Yellow River Basin in eastern China clashed with police over a government plan to recapture runoff from a local reservoir for cities, industries, and other uses (Postel and Wolf 2001). The incident took place in Shandong, the last province through which the Yellow River runs before reaching the sea. Worldwide water disputes have been occurring in the downstream regions of overtapped river basins (Postel and Wolf 2001). The Yellow River has been running dry in its lower reaches on and off since 1972, and its dry spell grew to a record 226 days in 1997. As a result, per person use of water in China, which already was severely low, fell by 1.7 percent in seven years (Yu and Danqing 2006).

WATER CONFLICTS

The Indus Basin Intrastate water shortages have spilled over into interstate water conflicts. In the first decade of the twenty-first century India and Bangladesh were worrying about alleged Chinese attempts to divert the waters of Yarlung Zangbo River (which in India is called Brahmaputra, and in Bangladesh Jamuna) into the Yellow River. The Yarlung Zangbo passes through the Tibet Autonomous Region into the Indian states of Arunachal Pradesh and Assam and into Bangladesh. Even starker conflicts have been simmering between India and Bangladesh over the Ganges River and between India and Pakistan over the Jhelum River. In the 1960s and early 1970s India unilaterally constructed a barrage (dam) on the Ganges River at Farakka, near the border with Bangladesh, to divert more river water to the port of Calcutta (Postel and Wolf 2001). That diversion left Bangladesh with significantly less water for irrigation during the dry season, causing increased migration of its population across the border into the Indian states of West Bengal (Postel and Wolf 2001) and Assam. Although the Indus River Basin Treaty between India and Pakistan of the 1960s has held, the growing water and power needs of each nation are fueling the conflicts as never before. The major conflict between Islamabad and New Delhi has erupted over the controversial construction of Bhagiar Dam over the Jhelum River in the disputed territory of Jammu and Kashmir; that conflict was being arbitrated by the World Bank.

Euphrates and Jordan River Basins Euphrates and Jordan River Basin nations have long argued over their shared surface water systems. Syria and Iraq experienced a reduction of almost 50 percent in the average flow of the Euphrates after the 1970s (Allan 1998). Both countries have been anticipating additional reductions in the flow of Tigris as well. The Euphrates and Tigris rivers originate in Turkey, which has diverted their water by building dams. In the case of the Jordan basin, the river system rises in four tributaries (Lowi 1995): the Yarmouk in Syria, the Baniyas in Israeli-occupied Syria, the Hasbani in Lebanon, and the Dan in Israel. The Baniyas, Hasbani, and Dan meet in northern Israel to form the Upper Jordan River, which flows into Lake Tiberias, and then the Lower Jordan. Israel has become the upstream riparian basin on the Upper Jordan system, and Syria is upstream on the Yarmouk. Jordan and the Palestinians, as downstream riparian basins vis-à-vis both Israel and Syria, have remained in the worst positions in the basin (Lowi 1995).

About one-half of Israel’s annual supply of groundwater and one-quarter of its total renewable supply of freshwater originate in two subterranean basins in the West Bank (Lowi 1995). By virtue of its occupation of the West

Bank, Israel has been controlling water in the territory. The result has been that approximately 80 percent of West Bank water is exploited in Israel and by Israeli settlers in the territory, leaving only 20 percent for the Palestinian population (Lowi 1995). Although Lowi does not think that water disputes alone could cause active conflict between Israel and the countries of the Jordan River Basin, Adel Darwish (2003) and John Bulloch and Darwish (1993) believe that water disputes underlie the political conflict in the region. King Hussein of Jordan and the late Egyptian President Anwar Sadat, each of whom signed peace treaties with Israel, vowed never to go to war with Israel except to protect water resources (Darwish 2003). Bulloch and Darwish (1993) claim that water was the hidden agenda for past conflicts and has been a major obstacle to a lasting peace in the region. The Six Day War, they argue, started because Syrian engineers were working to divert part of the water flow from Israel. The Israeli leader Ariel Sharon backed up their argument by saying: "People generally regard 5 June 1967 as the day the Six-day war began. That is the official date. But, in reality, it started two and a half years earlier, on the day Israel decided to act against the diversion of the Jordan" (quoted in Darwish 2003).

POSSIBLE SOLUTIONS

It is feared that global warming will cause further stress in the already water-short nations of Asia, Africa, and the Middle East. Although bilateral and multilateral water-sharing mechanisms are important to ensure critical water supplies, the significance of conservation and further development of water resources cannot be overemphasized. There are a number of technological means to augment water resources, including but not limited to cloud seeding, desalination, wastewater reuse, rain harvesting, and importing water from relatively wet zones (Postel and Wolf 2001). Of equal importance are a shift from water-intensive chemical farming to less water-intensive farming methods and a reversal in export-led agricultural production, which amounts to the export of virtual water from the water-short South to the water-surplus North (Shiva 2005).

SEE ALSO *Agricultural Industry; Arab-Israeli War of 1967; Gender; Global Warming; Inequality, Political; Irrigation; Needs; Nutrition; Poverty; Poverty, Indices of; Privatization; Public Health; Sharon, Ariel; Women and Politics*

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Tarique Niazi

WATERGATE

The Watergate scandal involved Richard M. Nixon (1913–1994) during his second term as president of the United States. The scandal led to his impeachment and resignation from office.

In June 1971 a former employee of the U.S. Department of Defense, Daniel Ellsberg, gave *The New York Times* a secret government history of the Vietnam War (1957–1975) known as the Pentagon Papers. These revealed, among other things, a secret bombing campaign against neutral Cambodia. The White House issued an injunction against publication on the grounds of national security, but the injunction was declared unconstitutional by the U.S. Supreme Court, which saw it as a form of prior restraint in violation of the First Amendment. In response, Nixon directed aides to find damaging information about his perceived political enemies. By September 1971, a special investigative group known as "the plumbers" was hired by Nixon's assistant for domestic affairs, John Erlichman, to burglarize the office of Ellsberg's psychiatrist, which was located in the Watergate office complex in Washington, D.C.

On the night of June 17, 1972, a security guard working at the Watergate Hotel noticed a piece of tape between the door of the basement and the parking garage. Upon investigation by the Washington police, five men were discovered and arrested for breaking into the headquarters of the Democratic National Committee, located in the Watergate complex, in a failed attempt to place listening devices and take photographs of committee documents. Later, one of the burglars, James W. McCord Jr., was found to be in possession of phone numbers belonging to E. Howard Hunt (1918–2007) and G. Gordon Liddy, former employees of Nixon's reelection committee. At his arraignment, McCord identified himself as a former employee of the Central Intelligence Agency.

In attendance on the day of McCord's arraignment were *Washington Post* reporters Bob Woodward and Carl Bernstein, who began what became one of the most significant journalistic investigations of the twentieth century. A then-unknown individual with close ties to the White House, dubbed Deep Throat by Woodward, provided the journalists with information and assistance that helped them follow the story from an insignificant burglary to a cover-up orchestrated by the Nixon administration. Thirty years later, Deep Throat's identity was revealed when former FBI agent Mark Felt admitted that he had been Woodward's source.

In 1972 the Federal Bureau of Investigation established that the Watergate Hotel break-in stemmed from a spying effort conducted on behalf of the Nixon reelection effort. Despite this finding, Nixon won reelection in a landslide over the Democratic candidate Senator George McGovern in November 1972. By January 1973, however, the original burglars, along with Hunt and Liddy, went to trial, pleading guilty in a failed attempt to shield those above them from further inquiry. When the presiding judge, John Sirica (1905–1992), threatened thirty-year sentences, the defendants began cooperating with the prosecution. As the investigation broadened, the U.S. Senate established a committee, chaired by Senator Sam Ervin (1896–1985), to investigate the Watergate break-in.

By May 1973 two of Nixon's White House aides, H. R. Haldeman (1926–1993) and John Ehrlichman (1925–1999), resigned amidst growing evidence of their knowledge of the events. Both would later go to prison for their role in the Watergate break-in and cover-up. The Watergate hearings were broadcast live on television from May to August 1973, and were immensely popular, with dire consequence for the Nixon administration's approval ratings. As a result of these investigations, it was revealed that Nixon had recorded all his phone calls and conversations in the Oval Office. When Congress requested these tapes as part of the investigation, the president refused to turn them over. In an attempt to save himself from further

political embarrassment and possible criminal indictment, Nixon directed Attorney General Elliot Richardson (1920–1999) to instruct special counsel Archibald Cox (1912–2004) to drop the subpoena for the White House tapes. When Cox refused, Nixon ordered Richardson to fire Cox. When the attorney general refused, Nixon fired both Richardson and his deputy in what is now known as the "Saturday night massacre." A young solicitor with the attorney general's office, Robert Bork, assumed the role of attorney general. Bork then fired Cox, but was pressured to name another prosecutor, Leon Jaworski (1905–1982).

Citing executive privilege, Nixon refused to comply with the subpoena for the White House tapes, creating a constitutional conflict between the president and Congress. In July 1974 the U.S. Supreme Court unanimously ruled, in *United States v. Nixon*, that the president had to turn over the tapes to the committee. According to the Court, the president had no "unqualified" privilege of immunity. Less than one week later, a review of the tapes proved Nixon's role in the conspiracy to cover up the Watergate break-in. On one tape, Nixon and Haldeman, the White House chief of staff, directed the CIA to obstruct the FBI and the Justice Department's investigation into the break-in. It then became clear that the president and his aides had broken the law by orchestrating a cover-up, using the CIA to block the FBI investigation, lying to Congress, and destroying documents related to the investigation. Another scandal erupted when it was disclosed that an eighteen-minute gap had been found on one of Nixon's tapes. The gap was explained as an accident by Rose Mary Woods (1917–2005), Nixon's secretary.

In July 1974 the House Judiciary Committee passed the first of three articles of impeachment against the president for obstruction of justice, abuse of power, and contempt of Congress. Two additional articles of impeachment did not pass the committee: one for federal income tax evasion, and another for the authorization and subsequent concealment from Congress of American bombing operations in Cambodia. Throughout the ordeal, Nixon steadfastly proclaimed his innocence. On August 8, 1974, after consulting prominent members of Congress on the likelihood of the committee indictment being affirmed by the full House, Nixon became the first U.S. president to resign from office. Vice President Gerald R. Ford (1913–2006) assumed the presidency. Ford pardoned Nixon of all charges related to the Watergate break-in and cover-up on September 8, 1974.

In the aftermath of the Watergate affair, the media became more confident and aggressive in their coverage of Washington politics. Investigative journalists began looking into the public and private lives of politicians as never before. As a result, there have been numerous "gates" since Watergate, each referring to another scandal at the highest

levels of government. Additionally, Congress passed numerous “good government” bills in the years following the Watergate scandal. These addressed such issues as campaign finance reform, disclosure of campaign contributors and expenses to the Federal Election Commission, ethics in government, and a greater role for Congress in the appointment of independent counsels. Nixon continued to proclaim his innocence in the Watergate affair until his death in April 1994.

SEE ALSO *Democratic Party, U.S.; Government; Government, Federal; Impeachment; Nixon, Richard M.; Republican Party; Vietnam War*

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James Freeman

WATSON, JOHN B.

SEE *Behaviorism; Psychotherapy; Tolman, Edward*.

WAVES, LONG

SEE *Long Waves*.

WEAK AXIOM OF REVEALED PREFERENCE

SEE *Revealed Preference*.

WEAK SEPARABILITY

SEE *Separability*.

WEALTH

Throughout their history, human beings have been trying to improve the conditions of their existence. Ever since their early days, they sought to understand nature and dominate it. They discovered tools, salt, and fire, all of

which made life better and easier. Possession of these “things” became a necessity. Wealth then meant all the things that are useful for satisfying needs and ensuring the well-being of their holder. This way of understanding wealth has not changed very much, for even today the *Merriam-Webster Collegiate Dictionary* defines wealth as “the stock of useful goods having economic value in existence at any one time,” or to be more precise: “All property that has a money value or an exchangeable value.” The modern definition reflects the popular understanding that wealth is synonymous with the acquisition and accumulation of real (physical) and financial assets. Material wealth, it seems, has always been important in the lives of individuals, from ancient to modern societies.

However, history of economic thought tells us that early civilizations in Mesopotamia, Egypt, and Greece had a positive attitude to knowledge, and many philosophers regarded it as the basis for wealth and empowerment. All the achievements in terms of progress (technical and other) were the result of the skills acquired through knowledge. The “light of fire” was a reflection of the “light of thought.” Modern economic theory also recognizes what we call “human capital” (health, education, and knowledge in general) is an important element of wealth. The subtlety of the modern view is that wealth is not only created—it is also inherited. Because wealth can often be transferred from parents to heirs without impediments, some rich people may not be particularly knowledgeable and some great minds may not be particularly rich. People naturally reject poverty and have a desire to get rich and live comfortably. Therefore, not only will they question the unequal distribution of wealth, they will also try—by whatever means available—to change the status quo. Poverty makes people feel oppressed, disobedient, difficult to govern, and ready for revolt. The extremists would claim that a life of deprivation is not worth living. Tensions over the distribution of wealth existed even in ancient societies. Class struggle, according to Karl Marx ([1867–1910] 1956), is a dynamic force of change in all class societies.

ORIGIN AND EVOLUTION OF THE CONCEPT

In ancient societies, when human needs were basic and wealth meant getting the goods from nature to satisfy their “natural” needs, there were no quarrels about being or wanting to be rich. Increased wealth simply translated into increased consumption and improved well-being. Wealth was necessary and everyone approved of it. Social values encouraged the ability to gather and/or produce more goods. The consensus came to an end when the distinction could be made between what was necessary (natural) and what had become luxurious or superfluous

(artificial). Luxurious consumption, which could be afforded by only some people, was condemned on moral and religious grounds as waste, ostentation, or vanity. The desire for luxury, it was argued, has no limits and requires excessive riches. In turn, the pursuit of excessive wealth makes people selfish, greedy, dishonest, and morally corrupt. The rise of private property is justified by the need to ensure continuous control over the flow of resources or goods that satisfy these needs, whether natural or artificial. Greek philosophers such as Plato and Aristotle opposed both extreme poverty and excessive wealth. Poverty was considered by most as a debilitating state, whereas the desire for excessive wealth led to a state of unhappiness. To avoid these extremes, many philosophers recommended moderation. The ideal state of well-being is that where the individual learns how to control and limit his or her desires and needs. Wealth therefore became associated with wisdom and virtue. The same idea was later integrated into religious thought as “the wealth of the soul”; an inner dimension that can be achieved through moderate use of material wealth. (For an excellent review of the ancient thought on the subject, see Perrotta 2003.)

However, as pointed out by Cosimo Perrotta, even though many ancient thinkers praised modesty and the simple, natural lifestyle, most would still prefer wealth and reject poverty. Material wealth, after all, “contributes to the life according to nature” (Perrotta 2003, p. 210). The rejection of poverty is also found in ancient eastern civilizations. For instance, ancient Indian thinkers believed that life on earth was only a transitory state, but they still wanted it to be a good life; an opportunity to “perform good deeds” and achieve “prosperity on earth.” According to Balbir Sihag, “[a]ncient thinkers in India put heavy emphasis on keeping a proper balance between spiritual health and material health” (2005, p. 2). Chanakya Kautilya, one of India’s ancient thinkers and a contemporary of Aristotle, “considered poverty as a living death and concentrated on devising economic policies to achieve salvation from poverty without compromising with ethical values” (Sihag 2005, p. 1).

Islamic thought did not consecrate poverty either. It advocated the circulation of wealth through voluntary alms giving, *sadaqa*, and required giving, *zakat*, from the rich to the poor. In fact, Arabs, both before and after Islam, believed that wealth included a part that must be given away. In Islam, the poor and the needy have a claim on, a recognized right to, a portion of the property of the rich. The Qur’an refers to the community of the believers as “those upon whose wealth there is a recognized right for the beggar and the deprived” (surat 70: 24–25). Based on this philosophy, the Muslims sought to build a “community that regulates its flow of money and goods in the right direction ... that practices generosity as reciprocity for God’s bounty, that observes the haqq [i.e., the rec-

ognized right] inhering in the good things of this world, that purifies and maintains its wealth by giving up a portion of it in alms, and that takes ample account of the kinsman as well as ... the poor stranger” (Bonner 2005, p. 404). The final goal is to achieve a virtuous life on earth—the moral well-being that the ancient Indian thinkers talked about.

MODERN VIEWS

The idea that wealth must be shared equitably was also expressed later by modern thinkers such as Adam Smith, Marx, and John Maynard Keynes. Smith, for instance, considered the unequal distribution of wealth as “the great and most universal cause of the corruption of our moral sentiments” ([1776] 1976b, p. 61). Smith defined wealth in terms of production of goods and services for the purpose of satisfying the needs of society as a whole. He argued that because workers are the main factor of production, they should have their fair share: “[n]o society can surely be flourishing and happy, of which the far greater part of the members are poor and miserable. It is but equity, besides, that they who feed, cloath and lodge the whole body of the people, should have a share of the produce of their own labor as to be themselves tolerably well fed, cloathed and lodged” ([1776] 1976b, p. 96).

Keynes also was in favor of spreading wealth and against its concentration in the hands of the capitalist class. He considered scarcity, which is artificially created by the capitalist, to be “one of the chief social justifications of great inequality of wealth.” (Keynes 1936, p.373). Therefore, he sought to eliminate “the cumulative oppressive power of the capitalist to exploit the scarcity-value of capital” because, he argued, “interest today rewards no genuine sacrifice, any more than does the rent of land. The owner of capital can obtain interest because capital is scarce just as the owner of land can obtain rent because land is scarce. But whilst there may be intrinsic reasons for the scarcity of land, there are no intrinsic reasons for the scarcity of capital” (1936, p. 376).

The artificial scarcity preoccupied Marx as well, who argued that “[i]t is quite simply the private ownership of land, mines, water, etc. by certain people, which enables them to snatch, intercept and seize the excess surplus-value over and above profit ... contained in the commodities of these particular spheres of production ...” ([1867–1910] 1968, p. 37) In other spheres of production such as manufacturing, Marx rose against the exploitation of the working class and called for a community based on social justice.

Whereas Smith and early thinkers defined wealth either as production (of goods and services) or as consumption, Marx considered it as the creation of value and distinguished between use value (goods and services pro-

duced for own needs) and exchange value (goods and services produced for sale). Marx wrote:

[a] commodity, such as iron, corn, or a diamond, is therefore ... a use value, something useful. This property of a commodity is independent of the amount of labor required to appropriate its useful qualities. ... Use values become a reality only by use or consumption: they also constitute the substance of all wealth, whatever may be the social form of that wealth. In the form of society we are about to consider, they are, in addition, the material depositories of exchange value. ([1867–1894] 1992, p. 44)

Exchange value, in contrast, exists only when the product is sold. As Marx put it, “a thing can be useful, and the product of human labor, without being a commodity. Whoever directly satisfies his wants with the produce of his own labor, creates, indeed, use values, but not commodities. In order to produce the latter, he must not only produce use values, but use values for others, social use values” ([1867–1894] 1992, p. 48).

If some authors have argued that all members of society should enjoy the benefits of increased wealth, others wanted to exclude the lower classes. In ancient times, the opposition to increased consumption was part of the general criticism of luxury, the desire to get rich, and selfishness. In modern times, the justification has been that consumption by lower classes takes away resources from investment—the key to accumulation. However, one must remember that consumption is what sets apart the different members of society. After all, as the popular adage says, “you are what you eat (consume),” that is, consumption sets your social status. Therefore, we should understand that “[t]he authors hostile to increased consumption ... nearly always conceal (or reveal) a social motive: they are opposed to the rise of the lower classes and fear that their subordination may come to an end. They appear to be concerned about the destiny of the world, but are often concerned merely about the loss of their own privileges” (Perrotta 2003, p. 179).

Thorstein Veblen (1899) saw in the exclusion of the lower classes a means of guaranteeing the power and maintaining the social status of what he called the “leisure class,” for it is through this power relationship that wealth is truly valorized. Preventing the poor from having access to increased consumption is important in the process of valorizing wealth. The logical step therefore is to prevent them from having access to increased wealth, that is, to keep wealth scarce and concentrated in the hands of the leisure class. This is done through what Veblen (1899) called “conspicuous consumption” and “industrial sabotage.” Technology speeds up the production process and increases the total amount of goods and services, thus con-

tributing to eliminate scarcity by gradually shifting luxury consumer goods from being exclusively consumed by the leisure class to being widely available to the lower classes. As pointed out by Charles Clarke,

this tendency must be kept in check, and it is done so by the process Veblen labeled industrial sabotage. Industrial concentration and monopoly are necessary in order to keep profits high.... Thus at the micro level industrial concentration generates scarcity, while at the macro-economic level this is done by keeping the value of money higher than it need be, i.e., keeping interest rates too high. (2002, p. 419)

INTERNATIONALIZATION OF WEALTH AND POVERTY

Advocates of globalization, including the World Trade Organization (WTO), have been arguing that inequality will fall as economies become more integrated and flows of capital and commodities more liberalized. The conclusions of the globalization-equality thesis are based on the neoclassical economic theory according to which free trade (one aspect of globalization) will bring about convergence in commodity prices, whereas factor mobility (another aspect of globalization) will equalize factor incomes by raising the income of the abundant factor and lowering that of the scarce factor. In the context of trade between developed and developing countries, one should expect that incomes of the working poor (the abundant factor) will rise and that returns to capital or even the incomes of highly skilled workers (the scarce factor) will fall. Globalization, therefore, will reduce inequality.

However, this is in sharp contrast with what is observed on the ground. At the national level, available evidence indicates that inequality between the rich and the poor—whether measured by income or by wealth—has been rising in most cases. The United Nations Development Program (UNDP) found that “a study of 77 countries with 82% of the world’s people shows that between 1950s and 1990s inequality rose in 45 of the countries and fell in 16.... In the remaining 16 countries either no clear trend emerged or income inequality initially declined, then levelled off” (2001, p. 17). At the international level, according to the UNDP, the average GDP per capita from various regions as a ratio to that of high-income OECD countries declined between 1960 and 1998, and “in sub-Saharan Africa the situation has worsened dramatically: Per capita income, around 1/9 of that in high-income OECD countries in 1960, deteriorated to around 1/18 by 1998” (UNDP 2001, p. 16). The UNDP summarized its results on world inequality by stating that the ratio of the income of the world’s richest 10

percent to that of the poorest 10 percent has increased from 51:1 to 127:1 between 1970 and 1997.

A study by the World Institute for Development Economics and Research reported that

[t]he figures for wealth shares show that the top 10 percent of adults own 85 percent of global household wealth, ... [The corresponding figure for the top 1 percent of adults is 40 percent of global wealth]. This compares with the bottom half of the distribution which collectively owns barely 1 percent of global wealth. Thus the top 1 percent own almost forty times as much as the bottom 50 percent. The contrast with the bottom decile of wealth holders is even starker. The average member of the top decile has nearly 3,000 times the mean wealth of the bottom decile, and the average member of the top percentile is more than 13,000 times richer. (Davies et al. 2006, p. 26)

The unequal distribution of wealth between nations via trade flows was the main argument of the dependency theory in the 1950s. Raul Prebisch (1950) and others have documented this inequality as a transfer of wealth from developing to developed countries in the form of declining terms of trade. Others have argued that underdevelopment (and therefore poverty) is a by-product of the development of Europe and other industrial countries (Darity 1992; Rodney 1972). James Galbraith (2002), on the other hand, showed that the rise in inequality that began in the early 1980s coincided with a sharp increase in real interest rates, an event that had dramatic effects on poor countries, which were forced to adopt austere policies that resulted in more poverty.

Wealth and poverty are not mutually exclusive. They coexist in a dialectical manner; they are both the result of one thing: the unequal distribution of value created in all the stages of production. The mechanisms underlying this unequal distribution have to do with the power relationships leading to the appropriation of profits made from the production and sale of commodities, whether at the national or the global level. The market mechanism cannot bring about social justice. To achieve some form of democratic wealth, redistribution through public intervention is necessary.

SEE ALSO *Aristotle; Class Conflict; Economics, Stratification; Globalization, Social and Economic Aspects of; Human Capital; Inequality, Income; Inequality, Wealth; Inheritance; Interest Rates; Islam, Shia and Sunni; Justice, Social; Keynes, John Maynard; Markets; Marx, Karl; Plato; Poverty; Power; Prebisch-Singer Hypothesis; Profits; Property; Slavery; Smith, Adam; Surplus; Underdevelopment; Veblen, Thorstein; World Trade Organization*

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Hassan Bougrine

WEALTH OF NATIONS

SEE *Smith, Adam*.

WEAPONRY, NUCLEAR

The advent of the nuclear weapons age began on July 16, 1945, when the United States tested its first nuclear device in New Mexico at the Alamogordo Bombing Range, now

known as the White Sands Missile Range. The successful nuclear explosion, named Trinity, was the end result of the Manhattan Project, a three-year, \$1.9 billion (\$26.9 billion in 2005 dollars) effort that brought hundreds of the world's top scientists together to develop a weapon to be used in the United States' war efforts against Japan and Germany. Nuclear weapons have been used in warfare on two occasions: on Hiroshima, Japan, on August 6, 1945, and on Nagasaki, Japan, on August 9, 1945. Both bombs were dropped by the United States. As of 2006, eight nations were known to possess nuclear weapons: the United States, Russia, the United Kingdom, France, China, Israel, India, and Pakistan. It is possible that North Korea also possesses a nuclear weapon. In 2003 North Korea claimed to have had successfully developed nuclear weapons. While North Korea has not tested a device, most intelligence estimates believe it is likely that it has nuclear capabilities. South Africa once possessed nuclear weapons but dismantled them in 1993 (see Cirincione, Wolfsthal, and Rajkumar 2005).

Nuclear weapons require *fissionable* materials. When a fissionable atom absorbs a neutron, it will split and release additional neutrons. In a nuclear chain reaction, those neutrons are absorbed into other fissionable atoms that subsequently split and release additional neutrons into other atoms. Nuclear explosions are the result of the rapid release of energy that comes from an uncontrolled nuclear chain reaction.

The two fissionable elements used in nuclear weapons are uranium and plutonium. Uranium is found in nature, but the specific fissionable isotope, uranium-235, constitutes only 0.7 percent of all natural uranium. A nuclear weapon, however, requires uranium-235 to make up over 90 percent of the sample. In order to achieve such a high concentration, the uranium must go through an enrichment process that separates uranium-235 from the more common uranium-238 isotope. This has most commonly been achieved with centrifuges, but other methods, such as gaseous diffusion and electromagnetic isotope separation, have also been successful. Plutonium is not found in nature but is a product of the highly radioactive waste from a controlled chain reaction of uranium, usually performed in a nuclear reactor. To extract plutonium from this waste, a sophisticated chemical process is used. For a country seeking to establish a nuclear weapons program, these large-scale industrial and technical processes can be prohibitive.

Critical mass is the smallest amount of fissionable material that is needed to maintain a nuclear chain reaction. How much uranium or plutonium is needed to reach critical mass depends on various elements of weapon design, such as the shape of the fissile core (gun-type or sphere) or the effective use of reflectors to capture errant

neutrons. Most estimates are that between 12 to 60 kilograms of weapons-grade uranium and 4 to 10 kilograms of plutonium are needed. In addition, the efficiency and yield of a weapon can be increased by adding a fusion fuel "booster," such as lithium-6, as found in thermonuclear weapons.

THE EFFECTS OF A NUCLEAR EXPLOSION

The effects of a nuclear explosion are devastating. The majority of damage is caused by three main elements: blast effects, thermal heat, and ionizing radiation. For example, the bomb that was dropped on Hiroshima, a uranium-type device known as Little Boy, had a yield of 12.5 kilotons of TNT. Of the 76,000 buildings in Hiroshima, 48,000 were completely destroyed and another 22,000 were damaged. According to one study of the Hiroshima bombing, the temperature at the site of the explosion reached 5,400 degrees Fahrenheit and "primary atomic bomb thermal injury was found in those exposed within [2 miles] of the hypocenter" (quoted in Rhodes 1986, p. 714). The heat was so intense that people within a half mile of the fireball were reduced to bundles of smoking char. The number of deaths in Hiroshima due to the bomb is estimated to be 140,000, with an additional 60,000 dying from radiation effects over the next five years.

Since these early devices, the yield of nuclear weapons has grown considerably. Although never deployed, on October 30, 1961, the largest nuclear bomb ever tested was the Soviet Union's "Tsar Bomba," which had a maximum yield of 100 megatons. More commonly, modern nuclear weapons have yields ranging between one and 5.5 megatons.

For a one-megaton device, the damage would be even more widespread than at Hiroshima and Nagasaki. According to Ansley J. Coale (1985), the shockwaves from a one-megaton blast would destroy modern multistory buildings within 2.9 miles and unreinforced brick and wood buildings within 4.2 miles of impact. Damage to brick and wood buildings would be substantial up to 8.5 miles from the blast. Heat would cause third-degree burns to exposed skin and set fire to clothing within 4.2 miles. The gamma rays produced from such a blast would be almost immediately lethal to any exposed person within 2.5 miles. People exposed at a slightly greater distance (2.7 miles) would have about a 50 percent mortality rate within a month of the explosion. Finally, a nuclear explosion that makes contact with the ground (as opposed to an airblast) would create tremendous amounts of radioactive fallout that could spread over an area as far as 1,000 square miles downwind from the explosion. Estimates of what percentage would be killed in a one-megaton blast on an urban population vary from 11 percent to 25 percent of

the total population, with an additional 16 to 25 percent injured. Of course, in a nuclear exchange between advanced nuclear weapons states, multiple bombs would likely be assigned to single targets, resulting in even higher levels of devastation.

DELIVERY METHODS

The three main methods of delivery involve ballistic missiles, aircraft, and submarines. Delivery methods are tied to larger strategic and tactical issues related to nuclear deterrence. Nuclear states, such as the United States and the Soviet Union during the cold war, are concerned that a first-strike nuclear attack from another country could be so damaging that it would successfully eliminate any possibility for retaliation. As a result, states design their nuclear forces in such a way that a sufficient number of weapons would remain to respond with a devastating second strike. Many argue that the sole purpose of any nuclear weapon is to deter other states from ever using one. Some also fear that a terrorist organization could gain possession of a nuclear weapon and smuggle it into a major urban center.

Intercontinental ballistic missiles (ICBMs) are launched from reinforced below-ground silos and have ranges of more than 8,000 miles. Often, ICBMs are equipped with multiple warheads—multiple, independently targeted reentry vehicles (MIRV)—capable of hitting multiple targets. Shorter-range ballistic missiles, which could more easily be used in tactical or battlefield scenarios, have largely been eliminated from the arsenals of major nuclear states.

The appeal of aircraft and submarines is their mobility, as well as an enemy's consequent difficulty in targeting them. Heavy-duty bombers, primarily equipped with up to twenty short-range attack missiles capable of hitting multiple targets, have the ability to penetrate enemy territory and withstand a great deal of abuse. Submarines carrying strategic nuclear missiles can remain below the surface for long periods and can launch missiles capable of hitting specific targets over distances of hundreds of miles. The possession of a nuclear-equipped submarine fleet gives a country a very credible second-strike deterrent.

Since the end of the cold war, both the United States and the former Soviet Union have worked to decrease their nuclear arsenals. However, many fear that tensions between other nuclear states, such as India and Pakistan, and the ongoing threat of further proliferation could result in the future use of nuclear weapons.

SEE ALSO *Defense; Defense, National; Deterrence, Mutual; Disarmament; Proliferation, Nuclear; World War II*

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David R. Andersen

WEAPONS INDUSTRY

The fusion of militarism and industrialism was made possible by the Industrial Revolution. In the early industrializing nations of Europe and North America, military leaders harnessed new sources of energy to facilitate transportation (e.g., steam-powered trains and ships) and new means of communication (e.g., the telegraph). This did not require a distinctly militarized industrial sector, only the ability to commandeer commercial goods to feed, clothe, and transport significantly larger military forces. Industrialism also gave rise to the invention of uniquely military end-items and the emergence of large industrial concerns, including defense firms and state-owned armories and shipyards, to produce them. In the twentieth century, this refinement of military goods would give rise to defense firms and the military-industrial complexes (van Creveld 1989).

The fusion of industrialism and militarism facilitated colonialism and conquest. European empires expanded dramatically in the latter half of the nineteenth century, and settler nations such as the United States, Australia, and South Africa completed the conquest of entire continents. Even as they conquered and displaced indigenous peoples, nations such as the United States did *not* become “warrior” societies. Rather, based on technological advantages afforded by industrialism, European powers and settler nations enjoyed distinct military advantages, often against much larger military forces. To compete on the international stage, military and political leaders in Germany, Japan, and Russia induced industrial develop-

ment in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. These top-down industrialization programs, driven by military priorities, were among the least democratic totalitarian regimes of the twentieth century.

During World Wars I (1914–1918) and II (1939–1945), the industrial capacity of leading economic powers was harnessed to perpetrate an unprecedented slaughter of soldiers and civilians. This industrialization of warfare transformed the battlefield and military organization. Equally important was the social transformation. The mass industrial wars of the twentieth century demanded total mobilization of the armed forces and the economy. In the United States, the iconic Rosie the Riveter called attention to the large number of women contributing to the war effort during World War II, many of whom had not previously worked outside the home. A similar trend unfolded among the industrialized nations fighting industrialized wars. Although the World War II mobilization temporarily redefined the roles of men and women in factories and offices, gender segregation persisted during the war and was reasserted at the war's end (on the U.S. case, see Milkman 1987). These mass industrial wars also transformed the risks and casualties among civilians. Improved record keeping and social control allowed states to identify, transport, incarcerate, and in some cases, slaughter millions of civilians (the Holocaust being a spectacular example). For these wars, industrial targets in densely populated areas became prominent targets. World War II was especially lethal (Kolko 1994): Large portions of London and several Soviet cities were decimated by German attacks; Dresden and Tokyo were consumed in firestorms and Berlin reduced to rubble; and two Japanese cities (Hiroshima and Nagasaki) were destroyed by atomic bombs.

THE WEAPONS INDUSTRY IN THE COLD WAR ERA

In the course of the cold war (1948–1989), the United States and the Soviet Union built and maintained large weapons industries. The sustained fusion of industrialism and militarism in the postwar United States prompted President Eisenhower to warn the nation and the world about the dangers of the military-industrial complex (Eisenhower 1961). As Eisenhower had warned, the weapons industry distorted technological development and diverted scarce human and physical resources.

During the cold war, a “wall of separation” grew between the defense and civilian sectors of the economy (Markusen and Yudken 1992). Defense-oriented firms and diversified corporations that garnered defense contracts were among the fastest growing and most profitable firms. For the Soviet Union, overinvestment in the military was exacerbated by the war in Afghanistan and costly

military and diplomatic commitments around the globe. These chronic fiscal strains contributed to the collapse of the Soviet Union—and with this collapse a dramatic reduction in the size and the scope of the military-industrial complex in successor states. In the twenty-first century, the U.S. arsenal is increasingly reliant on state-of-the-art science and technology. In addition to nuclear weapons, chemical and biological weapons are also produced through sophisticated scientific processes. Even “conventional” forces are being transformed by new sensing, computing, and communication devices being assembled to create an electronic battlefield. Space may become militarized as well. If satellites capable of destroying moving missiles or stationary targets are deployed, highly automated weapons far removed from earth would be at the center of the war and would pose the greatest threat to human life.

CONTEMPORARY DYNAMICS AND THREATS POSED BY THE WEAPONS INDUSTRY

The collapse of the Soviet Union and the end of the cold war raised hopes that the military-industrial complex would be dismantled. In the early 1990s, global military expenditures and arms sales fell as expected. But a resurgence in military spending began in the late 1990s, with the nations of the Middle East figuring prominently. The United States has also increased defense spending since the mid-1990s, to \$475 billion in 2005 (\$30 billion higher than in 1988). In 2005, the United States accounted for 48 percent of all military spending in the world, an unprecedented level of concentration (Stockholm International Peace Research Institute 2006a).

The resurgence of the military-industrial complex goes beyond the spike in arms production and sales. The changing organizational structure of the military-industrial complex is an equally important—perhaps more important—aspect of this resurgence. When defense spending declined in the 1990s, leading defense firms did not “beat swords into ploughshares.” They redoubled efforts in the shrinking defense market. A round of mergers, acquisitions, and reorganizations occurred: The number of firms declined because of these mergers, and the surviving firms were much larger (see Markusen and Costigan 1999). Whereas the top five firms accounted for 22 percent of the world's arms sales in 1990, their share doubled (44%) by 2003. With the top five firms accounting for most of the increase, the top twenty firms commanded 57 percent in 1990, and their share of arm sales jumped to 74 percent by 2003 (Stockholm International Peace Research Institute 2006b). Not only are arms sales concentrated in fewer firms, but these firms are concentrated in the United States and a handful of nations.

The increased privatization of national security is also a cause for concern. Private firms have provided construction, logistics support, and so forth to military organizations for centuries. But the growth in the size and range of activities has been notable. The concentration of arms sales in a handful of enormous transnational corporations also concentrates scientific and technical expertise. Governments are growing reliant on corporations (often distant corporations) to plan and coordinate essential national security functions. In addition, corporate mercenaries have played a direct role in toppling governments and in the prisoner abuse committed by the United States during the wars in Afghanistan and Iraq (Isenberg 2004). These mercenaries and the corporations employing them rarely face criminal charges. They not only operate with impunity but also shield the government employing them from democratic scrutiny. In a world in which five firms control more than 40 percent of all arms sales and the top twenty firms account for nearly 75 percent, many governments have lost a measure of control over defense policies. The increased reliance on mercenaries further reduces democratic control and oversight.

Citizens forced to make sacrifices, serve in mass armies, and experience directly the horror of war often question the necessity of fighting. But citizens insulated from the horrors of war often cheer on technological marvels that kill thousands of people and destroy distant cities. Citizens of powerful nations often fail to empathize with the suffering caused by the highly scientific and distant slaughter perpetrated in their name. This callousness is reinforced by the role of major arms-producing corporations. These corporations sell military goods and defense planning to governments around the globe; they also supply mercenaries to fight on the battlefield and interrogate prisoners. By ceding so much control to the insulated corporations of the weapons industry, governments are more distant from their own people and contribute to removing military policies from public scrutiny and democratic oversight. At the dawn of the twenty-first century, our challenge is to restore democratic oversight in a realm dominated by enormous corporations and government bureaucracies.

SEE ALSO *Cold War; Deterrence, Mutual; Eisenhower, Dwight D.; Holocaust, The; Industrialization; Industry; Militarism; Military; Military Regimes; Military-Industrial Complex; Union of Soviet Socialist Republics; War; Weaponry, Nuclear; Weapons of Mass Destruction*

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Gregory Hooks

WEAPONS OF MASS DESTRUCTION

Weapons of mass destruction (WMD) have been used throughout history. While there are definitional ambiguities, all conceptions of WMD imply societally unacceptable levels or forms of destruction. Despite international efforts to curb their spread, concerns over WMD use have increased since the 1990s.

DEFINITIONS AND HISTORIC USES OF THE TERM

The term *weapons of mass destruction* was first used in a London *Times* article (December 28, 1937) in reference to the German aerial bombardment of Guernica, Spain, during the Spanish Civil War (1936–1939): “Who can think without horror of what another widespread war would mean, waged as it would be with all the new weapons of mass destruction?” (p. 9). While the Luftwaffe (the German air force) used only “conventional” weapons in the attack, subsequent definitions have emphasized weapons whose materials and effects violate a societal boundary of what is considered “acceptable” in wartime.

The United Nations Security Council Commission for Conventional Armaments (August 12, 1948) defined WMD as “atomic explosive weapons, radioactive material weapons, lethal chemical and biological weapons, and any weapons developed in the future which have characteristics comparable in destructive effect to those of the atomic bomb or other weapons mentioned above.” Since the Iraq War beginning in 2003, the United States has used the term to refer to chemical, biological, nuclear, and, increasingly, radiological (CBNR) weapons. This remains the most common use of the term, although sometimes it is defined more broadly to include any weapons, including conventional weapons, capable of inflicting mass casualties.

WEAPONS OF MASS DESTRUCTION AND WARFARE

Chemical weapons include such agents as mustard, sarin, and VX nerve gases, as well as chlorine, hydrogen cyanide, and carbon monoxide. Most chemical weapons are designed to attack the nervous system. They were first used in modern times during World War I (1914–1918) when the French used tear gas during the first month of the war, and during the Second Battle of Ypres (1915) when Germany used chlorine gas in its attack against French and Algerian troops. By the end of the war, more than one million casualties and ninety thousand deaths were attributed to chemical warfare use by all sides. During World War II (1939–1945) the Nazis used hydrogen cyanide and carbon monoxide in the extermination camps, killing millions. More recent chemical attacks include the U.S. use of Agent Orange during the Vietnam War (1957–1975); Iraqi president Saddam Hussein’s use both of sarin gas against Iran during the Iran-Iraq War (1980–1988) and of multiple chemical agents against the Iraqi town of Halabja in 1988, killing up to five thousand Kurds; and Aum Shinrikyo’s sarin gas attacks in Matsumoto (1994) and on the Tokyo subway (1995) in Japan.

Biological weapons are weapons of germ warfare; they include a large number of living agents such as anthrax, botulinum toxin, plague, ricin, smallpox, and typhus. A subclass of biological weapons that could be directed specifically at agriculture includes mad cow disease and swine fever. Although used throughout history, biological weapons have seen limited use in attacks in modern times due to difficulties in creating effective dispersal mechanisms. Exceptions include Japan’s use of biological agents during the Sino-Japanese War (1937–1945) and World War II, including a 1943 attack on Changde, China, that involved an attempt to spread bubonic plague. In 1984 members of the Rajneeshee cult infected a salad bar with salmonella in The Dalles, Oregon, sickening nine hundred, and anthrax was disseminated through the U.S. postal system in 2001, killing five.

Nuclear weapons produce their destructive effects through nuclear fission from chain reactions involving uranium or plutonium or from nuclear fusion (the so-called hydrogen bomb). Considered the most destructive of all WMD, nuclear weapons have been used on two occasions, both at the end of World War II. The bombing of Hiroshima, Japan, on August 6, 1945, killed some 80,000 civilians immediately and another 60,000 from radiation by the end of the year. The attack on Nagasaki three days later ultimately killed 100,000.

Radiological weapons, unlike nuclear weapons, have no blast effect. They derive their destructive power from radiation alone and typically depend on an explosive device to disperse the radiation, although radioactive material could also be sprayed from crop duster planes. Radiological weapons have never been used, but Iraq is believed to have tested them in 1987 for possible use against Iran. The plan was abandoned after it was found that the radioactivity dissipated within a week of the weapon’s manufacture.

WMD CONTROL

Due largely to their ability to indiscriminately kill and inflict harm on civilian populations even when the intended target is military, WMD, unlike conventional weapons, have traditionally encountered societal opprobrium. This has led to a number of international agreements to limit their development and use.

The Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (1970) seeks to prevent the spread of nuclear weapons and weapons technology beyond the states already known to possess them. A total of 187 parties have joined the treaty. At least nine countries are known or suspected to possess nuclear weapons as of 2006 (the United States, Russia, Great Britain, France, China, India, Pakistan, Israel, and North Korea). The Comprehensive Nuclear-Test-Ban Treaty seeks to deter development of nuclear weapons by banning all nuclear explosions. The treaty was opened for signature in 1996. As of 2006, the treaty had 176 members but would not come into force until all forty-four nations conducting nuclear research or possessing nuclear power reactors signed and ratified the treaty; eleven ratifications were still necessary in 2006.

The 1925 Geneva Protocol bans the use of biological weapons, and the 1975 Biological and Toxin Weapons Convention bans their “development, production, stockpiling, acquisition, or retention” except for “prophylactic, protective or other peaceful” purposes. The convention has been signed by 162 countries. The United States, Russia, North Korea, and Syria are known or believed to possess biological weapons.

The Chemical Weapons Convention (1997) prohibits the “development, production, acquisition, stock-

piling, transfer, and use” of chemical weapons and requires all signatories to destroy their chemical weapons and chemical-weapons production facilities. The convention was signed by 140 nations; some seventeen nations are known or believed to maintain chemical weapons stockpiles.

Despite efforts to curb WMD proliferation, real concerns remain. One major concern involves their acquisition by rogue states or terrorist organizations. As of 2006, North Korea’s and Iran’s nuclear programs were deemed threatening, and the terrorist organization Al-Qaeda was believed to be seeking some level of WMD capability.

SEE ALSO *Hussein, Saddam; Iraq-U.S. War; Terrorism; Terrorists; Weaponry, Nuclear*

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Donna J. Nincic

WEAVER, ROBERT C. 1907–1997

Robert Clifton Weaver’s career as economist and presidential advisor spanned the New Deal to the War on Poverty. He produced two major treatises on the economic status of African Americans, *Negro Labor* (1946) and *The Negro Ghetto* (1948), and an influential textbook in urban planning and policy, *The Urban Complex* (1964). Weaver was the first U.S. Secretary of Housing and Urban Development (HUD) and the first African American to hold a cabinet-level position.

Born in Washington, D.C., on December 29, 1907, Weaver earned his doctorate in economics in 1934 from Harvard University. From 1933 through 1944, he held a sequence of advisory positions in the administration of President Franklin D. Roosevelt, including Advisor on Negro Affairs to Secretary of the Interior Harold Ickes (1934–1938) and chief, Negro Manpower Service, War Manpower Commission (1942–1944). From 1961 to 1966, under Presidents John F. Kennedy and Lyndon B. Johnson, he was Administrator of the Housing and Home Finance Administration. President Johnson appointed Weaver the first secretary of HUD in 1966, a post he held until 1968.

Although most of his career was spent in government, Weaver was a consistent critic of government’s failure to end—and occasional duplicity in—the subjugation and segregation of the black population. In *Negro Labor*, Weaver detailed the participation of government agencies and trade unions in the exclusion of black workers from defense industry jobs. In *The Negro Ghetto*, Weaver explained how the Federal Housing Authority’s (FHA’s) lending practices reinforced local efforts to exclude African Americans from moving into white communities. Weaver argued that segregation would result in deteriorating housing quality and, eventually, to anger, the degradation of social relationships, and increased violence. In essence, he predicted the urban uprisings of the 1960s in 1948.

Walter B. Hill, in “Finding Place for the Negro: Robert C. Weaver and the Groundwork for the Civil Rights Movement” (2005), and Charles and Dona Hamilton, in “Social Policies, Civil Rights and Poverty” (1986), credit Weaver with the creation of a forerunner of modern affirmative action—the minimum percentage clause. This clause, which was inserted into Public Works Administration contracts for low-cost housing, prohibited discrimination on the basis of race or religion and identified, as prima facie evidence of discrimination, a contractor’s failure to hire a minimum percentage of black workers, based on the number of skilled black craftsmen in the locality.

Weaver outlined his vision of how to revitalize these urban centers in *The Urban Complex* and in *Dilemmas of Urban America* (1965). Weaver sought to revitalize urban centers through comprehensive, regional planning. Despite the black community’s perception that urban renewal meant “Negro removal,” Weaver remained an advocate of the use of eminent domain, government subsidies, and tax incentives to replace deteriorating, low-cost housing in urban centers. Weaver believed urban renewal projects created the opportunity to replace segregated ghettos with integrated communities. Later, in a 1985 article, “The First Twenty Years of HUD,” Weaver acknowledged the difficulty of realizing this vision.

Following his tenure at HUD, Weaver served as president of Baruch College, City University of New York, and as a Distinguished Professor of Urban Affairs at Hunter College. He died in July 17, 1997, at the age of eighty-nine. In 1999, Congress renamed the HUD headquarters in his honor.

SEE ALSO *Discrimination, Racial; General Equilibrium; Ghetto; Johnson, Lyndon B.; Kennedy, John F.; New Deal, The; Poverty; Roosevelt, Franklin D.; Segregation; Segregation, Residential; Urban Renewal; Urban Studies*

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Cecilia Conrad

WEBB, BEATRICE AND SYDNEY

SEE *Fabianism*.

WEBER, MAX 1864–1920

Max Weber helped establish sociology as a social scientific discipline at the beginning of the twentieth century. In *Economy and Society: An Outline of Interpretive Sociology* (1920) he analyzed modern bureaucracies, the structure of stratification, origins of the city in the West, types of

political domination, the genesis of modern legal systems, the importance of religion for social life, and other topics. Perhaps no sociologist, before or since, has displayed his intellectual range and sophistication.

EARLY YEARS

Weber was born on April 21, 1864, in Erfurt, Germany. A gifted child, Weber became politically astute at a young age. His father, a lawyer and politician, entertained prominent people in his salon and the young Weber participated in their discussions.

Weber's parents were mismatched. His father, a hedonist who enjoyed bourgeois living, ruled the household absolutely. His mother, while loving and affectionate, adhered to strict Calvinist standards of hard work, ascetic behavior, and personal morality. Weber's wife, Marianne, later reported that he believed he needed to choose between his parents. This dilemma became a source of emotional agony throughout his life. Indeed, his sociological writings may constitute an attempt at working through this inner conflict.

During the 1880s and 1890s, Weber became a successful lawyer and college professor. He had political aspirations. According to Marianne, a distant cousin whom he married in 1893, Weber lived an ascetic life, strictly regulated by the clock. On completing each task he immediately took on a new one. He was chronically overworked, which may have contributed to his eventual collapse.

In 1897 his mother planned a visit with Max and Marianne that his father opposed. Father and son clashed and parted without reconciliation. Shortly thereafter, the old man died. Within weeks, Weber suffered a complete nervous breakdown. At that time, before psychotherapy, the only treatment for such ailments was rest. Weber resigned his teaching position and remained incapacitated for five years. In 1903 Max and Marianne toured America, witnessing its vitality. The trip seemed to rekindle his ability to work.

MAJOR CONTRIBUTIONS

In 1904 Weber posed a simple question: "In what sense are there 'objectively valid truths' in those disciplines concerned with social and cultural phenomena?" ([1904] 1949, p. 51). His subsequent writings provide an answer to this query.

Weber's first goal was to show that objective social scientific research is possible, a controversial position at that time and one that remains divisive. He insisted that sociologists should not infuse research with their personal values, economic interests, or political agendas. As he put it, research should be value free, as unbiased and objective as possible.

This goal carries an important implication: Sociology should not be a politically committed discipline. Rather, Weber distinguished between “what ought to be,” the sphere of values, and “what is,” the sphere of science. Science, Weber said, cannot tell people either how to live or what public policies to adopt. Objective social scientific knowledge can, however, provide them with information necessary to make such decisions ([1904] 1949, p. 54).

In order to achieve this goal, Weber argued that sociologists should apply a “rational method” to their work; that is, they should use clear concepts and systematic observations and then make logical inferences ([1920] 1946a, p. 143; [1904] 1949, p. 105). But this task is difficult. After all, researchers participate in social life, which means they often approach topics with preconceived opinions. Moreover, any specific study only provides a partial picture, which can imply taking sides. The solution to these difficulties is for scholars to critically evaluate and replicate research. Although this practice is imperfect (since human beings are imperfect), it leads to a self-correcting process that produces research findings that are as objective as possible. Given accurate information, Weber argued, sociologists can sometimes suggest strategies for achieving policy goals and possible consequences. At that point, values intrude, since the problem becomes what is to be done. Weber addressed this issue in his essay “Politics as a Vocation,” where he described politics as a process by which competing interest groups seek to affect public policies and the state as monopolizing the use of force in implementing them. The political problem of evaluating and applying scientific findings to practical matters is perennial in modern societies.

Another implication of Weber’s argument for value-free sociology is that the new discipline reflected an ongoing historical process that he called rationalization, in which social life becomes methodically organized based on the use of reason and observation. Weber saw that this process permeates every sphere of modern life: education, work, law, economy, and family. The sciences, of course, including sociology, are the archetypal methodical disciplines. They provide new ways of understanding and controlling our environment, natural and social, opening up dizzying new possibilities. Industrialization, capitalism, democracy, and scientific advance are linked historically, leading to improved lives for most people. For example, they have straight teeth, better diets, and—the ultimate gift—longer lives. All reflect the process of rationalization. In modern societies, then, people look for explanations based on reliable knowledge. They seek solutions to problems rather than accepting fate. This orientation becomes generalized to every sphere: Anyone who uses modern technology learns to approach problems methodically, rather than by relying on magical thinking. But the impact can be disquieting, even frightening, because

choices sometimes must be made between competing moral imperatives.

Weber, like many others, feared the impact of rationalization on social life. Knowledge based on reason and observation destroyed magical explanations that had provided meaning for people throughout history. In his essay “Science as a Vocation,” he mused about the “disenchantment of the world” that characterizes modern societies ([1920] 1946a, p. 139). This evocative phrase suggests that humans have passed from an enchanted world of mystery and spirituality into one that is colder, more heartless, perhaps bereft of moral guidance. In a rationalized world, Weber lamented, there are no longer simple answers to the fundamental questions of human existence.

Weber’s second goal was to understand the origin of modern societies. He confronted this issue in his most important book, *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism* (1904–1905), and subsequent studies in the sociology of religion. They constitute an exercise in historical hypothesis testing in which Weber constructed a logical experiment using ideal types as conceptual tools.

Ideal types are concepts that identify the essential characteristics of a social phenomenon in the purest form possible. As he put it, they are designed “to be perfect on logical grounds,” which has the “merit of clear understandability and lack of ambiguity” ([1920] 1968, p. 6). Empirical observations, of course, will deviate from the ideal (or pure form). By providing a common point of comparison, however, ideal types set up a logical experiment. They function like a control group in an experiment, and observed variations reflect the impact of causal forces (a stimulus in an experiment) that can be discovered.

In *The Protestant Ethic* and other studies, Weber explained why capitalism arose in Western Europe and helped to usher in modern life by using ideal types to systematically compare Western Europe in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries with China and India. What distinguished Europe, he found, was not the level of technology, a free labor force, or other factors. Rather, the West became unique due to the rise of the culture (or spirit) of capitalism as an unintended consequence of the Protestant Reformation.

The Protestant Ethic opens with a then-common finding: “Wherever capitalism ... has had a free hand” a relationship existed between Protestantism and economic success ([1904–1905] 1958a, p. 25). Why might this be so?

Weber began his answer by describing the “spirit of capitalism” as it existed in the eighteenth century: (1) work is an end in itself; (2) economic success reflects personal virtue; (3) a methodically organized life is inherently proper; and (4) immediate pleasure should be postponed in favor of future satisfaction. Although expressed as ideal types, these cultural values could be observed in the writ-

ings of Benjamin Franklin and others at that time, and can be observed today as well. Weber argued that such values became historically significant as religious asceticism (self-denial) emerged from the monastery and convent into everyday life. The modern world is rationalized (in Weber's sense) to the degree that ordinary people organize their lives in light of values like these.

Such values originated in the peculiar beliefs of the protesting faith groups. In *The Protestant Ethic*, Weber examined Puritanism as the ideal type. Puritan life was dominated by unusual ethical norms, which could be observed in pastoral directives: people should work hard, take a methodical approach to everyday life, and use their possessions for purposes that enhance the glory of God. The believers' underlying motive was purely religious: to ensure they were among the elect going to heaven. The unintended impact, however, was that many of those adhering to such norms became successful, even rich. Moreover, because these religious principles displayed what he called an "elective affinity" with other historical changes occurring at about the same time—the rise of science, democracy, and industrialization—they spread and became secular values. Together, Weber argued, these interrelated changes produced modern rationalized capitalist societies, with their improved lives and potential for disenchantment.

Weber's third goal was to develop a set of concepts that would be useful for describing and understanding modern societies. This conceptual map comprises the opening sections of *Economy and Society*.

The "types of social action" illustrate both his theoretical intent and his interpretation of the modern world. According to Weber, people's actions can be classified in four ways. *Instrumentally-rational action* occurs when means and ends relate to each other based on knowledge. The model for instrumentally-rational action is scientific knowledge. Because it is based on reason and observation, science avoids self-deception and thus becomes effective in solving problems. *Value-rational action* is based on values. It always involves demands that people believe compel them to act. Parents educating children; soldiers obeying orders; citizens supporting or opposing abortion; all behave rationally in being faithful to their values. As the examples imply, value-rational action constitutes an end in itself, not a reflection of economic interest. *Traditional action* is "determined by ingrained habituation" ([1920] 1968, p. 25). In contexts where people are subject to fate, they regulate behavior by custom, often religiously sanctified. *Affectual action* is determined by emotions, and it occurs in all times and places. The parent slapping a child and the basketball player punching an opponent are examples.

Weber argued that traditional action occurs typically in preindustrial societies, where choices are limited (because

knowledge is limited) and people have little control over their lives or environment. In such situations, the family usually constitutes both a productive and a consumptive unit, which means that people make economic, legal, and most other decisions in the light of tradition. Tradition (or custom) nearly always precludes the logical evaluation of means and ends based on reason and observation.

Understanding modern societies, Weber said, requires the distinction between instrumentally-rational and value-rational action, although they are interrelated in practice. The pervasiveness of instrumentally-rational action reflects the process of rationalization. People use values, however, to channel behavior. For example, they emphasize increasing knowledge, individual autonomy, protecting life, and equal opportunity, among other fundamental moral guides. In such contexts, bureaucracies become the means of administration. Their common objective is to create and enforce rules efficiently, fairly, flexibly, and competently in order for government to operate in the public interest or companies to produce goods and services. In their pure (or ideal type) form, bureaucracies constitute a model of instrumentally-rational action. Ideally, administrators obtain positions based on qualifications, personal and official affairs are kept separate, decision-rules are based on reason and knowledge, and rules are applied uniformly.

In the real world, of course, human beings comprise bureaucracies, which means they do not meet these standards perfectly. For example, corruption occurs and rules are not always applied uniformly—who one knows often makes a difference. Moreover, bureaucratic procedures (following the rules) sometimes become more important than the goals they are designed to achieve—an irrational result. The ideal type, however, provides a point of comparison, a way of evaluating people's performance in bureaucratic organizations.

Still, Weber was pessimistic about the future. The ability to obtain "objectively valid truths" about both natural and social phenomena has radically increased human understanding and improved people's lives. But it also stripped the supernatural of its ability to explain the meaning of life. At the same time, Weber showed in *The Protestant Ethic* that while the religious roots of the spirit of capitalism have died out, Puritanism bequeathed to modern people "an amazingly good, we may even say a pharisaically good, conscience in the acquisition of money" ([1904–1905] 1958a, p. 176). The Puritan, he wrote, wanted to work hard for the glory of God; we are forced to do so. But for what reason? In a disenchanted world, this question becomes hard to answer. In this context, Weber feared, the culture of capitalism, combined with capitalist social, economic, and political institutions, would place people in a bureaucratic "iron cage" from which there

might be no escape and for which there is no longer a religious justification. This possibility led to Weber's last, sad lament: "specialists without spirit, sensualists without heart; this nullity imagines that it has attained a level of civilization never before achieved" (p. 183).

COMMENTARY

The problem of objectivity remains one of the most vexing in sociology. On the one hand, some reject the goal, arguing that sociology must be politically engaged. Among the classical theorists, both Karl Marx and Émile Durkheim embraced this position, although in quite different ways. Many early American sociologists also held this view and some continue to do so in the twenty-first century. The idea is that an activist discipline can be a force for good, liberating people from oppression. On the other hand, the logic of Weber's argument suggests that a discipline committed to political change would produce unreliable knowledge and, hence, become politically irrelevant. Many, perhaps most, sociologists agree that the goal of objectivity should animate the discipline, even though its achievement can be difficult.

The "Protestant Ethic" thesis became controversial immediately and remains so today. A typical criticism is that capitalism has existed in some form throughout history. This is correct, but not Weber's point. He distinguished between the traditional enterprises of a few "adventurer capitalists," who sought windfall profit sufficient to last a lifetime, and a modern rationalized capitalist economy, which is based on the mass production of consumer goods in an environment where everyone strives to make money as an ethical duty. A more accurate criticism is that Weber missed the existence of functional equivalents to the protestant ethic in other parts of the world, such as China and Japan. This assessment provides a simple example of how the social sciences can be self-correcting. *The Protestant Ethic* also became important because its logic suggested some of the limitations of Marx's analysis. Marx argued that political and economic interests guide action. Weber agreed but added that ideas and values function like railroad switchmen: They determine the tracks along which interests push action. For example, people sometimes vote against their economic interests because of their values. In fact, in today's rationalized world, people lead methodical lives and use reason buttressed by knowledge to achieve their values.

Weber and Marx constitute opposing poles among the classical sociologists. Both were structuralists, emphasizing the importance of understanding the context in which people make decisions. But while Marx posited the existence of historical laws of development in which feudalism led inevitably to capitalism and the latter to communism, Weber replied that history has no direction.

Rather, as it occurs, history is messy and disorderly. Observers see patterns only in retrospect. Capitalism, he pointed out, arose in the West based on a series of unpredictable historical accidents, such as the Protestant Reformation. Both stressed the importance of human decision making, but again in different ways. Marx argued that inequality would increase to unsustainable levels in capitalist societies. In this context, he claimed, alienated people who did not own the means of production would rebel and usher in a new, communal society. Marx was wrong. Writing a half-century later, Weber saw that capitalism combined with industrialization to produce a middle class. He worried instead about the possibility of reason run amok: In a "disenchanted" world, "rationalized" bureaucracies would oppress people, creating conformists without a sense of ethical responsibility.

Although Weber may have been too pessimistic, the historical process of rationalization creates huge dilemmas that are not easily resolved. It is secularizing, thus frustrating a deeply felt human need for what Weber called "theodicies," ways of understanding and coping with suffering and evil. It is individuating, which leads to a paradox: People come to value both individual autonomy and communal bonds. And it is liberating, as so many areas previously determined by fate become opportunities for choice—by individuals, the state, or both. For example, one of the benefits of modernity is the gift of long life and an increasing ability to control the circumstances of death. In this context, what ethical criteria should individuals use in making end of life decisions? As interest groups offer their competing solutions, how should policy makers evaluate the political, economic, and ethical considerations surrounding this dilemma? The simple answer provided by tradition—thou shall not kill—becomes difficult to maintain when individuals' right to life must be balanced against their freedom and autonomy. Moral imperatives collide. Weber saw this essential feature of modern capitalist societies perhaps more clearly than any other classical sociologist.

Toward the end of his life, Weber seemed to find release from his psychic wounds.

Marianne reported that his ability to work became steadier and sleep more regular. He began teaching for the first time in more than twenty years, giving two of his most famous lectures: "Science as a Vocation" and "Politics as a Vocation." He also reworked his explanation of the origins of capitalism and began composing the conceptual map that frames the substantive portions of *Economy and Society*. During the summer of 1920 Max Weber developed pneumonia. He died on June 14; he was only fifty-six years old.

SEE ALSO *Capitalism; Protestant Ethic; Tawney, R. H.*

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WECHSLER INTELLIGENCE SCALE FOR CHILDREN (WISC)

SEE *Flynn Effect*.

WEDDINGS

SEE *Marriage*.

WEIGHT

Body weight is most commonly measured in kilograms or pounds. *Body mass index* (BMI) is a frequently used measure and serves as an index of weight-for-height calculated in kg/m². BMI is often used to stratify individuals into categories ranging from underweight to severely obese. One critique of BMI is that it does not distinguish between muscle and fat mass (Kraemer et al. 1990). Anthropomorphic measures (e.g., waist circumference) enhance measurement accuracy by examining distribution of excess weight around the abdominal region. Negative health consequences are associated with a waist circumference > 102 centimeters for men and > 88 centimeters for women (NIH 1998). Total body fat percentage is also used to measure excess weight and can be calculated by skin-fold caliper, hydrostatic weighing, or bioelectrical impedance testing.

Statistics compiled by the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention (CDC) indicate that in 2006 two-thirds of adults in the United States were overweight and 32.2 percent met the criteria for obesity. Moreover, obesity prevalence rates among children and adolescents have tripled since the mid-1980s (Ogden et al. 2003). Average BMI is increasing across demographic groups, and recent reports suggest that 45 percent of non-Hispanic black adults and 30 percent of non-Hispanic white adults are obese (CDC 2006). These trends are alarming because obesity is the second leading cause of preventable death and a risk factor for chronic illness, including type 2 diabetes, hypertension, and coronary heart disease.

Although the causes of obesity are not fully understood, it is viewed as a chronic disease influenced by genetic, environmental, behavioral, and cultural factors. Research suggests that genetic influences account for a significant amount of variability in BMI. Findings from twin studies suggest that up to 70 percent of variation in BMI can be accounted for by genetic factors, while adoption studies have produced more conservative heritability estimates of 20 to 30 percent (Bouchard 2002). However, genetic influences do not account for the dramatic and steady increase in the prevalence of obesity (Brownell 1994). Environmental factors, such as the widespread availability of calorie-dense foods and urban development not conducive to physical activity (e.g., lack of parks and busy intersections), also have contributed significantly to the rise in obesity.

SOCIAL CONSEQUENCES OF WEIGHT

A thin physique continues to be the accepted ideal in Western cultures despite a steady increase in the prevalence of overweight and obesity. Fashion models and popular cultural icons have become increasingly thin since the 1960s (Wolf 1991). Dissatisfaction with body weight has become the norm, especially for women (Rodin et al. 1985). In fact research suggests that 52 percent of men and 66 percent of women in the United States are dissatisfied with their weight (Garner 1997), and some women report dieting even when their weight is at or below normal (Rodin et al. 1985). However, there are racial differences on satisfaction with weight (Gluck and Geliebter 2002). Relative to white females, African American females report less concern about dieting and fatness (Rucker and Cash 1992). In addition, compared to overweight white females, overweight African American females are more satisfied with their bodies and feel more attractive (Stevens et al. 1994). While the overwhelming majority of women desire to lose weight, it is somewhat different for males. Although a substantial percentage (88%) of men who are dissatisfied with their weight do desire to lose weight, 22 percent of men who express dissatisfaction with their bodies actually wish to gain weight (Garner 1997). This is most likely due to the muscular ideals that are portrayed for male physiques (Drewnowski and Yee 1987; Frederick et al. 2005).

Weight-related stigmatization is prevalent in Western cultures, and data suggest that there has been an increase in weight bias since the mid-twentieth century (Latner and Stunkard 2003). Of the many conditions that are stigmatized in Western culture, it has been suggested that the stigma associated with being overweight may be the most debilitating and harmful (Sarlio-Lahteenkorva et al. 1995). Overweight individuals perceive stigmatization from co-workers, strangers, friends, and spouses (Friedman et al. 2005). Obesity also negatively affects employment (Rothblum et al. 1990) and socioeconomic status (Puhl and Brownell 2001). In addition data suggest that weight-based stigmatization negatively impacts the mental health of obese individuals (Friedman et al. 2005) and may contribute to overeating behaviors (Ashmore et al. 2007).

WEIGHT AND MENTAL HEALTH

Studies examining obesity and mental health have yielded mixed results. Earlier studies reported no significant mental health differences between community samples of obese and healthy-weight individuals (Wadden and Stunkard 1985). More recently, data from the National Health and Nutrition Examination Survey revealed a 1.5-fold higher risk for major depression among obese indi-

viduals relative to healthy-weight cohorts. Results suggested that severely obese individuals were at greatest risk for depression (Onyike et al. 2003). Several reviews suggest that the risk for major depression is particularly significant among the severely obese and those seeking surgical treatment for weight loss (see Wadden and Sarwer 2006), suggesting that extreme obesity is related to increased depression.

TREATMENT

Management of obesity is a major health-care challenge. There is a range of available treatments, including lifestyle modification, pharmacotherapy, and bariatric surgery. Typically, a step-care approach is taken with the least invasive intervention attempted first. Most treatments produce some initial weight loss; however, behavioral and pharmacological interventions have been largely unsuccessful in the long-term maintenance of weight loss among the severely obese (NIH 1998). Behavioral and pharmacological treatments for obesity typically result in a 5 to 15 percent weight reduction when successful, though patients often have higher weight-loss goals (Foster et al. 1997). According to the National Heart, Lung, and Blood Institute, surgical intervention is an option when BMI > 40 or > 35 in the presence of comorbid conditions (e.g., hypertension, diabetes). Follow-up studies of weight-loss surgery patients demonstrate 49 percent maintenance of excess weight loss over a fourteen-year period and resolution of many medical comorbidities (Pories 1995).

SEE ALSO *Anthropology; Anthropology, Biological; Body Image; Body Mass Index; Disease; Obese Externality; Obesity; Overeating; Self-Esteem; Undereating*

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WELFARE

Welfare is typically a term that denotes varying kinds of social spending allocated by governments following industrialization in nation-states. Prior to industrialization, most governments left assistance for the underprivileged to landlords in feudal systems, private organizations, and (primarily) the Catholic Church. Such “poor relief” became known as “welfare” following government intervention in such provisions.

The pairing of government and poor relief can be traced in part to responses to natural disasters—such as earthquakes, fires, and floods—that led monarchical governments to feed people and rebuild homes in order to preserve order. This definition of welfare—providing assistance to those who are otherwise unable to feed, house, or clothe themselves—remains the primary guide to most countries and scholars who study and implement welfare programs. Thus “welfare” is commonly considered to include redistributive policies and programs that enable the disadvantaged to reach some minimal level of existence within a nation-state.

Many nation-states now provide varying levels of housing assistance, income supplementation, in-kind goods and service provision, and public education as part of the welfare state. The programs and policies to provide these aspects of a minimal human existence can vary. For example, income supplementation can consist of cash payments, tax credits, or child-care subsidies. Similarly, in-kind goods and services can include vouchers for food, free or subsidized medical care, and free job training or referral services. Each nation (and in federal systems such as the United States, each state) makes decisions regarding: (1) the financial commitment to make to these programs; (2) the kinds of programs to provide to its poor; and (3) who is eligible to receive aid under the programs.

The comparative welfare-state literature and the public-policy literature have determined that several factors interact in producing fiscal outcomes and programmatic decisions made at the national level. Most of this work has focused on comparing European nations with other developed democracies such as Canada, Australia, and the United States. Other work has also compared Western

nations such as these with Asian democracies such as Japan and socialist states such as the former Soviet Union, Cuba, and China. The primary findings from these examinations focus on three types of variables to explain and predict both the level of funding and the kinds of programs that are developed: (1) the system of political institutions in place; (2) the attitudes among the citizenry and policymaking bodies toward the poor; and (3) the level of racial/ethnic heterogeneity within the polity.

The political system comparisons proceed at the national level and focus first upon whether federal systems or unitary systems tend to provide greater redistribution to the poor. In particular, the federal system of the United States has been frequently cited as one reason why the United States lags so far behind most other similarly situated nations in terms of social welfare provision. The United States stands alone among OECD (Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development) nations, for example, in its dependence on private health care as 35 percent of total health expenditures. Far smaller and less-developed nations in Europe and in Asia provide universal or near-universal public health coverage. In addition to these systemic differences, comparative welfare-state experts focus on the types of institutional arrangements that may produce different kinds of welfare program provision. For example, states with proportional representation systems have over the course of history had greater influence from left-of-center ideological parties working in coalition governments; winner-take-all electoral systems require far less coalition politics and therefore depress the influence of parties that would seek greater redistribution when they lose elections.

Both systems and institutional arrangements are shaped by the parties that enter power and whether they are required to respond to the electorate in their policymaking decisions. In cases where the electorate plays a significant role in determining the allocation of power, political parties reflect to a large degree mass public opinion regarding the views of the poor. In countries where the electorate views the poor as “trapped in poverty,” more generous and comprehensive welfare programs exist. Where the majority of the electorate views the poor as “lazy,” less generous and comprehensive welfare programs exist. Where moves toward less generous and comprehensive programs succeed, the burden continues to fall on private relief organizations (including religious organizations), as it did prior to industrialization. Although there is a direct correlation between public opinion and welfare policy, such a correlation is also shaped by both the institutional arrangements and the degree of racial/ethnic heterogeneity in the country.

In addition to institutional arrangements and mass public opinion, the degree of racial/ethnic heterogeneity plays a unique role in the provision of welfare benefits at

the national level. Racial/ethnic animus has been examined at length in more diverse societies as a factor that depresses the likelihood of generous or comprehensive welfare policy. However, a strict breakdown between ethnically diverse countries and homogenous nations does not explain the variation. In fact, it is those countries with both racial/ethnic diversity and a concentration of poverty among the ethnic/racial minorities that leads to an “anti-solidarity” effect: Both the mass electorate and the parties that represent them are less likely to provide welfare benefits to a subset of the population that is perceived to be undeserving.

In the United States, for example, race- and income-based disparities in the provision of health-care coverage have existed since the founding of the American welfare state with the Social Security Act of 1935, which exempted select industrial sectors employing large numbers of African Americans from old-age salary replacement and medical coverage programs. While federal and state legislation has since outlawed the exclusion of citizens on the basis of race from such programs, race- and income-based disparities in program participation persist.

The cross-national analyses of welfare provision generally tend to focus on states that are capable of providing welfare benefits domestically, whether through capitalist or socialist economic systems. Much less attention has been given in such analyses to the role of international or global organizations that attenuate dire situations in countries that are incapable at the national or local level of providing such services. A separate literature contends with the role of international organizations such as the World Health Organization, the International Monetary Fund, and the United Nations in the provision of welfare benefits to developing nations. Future comparative research can and should integrate these literatures to comprehensively determine the relevant weights of the three factors identified above—the system of political institutions, mass public opinion, and racial/ethnic heterogeneity—to examine how the outcomes of welfare policymaking serve to further stabilize and strengthen democracy, or serve to undermine it.

SEE ALSO *Great Depression; Great Society, The; International Monetary Fund; National Health Insurance; New Deal, The; Racism; Socialism; United Nations; Welfare State; World Health Organization*

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WELFARE ANALYSIS

Welfare economics is the study of how a society can best use its scarce endowments—for example, its natural resources, technical know-how, stock of physical and human capital, and so forth—to maximize the well-being of its members. When the principles of welfare economics are used to evaluate a specific policy issue, it is known as *welfare analysis*. This entry describes the main features of welfare analysis, focusing on its intellectual foundations and practical challenges, as well as controversies surrounding its use.

Two policy examples will help clarify what welfare analysis is. First, psychologists have shown that the academic achievement of underprivileged children is significantly improved by enrollment in prekindergarten programs. These programs are, of course, expensive to run. Will society be better off if prekindergarten is freely and universally provided? Second, as of 2007, high gas prices have caused U.S. policymakers to consider opening the Arctic National Wildlife Refuge in Alaska for energy exploration. Would the benefits to society from the increase in domestic energy sources outweigh the environmental implications of this decision?

Neither of these questions has an obvious answer, although each can invoke varying opinions from different members of society. The task of welfare analysis is to

assemble information to aid in determining whether the proposed policy action would on balance be beneficial to society. Economists use two fundamental concepts to aid in this process. The first is *consumer sovereignty*, which has its roots in the philosophy of individualism. Consumer sovereignty has two related consequences for welfare analysis: it implies that the individual is the best judge of what is good or bad for his or her well-being, and that a proposal can only be judged by examining the sum of its impacts on individuals. The latter gives rise to the second fundamental concept, the *compensation criterion*, as originally proposed by John Hicks (1939) and Nicholas Kaldor (1939). Almost any policy action will involve winners and losers. The compensation criterion suggests that a policy is desirable if those who gain from the action gain enough in aggregate that they would be able to compensate the losers for their losses. Thus welfare analysis is a matter of measuring changes in individuals' well-being as they see it as a result of a policy change, and determining whether the sum of the individual gains is greater than the sum of the individual losses.

This view of welfare analysis might more accurately be described as the neoclassical interpretation in that it is intentionally silent on issues of fairness, justice, and other notions of equity. Said another way, neoclassical welfare analysis focuses narrowly on maximizing the size of the well-being pie rather than providing prescriptions on how it should be divided. Implicitly, distributional questions are left to other mechanisms. A wider view of welfare analysis requires specific judgments on what is fair and just and hence is more difficult to implement. Nonetheless there have been efforts by political economists past and present to cast welfare analysis in a wider light. Prominent among these is the work of Amartya Sen, who advocates the use of mild interpersonal comparisons—based, for example, on the ability of people to freely choose their lifestyle—in conjunction with neoclassical criteria. The work of Sen and others notwithstanding, the narrow view of welfare analysis as described above has tended to dominate the operational use of the technique.

The operational challenge of neoclassical welfare analysis is to assess changes in well being from an action. Because a person's well being cannot be objectively measured, economists use money proxies in their stead. A prime example of this is *willingness to pay*, which measures how much money a person would pay out of their income to secure (or prevent) an action. This measure is valid and useful even if the payment is not actually made. The magnitude of the payment, if accurately assessed, provides a sense of the relative importance of the action under consideration. Techniques for measuring individuals' willingness to pay have a long history in economics, beginning with Alfred Marshall (1930) and including seminal works

by Robert Willig (1976), Michael Hanemann (1978), and Jerry Hausman (1981).

The principles of welfare analysis (if not always the techniques) are widely accepted by economists. Nonetheless, they can be controversial among noneconomists. Three of the main points of contention deserve mention in closing. First, some object on ethical grounds to the use of money measures to gauge the value of public policy issues related to, for example, human health and the environment. Second, based as it is on the notion of individualism, welfare analysis does not readily admit notions of collective responsibility. Finally, welfare analysis tends to be silent on the subject of income distribution. Nonetheless, welfare analysis is often the only means available to policymakers of organizing complex and conflicting points of view; as such, it will likely continue to play a role in policy decisions.

SEE ALSO *General Equilibrium; Hicks, John R.; Pareto, Vilfredo; Pareto Optimum; Rawls, John; Sen, Amartya Kumar; Social Welfare Functions; Theory of Second Best*

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WELFARE ECONOMICS

Welfare economics is a normative branch of economic theory that attempts to assess the implications of laws and institutions, including market outcomes, for human well-being. Welfare economics begins with John Stuart Mill's "canons of taxation," in which he applies rule-utilitarian ethics to suggest guidelines for taxation that might reduce its bad impacts. Nevertheless, A. C. Pigou's *Economics of*

Welfare (1920) can be thought of as the founding book of welfare economics. Among the propositions of welfare economics there would be a broad consensus, for example, that (1) in the absence of externalities, competitive equilibria are efficient, and (2) with few exceptions, taxes, monopoly power, and externalities tend to move the economy predictably away from an efficient allocation of resources.

THE UTILITARIANISM OF MILL AND PIGOU

The ideas of Mill and Pigou are utilitarian in the narrow sense that they assume the following:

1. Acts, laws, rules, and institutions should be evaluated on the basis of their consequences rather than on some intrinsic rightness or wrongness; that is, nothing is good unless it does somebody some good.
2. Good and bad subjective states of mind are the consequences that should be considered in the assessment.
3. For a particular individual, the degree to which good states of mind are attained, and bad states avoided, can be expressed by a number (called utility).
4. Moreover, this number can be compared between individuals and cumulated over the population; and so this cumulative number can be made the objective of public policy.

This narrow utilitarianism would imply, among other things, that efficiency depends on the distribution of income as well as the allocation of resources. Many economists found this undesirable, on the grounds that one ought to be able to assess the efficiency of resource allocation apart from the distribution of income, as indeed Mill had suggested. This led them to reject the fourth assumption. For this purpose, Vilfredo Pareto had proposed the criterion that bears his name: An allocation of resources is said to be "Pareto optimal" if no one person can be made better off without making another person worse off. Without interpersonal comparability of utility, however, no discrimination can be made among Pareto optimal allocations as to which is better or worse.

Moreover, to some, the third assumption also seemed implausible. In place of numerical or "cardinal" utility, they held that individual decisions and well-being are based on a system of *preferences*. The "good states of mind" are the ones that the person prefers (which may not correspond to pleasure and pain), and therefore the vectors of consumption goods and services that produce the states of mind can be placed in an order from better to worse, from that individual's point of view, but the ordering does not

correspond to any unique numerical measure. As Paul A. Samuelson (1948) observes, however, the preferences could in principle be reconstructed from (“revealed” by) the observed choices of the individuals. The revision of welfare economics without the last two assumptions is known as the “new welfare economics.”

INDIFFERENCE CURVES

A preference system can be visualized by a map of “indifference curves.” Beginning from a particular vector of consumer goods, such as “one coffee and two doughnuts,” the indifference curve corresponding to that vector is the boundary between all of the vectors preferred to “one coffee and two doughnuts” and those to which “one coffee and two doughnuts” is preferred. If one assumes that this boundary is well-defined, it forms a curve with the property that, taking any two vectors along the curve, the individual feels no preference for one over the other. Thus, for example, if “one coffee and two doughnuts” and “two coffees and one doughnut” are on the same curve, then the individual can be said to be indifferent between the two, and accordingly the curve is called an indifference curve. The preference map can also be represented by any one of an infinite array of “utility indices,” provided that, comparing two consumption vectors, the higher number is assigned to the one that is preferred. In this case, however, the only valid conclusions of the analysis are those that do not depend on the specific utility index numbers used.

Francis Ysidro Edgeworth addressed the efficiency of allocation of goods in a pure exchange economy using the indifference curve approach (1995). First, assume that the total quantities available of two goods, good x and good y , are X and Y as shown in Figure 1. If the coordinates of a point in the interior of the diagram are x_0, y_0 , then those are the quantities of the two goods allocated to individual j , and the quantities allocated to individual k are $X - x_0, Y - y_0$. Thus, the indifference curves for individual j are oriented to the x, y axis and are shown by curves 1, 2, 3, while the indifference curves for individual k are inverted and are illustrated by curves i, ii, iii . The points of tangency of two indifference curves, shown by the *contract curve* LM , are all Pareto optimal allocations of the two goods between the two individuals. In general, then, there will be infinitely many Pareto optima. A shift from one Pareto optimum to another trades off one person’s preferences against those of the other person.

To visualize this trade-off, one assigns a numerical index u_j to each indifference curve 1, 2, 3 and a numerical index u_k to each indifference curve i, ii, iii . One must keep in mind that these arbitrary indices of utility cannot be compared as between the two individuals nor added. Figure 2 shows a diagram with u_j on the horizontal axis and u_k on the vertical axis. Any combination of utility

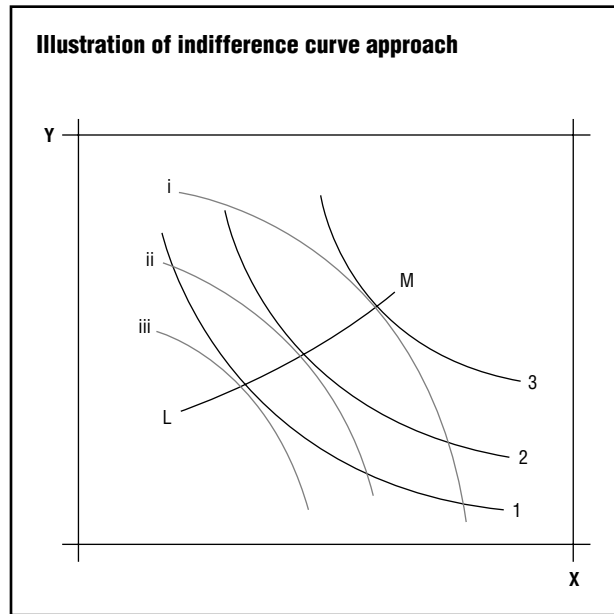


Figure 1

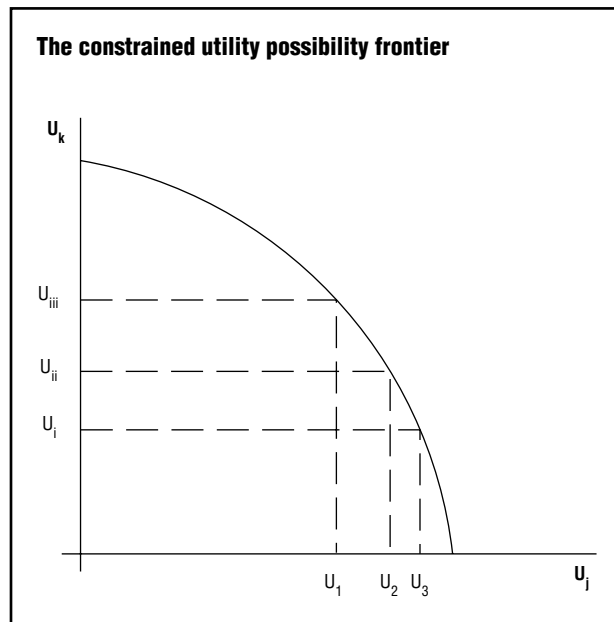


Figure 2.

indices (indifference curves) on or beneath this curve are attainable when X and Y are produced, while none of the combinations beyond the curve are attainable. This is called the *constrained utility possibility frontier* corresponding to the production of X and Y .

Suppose one carries out the same exercise for each technically efficient, feasible set of outputs X, Y . One

would then trace the outer limit of all of the constrained utility possibility frontiers obtained in this way. This outer limit is the grand utility possibility frontier or simply the *utility possibility frontier*. With an appropriate change in the definitions of u_1, u_2, \dots, u_{iii} , one may take Figure 2 as illustrative of the utility possibility frontier. Every point on this frontier has the properties that (1) the two goods produced are allocated between the two persons in a Pareto optimal way; and (2) production is technically efficient—that is, no reallocation of resources can increase the production of one good without reducing the production of the other; and (3) therefore, production and allocation is Pareto optimal over all possible allocations of resources and consumer goods. With appropriate mathematical notation, this conception can be extended to very large numbers of distinct goods and services and a very large population of agents.

SELECTING ALLOCATIONS

Two issues remain in this analysis. First, how does one choose the “best” among the points on the frontier? Second, for many practical problems, one must choose between two allocations, at least one of which is not Pareto optimal. How may one do that?

Taking these questions in reverse order, the new welfare economics answers the second question with a cost–benefit analysis based on the “Kaldor-Hicks compensation test,” named after Nicholas Kaldor (1939) and John R. Hicks (1939). One may illustrate this compensation test with an example of property on the banks of a river. John Doe owns land on the banks of Flowing River, while Richard Roe owns downstream property, including both banks. Roe builds a dam, entirely on his own property. The impoundment of Flowing River floods Doe’s property. In this sequence, Roe is the gainer and Doe the loser in clear senses. But can one say that Roe’s benefits exceed Doe’s costs?

To answer this question, one considers whether Roe could allocate some of his benefits to compensate Doe and still be a gainer on net? This is the Kaldor-Hicks test, and if the answer is yes, then building the dam is a *potential Pareto improvement*. That is, if the dam is built, there is a distribution of income that would leave everyone in society better off than they were without the dam. But another, equally reasonable, compensation test asks: Could Doe compensate Roe for ceasing and desisting from dam building, so that Roe would be better off than he would be if the dam were built? This is the Scitovszky test—named after Tibor de Scitovszky (1941)—and if the answer is yes, the world without a dam is potentially Pareto superior to the world with the dam. The two tests would be equivalent if benefits and costs were independent of the distribution of wealth, but, as Hicks noted,

they are not. If the dam is built, and compensation is not paid, then wealth is redistributed and a new situation created. From the new situation, it might be a potential Pareto improvement to return to the original position. In practice, there is likely to be little difference between the two, because the impacts of the shifting income distribution is likely to be small relative to the impact of a project, and the Kaldor-Hicks test is the one usually used.

THE SOCIAL WELFARE FUNCTION

Is it possible, then, to choose one among the allocations on the utility possibility frontier that is the optimum of optima? For example, some might prefer an allocation with a more equal distribution of income or one in which certain “basic needs” are more thoroughly met, or that satisfy other conditions. Ideally, one might hope to express some consensus of such conditions in a *social welfare function* that would indicate which allocations are socially preferable to other allocations independently of their technical feasibility. Visualizing this social welfare function as a set of *social indifference curves*, and superimposing it on the grand utility possibility frontier, results in Figure 3. In this figure, the grand optimum allocation of resources could be identified with point *V*. Further, following Samuelson (1956), the utility index could be made an index of real income. Remember that any numbers that correspond to indifference curves and assign larger numbers to the more highly preferred curves can be used as utility index numbers. In general, an index of real income will have this property. Therefore, suppose the axes meas-

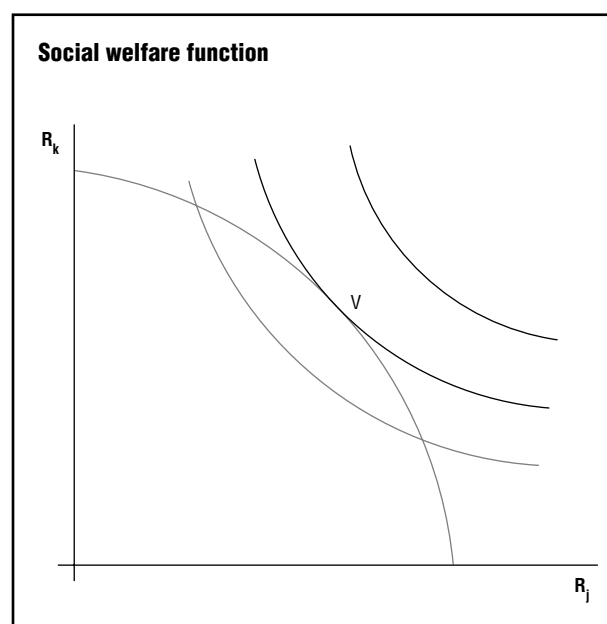


Figure 3

ure the real incomes, R_j and R_k , of the two individuals. With this interpretation, the curvature of the social indifference curves could express one's attitudes toward income equality, so that, for example, social indifference curves tightly curved around the 45-degree line would express a strong preference for equal incomes.

This ideal was set back by the Nobel laureate research of Kenneth J. Arrow (1951), in his general (im)possibility theorem. Arrow showed that, if we require some reasonable-seeming conditions on the social welfare function, such as the requirement that it generate transitive preferences, there could be no social welfare function that would satisfy them all. For a system of majority rule, for example, Arrow adapted a paradox attributed to the marquis de Condorcet (1972) to show that (imposing his other conditions) voting outcomes could always be cyclical rather than transitive. But Arrow also extended this to any (nonmajoritarian) social welfare rule, and in the context of his theorem, it is equally impossible to say that a market outcome defines a social welfare optimum.

Arrow's theorem has spawned a large literature of reconsideration. Sometimes the conditions he proposed for a social welfare function can seem less self-evidently appropriate on further consideration. For example, one of the conditions is "nondictatorship," mathematically expressed; but in some simple models of majority rule, the median person is a "dictator" in Arrow's mathematical sense, although not on a conventional understanding of dictatorship. Thus, much of the controversy has centered on the refinement of Arrow's conditions, and there is a large variety of possibility and impossibility theorems. All the same, Arrow's discussion raised enough doubts about the concept of a social welfare function that it has been little used since the mid-twentieth century.

NEW UTILITARIAN APPROACHES

The new welfare economics is utilitarian only in the broader sense in that it accepts assumptions (1) and (2) above. But the narrower utilitarian approach is not dead. Game and decision theorists reformulated utility theory so that an objective numerical measure of utility can be based on observations of risk-averse behavior. In social philosophy, John Rawls (1971) renewed the social-contract theory, arguing that public policy should promote the interests of the least-favored individual. One interpretation of this is that it demands interpersonal comparison of utility and supplies a social welfare function based on the minimax principle. Drawing on the reformulation of utility theory and Rawls's social-contract approach, John C. Harsanyi (1975) argued that social welfare could after all be based on a summation of individual utilities. Like Harsanyi, Amartya Sen (1985) admits interpersonally comparable utilities, at least as a logical possibility, and he

has proposed conditions less limiting than Arrow's that allow the possibility of a consistent majoritarian social welfare function. Sen, however, rejects what he describes as the welfarism of both the old and the new welfare economics, by which he means the supposition that the goodness of a social system depends only on the welfares of individuals in those social systems. In addition, Sen would have data on the capacities and perhaps freedoms of individuals reflected in the normative evaluation of economic society.

For many welfare economists, inequality in the income distribution is something to be avoided, but that cannot be completely avoided because of the sacrifice of production that would result. But inequality is not a simple thing in itself. Anthony Atkinson has made important contributions to the measurement of inequality and incorporation of inequality in discussions of policy issues such as taxation and fiscal policy. In 2001, Atkinson addressed "The Strange Disappearance of Welfare Economics." Atkinson does not suggest that welfare judgments are disappearing from economics. Quite the contrary. For Atkinson, "welfare economics" comprises systematic and critical thinking in normative economics, and he notes with regret the de-emphasis of welfare economics from graduate programs and from the current research literature. The result, he suggests, is a proliferation of ill-considered value judgments in economic research, including a good deal of prejudice and confusion. Atkinson illustrates this with examples from recent macroeconomics, a field which perhaps has never been rich in careful thinking on value issues. For Atkinson, then, welfare economics has never been more needed, although this field of study receives far less attention than it did two generations ago. On the whole, nevertheless, welfare economics is a highly developed branch of economic theory that supplies tools for applications in cost-benefit analysis, but that also raises unsettled questions for future research.

SEE ALSO *Arrow Possibility Theorem; Arrow, Kenneth J.; Paradox of Voting; Pareto, Vilfredo; Pareto Optimum; Samuelson, Paul A.; Social Welfare Functions; Utilitarianism*

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Roger A. McCain

WELFARE STATE

The welfare state is a set of government programs aimed at ensuring citizens' welfare in the face of the contingencies of life in modern, individualized, industrialized society. All welfare states provide direct state assistance to the poor in cash (e.g., social assistance) and in kind (e.g., housing and social services), as well as social insurance against the financial consequences of certain biological risks (illness, incapacity to work, childbirth, child-rearing, old age) and occupational risks (unemployment, accident, or injury). Whereas social assistance—in the United States popularly termed *welfare*—entails redistribution from the non-poor to the poor, social insurance rarely does so and instead can be understood primarily as redistribution across the individual life course, from periods of employment to periods of inability to work. (Prominent exceptions would be the U.S. public pension system, Social Security, and the German social health insurance scheme, both of which are moderately redistributive across classes.) Usually, this latter type of social protection is available

only to persons who have been employed and hence contributed to the relevant social insurance scheme.

In most welfare states, substantial efforts are also made to mitigate socioeconomic inequalities in primary income distribution through secondary redistribution, that is, government spending on social programs funded by progressive income taxation together with tax expenditures (tax deductions for social-insurance or charity contributions, as well as negative income taxation for the working poor). Historically, such reductions in socioeconomic inequality have been pursued to achieve four objectives: (1) to reduce the costs of production for employers, especially through unemployment, health, and pension schemes; (2) to maintain social peace, that is, to forestall both radical unionism within the factory, primarily via accident insurance, as well as threats to private property from leftist or rightist political radicalism in society as a whole; (3) to secure equality of economic opportunity, seen as conducive both to social peace and to economic growth; and (4) to enrich the status of citizenship beyond civil and political equality by including a social dimension, as articulated by T. H. Marshall in 1950. Countries pursuing this goal of social citizenship—with the exception of the United States, virtually all members of the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD)—consider equally funded and free public education to be an essential component of their pursuit of equality of opportunity and hence of their welfare state in a broader sense.

WELFARE REGIMES

Beyond these shared traits, welfare states differ in many dimensions. Early classification schemes of the 1960s and 1970s, such as that of Harold Wilensky, ranked welfare states in linear fashion according to their “generosity” measured in only one dimension, aggregate spending levels. In 1990 Gøsta Esping-Andersen's groundbreaking book *The Three Worlds of Welfare Capitalism* proposed a new typology based on essential differences among welfare states that are not quantitative but qualitative. He preferred the term *welfare regime*, which focuses the analysis on the patterns of interaction of institutions governing primary and secondary distribution in the context of a nation's historically rooted political economy, to the term *welfare state*, which is typically viewed as working against or independent of market forces. First, welfare regimes differ according to their degree of “decommodification,” or “the degree to which individuals and families can uphold a socially acceptable standard of living independently of market participation” (p. 37); this dimension includes not only the benefit levels but also the eligibility terms and coverage levels of a country's social welfare schemes. Second, welfare regimes differ in terms of their

impact on social stratification, that is, their degree of redistribution, poverty reduction, and income equalization. Finally, they differ based on the priority given to the role of the state, market, and family respectively in protecting against welfare risks. Esping-Andersen's widely accepted typology distinguishes among three types of welfare regimes: liberal (e.g., the United Kingdom, the United States, Australia), social-democratic (e.g., Sweden, Norway, the Netherlands), or corporatist (e.g., Germany, Austria, Italy). Not only Esping-Andersen but also subsequent research on the "varieties of capitalism" by Peter Hall and David Soskice (2001) have demonstrated that a country's system of social protection forms an integral part of its political economy; thus a leading field of contemporary welfare research takes this holistic regime perspective, looking for institutional *elective affinities* between a country's variety of capitalism ("liberal," "coordinated," etc. [Hall and Soskice 2001]) and variety of welfare regime (e.g., Ebbinghaus and Manow 2001).

Liberal Regimes Of the three types of welfare regime, the liberal regimes redistributes income the least. Countries of this type provide minimum benefits to the poor and devote most of their expenditure to social-insurance schemes focused on the middle classes. The public schemes are not intended to be the beneficiaries' sole source of income in time of need, but instead to be a "safety net," or one pillar beside the second and third pillars of occupational plans and individual savings. In the liberal welfare world, individual performance in the *market* is considered to be the primary source of welfare, hence generous tax expenditures subsidize employee benefits and individual savings accounts in the pension and health areas. Citizens' welfare is *commodified*: they have weak or no constitutionally inscribed social rights, and high levels of socioeconomic inequality are tolerated. Citizens' welfare is best guaranteed, in the liberal worldview, through economic growth and opportunity rather than state provision; this is best achieved when minimal state taxation of private wealth fosters maximum investment and when minimal state benefits foster maximum self-reliance. Particularly in the United States, the more generous welfare states of Western Europe are viewed more as hammocks than safety nets, whereas the U.S. social net is seen by most Europeans as a sieve.

Conservative Regimes Conservative welfare regimes redistribute moderately, having as their main goals the preservation of social status achieved in the labor market and the realization of social citizenship rights. They provide equally funded and free public education, moderate benefits to the poor, and generous social-insurance schemes for employed persons, in which benefits are linked to contributions and both are linked to the income

level attained. In the conservative welfare world, the *family* is considered to be the primary source of welfare. Hence both the tax system and social-insurance benefits are designed to support the family breadwinner.

Social-Democratic Regimes Social-democratic welfare regimes redistribute extensively and are by far the most successful in achieving long-term reductions in socioeconomic inequality, particularly across generations, as Walter Korpi and Joakim Palme demonstrate in their 1998 study. These regimes integrate antipoverty and social insurance programs in schemes open to all citizens. The schemes are designed to achieve decommodification, that is, to grant social citizenship—the right of meaningful participation in social life—independent of employment status. The *state* is responsible for achieving a considerable degree of distributional equality.

Although Esping-Andersen's typology still prevails in welfare state (or welfare regime) research, it has been criticized for overlooking certain dimensions. First, Ilona Ostner and Jane Lewis (1995) have pointed out that this hegemonic typology fails to account for gender discrimination in welfare states, most of which were based on the now-outdated male breadwinner model. Ann Orloff (1993) has developed a new welfare state typology based on the criterion of whether welfare states reinforce the traditional family system and women's inferior labor-force position or promote new, equal roles for both sexes. Second, in comparing Esping-Andersen's ideal-types to specific national experiences, many scholars have found the typology to be based too narrowly on the experiences of Britain, Germany, and Sweden and only partially applicable to other countries. In addition to ongoing debates about the classification of individual countries such as France, Ireland, or the Netherlands within Esping-Andersen's scheme, scholars have proposed supplementary ideal-types: Francis Castles and Castles and Deborah Mitchell (1993) distinguish an "antipodean" "wage-earners" welfare regime in Australia and New Zealand characterized by minimum wage legislation, compulsory arbitration and a protectionist consensus; Maurizio Ferrera (1996) and Giuliano Bonoli (1997) contend that a distinct Latin rim welfare regime (resembling the conservative one) exists in Italy, Spain, and Greece, where family and informal networks are important suppliers of welfare; Bob Deacon (2000), Nick Manning (2004), and Jolanta Aidukaite (2004) have documented the emergence of a postsocialist welfare regime (resembling the liberal one) in eastern Europe; and finally, some, such as Catherine Jones (1993) and Elmar Rieger and Stephan Leibfried (2003), have investigated and posited the existence of East Asian welfare regimes, based on "Confucian" values.

HISTORICAL ORIGINS

As the “logic of industrialization” school correctly observes, the historical origins of welfare state development lie in the consequences of the Industrial Revolution and attendant societal modernization—specifically, urbanization, industrialization, and economic liberalization—in the mid- to late nineteenth century. As Ferdinand Tönnies (2001) explains, these developments uprooted western Europe’s inhabitants from premodern, static communities that had provided for mutualist social protection through the family, community, parish, feudal lord or guild, and thrust them into an individualized, comparatively anonymous urban society in which the satisfaction of basic needs was commodified, that is, had to be purchased with wages from employment. In the early decades of this societal modernization (from the late nineteenth century through World War I [1914–1918]), social unrest, epidemics, slum formation, violent labor conflicts, and radical political movements were rampant. Initially, bourgeois philanthropic associations attempted to mitigate this malaise but within a few decades realized they were overwhelmed. At the same time, the working classes’ sacrifice and service to their states as soldiers in the two world wars earned them sociopolitical recognition and rights in many European countries.

As Walter Korpi (1983, 1993) among others have noted, three factors converged to move political coalitions of bourgeois and working-class parties across Europe to grant workers social and political rights and institute generous welfare-state programs during the period 1918–1949: (1) workers’ newly won political power, organized in Social-Democratic and Labor parties and in some places accompanied by popular uprisings; (2) bourgeois elites’ fear of the political radicalization of impoverished workers as had occurred in the revolutions in Russia (the Soviet Revolution of 1917) and Germany (Adolph Hitler’s ascent to power in 1933)—a fear exacerbated by the Great Depression of 1929 to 1939 and by the witnessing of Hitler’s destruction of the Continent during the five years thereafter; and (3) strong national identities in newly unified nation states, forged and strengthened in the two world wars. Benjamin Veghte (2004) notes that in the United States, where the first two factors were largely absent, the working-class movement was much weaker and unable to achieve social citizenship rights for a variety of reasons. An ambitious welfare state (the New Deal) was introduced during this period, in 1935, but not based on social rights; rather, it largely excluded most of the poor population, such as agricultural workers and southern African Americans. Theda Skocpol’s research (1990) has revealed that the New Deal welfare state was not completely new, but rather followed in the footsteps of a generous Civil War pensions scheme that served millions of beneficiaries (Skocpol 1996). In Britain the Beveridge

Report of 1942 highlighted the need for a welfare state to avoid the breakdown of society in the postwar period, and this became the blueprint for the welfare state introduced in postwar Britain.

PUBLIC-PRIVATE MIX

As noted above, prior to the formation of the modern nation-state, most types of social welfare were provided by collective, private forms of provision such as those offered by feudal hierarchies, guilds, and the church. In the course of urbanization, societal modernization, and the ascendance of liberal political and economic ideology since the late eighteenth century, free-market individualism undermined these traditional collectivist forms of private welfare provision, creating the modern “social question.” After the mid-nineteenth century, modern collectivist private welfare solutions such as solidaristic union/professional initiatives as well as bourgeois or church-based charitable ventures filled the vacuum, followed by welfare *state* initiatives from the 1880s in Germany, Belgium, and—since World War I—in most other western nations. In most Western countries, then, since the mid-twentieth century the welfare *state* has been the primary instrument of welfare provision.

This has not been the case in many non-Western countries, however, nor in several liberal welfare regimes, most notably the United States. Interestingly, most countries with weak welfare states evince high rates of religiosity and associated church-based welfare provision and religiously inspired philanthropy. As Leibfried and Mau note,

The history of religiosity in European and other countries which developed strong welfare states shows that the need for religious reassurance in one’s social existence has become less pressing when greater security is provided by the secular institutions of public policy. In other parts of the world, however, where state power has remained weak, the social institutions of religions—for example Islamic charities in Arabic countries, Hinduist castes in India and familial networks in East and Southeast Asia—remained the main provider of social security. (2007, p. xxv)

Secular welfare states may thus be viewed as functional alternatives to religiously inspired and/or organized private welfare provision. Empirically, as Pippa Norris and Ronald Inglehart (2004), and Elmar Rieger (2005) have observed, the revival of evangelical Protestantism in recent decades strongly correlates with the erosion of social security guarantees through the welfare state.

Non-profit, religiously inspired forms of welfare provision are not the only form of private provision to survive and thrive complementarily to and in tension with the

modern welfare state. Profit-oriented, market-based provision has done so as well, most strongly in the liberal welfare regimes of Great Britain, Switzerland, the United States, and Australia. These countries were pioneers in private, insurance-based provision, both for individuals and employees. Such welfare provision differs markedly from public provision in both its distributive dynamics (redistributing not across income classes but across the individual life course from economically self-sufficient to risky/dependent life phases) and its financial logic (calculated on actuarial rather than solidarity principles). This realm of social provision, much of which is subsidized by the government in the form of tax deductions (from the government's perspective: "tax expenditures"), was overlooked in comparative welfare state research until the appearance of Martin Rein and Lee Rainwater's (1986) pathbreaking analysis of the interplay of public and private welfare provision in OECD countries. Still today, however, most comparative research does not interpret the state-subsidized employee and individual benefits sphere, even though—as Willem Adema (1999, p. 30) and Jacob Hacker (2002, p. 338) have documented—in some countries such as the United States it makes up one-third of (public and private) social spending. Even Esping-Andersen's (1990) research on the liberal welfare regime type, which theorizes the interaction between the state and the market, overlooks the magnitude and significance of private provision, thus misconstruing the U.S. system as "residual" and "means-tested." Adema (1998, 1999, 2005) and Hacker (2002) have corrected this misinterpretation, pointing out that if U.S. employee and individual benefits are included in social spending data, the U.S. welfare system evinces a share of GDP *roughly equal* to the OECD average. The key difference between public (direct) and private (tax expenditure) welfare state expenditure is that the former tends to be redistributive and focus on alleviating poverty, whereas the latter focuses on helping the middle classes provide for their own economically precarious life episodes.

THEORIES OF DEVELOPMENT

In the 1960s and early 1970s, the best comparative work on the welfare state found a country's prevailing political culture—often termed *national values*—to be causally significant in shaping its welfare state institutions and their degree of generosity (e.g., Rimlinger 1966, 1971). This ideational approach was displaced in the 1970s by functionalist and modernization theories, most prominently that of a "logic of industrialization" (Wilensky 1975). In light of the universal dissolution of pre-modern mechanisms of social protection—namely, the family, church, feudal hierarchy, guild and local community—all industrializing countries faced similar social problems, and

hence developed similar modern instruments to secure a healthy and productive workforce. In this view, differences in welfare state spending levels are attributable not to political-cultural or other qualitative cross-national differences, but to a country's level of economic development as well as the age structure of its population and degree of maturation of its welfare state. Ultimately, the school claimed, all countries would converge toward an institutionally similar, generous welfare state. Since the 1980s, *power-resources* as well as polity-centered (and closely related *new-institutionalist*) explanations have proven more convincing. The power-resources approach, articulated by Korpi (1983) and Evelyne Huber and John Stephens (2001), argues that the social and political balance of power between labor and capital has determined the level of spending and in particular the degree of redistributiveness of welfare states. Research on the correlation between the partisan composition of governments and their levels of welfare state expenditure has largely corroborated the power-resources interpretation: Manfred G. Schmidt (1982, 1996), Castles and Herbert Obinger (2007), and indeed recently also Wilensky (2002) himself have found strong statistical evidence that where left-of-center ("social democratic," "labor" or "democratic") parties have ruled, levels of government social spending and redistribution have been much higher on average than in cases where right-of-center, free-market-liberal ("liberal," "conservative," or "republican") parties have reigned. This "parties matter" explanation enriches the power-resources interpretation, moreover, by showing that the left-right dichotomy does not explain partisan influence fully: Christian-democratic and center parties, historically common in continental Europe, correlate with moderate social spending, that is, more generous than the free-market-liberal parties and less generous than the leftist parties.

Willem Adema and Maxime Ladaïque (2005) have demonstrated that when the tax system and private benefits are also taken into consideration, liberal welfare regime expenditure approximates that of the other two regime types. This suggests that Wilensky's "logic of industrialization" explanation of welfare state growth was correct, according to which a high level of economic development has driven all Western countries to converge toward a uniform, generous welfare state. Castles and Obinger (2007) rebut Adema and Ladaïque, however, arguing that while the much greater private welfare spending of liberal welfare regimes often puts them on a par with conservative and social-democratic welfare regime expenditure, the latter are far more redistributive across income categories, making for a fundamentally different type of welfare state. Regarding the causes of welfare state development, they find that while the levels of economic development and economic growth best explain the increase in overall (public cum private) welfare spending,

power resources—measured in terms of partisan incumbency—best explains the growth in the more redistributive, direct *state* welfare spending.

The polity-centered and new-institutionalist approaches adamantly dispute the explanatory power of class. They attribute the scale and type of welfare state expansion and retrenchment to state-structural factors such as the nature of the party system and civil service and the influence of policy intellectuals and reformist associations on these, as in the work of Skocpol (1985); Margaret Weir, Orloff, and Skocpol (1988); and Dietrich Rueschemeyer and Skocpol (1996); the lack of constitutional “veto points,” as in the work of Ellen Immergut (1989) and George Tsebelis (2002); and “feedback effects” of (pre-)existing institutions and policies, as in the work of Paul Pierson (1993).

Both theory and comparative data on public opinion on the welfare state have improved since the 1990s, giving ideational approaches an empirical basis and rendering them worthy of causal reconsideration alongside the power-resources and new-institutionalist explanatory approaches. Indeed, Clem Brooks and Jeff Manza (2006) have found that national social policy preferences exert a strong and measurable influence on welfare state spending as well as on cross-national variation therein, after controlling for other factors such as institutional feedback effects. Mau and Veghte (2007) find strong relationships between welfare regimes and social policy attitudes across OECD countries. Further, Veghte, Greg M. Shaw, and Robert Y. Shapiro (2007) have revealed that social policy preferences and issue prioritizations themselves are contingent and malleable in response to issue framing—for example, of military over social security—by political elites. Given the availability of new transnational datasets on both public opinion and party platforms, more research into public opinion on welfare state issues and its relation to the aforementioned causal factors, and incorporation of this dimension into welfare state theory, can be expected.

SOURCE OF FUNDING

Scholars used to distinguish between contribution-based (the Bismarckian, German model) and tax-based (the Beveridge, English model) funding of welfare state programs, but in practice these two models have converged, as most social-insurance schemes are funded by a mixture of employer/employee contributions and subsidies from general state revenues. Contribution-based schemes, which are funded and administered independent of the government budget and in which members have vested benefits, have historically tended to be more generous and less susceptible to retrenchment than tax-funded schemes, which legislators can cut back when tax revenues are scarce or an antiwelfare state party comes to power.

WELFARE STATE CRITIQUE AND REFORM

After expanding steadily during the “Golden Age” of welfare-state development in the 1960s and early 1970s, most Euro-American welfare states suffered a critical shock from the oil crises and recession of the mid-1970s and the deindustrialization and high unemployment rates that followed. Not only did these factors deprive the welfare state of its financial bases in both tax revenues and employer/employee contributions, the welfare state itself was widely considered to have contributed to the economic collapse by draining the economy of investment income and burdening it with bureaucratic regulations, as well as undermining individual initiative and the will to work through excessive benefits that fostered dependency. Further, the decline in industrial and the rise in service sector employment, as well as increasing individualization, disintegrated the working classes, which historically had directly or indirectly been the main driving force and constituency of welfare state development in all OECD countries except the United States. Overall, the rapid and sharp rise in the absolute and relative amount of government spending devoted to the welfare state, together with the declining popular support for the latter, led many observers by the mid- to late 1970s to perceive a “crisis of the welfare state” (Flora 1981; Offe 1984). If some degree of retrenchment were not implemented, the welfare state threatened to bring Western economies to a standstill. Conservatives won national elections in Britain (Margaret Thatcher), the United States (Ronald Reagan), and West Germany (Helmut Kohl), in the early 1980s and were reelected in the mid-1980s, all running on anti-welfare-state platforms. Ever since, conservatives in most other OECD countries have tried to scale back welfare-state benefits as well as restrict eligibility to those “truly in need.” This has proven extremely difficult, given that in democratic systems, once citizens and/or interest groups have acquired benefits, they mobilize strongly to retain them. As Pierson observes, “Retrenchment is generally an exercise in blame avoidance rather than ‘credit claiming.’” First, the costs of retrenchment are concentrated, whereas the benefits are not. Second, there is considerable evidence that voters exhibit a ‘negativity bias,’ remembering losses more than gains. As a result, retrenchment initiatives are extremely treacherous” (1994, p. 18). Due to this “conservative welfare function” (Rieger and Leibfried 2003), benefits in most welfare states (with the exceptions of New Zealand and Switzerland) have been scaled back very little in OECD countries despite extended periods of neoliberal governance.

What welfare state reformers have been able to achieve is a tightening of eligibility criteria, moving away from the model of the welfare state as provider of benefits to persons unable to work and toward an *activating* wel-

fare state that provides an incentive to work by targeting benefits (and/or providing more generous benefits) to persons working or actively seeking employment, while further decreasing the number of inactive citizens by scaling back employment and wage regulation and postponing the retirement age.

Many scholars have also criticized the welfare state for its focus on the male breadwinner and the attendant discriminating effects on social groups long denied equal opportunity in the labor market, such as women, ethnic minorities, and the disabled. Feminist scholars have called attention to the fact that such welfare-state subsidizing of the higher earner (breadwinner) in a family, particularly pronounced in conservative welfare states, reinforces the gendered division of labor within the family. Others have criticized citizenship requirements in many welfare state programs for their discriminatory effects on noncitizens, who are in most cases ethnic minorities.

TRENDS IN THE EARLY TWENTY-FIRST CENTURY

The most important developments affecting welfare states are not their internal dynamics but changes in their fiscal, economic, and societal environments. Over the past quarter century, deindustrialization has brought about a dramatic and enduring decline in the proportion of skilled middle-class workers, transforming many of them from employees who pay into the system into long-term unemployment beneficiaries—especially in the conservative welfare regimes of continental Europe, with their generous unemployment schemes.

At the same time as these costs have risen, since the 1990s economic globalization has given new credibility to threats by the owners of capital to leave countries that tax corporations and/or wealthy individuals excessively (Genschel 2005), placing strong external restrictions on the national welfare states to finance themselves through taxation. Further, as Jef van Langendonck (1997), Esping-Andersen (1999), and Peter Taylor-Gooby (2004) have shown, the demographic challenges of population aging and a vast increase in single-parent families have created new social risks which the traditional welfare state—based on the male breadwinner—was not designed to handle. As a result of these developments, most welfare states have experienced a decline in contributions and an increase in demand for benefits, posing a formidable challenge to their sustainability and suggesting the need for welfare state reforms to adapt to these new social conditions.

The main response to this second crisis of the welfare state since the late twentieth century has been privatization. Such privatization entails three principle shifts: first, from publicly guaranteed outcomes to defined contributions; second, from mandatory to voluntary provision

against future risks; and third, from the group solidarity to the individual actuarial principle. Such privatization promises to lessen the fiscal burdens incurred by public social insurance schemes for the health and pension needs of the imminently retiring baby boom generation by increasing copayments and restricting eligibility and benefits, while simultaneously offering all individuals the opportunity to save individually for their future security needs via tax-deductible contributions to publicly regulated, individual private pension plans. This should also lessen the burden on corporations posed by the non-wage labor costs entailed in employer and employee contributions to public social-insurance schemes, increasing the international economic competitiveness of Western economies in the era of globalization. The biggest disadvantage of such privatization is that it necessarily entails a shift from universal to partial coverage of the population in need, with a tendency to exclude precisely those who need social protection the most, because they lack the surplus income required to voluntarily save for their and their families' future risks. Finally, corporations, which have long provided tax-deductible employee benefit plans to their employees, have moved from defined benefit to defined contribution plans, i.e. from occupational pension plans which guaranteed a specific payout in retirement based on a formula for years of service and salary earned, to plans which collect employer and employee contributions in interest-bearing individual retirement accounts which are transferable from one job to the next, but may or may not suffice to meet—in combination with one's public pension—a person's retirement needs.

A final challenge to the welfare state at the outset of the twenty-first century is posed by immigration. As Wim van Oorschot (2000), Michael Bommes and Andrew Geddes (2000), Carsten Ullrich (2002), Knut Halvorsen (2007), and van Oorschot and Wilfred Uunk (2007) have shown, national solidarity communities that long provided the normative foundation for European welfare states are now being threatened by real and/or perceived increases in ethnic/national heterogeneity, as evidenced by political debates throughout western Europe in the first decade of the century. Regarding the United States, Korpi (1983), Martin Gilens (1999), and Veghte (2004) have argued that racial, ethnic and religious heterogeneity have always limited development of a solidarity community and hence a redistributive welfare state. Now, scholars such as Alberto Alesina and Edward L. Glaeser (2004) are asking if, as citizens increasingly tend to distinguish between "we" and "they," the welfare consensus and commitment to publicly institutionalized solidarity in western Europe is still sustainable. Keith Banting and Will Kymlicka (2004) have determined, however, that clear evidence of a negative association between the influx of migrants and support for the welfare state is lacking. The

structure of countries' political institutions mediates and conditions the effects of immigration on welfare state development, and at the cross-national level other factors are likely more decisive. Nevertheless, as Leibfried and Mau (2007) observe, politicians may use ethnic and sociocultural divisions within a society to position themselves in public debates about distributional conflicts, leading to restrictive effects on welfare state policies.

While the threats from increasing immigration seem formidable, most welfare states are showing signs of successful adaptation to the challenges posed by economic globalization. Comparative research by Fritz Scharpf and Vivien Schmidt (2000) on the effects of globalization on Western welfare state development has revealed that welfare regimes differ in their capacity to adjust to the fiscal and competitiveness constraints constituted by increasing global product and capital market integration. Social-Democratic and liberal welfare regimes in Scandinavian and Anglo-American countries respectively, though fundamentally different, have proven better suited to successful adaptation to the challenges of economic globalization than have the conservative welfare regimes of continental Europe.

Moreover, Elmar Rieger and Stephan Leibfried (2003) argue convincingly that strong welfare states will not only survive the era of globalization, but have themselves historically paved the way for it. Since World War II (1939–1945) and continuing under conditions of intensified economic globalization since the 1990s, strong welfare states have provided political leverage in capitalist democracies such as Germany for leaders to embrace exposure to the risks of international competition in foreign economic policy, whereas countries with weak welfare states such as the United States have tended toward protectionism. As Sven Steinmo (2002) has shown, the Swedish case in particular demonstrates that a generous welfare state, with some recalibration over the past decade, can co-exist over the long term with a thriving, open and internationally competitive national economy.

A half century ago, one of the fathers of modern social policy, the Swedish Nobel prize-winning economist Gunnar Myrdal (1898–1987) argued that a transition from the welfare state to a “welfare world” would eventually transpire. Today, a budding field of welfare state research—pioneered by Deacon, Michelle Hulse, and Paul Stubbs (1997); Nicola Yeates (2002); Lutz Leisering (2004); and John Meyer (2004); and pursued in the journal, *Global Social Policy* (launched in 2001)—traces the emergence of “global social policies” emanating from supranational and global nongovernmental organizations and governmental institutions such as the ILO, World Bank, World Trade Organization, or United Nations. At the crossroads of the “world society,” international relations, welfare state and area studies literatures, this

research examines how welfare concepts, programs, and models are becoming globalized.

Many eminent welfare state scholars, however, such as Abram de Swaan (1997), Claus Offe (2003), Fritz Scharpf (1999, 2002), and Wolfgang Streeck (1995, 2000), are skeptical concerning the prospects of transnational social policy. Historically, as Stein Rokkan elaborated in his seminal 1974 essay, welfare states have developed in the wake of processes of state-building, nation-building, and democratization, that is, in democratic nation-states. This process took several centuries to evolve and was a rocky road paved by multiple wars and, in many countries, revolutions. Transnational social policy is unlikely to develop until something equivalent to the public sphere and solidarity community of the nation-state evolves on the transnational level, that is, a shared willingness to redistribute income across national boundaries.

The closest thing to such a transnational polity and solidarity community on the horizon is the European Union, formerly the European Community. For the first four decades of its existence, the European Community pursued economic integration without political or social integration. Since the last decade of the twentieth century, however, the European Union is slowly but discernibly moving toward such political and social integration, yet, as Franz-Xaver Kaufmann (2001) has noted, continues to evince a strong reticence with regard to all issues of inter-personal income redistribution. Leibfried (2005) and Obinger, Leibfried, and Castles (2005) observe that rather than employing centrally administered, mandatory, redistributive “hard” social policies, as national welfare states had done, the European Union has relied thus far on courts and markets and on “soft policy,” that is, governance measures with which compliance is not enforced by legal sanctions, but simply encouraged through the “open method of coordination.” As Leibfried and Mau (2007) have observed, beyond its borders Europe is the leading advocate of transnational social policy as propagated by global institutions such as the WTO, the WHO, and ILO, and may one day serve as an organizational model inspiring for example the NAFTA, MERCOSUR and ASEAN countries to pursue transnational social policies in their respective regions. The debates on the evolution of European social policy can be followed above all in the *Journal of European Social Policy* (since 1991) and increasingly in the *Journal of European Public Policy* (since 1994), which explores the interaction between central and nation-state social policy in the European Union.

SEE ALSO *Beveridge Curve; Conservatism; Democracy; Family; Globalization, Social and Economic Aspects of; Great Depression; Hitler, Adolf; Income Distribution; Insurance; Liberalism; National Health*

Insurance; Nazism; Political Science; Recession; Risk; Socialism; Welfare; World War II

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Benjamin W. Veghte

WELFARE SYSTEM

SEE *Social Welfare System*.

WELLS-BARNETT, IDA B.

1862–1931

Ida Bell Wells-Barnett gained a national reputation in the 1890s as a pioneering crusader against lynching. Her long career spanned a wide variety of venues, including school-room, settlement house, municipal court, electoral politics, home, church, and social club. Journalism, however, was her calling. Her publications, many of them too militant or sharply worded to find a substantial receptive audience, remain her greatest legacy.

The eldest of eight children, Ida was born into slavery in Holly Springs, Mississippi, fifty miles southeast of Memphis. Her parents died in the yellow fever epidemic that swept through the Mississippi River Valley in 1878, leaving sixteen-year-old Ida to care for five siblings. She quickly secured a teaching position, made possible by her education at Shaw University in Holly Springs. Between 1880 and 1882 she relocated to Memphis, taking along two sisters and leaving her other siblings in the care of relatives.

Wells found her teaching career in Memphis unsatisfying, and she soon discovered a far more rewarding form of pedagogy: journalism. She published her first newspaper article in a church weekly in 1883, and began sending articles about black women to major African American publications in eastern cities. By 1885, writing as “Iola,” she was among the few African American women writing about politics, and in 1889 she became co-owner of the Memphis *Free Speech and Headlight*. Her straightforward criticism in 1891 of the Memphis school board’s neglect of black children and exploitation of black female teachers led to a decision not to renew her teaching appointment.

Wells’s uncompromising journalism reflected her general approach to race relations. At the age of twenty-two, she sued a railroad after being thrown off the train for refusing to ride in a segregated car. In 1892 three Memphis black grocers were lynched after a conflict with a white competitor envious of their success. Wells later recalled that the event “changed the whole course of my life” (DeCosta-Willis 1995). Her unsigned attack on the lynching eschewed the cautious convention observed by southern black spokesmen who paired their criticism of lynching with ritualized reminders that the black community should not accept criminal behavior within its ranks. Wells understood that lynching was meant less to punish depravity (which white southerners expected from “their Negroes”) than to punish the more dangerous sin of a black person not accepting his place.

Wells left Memphis immediately, probably expecting the mob attack on her newspaper the following day. She spent the next three years in eastern cities and Great Britain, lecturing and writing (now under the name “Exile”). Drawing on statistics compiled from careful research, she demonstrated that less than a third of lynching victims had even been accused of rape. Lynching, she argued, had less to do with the honor of white womanhood than “an excuse to get rid of Negroes who were acquiring wealth and property and thus keep the race terrorized and ‘keep the nigger down’” (DeCosta-Willis 1995, p. xiii). Her charge that liaisons between white men and black women constituted the true threat to racial purity stirred even greater controversy.

Wells visited Chicago in 1893 to protest the exclusion of African Americans from the World’s Columbian Exposition. Characteristically, she took a more militant position than most of her peers, advocating a boycott of the “Colored American Day” granted by the fair managers to placate the protesters. She relocated to Chicago permanently two years later, marrying prominent attorney Ferdinand Barnett. Over the next three decades she wrote less, putting her energies into the woman suffrage movement, local politics, and social work. In 1910 she founded the Negro Fellowship League as a venue for “missionary work” and “social work” on the city’s South Side. Facing competition first from the city’s black YMCA (1913) and then Urban League (1915), the Fellowship League shifted to a focus on politics and had only a minor presence by the time black southerners began moving to Chicago in large numbers in late 1916.

Wells-Barnett, who attended the founding meeting of the NAACP in 1910 in New York, never established herself as a major figure in African American institutional life. Although conventionally middle class in style, manners, and religious observance, she had limited patience with polite diplomacy during a generally cautious era of black politics.

Although she effectively mobilized black voters briefly through the Alpha Suffrage Club (established in 1913), Ida B. Wells was more adept at analytical and rhetorical provocation than organization. She understood in the 1890s what W. E. B. Du Bois (1868–1963) would famously enunciate four decades later in *Black Reconstruction* (1935): that African American success and dignity were less likely to win equal citizenship than to provoke the violence necessary to keep “the Negro” in his place.

SEE ALSO *Journalism; Lynchings; Militants; Resistance; White Supremacy*

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James Grossman

WELTANSCHAUUNG

Weltanschauung is a German word that often is translated as “worldview” or “world outlook” but just as frequently is treated as a calque or left untranslated. A *Weltanschauung* is a comprehensive conception or theory of the world and the place of humanity within it. It is an intellectual construct that provides both a unified method of analysis for and a set of solutions to the problems of existence. The concept of a *Weltanschauung* has played an important role in the development of psychoanalysis, critical theory, and nineteenth- and twentieth-century hermeneutics.

Weltanschauung is connected closely to the work of Wilhelm Dilthey (1833–1911), who wanted to provide for the human sciences what Immanuel Kant (1724–1804) had provided for the natural sciences. Kant had established the possibility of objective and certain knowledge for natural science (*Naturwissenschaft*) in his *Critique of Pure Reason* (1781). Dilthey intended to fashion a critique of reason on behalf of the historical human or cultural sciences (*Geisteswissenschaft*). For Dilthey the goal of natural science was causal explanation, whereas the goal of human sciences was to achieve understanding by means of interpretation. Every interpretation, he reasoned, takes place within a larger understanding of the world (i.e., a Weltanschauung), which itself is historically conditioned. Thus, interpreters of human history and culture must recognize their immersion in a particular historical situation and tradition and in that process come to terms with the finitude of their perspective. The irony of Dilthey's historicist conclusions lies in the fact that they undermine his original goal of establishing universal validity for judgment in the human sciences. This split or contradiction resulted in differing orientations to the concept of the Weltanschauung among thinkers such as Freud, Husserl, Heidegger, and Gadamer.

For Sigmund Freud (1856–1939) the age of modernity was the coming into being of the rational or scientific Weltanschauung and the subsequent decline or eclipse of alternative religious or philosophical Weltanschauungen. The scientific Weltanschauung sees both the natural world and the cultural world as being ultimately transparent to the power of human cognition. Therefore, it consciously supplants world outlooks that place certain phenomena beyond the reach of human understanding. In Freud's view psychoanalysis represented the last contribution to the criticism of nonscientific Weltanschauungen (for instance, by tracing the origin of religion to the persistence of the wishes and needs of childhood into maturity). The arrival of the scientific Weltanschauung, which Freud described as still being in its infancy, would resolve the paradox left behind by Dilthey. This was a historically conditioned view of the world, but because it represented the endpoint or terminus of human cognition, it could provide objective and certain knowledge for all human activities and endeavors.

A more direct successor to Dilthey was Edmund Husserl (1859–1938). In rejecting the strong claims of scientific rationalism, Husserl argued that objects are experienced by the observer only from within an intentional horizon of consciousness, or "life-world" (*Lebenswelt*). In other words, objects are not located in objective or autonomous space and time; they do not exist outside a detached observer who can come to know them objectively and finally. For Husserl meaning does not exist

"out there" but resides only where subject and world meet. The goal is to strip away the preconceptions of history and science so that consciousness can understand the object as it really is.

Husserl, however, like Freud, ignored the historical nature of Dilthey's account. The very possibility of ahistorical meaning was challenged by Husserl's successors in phenomenology and hermeneutics, including Martin Heidegger (1889–1976) and Hans Georg Gadamer (1900–2002).

Heidegger emphasized the finitude of all historical and cultural interpretation at the expense of ahistorical accounts. For Heidegger hermeneutics, as the theory and practice of interpretation, must remain cognizant of different Weltanschauungen operating in certain historical contexts. One can know an object only from within one's peculiar and historically conditioned Weltanschauung or (Heidegger's favored term) *Weltbild* (world-picture). As interpreters of the world around them, people always find themselves within a particular language and culture. People cannot bracket the presuppositions of their Weltanschauung in order to explicate reality; in fact, those presuppositions become part of the very existence that demands explication.

Hans-Georg Gadamer, whose 1975 work *Truth and Method* represents the major thrust of contemporary hermeneutics, extended the Heideggerian critique of ahistorical interpretation in many ways. For Gadamer understanding involves an interpretive dialogue with the Weltanschauung in which one finds oneself. People's modes of understanding (their "methods") are at one and the same time the means of interpretation and objects that require interpretation. Gadamer reconnects to the historicist conclusions of Dilthey with his assertion that understanding can be achieved only with reference to the Weltanschauung in which that understanding is taking place. Unlike Dilthey and Heidegger, however, Gadamer posits that there can be no final interpretation of reality because new life-worlds or world pictures will cause future interpreters to see and experience the world differently.

SEE ALSO *Freud, Sigmund*; *Hermeneutics*; *Ideology*; *Philosophy*; *Political Theory*

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WEST BANK

SEE *Palestinians; Intifada, The*.

WEST INDIES

SEE *Caribbean, The*.

WESTERN COLLABORATIVE GROUP STUDY

SEE *Personality, Type A/Type B*.

WESTMINSTER MODEL

SEE *First-past-the-post*.

WHISTLE-BLOWERS

In a definition typical of those found in the research literature, Janet P. Near and Marcia P. Miceli in 1985 described whistle-blowers as organization employees, current or former, who report practices they consider unethical or illegal to someone with the power to take action. Although the public and many journalists may consider whistle-blowing to include only those cases in which the whistle-blower has alerted external audiences to the misconduct, for example, of someone in the media or in law enforcement, researchers in the field since the mid-1980s have tended to extend the definition to include both internal and external audiences. For example, an employee at a nuclear power plant might alert only a manager in a superior position in the authority hierarchy to a safety violation or concern. Researchers refer to this as “internal whistle-blowing.” Alternatively, the individual employee

could go directly to a mass-media outlet or to law enforcement with their observations. This is termed “external whistle-blowing.” In the prototypical case, it has been found that employees with serious concerns tend to take them first to their superiors in the employing organization, and only when they find the senior managers to be inert or complicit in the perceived wrongdoing do they take the matter to external agencies that might be able to intercede (Glazer and Glazer 1989; Miethe and Rothschild 1994).

A GROWING PHENOMENON

In the late twentieth century and the early twenty-first century the extent of whistle-blowing grew greatly, with studies reporting substantial cases in Canada, Australia, South Africa, the United Kingdom, and Europe in addition to the United States, and worldwide attention paid to whistle-blowers in the mass media has been expanding. One analysis of previous research studies of whistle-blowing in the United States found that approximately 37 percent of employees observe in their workplaces some type of wrongdoing that troubles them (Miethe and Rothschild 1994). This rate, however, can vary considerably by occupational grouping. Among internal auditors, people who are trained to discover financial fraud and whose jobs require them to look for it, 82 percent say they have observed wrongdoing (Near and Miceli 1985). A large survey of federal employees found the rates of observing misconduct to range from 7 percent to 45 percent, depending upon the agency and the occupation involved (U.S. Merit Systems Protection Board 1993). The proportion of those who say they have observed serious misconduct in the workplace varies greatly by the opportunity for such observation in one’s occupation.

Of those who do say they have observed misconduct, most remain silent, although this too can vary considerably by country, occupation, and type of employer. Across six U.S. studies of employers, the average rate of silence among those who said they did observe serious misconduct in their places of work was 58 percent (Miethe and Rothschild 1994), while a later international review of the research literature shows that the rate of those who remain silent can vary from 25 percent to 91 percent (Maria 2006). These numbers imply that there is considerable room for growth in this whistle-blowing phenomenon if more individuals felt free to voice their concerns. Undeniably, interviews with these silent observers indicate two main reasons so many employees hold back from voicing their concerns at work: (1) they fear retribution from their employer, and (2) they suspect that their reportage would not effect organizational change in any case (Rothschild and Miethe 1999).

THE WHISTLE-BLOWER'S EXPERIENCE

Research findings quite clearly show that observers of misconduct do put themselves in jeopardy by reporting or disclosing the misconduct, whether they stay inside the organization or go outside the organization with their disclosures. Indeed, employer retaliation against whistle-blowers is the rule, not the exception, and some whistle-blowers are so devastated by the reprisals they suffer that they cannot reclaim their lives (De Maria 1999; Alford 2001). A nationwide study of whistle-blowers from all occupations and regions of the United States found that among those employees who stayed within their employing organization, reporting their observations and concerns only to those above them in the organizational hierarchy, the following occurred as a result of their disclosures:

- 69 percent were fired or forced to retire from their jobs,
- 64 percent saw their job performance evaluations decline abruptly,
- 68 percent had their work more closely monitored by supervisors,
- 64 percent felt they had been blacklisted from getting another job within their field.

For each of these items, the rate of retaliation was 10 to 15 percentage points higher for those who went outside of the employing organization with their concerns (Rothschild and Miethe 1999). In many cases, the reprisals that follow the reportage are experienced as traumatic. Some 84 percent said the experience gave rise to "severe depression or anxiety," 78 percent said they learned from it "distrust of others," 69 percent said they suffered a "decline in physical health," 66 percent said they suffered "severe financial decline," and 53 percent said the experience harmed their "family relations." Many former whistle-blowers describe their experiences as giving rise to a political and personal transformation by which they now see themselves as exceedingly moral and their former employers (and in many cases, large organizations in general) as corrupt (Rothschild and Miethe 1999).

Statistical analysis of the data indicates that no special gender, age, educational attainment, years of employment, or method of reporting can insulate individuals from organizational retaliation should they choose to disclose the organizational misconduct. Validity of the claim also provides no insulation. Indeed, the data show that retaliation against whistle-blowers is most severe and certain when the observed wrongdoing is systemic and central to the way the organization conducts its business and accumulates its profit (Rothschild and Miethe 1999).

FEDERAL AND STATE LAWS

Federal and state laws that would protect whistle-blowers from retaliation and that would thereby encourage the disclosure of organizational practices that injure the public are not comprehensive, and even where they do seem to be applicable, they are frequently not enforced (see Government Accountability Project 1996 for a review of these). It is not easy for the whistle-blower, generally unemployed, to mount a successful legal claim against a former employer with vastly greater legal resources. The Sarbanes-Oxley Act of 2002 provides the most substantial legal protection for whistle-blowers, but it applies only to those who would disclose corporate misconduct that, if proven, would materially affect the valuation of a publicly traded company. The *qui tam* suits filed under the provisions of the False Claims Act have proven most effective at gaining large awards for whistle-blowers, but this act applies only to those employees whose employers were defrauding the federal government, again covering only a portion of the potential whistle-blowers.

As organizations grow larger in scope and more complex operationally, effective oversight from outside agencies becomes more difficult, and often the only people who are in a position to detect when the organization is defrauding or endangering the public are key employees themselves. The U.S. Congress has recognized the public's interest in protecting whistle-blowers so abuses of the law or the public trust can come to light, and parliaments in other nations have recognized the same. But the extent of persistent retaliation against whistle-blowers and the extent of employees who choose to remain silent in the face of abuses at work suggests that more needs to be done.

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Joyce Rothschild

WHITE, WALTER 1893–1955

Walter White, author and chief executive of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) between 1929 and 1955, was born in Atlanta, Georgia. According to the *New York Times* obituary of March 22, 1955, “Mr. White, the nearest approach to a national leader of American Negroes since Booker T. Washington, was a Negro by choice” (p. 31). White had blond hair, blue eyes, and a complexion that was light enough to “pass” for white. But if ever White questioned his racial identity, the 1906 Atlanta race riot made clear to him that he was African American. During this pogrom, a white mob threatened to attack his family home, and at the age of thirteen he determined that he could never be part of a race that carried within it such a ghastly hatred. His aspect and the riot were central to his life and career as an advocate for race advancement.

Upon his graduation from Atlanta University in 1916, White helped to found the Atlanta branch of the NAACP. He joined the national staff in January of 1918, and for the next eight years his primary responsibility was conducting undercover investigations of lynchings and race riots. He investigated forty-one such instances. Passing for white, White tricked whites into giving him candid accounts of the recent violence, which the NAACP would then publicize. “I Investigate Lynchings,” which appeared in the July 1929 issue of *American Mercury*, is White’s account of his investigative exploits. *Rope and Faggot*, published in 1929 and still considered authoritative, is his detailed analysis of the extent and causes of lynching.

When James Weldon Johnson (1871–1938) retired from the NAACP in 1929, White was elevated to the position of secretary. During both the Franklin Roosevelt (1882–1945) and Harry Truman (1884–1972) administrations, White’s style of working for political gain by ral-

lying enlightened elites achieved stunning results. His close friendship with Eleanor Roosevelt (1884–1962), who joined the NAACP board of directors following her husband’s death, gave him direct access to the White House. He orchestrated massive support in Congress for an antilynching law, which was defeated only by filibustering southern Democratic senators. White also organized Marian Anderson’s (1897–1993) historic Easter 1939 concert at the Lincoln Memorial in Washington, D.C., including a sponsoring committee studded with New Deal officials. In 1941 White collaborated with A. Philip Randolph’s (1889–1979) March on Washington movement, which pressured President Roosevelt into issuing Executive Order 8802 banning racial discrimination in defense industries. White persuaded President Truman to appoint a civil rights commission, which produced the report *To Secure These Rights* in 1947.

During White’s tenure as NAACP secretary, the association launched a series of legal suits designed to ensure equality between the races in education. This effort culminated in the Supreme Court’s 1954 *Brown v. Board of Education* decision, which declared unconstitutional the doctrine of “separate but equal.”

During World War II (1939–1945), White promoted the idea that an allied victory should lead to both the dismantling of European colonialism and racial equality for African Americans. He pursued these goals in 1945 as one of three NAACP consultants to the U.S. delegation to the founding conference of the United Nations in San Francisco and again in 1948 as a consultant to the U.S. delegation to the UN General Assembly meeting in Paris. Yet his friendship with Eleanor Roosevelt and alliance with President Truman precluded White from advocating the more expansive definition of human rights favored by W. E. B. Du Bois (1868–1963) and Paul Robeson (1898–1976) that included economic and social as well as political rights.

White’s twenty-six year marriage to Gladys Powell, an African American, ended in divorce in 1948. The following year he married Poppy Cannon, a white woman born in South Africa. Many in the NAACP objected and called for White’s resignation. Eleanor Roosevelt threatened to resign from the board of directors should White be dismissed, thereby saving his position. He remained NAACP executive secretary until his death (he had been in declining health for several years) but with diminished powers.

Walter White’s importance lay in his organizational skills and leadership style. His abilities to successfully cultivate ties with people of influence both in and out of government and to popularize and publicize the association and its program were instrumental to placing civil rights on the national agenda.

SEE ALSO *Harlem Renaissance; National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP)*

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Kenneth R. Janken

WHITE NOISE

There are uncertainties in dynamics of social and natural processes. Basic approaches of statistical analysis model these processes based on theoretical derivations or empirical observations. The primary goal in statistical modeling is to extract as much underlying information of the processes as possible and let the residuals approximate a realization of white noise. White noise is one of the fundamental stochastic processes in many fields. Mathematically, it has a constant spectrum, which is the same as the white light we observe through our eyes.

White noise has been utilized to mask distraction of undesirable sound in the environment. Financial analysts have applied white noise to model stock markets. In fact white noise has been used for audio synthesis, impulse response, art, sensory deprivation, sleeping aid, and more. White noise is a basic form of stochastic process that provides the foundation for almost all useful statistical models used in natural and social sciences.

Let $\{Z_t\}$ be an equally spaced time series (a sequence of random variables) with a mean of zero and finite autocovariance

$$\gamma(t, s) = E(Z_t Z_s), \tag{1}$$

where $E(X)$ is the expected value (mean) of random variable X and t, s donate the time. If $\{Z_t\}$ has a nonzero mean, without loss generality, it can be subtracted from the time series to get a time series with a zero mean. The expected value of a discrete random variable X is defined as

$$E(X) = \sum_{\text{all } x} xP(X = x), \tag{2}$$

where $P(X = x)$ is the probability mass function of X . For a continuous random variable, its expected value is

$$E(X) = \int_x x f(x) dx, \tag{3}$$

where $f(x)$ is the density function of X .

If the autocovariance function $\gamma(t, s)$ of time series $\{Z_t\}$ is only a function of $|t - s|$, then $\{Z_t\}$ is a (weak) stationary process. White noise is the simplest stationary process with

$$\gamma(t, s) = \begin{cases} \sigma^2 & t = s \\ 0 & t \neq s \end{cases} \tag{4}$$

where $\sigma^2 = E(Z_t^2)$ is the variance of Z_t .

White noise plays an important role not only in physical sciences such as in signal processing, but also in almost all statistical analysis of time series observed from social and economic activities. For example, according to George Box, Gwilym M. Jenkins, and Gregory C. Reinsel in their 1994 book *Time Series Analysis: Forecasting and Control*, the widely used Autoregressive and Integrated Moving Average (ARIMA(p,d,q)) models in time series analysis are generated by the white noise innovations $\{Z_t\}$ through the following expression:

$$\phi(B)(1 - B)^d Y_t = \theta(B) Z_t \tag{5}$$

where Y_t is the time series under study, $\varphi(B) = 1 - \sum_{i=1}^p \alpha_i B^i$, $\theta(B) = 1 + \sum_{j=1}^q \beta_j B^j$, B is the back shift operator defined as $BY_t = Y_t - Y_{t-1}$, d is an integer, and Z_t is the Gaussian white noise with mean zero and variance σ^2 . From expression (5) we can see that Y_t of ARIMA(0,0,0) is the white noise.

ARIMA(0,1,0) denotes a random walk model, which is a model of unit root and widely used in modeling financial markets. ARIMA(p,0,0) becomes an autoregressive model of order p (AR(p)), ARIMA(0,0,q) is a moving average model of order q (MA(q)), and ARIMA(p,0,q) is ARMA(p,q). For a proper range of the parameters α_i and β_j , the Y_t in ARMA(p,q) is stationary and invertible (Box, Jenkins, and Reinsel 1994).

Many methods have been proposed to estimate the parameters in ARIMA models from observed time series. A crucial step in model diagnosis is to check, through a battery of tests and plots, if the residuals from the models are consistent with white noise (Box, Jenkins, and Reinsel 1994).

In general there are two types of techniques in analyzing time series. The first type is based on direct modeling such as ARIMA models, which are called time domain techniques (Box, Jenkins, and Reinsel 1994). The second type, according to M. B. Priestley in the 1981 publication *Spectral Analysis and Time Series*, is in the frequency

domain that utilizes the spectrum of a stationary process. The spectrum is defined as

$$f(\omega) = \sum_{k=-\infty}^{\infty} \gamma_k e^{-ik\omega} = \gamma_0 + 2 \sum_{k=1}^{\infty} \gamma_k \cos(k\omega) \quad (6)$$

where $\gamma_k = \gamma(t, t+k)$ and $i = \sqrt{-1}$. For a stationary ARMA(p,q) process, the spectrum is $f(\omega) = \sigma^2 |\theta(e^{-i\omega})|^2 / |\varphi(e^{-i\omega})|^2$, where |.| is the norm of a complex number.

For white noise, its spectrum is

$$f(\omega) = \gamma_0 = \sigma^2, \quad (7)$$

a constant for all value of frequency ω . That is, the plot of the spectrum of white noise is flat against ω . The spectrum of white noise can be estimated through the periodogram of finite observations with length n . Let g_k be the sample autocovariance computed from the n observations of a stationary time series $\{Y_t\}$:

$$g_k = \sum_{t=k+1}^n (y_t - \bar{y})(y_{t-k} - \bar{y})/n, \quad (8)$$

where $\bar{y} = \sum_{t=1}^n y_t/n$. Then, the periodogram ordinates are

$$I(\omega) = g_0 + 2 \sum_{k=1}^{n-1} g_k \cos(k\omega). \quad (9)$$

usually computed at the Fourier frequencies $\omega_j = 2\pi j/n$. The plot of the periodogram ordinates gives a visual examination of the underlying spectrum of the process. For a sample of white noise, its $I(\omega)$ is distributed as $\sigma^2 \chi_2^2 / 2$, where χ_2^2 is a chi square random variable with 2 degrees of freedom. Note that $I(\omega)$ is an unbiased estimator of $f(\omega)$, but not consistent (Priestley 1981). Many techniques were proposed to construct unbiased and consistent estimators of $f(\omega)$ using functions of $I(\omega)$, and many tests on white noise can also be constructed via periodogram ordinates $I(\omega)$ (Priestley 1981).

White noise is not only the driving force for classic ARIMA models, it also plays a fundamental role in the popular Generalized Autoregressive and Conditional Heteroscedastic (GARCH) models in financial analysis, in vector cointegration models for economic time series, and in long memory time series models such as in Autoregressive Fractional Integrated Moving Average (ARFIMA(p,d,q)) models with d being a non-integer. White noise is the core of statistical analysis. However, some realizations of simple deterministic chaotic systems may exhibit white noise like sequences. The study of chaos requires new techniques and concepts that are beyond the classic approaches of time series analysis.

SEE ALSO *Autoregressive Models; Cointegration; Randomness; Regression; Regression Analysis; Residuals; Unit Root and Cointegration Regression*

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Dejian Lai

WHITE PRIMARY

Following Reconstruction (1865–1877), white southerners employed various tactics to minimize the economic, political, and social opportunities of former slaves and their descendants. The white primary, which limited blacks' political influence, was one. A primary is an election within a political party to select the party's nominees for public offices. Late in the 1800s states began to replace party conventions with primaries as nominating devices. The primary became a "white" primary as participation in it was denied to voters of color. Along with poll taxes and literacy tests, white primaries were "Jim Crow" laws, practices used in the South in the late 1800s and early 1900s to marginalize African Americans politically.

The white primary had significant discriminatory potential because the Democratic Party was virtually the only political institution involved in selecting public officials in the South. The Republican Party had virtually disappeared there; much of its numeric strength was contributed by black voters, whose numbers dwindled in the face of discriminatory voting laws and practices. By denying black voters the option of participating in Democratic Party nominations, they were left with few avenues for effective electoral involvement.

The creation of white primaries could be accomplished in several ways. First, the state could statutorily exclude African American voters from primaries. Alternatively, the Democratic Party itself could adopt rules that either denied the opportunity of party membership to black voters or prohibited black voters from casting ballots in primaries. White primaries could also be effectively created by using other discriminatory practices to disqualify black citizens from involvement in elections.

The black electorate was substantially reduced during this period by requiring prospective voters to pass literacy tests, pay poll taxes, and the like. Because most southern blacks had a rudimentary education at best and because of

the pervasive impoverished circumstances in which they lived, these policies were potent barriers to voting by black citizens. It was not particularly necessary to reinforce these devices with statutory white primaries. Moreover, some recognized that the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments to the U.S. Constitution might prevent enforcement of laws that overtly denied to African Americans the right to vote.

Nonetheless, additional efforts to exclude black voters from nomination and election processes were desired by Southern whites. The Democratic Party at the county and state levels began to impose rules that prohibited participation of black voters in party affairs. Texas, however, took this further. There, as in some other southern locations, Democratic factions occasionally relied on black votes to gain and retain official power. A San Antonio faction sought to weaken one of its rivals that used that practice by convincing the state legislature to adopt a statute prohibiting black voter participation in primaries. The Texas legislature passed just such a law in 1923. Two years earlier the U.S. Supreme Court had decided *Newberry v. United States* (1921), which sprang from a Michigan election for a U.S. Senate seat. In *Newberry* the Court held that Congress could not regulate campaign spending in congressional primaries because primaries were not elections under Article I, Section 4 of the U.S. Constitution. Texas proponents of a statutory white primary thus reasoned that prohibitions of racial discrimination in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments would not apply to their primaries.

The equal protection clause of the Fourteenth Amendment requires that states offer “equal protection” to all persons in their jurisdictions; it is a prohibition against a state acting in discriminatory fashion. The Fifteenth Amendment simply provides that citizens may not be denied the right to vote on the basis of race, color, or previous status as slaves; it overtly guarantees African Americans the right to vote in elections. The Court’s ruling in *Newberry* evaded these guarantees by holding that primaries were not a part of the electoral process.

Once the Texas statute was in place, a black El Paso doctor, L.A. Nixon, attempted to vote in a Democratic primary and was turned away. He sued Herndon, the election judge who prevented his voting, and claimed that his Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendment rights had been violated. The U.S. Supreme Court decided *Nixon v. Herndon* in 1927, evaluating its issues solely within the context of the Fourteenth Amendment; the Texas law was held to clearly violate the equal protection clause. No consideration was given to the relevance of the Fifteenth Amendment to the case, nor was the question of whether federal laws applied to party primaries taken up.

Texas responded to the decision by repealing the offending statute and passing a new law permitting a party’s state executive committee to determine the qualifications for political party membership. The Texas Democratic Party then passed a resolution affirming the right of qualified white Democratic voters to participate in the party’s primaries, but no one else. In a subsequent primary Nixon again attempted to vote and was again turned away. He sued once more, and the Supreme Court took up his claim in the case of *Nixon v. Condon* (1932).

The logic of Texas’s new law was that the Fourteenth Amendment specifically prohibited state action that is discriminatory, but the rule barring voting by black citizens was one adopted by the Texas Democratic Party, a private association. Since the rule was made and enforced by a private entity, proponents contended, the Fourteenth Amendment did not apply. The Court, however, disagreed, pointing out that the power to exclude black voters had been given to the party by the state and that the state was using the party to accomplish racial discrimination in voting, thereby violating the equal protection clause.

The Texas legislature then enacted a statute compelling political parties to employ the primary to nominate candidates and giving to parties complete responsibility for the actual conduct of the primary without state direction or supervision. When black voters were prevented from voting under this statute, yet another lawsuit resulted. This time the outcome was different. The Supreme Court ruled in *Grove v. Townsend* (1935) that since operation of the primary was totally in the hands of a private entity and since political parties could be viewed as “voluntary associations for political action,” a party might exclude African American voters without violating the equal protection clause. In these situations parties were not considered agents or instrumentalities of the state and could determine their own procedures as non-public institutions.

The Court’s ruling in *Townsend* might have ended the debate as to the legal legitimacy of white primaries for some time; however, an unrelated Louisiana lawsuit revived the issue. Primary officials in New Orleans were charged with election fraud in the course of conducting an election for a seat in the U.S. House of Representatives, a violation of federal law. Because there was no competition for the seat in the general election, the primary outcome was tantamount to election. The embattled election officials defended themselves by invoking *Newberry* and asserting that federal law applied only to general elections. In *United States v. Classic* (1941), however, the Supreme Court held that the Constitution created a right to voter participation even in primaries when it gave to “the people in the several states” the authority to select their dele-

gates to the House of Representatives, provided that the primaries are an integral part of electoral procedure. *Classic* thus reversed the Court's position in *Newberry*, but it made no reference to *Grovey*.

Black voters, though, saw in *Classic* a stepping-stone to link white primaries to constitutional prohibitions against voter discrimination based upon race. A black Houston dentist, Lonnie E. Smith, had been refused a ballot in the 1940 primary by S. E. Allwright, an election judge. Smith sued and invoked the Court's finding in *Classic*, and the Court sided with him and overruled *Grovey* in so doing. The Court noted the state's authority to regulate political parties and primaries and concluded that primaries were thus a mechanism for electing public officeholders. *Smith v. Allwright* (1944) thereby struck down the white primary as an unconstitutional infringement of black voters' rights.

The impact of white primaries as a delimiter of black voting is not clear, for their specific effects must be disentangled from those of other discriminatory practices and laws. Although it is apparent that African American participation in elections declined during the period white primaries were operated, some analysts assert that literacy tests and poll taxes were principally responsible for the decline in black voting. Similarly, the impact of white primaries' demise is not obvious; some argue that eliminating the white primary did little to stimulate black voter participation. However, the percentage increase in black voter registration from 1940 to 1947, during which time the white primary was outlawed, is matched only by the increase in black voter registration from 1960 to 1969, when the Voting Rights Act of 1965 was first implemented.

Dismantling the complete array of discriminatory devices was necessary to stimulate widespread African American involvement in politics in the South. If nothing else, litigating the status of primaries in the framework of American elections was essential to making their public role apparent not only to the legal community and to political elites but also to private citizens. Given the almost universal adoption of primaries as nomination devices across the nation, these lessons were as important to nonsoutherners as they were to voters in the South.

SEE ALSO *Democratic Party, U.S.; Discrimination; Discrimination, Racial; Equal Protection; Jim Crow; Politics, Black; Politics, Southern; Poll Tax; Reconstruction Era (U.S.); South, The (USA)*

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James F. Sheffield Jr.

WHITE SUPREMACY

White supremacy—the belief in the superiority of the white race, especially in matters of intelligence and culture—achieved the height of its popularity during the period of European colonial expansion to the Western Hemisphere, Africa, and Asia stretching from the late 1800s to the first half of the twentieth century. White supremacists have based their ideas on a variety of theories and supposedly proven facts; the most prominent of these include the claims of pseudoscientific racist academic research that attempted to correlate inferiority and pathological behavior with categories of racial phenotypes, especially head size in the case of eugenics. White supremacist belief has also been justified by the Biblical Hamitic hypothesis, which viewed blacks as the descendants of Ham who would be cursed for life. There is a direct correlation between the rise of imperialism and colonialism and the expansion of white supremacist ideology justifying the changing international order, which increasingly saw Europeans assuming political control over peoples of darker skin color through military force and ideological means, such as religion and education. It is important to note that the range of those considered “white” expanded considerably in the twentieth century. For example, in the United States, not all ethnic groups with white skin were initially considered white. It was not until well into the

twentieth century that the Irish and Italians, for example, were considered white. By the end of that century, the United States federal government had also expanded its definition of whites to include Arabs.

Various groups and institutions have used varieties of white supremacist thinking to organize followers socially and politically, often with the purpose of policing racial barriers. This activism has included, but not been limited to, the physical elimination of nonwhite populations (especially through violence), preventing cross-racial marriage, and maintaining racial segregation. The most well known examples of institutionalized white supremacy were “Jim Crow” segregation in the United States, apartheid in southern Africa, and the Nazi German state under Adolph Hitler, which sought a “final solution” through the extermination in gas chambers of millions of Jews and gypsies, and under which various racial medical experiments were carried out.

The academic field of anthropology has been most closely associated with theories of racial difference, including white supremacy. As anthropology developed as a field in Europe and North America in the 1800s, its epistemological foundations actually provided scholarly legitimacy to the practice of categorizing human beings according to race. In the twentieth century it was also the field that amassed the primary evidence to refute white supremacist thinking. Of particular note as regards this latter phase was the work of Franz Boas, whose fieldwork among North American indigenous peoples provided evidence to refute ideas that races and cultures could be placed in hierarchies that ranged from primitive to sophisticated, with the white race at the top.

After World War II (1939–1945), and the carnage caused by Nazi racial ideology, effort was invested by social scientists to refute white supremacist ideology. Of particular note was the “Statement by Experts on Problems of Race” that the then new United Nations sponsored and had published in the early 1950s. The list of scholars who supported the document comprised the most prominent thinkers on issues related to race at the time, including E. Franklin Frazier, Claude Levi-Strauss, Julian S. Huxley, Gunnar Myrdal, Joseph Needham, and Theodosius Dobzhansky. The central point of the Statement was that race was not based on biological difference and was actually a social construction because all the supposedly different human races belonged to the same species of *Homo sapiens*.

Due to publications such as the Statement and the mapping of the human genome (which provided additional evidence that there are few significant genetic differences between races), biological justifications for white supremacy popular during the first half of the twentieth century declined in prevalence in the second half.

Similarly, by the end of the century all states that had officially declared themselves to be white supremacist had been eliminated. However, white supremacist ideology was resuscitated by a number of social transformations that were particularly evident by the last decade of the twentieth century. These included the end of Communist states in eastern Europe, increased immigration to Europe and North America by nonwhite groups, and the growth of technologies to facilitate rapid transnational communication. White supremacy was deployed by various groups as an organizing tool. In eastern Europe, groups in the former Communist societies used it to create new identities in the wake of communism’s demise, and eastern Europe quickly became the center of neo-Nazi activism. In the United States, groups such as the World Church of the Creator and so-called citizen militias invoked religious and nationalist mythology to rally their believers against the increased power of racialized groups and the presence of illegal immigrants from Latin America. The expansion of the Internet was useful to these hate groups because it facilitated the exchange of documents and enabled the organization of adherents over vast distances. It also allowed some European white supremacy activists to obviate European antiracist propaganda laws that had been enacted after World War II.

The persistence of white privilege, even in societies where nonwhites are the majority, has meant that white supremacy and its consequences have not ceased to be sources of social scientific research. A notable event in the growth of “white studies” was the conference “The Making and Unmaking of Whiteness,” held at the University of California, Berkeley in April 1997. This yielded, four years later, a volume of the same name published by Duke University Press.

In the United States the legal scholar Cheryl Harris, the historian David Roediger, and the American Studies scholar George Lipsitz are among those whose work in white studies has been influential. Melissa Steyn, the South African, has also been a prominent thinker in the area.

White studies is best contextualized as another stage in the evolution of humanities and social science research on the functioning of social systems. One of the most prominent themes in the study of whiteness is identity formation. The argument for doing white studies, and putting it on par with other more established areas of ethnic studies such as black studies, is that the adoption of white identity and the related ideology of white supremacy confer privilege at the expense of others who cannot or will not invest in them.

SEE ALSO *Frazier, E. Franklin; Genomics; Hierarchy; Immigration; Inequality, Racial; Levi-Strauss, Claude; Myrdal, Gunnar; Nazism; Racism; Whiteness*

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Mark D. Alleyne

WHITENESS

Whiteness refers to the nature and social impact of white racial identity. "White" is best understood as a position in a racialized social structure; that is, it is a label that is meaningless outside of a social system where racial categories influence access to social, political, and economic resources and in the absence of other socially constructed identities such as "black" or "Asian."

Historically, the subject of whiteness was overlooked by mainstream social science in favor of an emphasis upon the "problems" of immigrants and minorities. When whiteness was taken into consideration, it was not as the focus of study, but as the mainstream or baseline against which other groups were compared. One significant exception to this line of thought was presented in African American sources such as the works of W. E. B. Du Bois and those compiled by the editors of *Ebony* magazine (1966) and David Roediger (1998). That this literature was overlooked is perhaps best understood as a reflection of the historical marginalization of the contribution of African American writers to the study of race relations.

Whiteness studies emerged in the late 1980s and early 1990s in such fields as history, sociology, critical legal studies, cultural studies, anthropology, and education. In sharp contrast to earlier work in the field of race and ethnic relations, whiteness studies involves an *explicit* focus upon the socially constructed nature of white racial identity and the role of whiteness in the reproduction of racism and racial inequality. This serves to emphasize that whites are an important racial collectivity and that it is important to understand how whites perform as racial actors (see Lewis 2004). Seminal early works included Roediger's *The Wages of Whiteness* (1991), Ruth Frankenberg's *White Women, Race Matters* (1993), and Peggy McIntosh's "White Privilege" (1988); these works were the vanguard of a large body of literature that flourished after 1995. Why whiteness studies emerged when it did is best explained by a combination of factors, includ-

ing the continuing challenge to white supremacy in the post-Civil Rights era, the changing racial demography of the United States, the decline of white ethnic identities, and intellectual trends that emphasized the social construction of race and the examination of identities.

MAJOR CONTRIBUTIONS

Major ideas and concepts that emerged from the field of whiteness studies are (1) the importance of white racial invisibility and white privilege, (2) the social and political impact of whiteness, and (3) the historical evolution of whiteness. White racial invisibility is the observation that for most white Americans under most circumstances, white racial identity has little or no social meaning. This "hidden" nature of whiteness is closely connected to the fact that white understandings and practices have historically constituted the social and cultural mainstream of American society. In essence, to be white is to be not different, to be "just like everyone else." White invisibility is also linked by many writers to white privilege, the unearned and invisible benefits (e.g., being viewed as an individual) that whites experience in everyday life (McIntosh [1988] 2002).

A second core insight of whiteness studies has emphasized the effect of white invisibility on racial politics and the reproduction of racial inequality. The hidden nature of whiteness has made it more difficult for many whites to understand the experiences of racial minorities and the persistence of racial inequality. This has led to the emergence of what many writers have termed *color-blind racial ideology* (see Bonilla-Silva 2001), the claim that racism is a thing of the past and that race no longer matters in American society. From the color-blind perspective, racial inequality is due to the failure of individuals to take advantage of opportunities for mobility. Carried to an extreme, it even leads to the claim that white Americans experience significant race-based economic and cultural victimization (see McKinney 2005).

The social and political effects of whiteness have also been studied at the institutional level. As Cheryl Harris observed in "Whiteness as Property" (1993), whiteness can be viewed as "property" in that it has historically embodied social and economic benefits for whites. The historian Ira Katznelson, in *When Affirmative Action Was White* (2005), chronicled how New Deal and other mid-twentieth-century programs widened the economic gap between white Americans and peoples of color. Other writers have highlighted how the government's urban, housing, and fiscal policies have resulted in the systematic and unequal accumulation of wealth by white Americans.

A third focus of whiteness studies has been on the evolution of whiteness. Much of this analysis has been historical, as scholars such as David Roediger (2005), Noel

Ignatiev (1995), and Matthew Frye Jacobson (1998) have traced how immigrants from Ireland and southern and eastern Europe initially faced both discrimination and an uncertain racial status but later “became” white and were absorbed into the dominant racial group. This argument is not universally accepted, as other writers (e.g., Guglielmo 2003) have asserted that groups such as Italians were “white on arrival,” and that their whiteness made it easier to be accepted into American society. What is less contentious is that European immigrants learned what it *meant* to be white in the United States, especially with respect to establishing themselves in contrast to African Americans.

Another element of the evolution of whiteness has involved the construction and reconfiguration of racial boundaries and the meaning of whiteness. As Ian Haney Lopez has documented in *White by Law* (1996), the question of who was (and who was not) white was socially contested and was frequently adjudicated by the courts. With the passage of time, white ethnic identities and intragroup boundaries have dissipated, leading to the emergence of a more generic white, European American identity (see Doane 1997). Future changes may continue to redefine whiteness. As Eduardo Bonilla-Silva asserted, social and demographic forces may lead to the expansion of “white” identity to include some Latino and Asian American groups, as well as persons claiming a multiracial identity (2003).

CRITIQUE AND FUTURE DIRECTIONS

While relatively new, whiteness studies is not without its critics. One charge leveled at whiteness studies, and at the study of racial groups and categories in general, is that the attention paid to whiteness tends to essentialize it as an objective and omnipotent social force. Whiteness studies has frequently been guilty of viewing whites as a homogeneous, monolithic social entity where certain qualities are ascribed to all whites. Clearly, while whiteness involves a shared social context that influences individual and group behavior, there are significant intragroup differences that determine how whiteness is perceived and experienced (see, for example, Hartigan 1999). In addition, as Margaret Andersen observed in “Whitewashing Race” (2003), authors writing on whiteness have tended to emphasize white identity and privilege while deflecting attention from key issues of power, inequality, and racism.

Whiteness studies faces many challenges in the future. Clearly, whiteness cannot be understood in isolation—apart from racism and racial inequality. It is also essential to study the complexity of whiteness; that is, to explore how variations in factors such as class and situation produce differences in the social role of whiteness. Equally

important is the need to keep abreast of changes in the nature and expression of whiteness. Past studies have highlighted moments when whites, both individually and collectively, became racially self-conscious actors, especially as a defense in the face of perceived challenges or threats from other groups (e.g., anti-Civil Rights movement backlash, various anti-immigrant movements). As U.S. society and its institutions become more diverse, the social and political meaning of whiteness will continue to evolve. If the field of whiteness studies is to make a meaningful contribution to understanding race and ethnic relations, then it must successfully confront these issues.

SEE ALSO *Racialization; Racism; Whites*

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Ashley ("Woody") Doane

WHITENING

From the 1400s to the 1900s European colonialism and imperialism exported an ideology of white superiority throughout the world, rationalizing European ascendancy over indigenous, inferior-raced peoples fit for conquest, exploitation, and domination. From this history a white-dominated sociopolitical order has been constituted, normalized, and maintained. As a result whiteness and the process of "whitening" have emerged as both ideal and practice. Significantly whiteness as an ideal communicates ideas about superiority with respect to moral or intellectual and aesthetic worth. Although conceptually distinct, there is a psychological tendency to conflate the two, and attempts at whitening, by both individuals and nations, have sought to capitalize on a supposed white superiority in both respects.

WHITENING AS AN INDIVIDUAL IDEAL

The elevation of whiteness both justifies the material and psychological privileging of whiteness and reinforces the white ideal. Unsurprisingly this has encouraged individuals to adopt a variety of strategies aimed at whitening physical appearance. Skin lightening is a prominent example, and the United States is instructive in examining how this strategy emerged historically.

The institution of U.S. slavery was undergirded by powerful rules maintaining racial differentiation, including those regarding hypodescent. According to the "one-drop rule," individuals with any ascertainable "Negro

blood" were considered black, a determination that served slaveholders' property interests in slaves while reinforcing the ideological fiction of white purity and superiority. Slaveholders also instigated tension between lighter- and darker-skinned blacks through colorism, differentiating among blacks to prevent their alliance in potential revolts. Lighter-skinned slaves were often "privileged" as house servants relative to darker "field" slaves, for example, receiving less-violent treatment and greater opportunities for education, skilled labor, and even manumission.

In this extreme racialized context, enslaved African Americans began applying lye and other harsh cleaning products to lighten their skin. Other household concoctions included applying lemon juice, bleach, and even urine to the skin and swallowing arsenic wafers. Advancements in modern medicine encouraged more scientifically "legitimate" methods, researched and developed by the medical community. Whitening products began appearing during the nineteenth century, and by the early twentieth century hundreds of unique brands were available.

In the early twenty-first century skin whitening is a global, multibillion-dollar industry that includes major cosmetics corporations, including L'Oreal, Maybelline New York, and Lancôme Paris. L'Oreal alone made \$14 billion on skin whitening products in 2003. In the United States and elsewhere, consumers of whitening products include not only blacks but also other people of color and darker-complexioned whites. Typical products include soaps, creams, and ointments that often contain mercury, topical corticosteroids, or hydroquinone, each of which disrupts melanin production in the skin. Although touted as safe by regulators, side effects of such products range from permanent spots and splotchiness to disfigurement and even poisoning. Indeed whitening products are often made in third world countries, imported legally and illegally, and sold on Internet domains to avoid regulations and critical resistance.

Reinforced by popular media and persistent disparate treatment, marketing of the white beauty ideal extends beyond skin whitening to include hair straightening, hair weaving, and colored contact lenses. Increasingly popular are more permanent and medically intrusive procedures, such as plastic surgery. Consider, for example, the use of rhinoplasty among black and Jewish Americans and the growing prevalence of eyelid surgery among Asian Americans. Even strategies such as marrying "lighter" and distancing oneself from dark-skinned people and communities, both literally and through self-classification, are considered forms of whitening by some scholars.

WHITENING AS A NATIONAL PRACTICE

Significantly the whiteness ideal has not only influenced individuals but has also become the basis of large-scale state policies seeking to whiten national populations. Many Latin American countries in particular—including Brazil, Venezuela, Cuba, Argentina, Uruguay, and Colombia—enacted collective whitening strategies during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Such efforts typically revolved around promoting white European immigration (often while restricting immigrants of color) and encouraging “race mixing,” or miscegenation, as a way of gradually lightening the total population. Brazil offers one of the best-examined cases of a whitening ideology influencing national goals.

Portugal colonized Brazil beginning in the sixteenth century, dominating the indigenous population and instituting the importation of 3.6 million enslaved Africans over three centuries. Brazil’s racial composition was dramatically altered both directly via slavery and via the mixed-race children born of frequent unions (often violent and coerced) between Portuguese colonizers and African and indigenous women. By the end of the eighteenth century blacks and their descendants formed a majority of the Brazilian population.

Brazil’s largely mixed-race population was problematized in the nineteenth century, as Europe’s burgeoning race “science” reached the nation. Such theories validated the white political and economic domination characteristic of colonial nations by asserting the superiority of the white race, associated with progress and advancement, while deeming other, darker races as inferior and backward. The views of Count Arthur de Gobineau of France were exemplary of such thinking. For Gobineau, Brazil epitomized the perils of miscegenation, which in his view had produced a degenerate people, dooming the country to perpetual underdevelopment.

As a way out of such fatalistic predictions, Brazil turned to the project of whitening, or *blanqueamiento*, as a national solution. Brazilian eugenicists proposed a theory of “constructive miscegenation” based on the belief that white genes were stronger and would “dominate” and “purify” colored blood. Miscegenation was rearticulated as an assurance that Brazil could achieve a whitened population over several generations and the inferior features of African and indigenous ancestry overcome. To further hasten the process of national whitening, Brazil encouraged, recruited, and subsidized European immigration to fill postslavery labor needs while simultaneously prohibiting black (both African and American) and Asian immigration. The Brazilian government attempted to lure European immigrants, both directly and through landowners, by paying transportation costs, exempting

tax payments and military service, and offering loans, grants, and other material incentives. European immigration promised to whiten the population both by literally increasing the number of whites in the country and through ensuing miscegenation.

While Brazil’s first census in 1872 documented 37 percent of the population as white, by the 1890s more than 1.2 million Europeans had immigrated, bolstering the percentage to 44 percent. Mass European immigration halted with the onset of World War II, but by 1940 fully 64 percent of Brazil’s population was white. From 1940 onward the brown, mixed-race population increased, while the black population steadily declined.

Of Latin American nations, Argentina was perhaps the most “successful” with respect to whitening, virtually eliminating the Afro-descendant racial group. Colombia offers a unique comparison. When European immigration proved unattainable, elites sought the next best thing—interregional migration as a means of whitening. For example, elites from the Colombian region of Cauca encouraged the migration of neighboring Antioqueños, emphasizing their European- and “Yankee-like” qualities and appearance.

Predominantly white countries, while not instituting explicit whitening policies, have attempted to maintain the national dominance of whiteness. For instance, the United States, Canada, and Australia all maintained discriminatory immigration policies, privileging white European immigrants and limiting or excluding immigrants of color until the late twentieth century. Historically the United States engaged in other legal efforts to firmly differentiate between whites and people of color, particularly blacks, including codifying racial designations through rules of hypodescent, limiting non-white citizenship, barring miscegenation, and enacting legalized segregation. Additionally, although some early immigrants, including the Irish and Italians, were originally discriminated against as nonwhite “races,” white elites eventually extended what has come to be known as the “wage of whiteness” to such groups in an effort to manage changing demographics and diminish the likelihood of cross-racial coalitions. Clearly practices such as these serve to entrench the racial structure that privileges whiteness both nationally and globally.

In the early twenty-first century the ideology of white superiority persists, although its expression may be less explicit. Nonetheless, as long as whiteness is maintained as a privileged status, materially and psychologically, whitening, as both ideal and practice, will also persist.

SEE ALSO *Black Face; Blackness; Colorism; Preference, Color; Racism; Whiteness; Whites*

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WHITES

The issue of whiteness is intimately tied to the issue of social construction. Whiteness is a social construction that serves to empower some and disenfranchise others. The fact of the social construction is often masked as a referent to biological categories. As Grace Elizabeth Hale points out, “Long before they [whites] conceived of regional differences, early Americans linked skin color to the origins of peoples, using it to distinguish various nationalities and ethnicities of African, Native Americans, and Europeans” (Hale 1998, p. 4). David Roediger suggests that “the term *white* arose as a designation for European explorers, traders, and settlers who came into contact with Africans and the indigenous people of the Americas” (Roediger 1991, p. 21). The early uses of the term *white* were to distinguish Native Americans and Africans from Europeans.

According to Karyn McKinney, “Before it became popular to write of the ‘social constructions of whiteness,’ African American scholars, such as W. E. B. Dubois, James Baldwin, and Ralph Ellison had recognized race as a social rather than biological trait, and the fact that one ‘becomes,’ rather than is born, white.” Ellison and other black scholars also highlighted the observation that the quickest way for an immigrant to “become” white, and thus feel “instantly American,” was to learn to deride African Americans (McKinney 2005, p. 11).

The historical boundaries of whiteness continue to change over time. As Matthew Frye Jacobson (1998) has noted, the historical construction of whiteness was tied to the political notion of “fitness for government,” and the process of defining who was or was not white occurred largely as a result of legal decisions in the determination of citizenship (Haney-López 1996). Furthermore, Joe Feagin, Hernán Vera, and Pinar Batur suggest:

Those called “whites” in the United States and across the globe are really not white in skin color but rather are some shade of brown, tan, pink, or mixture thereof. These truer-to-life skin colors, however, are not generally associated with the qualities—such as purity, innocence, and privilege—to which “white” skin is often linked. White people do not exist in the flesh; they are a social construction. (Feagin et al. 2001, p. 2)

THE WAGE OF WHITENESS

W. E. B. Du Bois (1868–1963) considered the economic aspects of embracing the ideology of whiteness. He brilliantly developed a concept for analyzing class—the *psychological wages of whiteness*. This concept spearheaded contemporary scholarship on the process of immigrants embracing the category of white in America. The psychological wage of whiteness meant that:

The white group of laborers, while they received a low wage, was compensated in part by a sort of public and psychological wage. They were given public deference and titles of courtesy because they were white. They were admitted freely with all classes of white people to public functions, public parks, and the best schools. The police were drawn from their ranks and the courts, dependent on their votes, treated them with leniency as to encourage lawlessness. Their vote selected public officials, and while this had small effect upon the economic situation, it had great effect upon their personal treatment and the deference shown them (DuBois [1935] 1969, pp. 700–701).

As Noel Ignatiev suggests:

The hallmark of racial oppression [is the reduction of] all members of the oppressed group to one undifferentiated social status, a status beneath that of any member of any social class within the dominant group.... It follows, therefore, that the white race consists of those who partake of the privileges of the white skin in this society. Its most wretched members share a status higher, in certain respects, than that of the most exalted persons excluded from it. (Ignatiev 1995, p. 1)

McKinney further notes that “in the United States whiteness is so central a social reality, so ‘normal,’ that most whites of all ages rarely examine the reality of their white identities and privileges. For most whites, including scholars and commentators, even the term ‘American’ seems to conjure up the image of a white person” (McKinney 2005, p. xii).

HOW THE IRISH AND JEWS BECAME WHITE

The Irish became white, according to Ignatiev, when they immigrated to America “in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries [because] they were fleeing caste oppression and a system of landlordism that made the material conditions of the Irish peasant comparable to those of an American slave” (Ignatiev 1995, p. 2). The Irish, upon arrival, found themselves thrown into the neighborhoods, status, and categorization of African Americans. They quickly discovered the importance of skin color and adopted the ideology of a racial hierarchy that was pervasive in America. The Irish made a conscious choice to enter the white race.

To the Irish, embracing the country’s racial ideologies offered the benefit of a degree of privilege and citizenship that was not provided to African Americans. Becoming white meant that they were not restricted to working and selling their goods in segregated areas. “It meant that they were citizens of a democratic republic and they could vote,

live where they wanted to live, and spend without racially imposed restrictions. In becoming white the Irish ceased to be Green” (Ignatiev 1995, p. 3).

The Irish did not just become white because they wanted to be white; Brodtkin suggests that they were assisted and supported by Jacksonian Democrats and the white elite. The willingness of the Irish to participate in organized racial violence against African Americans also contributed to their being accepted into the white racial hierarchy (Brodtkin 1998, p. 65). According to Roediger, the Irish worker embraced white supremacy and thus gained popularity in America: “The success of the Irish in being recognized as white resulted largely from the political power of Irish and other immigrant voters” (Roediger 1991, p. 137).

The techniques utilized by the Irish to become white resemble the ways in which American Jews became white. For the Jews, becoming white was based on the assistance of the federal government and their willingness to embrace the white racial hierarchy and ideology. According to Brodtkin, who is Jewish, all the members of her family had to learn the ways of whiteness through years of socializing with whites. “The myth that Jews pulled themselves up by their own bootstraps ignores the fact that it took federal programs to create the conditions whereby the abilities of Jews and other European immigrants could be recognized and rewarded rather than denigrated and denied” (Brodtkin 1998, p. 50). Jews embraced the country’s racial hierarchy, and they received aid from federal programs set in place after World War II (1939–1945). Many of the programs were designed to discriminate against African Americans who had served in the war. Jews became white and enjoyed the benefits of federal programs such as the GI Bill, the Federal Housing Administration, and the Veterans Administration. These programs overlooked and denied benefits to African Americans. And like other white ethnic groups had done in the past, to prove their commitment to embracing their white status, Jews engaged in racial violence that targeted African Americans and other people of color.

CRITIQUING “WHITE”-NESS

Brodtkin and Ignatiev attribute becoming white to acquiring political, social, and economic acceptance, as well as assimilating into the American lifestyle. However, Eduardo Bonilla-Silva points out, “When race emerged in human history, it formed a social structure (a racialized social system) that awarded systemic privileges to Europeans (the peoples who became ‘white’).... Since actors racialized as ‘white’—or as members of the dominant race—receive material benefits from the racial order, they struggle (or passively receive the manifold wages of whiteness) to maintain their privileges” (Bonilla-Silva 2003, p. 9). Those who

have become white, such as the Irish, Jews, and some white Latinos, go on to embrace the white racial hierarchy and ideology of the dominant society.

Joe Feagin similarly points out:

In its use for human groups, the word “white” was originally defined by the English colonist mainly in contrast with “black”.... White defined who the European Americans were, and who they were not. Whiteness was indeed a major and terrible invention, one that solidified white thinking into an extensive and racialized either/or framework and that came to symbolize for whites the “ownership of the earth” and “civilization.” (Feagin 2006, pp. 14–15)

“Moreover,” according to Feagin, “whites are collectively so powerful that they pressure all new immigrants groups, including immigrants of color, to collude in the white-racist system by adopting not only general white ways of doing and speaking ... but also the white racial frame and its view of the racial hierarchy of U.S. society” (Feagin 2006, p. 292). New immigrants who come into the United States strive to speak, dress, and act white based upon the white racial hierarchy that decides who is white and who is nonwhite. Furthermore, buying into the cultural attributes of whiteness includes internalizing and supporting antiblack sentiment.

Chris Cuomo and Kim Hall suggest that because of the role of whiteness “in justifying and maintaining racism and colonialism in the United States (and, now, most of the world), whiteness is uniquely located on the racial map. For whites to fail to consider whiteness as a historical, constructed, and dynamic category is to risk treating it as normal (rather than normalizing), uniform (not immeasurably variable), paradigmatic (instead of fundamental to racism), and given (rather than dutifully maintained)” (Cuomo and Hall 1999, p. 3). In the early years of the twenty-first century, the historical techniques of becoming white are being adopted by new Latino immigrants who, for the purpose of reaping the benefits of whiteness, classify themselves as white.

SEE ALSO *Race; Racism; Whiteness*

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WHOLESALE PRICE INDEX

The Wholesale Price Index (WPI) measures average price changes over time in the stage prior to the final demand, covering therefore the flow of goods and services from the wholesaler to the retailer. Available on a daily, weekly, monthly, or quarterly basis, this index supplies information constructed from the point of view of gross transactions at the purchaser's prices, information that is useful to understand, anticipate, or coordinate the economic activity, particularly in large-scale industrial economies. Because there is a short interval between the inquiries and the public release of the indexes (the norm being divulgation two weeks after the end of the month or the quarter), the information provided by the synthesis-numbers allows producers, traders, and government officials to gauge, at a glance, the current tendencies of economic evolution. This practical and utilitarian nature is further reinforced by the fact that the Wholesale Price Index captures price movements in advance to the retail level, and is likely to foreshadow subsequent changes in the price of goods and services purchased by consumers. In vertical, integrated markets this time advance tends to be shorter in circumstances of price increases and longer in price decreases.

Historically, the revolution in transportation and communications of the late nineteenth century paved the way for the appearance of this kind of aggregate measure-

ment of prices. The connection between the network of enterprises and businessmen working out in distant regions became reinforced through the public diffusion of economic statistics such as prices composites, aggregate index of commodities, and wholesale price indices published by several U.S. newspapers. At the beginning of the twentieth century important nongovernmental institutions also set up solid reputations in the release of weekly and daily series of index numbers. The first official initiatives came out almost simultaneously in the United States (1902) and in Europe (United Kingdom, 1903), in response to parliamentary investigations into the effects of laws and tariffs on domestic prices. Japan saw the establishment of a Wholesale Price Index of Tokyo City in 1897, through the initiative of the Bank of Japan.

A major drawback of these pioneer undertakings was the proliferation of methods for computing the average price of the commodities, and also the limited coverage given by price quotations. The introduction of a system of weighting, combined with an enlarged sample of goods taken from widely distributed markets, under the responsibility of the United States Bureau of Labor Statistics in 1914 marked a new phase in the credibility of governmental agencies. Up to the present time, the formula that closely approximates the computation procedures in use around the world for weighting the “basket of commodities” comprised in the Wholesale Price Index is some variant of the index formula suggested by Etienne Laspeyres in 1871. Thanks to these developments, the scope of the Wholesale Price Index is additionally extended from a micro benchmark indicator and a reference for escalating purchase and sales contracts to a macroeconomic indicator for the formulation of fiscal and monetary policies, and to a deflator used to adjust economic time series.

SEE ALSO *Inflation; Price Indices; Prices*

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WICKSELL EFFECTS

The term *Wicksell effects* was introduced by Joan Robinson (1953, p. 95) during a debate in the theory of capital (see Kurz and Salvadori 1995, chapter 14). There is a distinction between *price Wicksell effects* and *real Wicksell effects*

(henceforth, PWE and RWE). A PWE relates to a change in relative prices corresponding to a change in income distribution, given the system of production in use. A RWE in addition takes into account the problem of the choice of technique. The “changes” under consideration refer to comparisons of long-period equilibria.

Knut Wicksell (1954; 1934, pp. 147–151) discussed these effects within an “Austrian” framework of the analysis, which conceives of production as a one-way avenue of finite length leading from the services of original factors of production, in particular labor, via some intermediate products to consumption goods. Before Wicksell they had been studied by the classical economists, especially David Ricardo (*Works* I, pp. 30–43), who wrote that relative prices depend on income distribution because of the “variety of circumstances under which commodities are actually produced” (*Works* IV, p. 368). This in conjunction with the fact that “profits [are] increasing at a compound rate ... makes a great part of the difficulty” (*Works* IX, p. 387). Ricardo also tackled the problem of the dependence of the chosen technique on distribution in his disquisitions on rent and on machinery (1951–1973). The classical economists and Karl Marx typically conceived of production as a *circular flow* where commodities are produced by means of commodities.

The source of PWEs can be illustrated by expressing the ratio of the prices of two commodities, *A* and *B*, by means of their “reduction to dated quantities of labour” (Sraffa 1960, chapter VI). Call p_a and p_b the prices of one unit each of two commodities, w the wage rate per unit of labor (paid *post factum*), and r the rate of interest (or profits). Then we have

$$\frac{p_a}{p_b} = \frac{wl_{a0} + (1+r)wl_{a1} + (1+r)^2wl_{a2} + \dots}{wl_{b0} + (1+r)wl_{b1} + (1+r)^2wl_{b2} + \dots + (1+r)^nwl_{an} + \dots + (1+r)^nwl_{bn} + \dots}$$

(On the RHS of the equation w could be eliminated.) Obviously, l_{a0} (l_{b0}) gives the amount of labor expended directly on the last stage of producing one unit of commodity *a* (*b*); l_{a1} (l_{b1}) the amount expended directly on the last but one stage; and so on. Whereas with the Austrian concept each series is finite, with the classical circular flow concept it is infinite. Because for a given system of production the rate of interest and wages are inversely related (as has already been established, albeit imperfectly, at the

time of the classical economists), a change in distribution typically affects the prices of the two commodities differently: It all depends on how the total amounts of labor expended are distributed over time—whether or not relatively much labor is expended in early periods of time and little in later ones. Because with a rise of w and the corresponding fall of r the size of each term in each of the reduction equations (except the first one) is pulled in different directions, the overall effect of a change in distribution on relative prices depends on how the time patterns of the labor inputs compare with one another, with compound interest as a magnifier.

With a choice of technique, a change in the real wage rate may prompt cost-minimizing producers to change the methods of production to produce the various commodities. This brings us to the concept of RWE. In order to be able to compare the new situation with the original one, it has to be assumed that in both situations the same net output is produced; typically the economy is taken to be in a stationary state both before and after the change. The questions to be answered are: (1) which technique will be chosen in the new situation?; (2) what will then be the level of the other distributive variable and the set of normal prices?; and, most importantly, (3) is it possible to say anything definite about how the two situations compare with one another?

To illustrate RWEs, we may refer back to the equation above, but now A and B stand for two different processes of production of a *given* commodity available to producers. In competitive conditions the method chosen will be the one that allows one to produce the commodity at lower unit costs and thus a lower price.

Marginalist theory, of which Austrian theory is but a variant, maintains that both effects are positive. A *positive PWE* means that with a rise (fall) in the rate of interest, consumption goods will become relatively more (less) expensive compared with capital goods. The reason given is that consumption goods are said to be produced more capital intensively than are capital goods, because consumption goods emerge at the end of the production process, whereas capital goods are intermediate products that gradually “mature” towards the final product. The higher (lower) the rate of interest, the less (more) expensive the intermediate products in terms of a standard consisting of a (basket of) consumption good(s). At the macro level of a stationary economy (in which the net product contains only consumption goods), this implies that with a rise in the rate of interest, the value of the net social product rises relatively to the value of the aggregate of capital goods employed. Clearly, seen from the marginalist perspective, a positive PWE with regard to the relative price of the two aggregates under consideration involves a negative relationship between the aggregate

capital-to-net output ratio on the one hand and the interest rate on the other. Let $K/Y = \mathbf{x}\mathbf{p}(r)/\mathbf{y}\mathbf{p}(r)$ designate the capital-output ratio, where \mathbf{x} is the row vector of capital goods, \mathbf{y} the row vector of net outputs, and $\mathbf{p}(r)$ the column vector of prices (in terms of the consumption vector) which depends on r); then the marginalist message is:

$$\frac{\partial(K/Y)}{\partial r} \leq 0 \quad (I)$$

Because for a given system of production the amount of labor is constant irrespective of the level of the rate of interest, the ratio of the value of the capital goods and the amount of labor employed, or capital-labor ratio, K/L , would also tend to fall (rise) with a rise (fall) in the rate of interest:

$$\frac{\partial(K/L)}{\partial r} \leq 0 \quad (II)$$

This is the first claim marginalist authors put forward. The second is that RWEs are also positive. A *positive RWE* means that with a rise (fall) in the rate of interest, cost-minimizing producers switch to methods of production that generally exhibit higher (lower) labor intensities, “substituting” for the “factor of production” that has become more expensive—“capital” (labor)—the one that has become less expensive—labor (“capital”). Hence (II) is said to apply also in this case. The assumed positivity of the RWE underlies the marginalist concept of a demand function for labor (capital) that is inversely related to the real wage rate (rate of interest).

Careful scrutiny of the marginalist argument has shown that it cannot be sustained generally: There is no presumption that PWEs and RWEs are invariably positive. In fact, there is no presumption that techniques can be ordered monotonically with the rate of interest (Sraffa 1960). As Mas-Colell (1989) stressed, the relationship between K/L and r can have almost any shape. The finding that PWEs and RWEs need not be positive challenges the received doctrine of the working of the economic system as it is portrayed by conventional economic theory with its reference to the “forces” of demand and supply.

SEE ALSO *Cambridge Capital Controversy*; *Capital*

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Heinz D. Kurz

WIDOW'S CRUSE

The term *widow's cruse* was first used in economics by John Maynard Keynes (1930, p. 139) in the presentation of his fundamental equations. Keynes argued that enterprise macroeconomic profits, as he defined them there, or what we would now call “business retained earnings,” moved up one-to-one with increases in investment and increases in consumption out of profits. Thus, Keynes argued that “however much of their profits entrepreneurs spend on consumption, the increment of wealth belonging to entrepreneurs remains the same as before. Thus profits, as a source of capital increment for entrepreneurs, are a widow's cruse which remains undepleted however much of them may be devoted to riotous living” (p. 139). Keynes was then making a reference to the Old Testament story (1 Kings 17) in which a widow was assured that her barrel of meat and jar of oil would never be depleted.

The analogy was later picked up by Nicholas Kaldor (1956), when he presented his Keynesian theory of income distribution and growth. Both Keynes (1930) and Kaldor (1956) assumed full employment. For both of them, lower propensities to save would lead to an increase in prices relative to costs, and this would entail higher profits in the static case of Keynes and higher profit share and profit rates in the dynamic case of Kaldor.

In the meantime, another version of the widow's cruse was put forward by Michał Kalecki (1942), without the full-employment assumption, based on adjustments through quantities (real output and employment) rather than prices. Kalecki's equation reads that $Profits = Investment + Consumption Out of Profits$, under the classical assumption that wages are all spent. Taking the public sector into account, government deficit should be added to the right-hand side. Kalecki's equation has given rise to the aphorism—attributed to Kalecki, but which can be found in Kaldor (1956, p. 96)—that “capitalists earn what they spend, and workers spend what they earn.” This aphorism shows the asymmetry in capitalist relations:

Capitalists can always decide to spend more (provided banks accept to finance additional investment), whereas workers cannot decide to earn more, because this depends on the employment they are offered by entrepreneurs. Modern versions of this quantity-adjusting theory can be found in the so-called Kaleckian models of growth, which show that a decrease in the propensity to save leads to higher rates of output growth and higher rates of profit.

The widow's cruse is the price-adjusting equivalent of the quantity-adjusting paradox of thrift. With output adjusting through the multiplier, the short-run version of the paradox of thrift asserts that individual efforts to increase saving will be useless, and that, instead, output will fall, as was outlined by Keynes in 1936. But this is simply the quantity analogue of the mechanisms he was describing in 1930 as the “Danaid jar,” which can never be filled up, or the “banana parable,” whereby a thrift campaign in a banana-producing economy will lead only to rotten bananas, heavy business losses, large unpaid bank loans, and destroyed wealth.

The widow's cruse is just as relevant now as it was at the eve of the Great Depression. Mainstream economists and right-wing think tanks are still chanting the virtues of household savings and government budget surpluses, without realizing that household expenditures have sustained the U.S. economic boom and that government deficits add to business profits. The issue of public pension-funds finance is also related to the widow's cruse, which implies that such funds can only be financed as a pay-as-you-go redistribution mechanism: If one attempts to save too much, the savings will vanish like the rotten bananas.

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Marc Lavoie

WILLIAMS, ERIC 1911–1981

Eric Eustace Williams was chief minister, premier, and prime minister respectively of Trinidad and Tobago from 1956 to 1981. He was also one of the Anglophone Caribbean's first professionally trained historians. Several outstanding self-trained historians preceded him. Edward

Wilmot Blyden (1832–1912) of Saint Thomas, J. J. Thomas (1840–1889) of Trinidad, J. A. Rogers (c. 1883–1966) of Jamaica, Theophilus A. Marrayshow (1887–1958) of Grenada, C. L. R. James (1901–1989) and George Padmore (1903–1959) of Trinidad, and Norman Eustace Cameron (1903–1983) of Guyana were among his precursors and contemporaries. Most of these men had no university training or had studied subjects other than history. When Eric Williams graduated first among the firsts at Oxford University in 1935 and went on to obtain his D.Phil. there in 1938, he ushered in a new era in Anglophone Caribbean historical scholarship.

Williams grew up in Port of Spain, the son of a minor civil servant. He had a distinguished academic record from childhood and won an island scholarship, the ultimate achievement of high school excellence. This entitled him to a free university education, and he broke with tradition by choosing to read history, rather than the law or medicine favored by scholarship winners before and after him. Along the way Williams experienced an unusually eclectic array of influences. C. Augustin Petioni, later a pioneer of Marcus Garvey's (1887–1940) Universal Negro Improvement Association and a leader of the Caribbean independence movement in the United States, was a friend of his father. So was T. A. Marrayshow, a pioneer journalist and the "father of West Indian federation." Williams's brilliance in elementary school brought him the long-standing patronage of Englishman J. O. Cutteridge, arguably the most important figure in the era of colonial education in Trinidad, but a man much disliked in nationalist circles. At Queens Royal College in Port of Spain, C. L. R. James, later one of the outstanding intellectual figures of his generation, was both Williams's teacher and a fellow member of the school's cricket team.

While at Oxford, Williams interacted extensively with James, Padmore, and their coterie of Pan-Africanist (and often Marxist) radicals. He interested himself in the affairs of various nationalist groups, including those of Indian students. As an Afro-Caribbean person in England he inevitably came into contact with racism.

In 1939 Williams began teaching at Howard University, America's most prestigious African American university at the time. Here he interacted with a cast of brilliant scholars, among them Alain Locke (1886–1954), Ralph Bunche (1886–1954), Rayford Logan (1897–1982), and E. Franklin Frazier (1894–1962). Williams distinguished himself even in this distinguished crowd. Two Rosenwald fellowships enabled him to pay research visits to the non-English speaking territories of the Greater Antilles. He won the *Journal of Negro History's* prize for best article of 1940. His first book, *The Negro in the Caribbean*, appeared in 1942 in a series edited by Locke. His second, *The Economic Future of the*

Caribbean, coedited with Frazier, was published in 1944. In 1944 his magnum opus, *Capitalism and Slavery*, was published by the University of North Carolina Press.

Capitalism and Slavery, a revised version of Williams's doctoral dissertation, assured him a position of preeminence in Caribbean historiography. It demonstrated in exhaustive detail how the unprecedented profits generated by the slave trade in Africans provided the economic wherewithal for the Industrial Revolution in England. Williams argued that the productive forces unleashed by the Industrial Revolution in turn eventually made slavery itself obsolete. For the new industrial and technological age, slavery had become an outmoded form of production and a brake on development. Slavery was abolished in the British Empire as a result of these economic forces. The abolitionist "saints" of British historiography were not primarily responsible for abolitionism. Theirs was a secondary role, which, happily for them, happened to coincide with the economic necessity of the time. *Capitalism and Slavery* was hailed as a masterpiece in some quarters and as an unwarranted attack on cherished orthodoxy in others. The battle over this book has never subsided.

Williams's book was doubtless influenced by his very unique attributes. Here was an Afro-Caribbean colonial who had beaten the best that the mother country had to offer, in the most prestigious of English universities. He had also indulged actively in the radical anticolonial activity of the time. He acknowledged C. L. R. James as the source of the thesis that underlay his book. James's *The Black Jacobins* (1938) had posited a similar idea for the French colonial empire, and Williams had helped James work on this book. Williams's years in the United States, while he revised his dissertation, were also a period of constant contact with Caribbean and African American radicals, as well as with such establishment institutions as the Anglo-American Caribbean Commission and the Organization for Strategic Services, a U.S. espionage agency (for both of which Williams worked). Williams was a full-time official for the Anglo-American Caribbean Commission (later the Caribbean Commission) from 1946 to 1955. In this capacity he crisscrossed the Caribbean and researched a huge swath of Caribbean economic and social life. This complemented his already deep knowledge of the area's history. There was probably no one else who could rival his historical and contemporary knowledge of the area.

The excellence of *Capitalism and Slavery* and Williams's many articles in scholarly journals did not open the door to major publishers. The University of North Carolina Press required him to pay a considerable subsidy, which he was able to raise only after several months of effort. It would be a quarter of a century before another major publisher would do the first printing on any of his

books. Various subsequent publishing proposals came to naught. His manuscript on *Education in the British West Indies* remained unpublished for years until he published it in Trinidad in 1950. Between 1944 and 1969 Williams nevertheless authored or edited nine important works, all published directly or indirectly through his own efforts. Some were published under the auspices of his Historical Society of Trinidad and Tobago. Some were published by the press of the Peoples National Movement (PNM), the political party that took him to political power in Trinidad in 1956. In 1969 André Deutsch published Williams's autobiography, *Inward Hunger*, the first of his books to be initially released by a major publisher in twenty-five years.

Williams wrote history with a passion matched by few professional historians. For him history was a tool of the anticolonial struggle and a stepping stone to politics. His *Historical Society of Trinidad and Tobago* brought history to the masses in the early 1950s. He spread the society's work with the same energy that had characterized his efforts to promote *Capitalism and Slavery*. (He bought copies from the publishers and resold them himself through a network of friends and helpers). His *Education in the British West Indies* (1950) was a manifesto for a Caribbean university. His *History of the People of Trinidad and Tobago* (1962) was an independence gift to his nation written, in between his political duties, in one month.

The professional Anglophone historians who followed Williams were often ambivalent toward his historical activism. Elsa Gouveia, the doyenne of the first generation of indigenous historians at the University of the West Indies, vitriolically denounced his *British Historians and the West Indies* (1964) for substituting "new shibboleths for old." Williams envisaged this work as an exposé of the "prejudices of metropolitan historians."

Williams's last major work, *From Columbus to Castro* (1970), was a survey textbook for university students. He had worked on it for years. It was vintage Williams, with a lively dogmatic style and a heavy bias toward economic history. It reflected his strengths in the colonial period, but was less detailed on the twentieth century.

Williams's many important works do not provide a complete picture of his historical activity. He published voluminously in academic and popular publications, and issued many of his political speeches as pamphlets. The *Caribbean Historical Review*, published under the auspices of his Historical Society of Trinidad and Tobago, released four issues between 1950 and 1954.

SEE ALSO *Anticolonial Movements; Capitalism; Industrialization; James, C. L. R.; Plantation; Plantation Economy Model; Slavery*

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Tony Martin

WILMINGTON RIOT OF 1898

American history is filled with violent racial conflict, oftentimes justified by the perpetrators as necessary to protect (or avenge) honor, life, or property. The Wilmington Riot of 1898 was not an act of spontaneous

violence. Rather, the events of November 10, 1898, were the culmination of a long-range plan by Democratic Party leaders to win control of the city of Wilmington and North Carolina. The party leadership used the concept of white supremacy to regain power lost as a result of a Populist and Republican coalition known as Fusion. Fusionists gained control of the General Assembly in 1894, and, in 1896, elected Daniel Russell as the state's first Republican governor since 1877. In 1897 Fusionists made sweeping changes to the city's charter and state government in favor of African Americans and middle-class whites. Wilmington, the state's largest city, sustained a complex, wealthy society for all races, with African Americans holding elected office and working in professional and mid-range occupations vital to the economy.

Furnifold Simmons led the State Democratic Party campaign of 1898. Josephus Daniels of the Raleigh *News and Observer* noted that Simmons used a three-prong attack to win the election: men who could write, speak, and "ride." Men who could write created propaganda for newspapers. Men such as Alfred M. Waddell gave fiery speeches to inflame white voters. Men who could ride, known as Red Shirts, intimidated blacks and forced whites to vote for Democratic Party candidates. Democrats from across the state took special interest in securing victory in Wilmington. A group of white businessmen, called the "Secret Nine," planned to retake control of the city and mapped out a citywide plan of action.

Further fueling the Democratic Party's agitation was an article by Alex Manly, editor of the *Wilmington Record*, the city's African American newspaper. Manly challenged white taboos regarding interracial sexual relationships, and his article became a tool used by Democrats to further anger whites. Democrats won the election, and the next day a group of whites passed a series of resolutions requiring Alex Manly to leave the city and close his paper, and called for the resignations of the mayor and chief of police. A committee of men led by Waddell was selected to implement the set of resolutions, called the White Declaration of Independence. The committee presented its demands to a Committee of Colored Citizens (CCC)—prominent local African Americans—and asked for compliance by the next morning, November 10, 1898.

Waddell met a crowd of men at the Wilmington Light Infantry (WLI) Armory at 8:00 a.m. on the tenth. Delayed response from the CCC and growing tensions led to a march by Waddell and as many as 2,000 whites to the *Record* printing office where they broke in and burned the building. By 11:00 a.m., violence had broken out across town at an intersection where groups of blacks and whites argued. Shots rang out and several black men fell dead or wounded—both sides claimed the other fired the first shot with two "witnesses" providing conflicting testimony.

Governor Russell called out the WLI, a home guard militia unit, and they marched into Brooklyn to calm the riot where they participated in skirmishes and killed several black men.

During the riot, members of Waddell's committee plus George Rountree, John D. Bellamy, and others worked to facilitate a coup d'état to overthrow the municipal government. By 4:00 p.m., elected officials were forced to resign under pressure and were replaced by men selected by leading Democrats. Waddell was elected mayor by the newly seated board of aldermen. Additionally, leading African Americans and white Republicans were banished from the city over the next days. Besides the primary target of Alex Manly, men selected for banishment fit into one of three categories: African American leaders who were open opponents to white supremacy, successful African American businessmen, and whites who benefited politically from African American voting support. No official count of dead can be ascertained due to a paucity of records. At least 14 and perhaps as many as 60 men were murdered.

State and federal leaders failed to react to the violence in Wilmington. No federal troops were sent because President William McKinley received no request for assistance from Governor Russell. The U.S. Attorney General's Office investigated, but the files were closed with no indictments in 1900. African Americans nationwide rallied to the cause of Wilmington's blacks and tried to pressure President McKinley into action. However, many leading blacks were split on the best solution to the "Negro problem" and no nationwide campaign materialized.

Democrats solidified their control over city government through a new city charter in January 1899. Waddell and the board of aldermen were officially elected in March 1899 with no Republican resistance. The new legislature enacted the state's first Jim Crow legislation regarding the separation of races in train passenger cars. A new suffrage amendment that disfranchised black voters was added to the state constitution by voters in 1900. The Democratic legislature overturned Fusion and placed control over county governments in Raleigh. New election laws limited Republican power in the 1900 election. Democrats controlled local and statewide affairs for the next seventy years after victory in 1898.

Inside Wilmington, out-migration following the violence negatively affected the ability of African Americans to recover. Black property owners were a minority of the overall black population before the riot, and property owners were more likely to remain in the city. An African American collective narrative developed to recall the riot and place limits on black/white relationships for future generations. White narratives claimed that the violence was necessary to restore order, and their narrative was perpetuated by most historians.

Wilmington marked a new epoch in the history of violent race relations in the U.S. Several other high profile riots followed Wilmington, most notably Atlanta (1906), Tulsa (1921), and Rosewood (1923). All four communities dealt with the aftermath of their riots differently. Whites in Tulsa and Atlanta addressed the causes and some effects of violence and destruction soon after their events; Wilmington whites provided compensation only for the loss of the building housing Manly's press.

SEE ALSO *Democratic Party, U.S.; Jim Crow; Race Relations; Race Riots, United States; Racism; Republican Party; Terror; Tulsa Riot; Violence; White Supremacy*

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LeRae S. Umfleet

WILSON, WILLIAM JULIUS 1935–

William Julius Wilson is an African American sociologist who is most noted for his work in urban sociology and his study of the black urban underclass. He was born December 20, 1935, in Derry Township, Pennsylvania, and he received a BA from Wilberforce University, an MA from Bowling Green State University, and a PhD from Washington State University. He began his professional career at the University of Massachusetts at Amherst, where he wrote his first book on the African American community. He continued his research and wrote his most influential treatise while a professor at the University of Chicago. As of the mid-2000s he was Lewis P. and

Linda L. Geysler University Professor at Harvard University.

In his book *The Declining Significance of Race: Blacks and Changing American Institutions* (1980) Wilson posits that although past racial oppression created an urban black underclass, the black class structure is now parallel to that of whites. Therefore, blacks' life chances are now more a function of their economic class status than of race relations with whites. Consequently, race-specific programs such as affirmative action improve the life chances of middle-class blacks who are in the position to take advantage of the programs. Although Wilson does not deny the existence of racism, he suggests that programs designed to lessen the effects of poverty on all races, rather than race-specific policies, would better serve the needs of the urban black underclass, and are more likely to receive political acceptance.

Jack Niemonen (2002) argued that Wilson's historical analysis was underdeveloped, and that his concentration on aggregate labor market inequality underscores the effect of persistent racism and discrimination in the workplace. In addition, Wilson (1980) noted other reactions to his work. Political conservatives embraced Wilson's theory as evidence of social pathology in the black community and as support for discontinuance of affirmative action-type programs. They attributed problems of the inner city such as high crime rates, poverty, and high rates of female-headed families to underclass culture and welfare policies. Sociologists criticized Wilson for his disregard of racism when segregation in housing and education still hampered opportunities for blacks, as well as for the perceived public-policy implications of his treatise. They sought evidence to counter Wilson's claims of the existence of an underclass, and argued that social problems in the inner cities were caused by racism (summarized in Wilson 1980; 1987).

Wilson (1987) rejects liberal claims of racism and conservative claims of welfare policies and social pathology as the cause for inner-city social problems. Instead, he offers as explanation the economy-driven factors of urban black male unemployment, the male marriageable pool index (MMPI), social isolation, and negative concentration effects (negative consequences of the spatial and social isolation of impoverished African Americans). He also acknowledges some negative behaviors of ghetto inhabitants such as drug pushing and diminished work ethic, but continues to reject racism or social pathology as the cause (Wilson 1996). He posits that the global economy has a negative "domino effect" on the urban poor: When urban jobs are lost to suburbia and foreign countries, spatial and skills mismatch occurs, the tax base in the cities dwindle, public services such as education suffer, working- and middle-class blacks flee the city, and poorly educated blacks who possess no job skills eventually aban-

don their job searches for public assistance, and/or work in the illegal economy (Wilson 1996).

Critics argue that Wilson's application of John Kain's (1968) spatial mismatch hypothesis is limited for the following reasons: Residential segregation enhances the effect of spatial mismatch; employers' decisions determine black employment in local jobs; there are numerous methodological inconsistencies; and because of the lack of black human capital and the simultaneous existence of immigrant social capital (Niemenen 2002). Another researcher, Michael Stoll, points out that racial discrimination contributes to the disparity between employment rate of suburban black males who reside in close proximity to available jobs and that of comparably educated white males (Stoll 1998). Others explain that the diminished work ethic earlier noted is a function of the lack of structural opportunities available to the black inner-city poor (Gould 1999) and the negative perception of employers towards inner-city black men (Kirschenman and Neckerman 1991). Mark Gould contends that if educational and employment opportunities become more available to the urban underclass, their attitudes towards work are likely to change as well (1999).

Finally, Wilson (1999) addresses the growing schism between the elite class and the dwindling middle class. He maintains that the middle and working classes, regardless of racial group, fail to see that racial division not only worsens the conditions of the black urban poor, it also exacerbates the political and economic disparity between the elite and nonelite classes. He recommends a grassroots multiracial coalition and affirmative opportunity programs based on merit that are neither race nor class specific.

Overall, Wilson's major contribution to social science has been his illumination of the devastating effect that the global economy has had on the urban black community. Yet, his focus on class averts attention away from his agenda of improving the life chances of the ghetto inhabitants, as well as from the persistent racism and discrimination experienced by this group and other African Americans. Nevertheless, his scholarship redirected the academic community's attention to the plight of the black urban poor.

SEE ALSO *Poverty; Social Exclusion; Sociology, Urban; Spatial Theory; Underclass; Urban Studies*

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Yolanda Y. Johnson

WILSON, WOODROW 1856–1924

Thomas Woodrow Wilson was the twenty-eighth president of the United States of America. He served as president from March 4, 1913, until March 3, 1921. Wilson was born in Staunton, Virginia, on December 28, 1856, and died in Washington, D.C., on February 3, 1924.

Wilson was the son of a prominent Presbyterian minister and grew up in Georgia and South Carolina. Wilson attended Davidson College in North Carolina and was graduated from Princeton University in 1879. He studied law at the University of Virginia and earned a PhD in political science from Johns Hopkins in 1886. He later taught at Princeton and became its president in 1902.

Well-known for his support of progressive causes and his academic reforms at Princeton, Wilson was elected governor of New Jersey as a Democrat in 1910. Wilson attracted favorable national attention from progressive Democrats for his eloquence, integrity, and opposition to machine politics and from southern Democrats for his support of a "states' rights" position that argued that Southern states should be free to pursue their own policies

of racial segregation. Supported by former Democratic presidential nominee William Jennings Bryan, Wilson received the Democratic presidential nomination of 1912. Calling his progressive platform *the New Freedom*, Wilson emphasized a more competitive, decentralized economy, lower tariffs, and states' rights. Wilson was elected president with 42 percent of the popular vote when most voters divided their support between Republican president William H. Taft and Theodore Roosevelt, the Progressive Party's nominee and a former Republican president.

Wilson revolutionized the rhetorical role of the American president by personally addressing Congress about his legislative proposals and, later, conducting national speaking tours to promote his foreign policy. Wilson, however, also strengthened racial segregation in Washington, D.C., and admired the romanticized portrayal of the Ku Klux Klan in the silent film *Birth of a Nation*. In domestic policy, Wilson secured passage of major economic reform legislation. The Federal Reserve Act of 1913 decentralized and stabilized the national money supply by broadly distributing federal bank notes among several reserve banks. The Federal Trade Commission Act of 1914 promoted consumer protection and regulated interstate business behavior in order to eliminate, punish, and deter anticompetitive practices. Promoted by Wilson in order to prevent a national railroad strike, the Adamson Act of 1916 required an eight-hour workday for railroad workers.

Having adopted some of the Progressive Party's 1912 platform through his legislation, Wilson was narrowly reelected in 1916 after he secured California's electoral votes. His neutrality in World War I (1914–1918), summarized by the campaign slogan “He Kept Us Out of War,” also helped his reelection. After Germany resumed unrestricted submarine warfare in 1917 and tried to form an anti-American alliance with Mexico, Wilson secured a declaration of war from Congress on April 6, 1917.

Wilson believed that U.S. military and diplomatic efforts should be devoted to making World War I the “war to end all wars” and the war “to make the world safe for democracy.” In a speech to Congress on January 8, 1918, Wilson announced his Fourteen Points as the basis for establishing a just, lasting peace in Europe. These principles and objectives included national self-determination, freedom of the seas, and the creating of a League of Nations to enforce the peace after World War I. Unfortunately for Wilson, Britain and France opposed major elements of the Fourteen Points, especially national self-determination, which threatened their empires. Nonetheless, the League of Nations was included in the Treaty of Versailles of 1919, which officially ended World War I. For his diplomatic efforts, Wilson received the Nobel Peace Prize of 1919.

Some of Wilson's critics perceived his egotistical, self-righteous refusal to compromise with Republican senators, especially Henry Cabot Lodge, to be the primary reason why the Senate rejected an active role for the United States in the League of Nations. While conducting a national speaking tour to increase public support for the League of Nations, Wilson suffered a severe stroke on October 2, 1919. The extent and nature of Wilson's physical and mental disability were kept hidden from the vice president, cabinet, Congress, and the press by his second wife, Edith Wilson. As the Republicans prepared for landslide victories in the 1920 presidential and congressional elections, the nation experienced a Red Scare, labor disputes, and high inflation. After he left the White House in 1921, Wilson continued to live in Washington, D.C., until his death in 1924.

SEE ALSO *League of Nations; Nobel Peace Prize; United Nations; World War I*

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Sean J. Savage

WINNER-TAKE-ALL SOCIETY

In conventional labor markets, reward is proportional to absolute performance, which in turn is generally modeled as proportional to human capital—an amalgam of talent, experience, education, training, and other factors that affect productivity. Thus, in the classic piece-rate scheme, a worker who assembles 101 widgets in a week gets paid 1 percent more than a coworker who assembles only 100. In contrast, a winner-take-all market is one in which small differences in performance often translate into very large differences in economic reward.

The winner-take-all perspective urges us to look first to the nature of the positions people hold, rather than to their personal characteristics. An economist under the influence of the human capital metaphor might ask: Why not save money by hiring two mediocre people to fill an important position instead of paying the exorbitant salary required to attract someone unusually good? Although

that sort of substitution might work for jobs involving routinized tasks and flexible staffing arrangements, it often will not be feasible in the professions. Two average surgeons or CEOs or novelists or quarterbacks are often a poor substitute for a single gifted one. The result is that for positions for which additional talent has great value to the employer or the marketplace, there is no reason to expect that the market will compensate individuals in proportion to their human capital. For these positions—ones that confer the greatest leverage or “amplification” of human talent—small increments of talent have great value and may be greatly rewarded as a result of the normal competitive market process.

Technology has greatly extended the power and reach of the planet's most gifted performers. The printing press let a relatively few gifted storytellers displace millions of village raconteurs. Now that we listen mostly to recorded music, the world's best musicians can be everywhere at once. The electronic newswire has allowed a small number of syndicated columnists to displace a host of local journalists. And the proliferation of personal computers enabled a handful of software developers to replace thousands of tax accountants.

The dependence of economic reward on performance ranking is nothing new; what is new is the rapid erosion of the barriers that once prevented the top performers from serving broader markets. The global marketplace has been fostered by the reduction in trade barriers, vast improvements in information transmission and processing, the almost universal adoption of English as the language of business, and the emergence of a common popular culture.

Winner-take-all markets can be wasteful to the extent that they induce contestants for high rank to engage in costly and mutually offsetting investments to obtain positional advantage. In such cases, “positional arms control” schemes may reduce waste and improve economic efficiency. Such schemes range from market-specific policies, such as steroid bans for athletes and caps on the tax deductibility of executive compensation, to more general policies such as progressive income taxation.

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Robert H. Frank
Philip J. Cook

WINNER'S CURSE

The winner's curse story begins in 1971 when Edward Capen, Robert Clapp, and William Campbell, three petroleum engineers, wrote an article in which they claimed that oil companies suffered unexpectedly low returns “year after year” in early Outer Continental Shelf (OCS) oil lease auctions. OCS auctions are common value auctions where the value of the oil in the ground is essentially the same to all bidders. Bidders have their own estimate of the (unknown) value at the time that they bid. Even if these estimates are unbiased, bidders must account for the informational content inherent in winning the auction: the winner's estimate of the common value is (one of) the highest estimates. If bidders ignore this *adverse selection effect* inherent in winning the auction, it will result in below normal or even negative profits. The systematic failure to account for this adverse selection effect is referred to as the winner's curse: you win, you lose money, and you curse. (Unfortunately, many economists, particularly theorists, characterize the winner's curse as the difference between the expected value of the item conditional on the event of winning and the unconditional, naive expectation, using the term to refer to bidders fully accounting for this difference, rather than failing to do so and losing money as a consequence.)

Similar claims regarding a winner's curse have been made in a variety of other contexts: book publication rights, professional baseball's free agency market, corporate takeover battles, and real estate auctions (see chapter 1 in John H. Kagel and Dan Levin's 2002 book *Common Value Auctions and the Winner's Curse*). These claims have traditionally been greeted with a good deal of skepticism by economists as they imply that bidders repeatedly err, thus violating basic notions of economic rationality. It is exceedingly difficult to support claims of a winner's curse with field data because of data reliability problems and plausible alternative explanations.

The ambiguity inherent in interpreting field data, and the controversial nature of the winner's curse, provided the motivation for experimental investigations on the subject. Initial experiments conducted by Max H. Bazerman and William F. Samuelson in 1983 showed that inexperienced bidders are quite susceptible to the winner's curse in a corporate takeover game. John H. Kagel and Dan Levin found similar results in 1986 in first-price sealed-bid common value auctions. Subsequent experiments have focused on the robustness of the phenomena and features of the environment that might attenuate its effects. Does the commonly known presence of an “insider” who knows the true value of the item attenuate the winner's curse? (No, it does not.) Do open outcry (English) auctions in which bidders with higher value estimates gain information as a consequence of lower valued

bidders dropping out attenuate the winner's curse? (Yes, to some extent, but this experience does not transfer into doing better in sealed-bid auctions.) Are subjects who have learned to avoid the winner's curse in auctions with relatively few (four) bidders able to avoid it in auctions with larger numbers of rivals (seven) with its more severe adverse selection effect? (No, they are not.) Thus, although bidders are able to avoid the winner's curse with enough experience, this learning appears to be context specific, so that it does not easily generalize to related environments.

Research has also focused on key public policy issues. As theory predicts, public information that is correlated with the common value raises seller's revenue in first-price sealed-bid auctions in the absence of a winner's curse (i.e., for experienced bidders), but contrary to the theory lowers revenue for less experienced bidders who still suffer from a winner's curse. English auctions, where public information is released endogenously, have the same effect. Finally, there are striking parallels between laboratory outcomes and anomalous findings from field data, along with experiments in which experienced industry executives in the laboratory suffer to the same extent from the winner's curse as do student subjects, which lead most scholars and a number of other observers to believe that the winner's curse is alive and well both inside and outside the laboratory (Kagel and Levin, 2002).

SEE ALSO *Adverse Selection; Auctions; Economics, Experimental; Expected Utility Theory; Rationality*

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*John H. Kagel
Dan Levin*

WIZARD OF OZ

The book *The Wonderful Wizard of Oz* (1900) and its film adaptation *The Wizard of Oz* (1939) quickly became a foundational element in American popular culture with

countless idiomatic allusions, cultural references, and pervasive merchandizing. Lyman Frank Baum wrote seventeen sequels comprising the Oz series, though none repeated or surpassed the popularity of the first book. The film launched actress Judy Garland's stardom; she won an Academy Award and made the song "Somewhere Over the Rainbow" popular and famous, earning it recognition as the number one song of the twentieth century. Since the 1950s, the film has aired continuously on network and cable television. These airings, with few exceptions, became an annual tradition and continued through 2002. Sidney Lumet directed an African American stage version in 1978; *The Wiz* starred pop-music icons Diana Ross and Michael Jackson as Dorothy and the Scarecrow, respectively. In 1998 *The Wizard of Oz* ranked sixth out of one hundred in an American Film Institute poll; it was the highest ranked musical in the genre of fantasy and family movies. Through the first half decade of the 2000s, it continued to generate academic and mainstream books, journal articles, CD music releases, videocassette releases, websites, blogs, merchandizing, and a remastered digital DVD release.

Baum was born on May 15, 1856, in Chittenango, New York. He suffered a stroke and died on May 5, 1919. Many biographies exist detailing his life and work. The success of the Oz books prompted a musical adaptation for the stage. *Oz* (1902) became very popular and toured for nine years. The film *The Wizard of Oz* was adapted from Baum's first book, other books in the series, and stage scripts.

The basic storyline details the adventures of a young girl named Dorothy as a tornado transports her and her dog to the magical land of Oz, where she encounters and befriends interesting characters and experiences a range of adventures, some of which are frightening, even gruesome, and others humorous. The characters most remembered are Dorothy; her dog Toto; the Munchkins; the Scarecrow; the Tin Man; the Cowardly Lion; the Wizard of Oz; Glinda, the Good Witch of the North (Glinda is from the South in the book); and the main villain, the Wicked Witch of the West. The film is mostly true to the original books, though one key difference is that the land of Oz and the Emerald City are real places in the books, but the film indicates that these places are fantasy and only exist in Dorothy's dream, which occurs as a result of a bump on the head. This notion is portrayed through the contrast of the dual-tone sepia segments, which depict real-life Kansas, and the Technicolor® segments, which depict the land of Oz. Also, the same actors who play the role of the farm hands play the roles of the major land of Oz characters.

The most noted dialogue that has worked its way into American popular culture includes the sayings: "Toto, I've

got a feeling we're not in Kansas anymore," "Follow the yellow brick road," and "Pay no attention to the man behind the curtain." The first line has appeared in many variations in movies, television sitcoms, and skits. One of the most famous yellow brick road references is pop singer Elton John's 1973 album *Goodbye Yellow Brick Road*. "The man behind the curtain" has been used in reference to conspiracy theories and political scandals, including the Kennedy assassinations, Watergate, Iran-Contra, and suspicions of voter fraud in the 2000 U.S. presidential election.

There have been several scholarly interpretations of the story and film, including Daniel Dervin's 1978 Freudian interpretation, in which Dorothy's journey is symbolic of a sexual coming of age; Darren John Main's 2000 Jungian interpretation, in which Dorothy's journey is emblematic of archetypal spiritual journeys; and Lynette Carpenter's 1985 analysis, which presents the film as embodying U.S. isolationist tendencies during the dawn of World War II. The most acclaimed interpretation is Henry M. Littlefield's 1964 view of the story as allegory for the gold versus silver standard debate, political populism, and William Jennings Bryan's presidential run. For Littlefield, "*The Wonderful Wizard of Oz* has provided unknowing generations with a gentle and friendly Midwestern critique of the Populist rationale.... [L]ed by naive innocence [Dorothy] and protected by good will [Glinda], the farmer [Scarecrow], the labourer [Tin Man] and the politician [Bryan in particular] approach the mystic holder of national power [the Wizard] to ask for personal fulfilment" (pp. 57–58).

Another Populist perspective exists between the film and the New Deal. The lyricist for all the songs in the film was E. Y. "Yip" Harburg (1896–1981), who wrote the Great Depression anthem "Brother, Can You Spare a Dime?" He also helped shape most of the story. Harburg claimed that the Emerald City represented the New Deal. In 1990 Francis MacDonnell extended this interpretation, stating that the Wizard represents New Deal president Franklin D. Roosevelt. In the same way that the Wizard shows Dorothy and her friends that they always had the qualities they were in search of, President Roosevelt demonstrated that the American people held the solutions to their problems and restored their self-confidence.

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Jeff Williams

WOLF, ERIC 1923–1999

Anthropologist Eric Robert Wolf was born in Vienna, Austria, in 1923 and died in Irvington, New York, in 1999. The son of an Austro-Russian marriage, Wolf passed a cosmopolitan childhood in Vienna and the Sudetenland before being sent to school in England as Adolf Hitler's (1889–1945) destruction loomed. After emigrating with his parents to New York, he served in World War II (1939–1945). After the war, Wolf completed his undergraduate degree at Queens College (1946) and a PhD at Columbia University (1951), both in anthropology. Along with returning veterans such as Morton Klass (1927–2001), Robert F. Murphy (1924–1990), Stanley Diamond (1922–1991), and others, Wolf formed the Mundial Upheaval Society to discuss the influence of classical social theory, especially Marxism, in the social sciences. During early fieldwork in Puerto Rico and Mexico, Wolf combined Marxian and Weberian frameworks with Middle European political-economic debates arising from the 1917 Russian Revolution, examining the praxis of grounded power relations. From this work emerged contributions to anthropologist Julian Steward's (1902–1972) *People of Puerto Rico* (1956), and Wolf's classic *Sons of the Shaking Earth* (1959), which synthesized archaeological and ethnohistorical knowledge of Mesoamerican civilization within a class-sensitive framework. Wolf also authored or coauthored groundbreaking articles that addressed the history and sociology of cultural forms—for example, the Virgin of Guadalupe, *compadrazgo*, corporate communities, and Santa Claus—as these forms build liens of redistribution across class, caste, and nation. In early publications as in later ones, Wolf

served as a translator of European social thought into American anthropology.

Over a long and distinguished teaching career at the universities of Illinois, Virginia, Chicago, and Michigan, and at Lehman College at the City University of New York Graduate Center, from which he retired in 1992, Wolf was a prolific and iconoclastic scholar, publishing more than one hundred articles, and editing many journal issues and books. In addition to *Sons of the Shaking Earth*, his books include: *Anthropology* (1964), *Peasants* (1966), *Peasant Wars of the 20th Century* (1969), *The Human Condition in Latin America* (1972, with Edward Hansen), *The Hidden Frontier* (1974, with John Cole), and the magisterial *Europe and the People Without History* (1982), followed by *Envisioning Power* (1999). *Pathways to Power*, edited with his wife, the anthropologist Sydel Silverman, appeared posthumously in 2001. All illustrate coherent themes central to his scholarship: connections between intellectual histories and social movements and broad political economic trends; ties binding specific cultural forms to class-inflected power relations; and embedded local class relations that play out articulations of global history. Thus, the daily political and social lives of family, community, faction, religious-ethnic group, state, and nation may appear as somewhat autonomous, but in Wolf's writings they all serve as termini of concrete international processes. His work underlines the historical depth of these interconnections within and across shifting national boundaries of modernity, and he insists on the historical incorporation of the small-scale societies anthropologists conventionally study into larger webs of power, exploitation, and occasionally resistance. It is Wolf's enduring achievement to have enabled individuals to understand such societies in new ways, as dependent on connections of political economy and culture.

In *Anthropology*, Wolf labeled his field "the most scientific of the humanities, the most humanist of the sciences" (1964, p. 88). Later texts carried humanist scientific study into the interstitial connections throughout modern history. His synthetic intelligence and highly comparative method enabled Wolf to produce books that remain beacons of social scientific clarity in anthropology. *Peasant Wars of the Twentieth Century* (1969) illuminated the limited, class-fragmented, and constrained agency of the peasants who helped to topple and transform regimes in Mexico, Russia, China, Vietnam, Algeria, and Cuba, too often at their own expense. *Europe and the People Without History* (1982) showed that the bands, tribes, and villages once considered classical anthropological subjects were actually products of the socioeconomics of the modern capitalist world. After its publication, anthropologists could never again work in the "ethnographic present." It was Wolf's accomplishment, as the subtitle of his last

book forcefully proclaims, to have oriented his field toward *Building an Anthropology of the Modern World*.

SEE ALSO *Anthropology; Anthropology, U.S.; Culture; Humanism; Marxism; Mintz, Sidney W.; Peasantry; Politics; Revolution*

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Rayna Rapp

WOMANISM

An ongoing concern for black feminists has always been that their specific experiences have been elided within a discourse that is biased towards a white, Anglo-American perspective. It is a view clearly enunciated by Audre Lorde's essay "An Open Letter to Mary Daly" (1984) in which she castigates the radical feminist philosopher for her misrepresentation of black women in her book *Gyn/Ecology* (1978), which Lorde claimed, "dismissed my heritage and the heritage of all other noneuropean women" (69).

But in 1983, in which Lorde published her address to Daly, the writer Alice Walker published what was to prove an extremely influential essay, "In Search of Our Mothers' Gardens" (1983) in which her central concern was to formulate a definition of black feminism from within African American culture itself. Whereas Lorde argued that Daly portrayed black women only as victims, ignoring their power as active agents capable of combating their own oppression, Walker focused on precisely those positive aspects, developing a feminist terminology drawn from everyday discourse used in the black community.

Although the term *womanist* is now synonymous with Walker's essay and book by the same title, it was not new to the English language. According to the *Oxford English Dictionary*, the term *womanism* first appeared in 1863, indicating "advocacy of or enthusiasm for the rights, achievements, etc. of women." In the context of second wave feminism, however, "womanism" has become

more specifically aligned with the black feminist movement. Walker's use of the term "womanism" therefore etymologically relates directly not to its prior usage in the nineteenth century but to the colloquial term *womanish*, which Walker defines as "Opp. of 'girlish,' i.e., frivolous, irresponsible, not serious." A "womanish" girl is wilful, inquisitive, and wise beyond her years, refusing to accept rules and limitations imposed by others.

However, although Walker draws the concept of womanism from, and defines it through, a black cultural context, she intends it to be inclusive rather than exclusive, offering four increasingly poetic understandings of the word that stress its connectedness to wider experiences of feminism. Although she begins with the black folk usage of "womanish," her second description expands the term to designate any woman, of any color, whose primary identification is with other women, either sexually or nonsexually. Nevertheless, a womanist is not a separatist but someone who is a "universalist," committed to "wholeness of entire people, male *and* female" (xi). She thus harmonizes two contradictory subject positions: a dedication to personal freedom along with an acknowledgment of the innate interconnectedness of peoples and genders. Walker's third definition stresses this balance between separation and association, identifying a womanist as someone committed to sensual gratification but also political struggle; to herself and to the wider community within which she is situated.

It is for this reason that "womanism" has become a widely used term within feminist theory, for it allows black women to articulate their feminism without relinquishing an attachment to black culture and racial politics. The subtle distinction between feminism and womanism is best summed up by Walker's final definition: "Womanist is to feminist as purple to lavender" (xii), and is exemplified in a speech delivered over a hundred years earlier. When Sojourner Truth, speaking at the Women's Convention in Akron, Ohio in 1851, proclaimed 'ain't I a woman?,' she asserted her rights not only as a woman, but also as an African American, an ex-slave, and a political campaigner.

SEE ALSO *Feminism; Feminism, Second Wave; Inequality, Racial; Truth, Sojourner*

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Sarah Gamble

WOMB ENVY

SEE *Oedipus Complex*.

WOMEN

A definition of "woman" that applies cross-culturally, one that includes the definitions offered by societies that are not part of our own Western/industrial tradition, will inevitably include some allusions to female physiology and to cultural constructions that include women's reproductive role, spiritual role (or its absence), domestic role, work role, and role in the care of children, assigning varying degrees of importance to each. The definition of womanhood may or may not be related to a society's definition of manhood, and may or may not be related to other gender categories that a society might recognize—which can be as many as five.

Furthermore, the definition of "woman" and "womanhood," when viewed from a cross-cultural perspective, will vary depending upon three variables. The first variable is the society's recognition of the specific stages of the female life course. Societies differ in how they identify and define the physical and psychological maturational stages of a woman's individual development. Some stages that we may readily identify in our own society (such as getting a driver's license) do not exist or are ignored, while other developmental events are given exaggerated attention and some are of such importance that they are accorded ceremonial recognition. The second variable, the society into which the individual is born (or of which she may become a member by a choice made later in life), will provide a variety of cultural expectations, some of which every individual female member is expected to meet and some of which only a chosen few may achieve. The third variable consists of the time period in the history of a particular society in which the individual finds herself. These three variables are not necessarily independent but can interact with each other to provide the specific definition of what it means to be a "woman" for a female individual of a particular age, in a specific society, and at a particular moment in history.

THE FIRST VARIABLE: THE LIFE COURSE

In all societies, the infant's sex is noted at birth, and in some societies, a female identity may lead to immediate infanticide. Yet often the baby is viewed as virtually neuter, in contrast to our own society, in which even the tiniest infant garments are gendered. Recognition of the individual's gender can begin at various stages early in the life course, but by the time signs of adolescence appear, the individual has been assigned. Although some societies

did not particularly note menarche or other evidences of adolescence, in many traditional societies, mere girls could only "be made into women" by means of an elaborate ritual. In these societies, only the initiated conformed to the definition of "woman." Such ceremonies, sometimes celebrated individually at the time of menarche and sometimes celebrated for groups of girls at the approximate onset of their adolescence, took a variety of forms. Some were elaborate, involved considerable expense for the family of the girl, engaged the entire community, and took months to complete. In other societies, the observance was brief, involved only a few female relatives, and was somewhat private.

In the ceremony of the Bemba of east Africa as reported by Richards (1956), men actually had specific roles to perform in the initiation. In many other societies, men are banned from even seeing the ritual. Among the Bemba, there were tests of competence for the initiates, and it was believed that their roles as food providers would be performed with the appropriate, womanly attitude after the completion of the long, elaborate ceremony. (In contrast, our own educational system typically focuses on transmitting skills and tends to neglect training for the proper attitude toward work.) Several ceremonies performed in other traditional societies included a painful genital operation, but most female initiation rites provided instruction, often regarding sexual activity, as well as a period of seclusion during which the initiate had to observe a number of taboos. These rites were typically followed by feasting, receiving gifts and new clothes, and being declared beautiful and ready for marriage negotiations to begin.

The life course of women can be viewed as discontinuous even if no ritual activity creates a major change in what it means to be a woman. Thus the end of virginity, menarche, the arrival of children, and menopause are one and all irreversible phases of womanhood that are not only physical but also have psychological and cultural meaning. The recognition or lack of recognition a society provides for these physiologic milestones in the lives of women varies cross-culturally. Thus, for example, as reported by Meigs (1984), the Hua of Papua New Guinea were a society in which not only the physiological changes characteristic of the female life course but also culturally constructed changes without a biological basis created a fluid definition for Hua womanhood. The body of Hua women and girls were believed to be filled with a vital essence that was both polluting and to some degree dangerous to men and that was transmitted to men through each act of sexual intercourse and through the food that women handled, prepared, and served. The essence was drained from women's bodies in the act of childbirth. Thus an older woman, the mother of several children, became as pure as a man, while aging men became impure

like women. Because many older women were pure like men, they could have access to the great men's house, which was forbidden to women and children. Unlike them, she might have participated in male activities and had access to secret male knowledge. Thus among the Hua, the meaning of womanhood was not based only on physiological changes that characterize the female life course but depended on the culturally constructed definitions assigned to these female life courses stages.

THE SECOND VARIABLE: SOCIETY

In many societies the definition of womanhood is shaped by the view that women are physically weaker and intellectually inferior to men, as well as spiritually underendowed. In some societies the definition must take account of the fact that women are viewed as naturally lecherous and wanton. Rape, wife abuse, and even murder are viewed as justifiable responses to these female tendencies. Women's sexual impulses are corrupting to men and constantly threaten the honor of the family, requiring the unremitting vigilance of a brother or a husband. Women of childbearing age in such societies must be restrained by perpetual chaperonage, by the alert supervision of elder female kin, and by confinement, an enforced claustration, lived in the company of other women.

In spite of the negative valuation that was part of the definition of women in many societies, there was also evidence of envy by men. Among the Inuit of the central Arctic, women's lives were confined to the igloo during the long winter. Unconfined, the men ranged freely from the camp to hunt and fish, yet they envied the shelter and warmth of the women's indoor life. An attempt to imitate women that may have been based on envy was the periodic self-inflicted bleeding practiced by the men of several Melanesian societies. In a private ritual, a man would scrape his penis to induce bleeding, an imitation of women's menstruation, which was believed to provide strength and well-being. An example of a positive valuation of women comes from the traditional Native American societies of the Gulf region, where there were separate languages for men and women and men felt the women's language was more beautiful than their own.

Women's Economic Role Whether or not the men of a particular society envy women, or whether or not the members of a society subscribe to a definition of womanhood that attributes inferiority to women, or whether or not members of a society have a more egalitarian view of the sexes, womanhood is inevitably defined in part by the work women perform (unlike our own society, where it would be unusual for a definition of womanhood to include references to specific vocations.) Thus among the traditional Iroquois of New York State, raising the crops

upon which the people's livelihood depended was the work of women. A man working in the gardens was either too old and too frail for male activity or he was a prisoner of war compelled to perform humiliating, inappropriate work. Thus, for example, the Iroquois "made women" out of the defeated Delaware by making them work in their gardens. Yet the productivity of the Iroquois women was revered. Female spiritual beings represented the crops, and ceremonial activity celebrated the cultivated foods provided by women, not the hunting and warfare of the men.

Competence in woman's work was valued so highly in many traditional societies that it overshadowed sexual attractiveness in the choice of a wife. Thus, among the Iroquois and the traditional Inuit, an older competent woman might be viewed as a desirable wife for a far younger man. Productivity, diligence, and highly developed female skills were among the qualities that were accorded the privilege of being a "manly hearted woman" among the North Piegan, a Canadian Blackfoot tribe, according to Lewis (1970). Although most married women in this society served as lower or "slave wives," the "manly hearted woman" was the "sit-by wife." She was not masculine, as the title might suggest; instead she excelled in women's work and was therefore an economic asset. She was the favorite wife, actively sexual and outspoken. Lower wives were beaten mercilessly for such behavior in traditional times.

As reported by Elam (1973), the traditional Hima, east African herders, further illustrate how the work women perform and their sex life define womanhood in a particular society. In traditional times, Hima girls joined the herders with their cattle outside the village. They acted as assistants to the men in activities such as milking. They were physically active and free to move about the landscape and were expected to be chaste until marriage. The wife, in contrast, was confined to the hut. Unlike girls, she was heavily clothed and her diet and lack of physical activity were intended to make her fat, which was viewed as sexually attractive. Fat and desirable, she was expected to grant sexual favors to numerous men, including her father-in-law. Unlike girls, she was forbidden to milk, bleed, or slaughter cattle. In her life as a woman, she was by definition confined, and her work consisted of making butter and curd and keeping the milk jugs clean.

Women's Spirituality In many societies, the definition of womanhood that pertains to most of a woman's life, the childbearing years, appears to exclude the possibility of spirituality. Thus among the traditional !Kung of southern Africa, pregnancy and lactation were viewed as incompatible with trance, since such spiritual activity could harm the unborn child or the nursing infant. In parts of North America, a woman could become a shaman, and a spiri-

tual being would enable her to attain special powers. But in many societies only a man could be a shaman. Among the Navajo, it was believed that the evil powers of witchcraft were inaccessible to a woman of childbearing age. Thus the ability to exert spiritual power or the absence of this ability is noted in the definition of womanhood in many societies. In contrast, spiritual attributes are typically not part of a definition of womanhood in our own society.

THE THIRD VARIABLE: HISTORIC FACTORS

A society's definition of womanhood inevitably evolves to reflect historical changes. This is as true for our own society as it is cross-culturally. In the later twentieth century, historical changes have created a redefinition of womanhood in the Western/industrial world that is almost as dramatic as the redefinition of womanhood created by the end of colonialism and the spread of globalization in those parts of the world that are not part of our own tradition. An example of such changes is offered by Draper (1975) in her description of the !Kung of southern Africa. Their traditional way of life had continued into the mid-twentieth century, and although aware of the outside world (a world that mistakenly believed they were extinct), they had retained a traditional definition of womanhood. The women of the !Kung sustained the life of the small, migratory camps with their food-gathering activities. Each day that the women set out into the Kalahari Desert, they were successful in harvesting the vegetable foods that constituted the major portion of the !Kung diet. While collecting, the women also gathered information about the movement of animals, which they provided to the men to help them in their hunting. The hunting activities of the men, though less frequently successful than the gathering activities of the women, received a great deal of cultural attention and provided the food that was harder to obtain, made up less of the diet, and was more highly valued. Although the gathering activities of women were not accorded particular recognition, women had the right to be outspoken, and the relationship between men and women was markedly egalitarian. These traditional circumstances have been attributed to women's economic importance. And this in turn was made possible by a benign environment, in which women were not threatened by enemy neighbors or wild animals that might have made male protection necessary. Their autonomy made possible the traditional !Kung women's role as the "major breadwinners."

Dramatic and rapid changes occurred when the !Kung became sedentary, living on the outskirts of the villages of herders, who now controlled the region. !Kung women became housewives. The open camps were

replaced by huts which isolated women from relatives and neighbors. Their economic importance was a thing of the past, as was their autonomy. Wife abuse was now a problem. This vastly oversimplified history of the !Kung during the later twentieth century illustrates how a particular society's definition of womanhood can undergo dramatic change. Although still living in their homeland, their new circumstances totally altered how "woman" was defined.

CONCLUSION

The definition of "woman" is only partially based on the physical traits that differentiate the sexes. Superimposed on physiological reality is the possibility that a society may recognize more than two genders. In addition, the definition a culture constructs for the term "woman" may change during different stages of the life course, for example, by not including the category "uninitiated female adolescent" as part of the definition of "woman." Different societies also vary on which aspect of womanhood the culture stresses in its definition. Is it her economic role? Is it her maternal role? Is it her sexual role? Is it her domestic role? (For a review of the interrelationships of these factors, see Brown 1973.) Or perhaps it is her physical or mental inferiority and lack of spirituality compared to men. Historical changes can alter a society's definition. And all of these possible aspects of a society's definition of "woman" can be interdependent and influence each other. The cross-culturally applicable definition of any concept is inevitably complicated, but the necessary ingredients of the varied definitions can be identified.

SEE ALSO *Anthropology; Cultural Relativism; Femininity; Feminism; Feminism, Second Wave; Gender; Gender, Alternatives to Binary; Matriarchy; Patriarchy; Rites of Passage; Rituals; Womanism; Women and Politics; Women's Liberation; Women's Movement; Work and Women*

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Judith K. Brown

WOMEN AND DEVELOPMENT

SEE *Gender and Development*.

WOMEN AND POLITICS

From an international perspective, the scholarship of women and politics focuses on issues of women's participation and representation in governmental institutions, the legal right over decisions concerning reproduction and sexuality, and the effects of globalization on women's work and social movements.

POLITICAL PARTICIPATION AND REPRESENTATION

Issues of participation and representation of women in politics (political empowerment) are centered in the ideology of the Enlightenment period of the mid-eighteenth century and, therefore, the idea that equal political participation and representation of women in local, state, and federal governments will challenge gender inequality. American feminists were at the forefront of this movement arguing in the 1920s and then in the 1970s for suffrage and equal treatment, respectively. The United Nations (UN) promoted the importance of political empowerment for women as evidenced by the UN's observance of a Decade for Women (1976–1985); the UN's agenda for the political empowerment of women set forth in *The Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action* (1995); a UN treaty based on *The Universal Declaration of Human Rights* and embodied in Article 25 of *The International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights* (1976); and the convening of delegates at the *Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination Against Women* (1967) to discuss the political rights of women around the world. The liberal political theory that informs the UN's politics embodies the ideas that (1) political systems are undermined and illegitimate when women are underrepresented; (2) the representation of women in politics contributes to an inherently more democratic multi-party system; (3) gender reform lies in legal reform; (4) "special treatment" (e.g., maternity leave) reproduces gender inequality; (5) a "critical mass" of women represented in governments ensures gender equality; (6) states should legally protect women from discrimination in all areas of

social life; and (7) women have a civil right to representation and their political participation serves as role model behavior and influences the status of women outside the political body.

Critics of the idea that representation and participation challenge gender equality argue that (1) women's participation and representation do not necessarily translate into a representation of women's interests, (2) feminist priorities need to be reinforced in structures and networks (with non-governmental organizations and women's committees within legislative bodies) in order for change to occur and (3) the presence of women in politics does not ensure a feminist political platform. All women, in other words, are not feminists. As a response to the underrepresentation of women in politics, quotas ensuring the participation of women have been suggested and imposed (e.g., France established party laws in 2000). In 2004, the Inter-Parliamentary Union reported that only 15.6 percent of governmental bodies around the world were represented by women. Women represented 6.8 percent in the Arab States, 18.6 percent in the United States, and 39.7 percent in the Nordic states.

RIGHTS OVER REPRODUCTION AND SEXUALITY

The political struggle over rights to abortion, contraception, and the female body has characterized feminist movement around the world. In the United States this is characteristically exemplified by the legalization of abortion in 1974 (*Roe v. Wade*). In the Middle East, North Africa, India, and parts of Southeast Asia, the political struggle over reproduction and sexuality is framed in discourses about the high incidents of female genital mutilation, honor crimes, sex trafficking, bride burning, marital rape, and sexual abuse.

In the Middle East and North Africa (MENA), feminists argue, family law (called in the region "personal status law"), as well as criminal law is informed by traditional and patriarchal cultural norms, thereby legitimizing the violation and control over women's bodies and rights. In neo-Islamic states, such as Iran, religious scholars are increasingly informing the legal code. Global feminists have argued that laws in MENA have allowed for violence against women, statutory discrimination, and disproportionate punishment for women. Women's movements in MENA are demanding political equality, the ability to contract and register their own marriages, a right to divorce, and justice in cases of rape or sexual abuse. Not only the state, but families and local communities have great control over women's sexuality and reproductive rights. "Honor killings"—the murder of a woman by a male family member for a violation of the social norms of sexuality—exemplify the control family has over the sexu-

ality of daughters. Sometimes the families, including mothers, gather and plan the murder of a daughter. Feminists in the region, scholars of women in MENA, as well as global feminists recognize the role of family and community over the control of women and seek to criminalize behavior such as "honor killings" that are often treated as private rather than public matters.

GLOBALIZATION

The effect of globalization on the status of women is a central theme in the study of contemporary women worldwide. Globalization is defined as the movement toward global capitalism and culture. Scholars have explored the negative and positive effect of globalization on women cross-culturally. Critics of globalization point to policies that buttress the industrialized monetized sector of the economy, thereby favoring work performed by men at the expense of informal modes of work performed by women, particularly in the developing countries. According to this perspective, public subsidies that support social programs for women and children are diminished as nations struggle to pay off high interest loans to industrialized nations.

In Latin America, as a response to the weakening economic position of women, political collectivities of women have organized around the demand for greater provision of public services such as running water, electricity, transportation, day care and health services (all sorely lacking in squatter settlements in which poor women live). The women have also protested against the rising price of food. Often these women defend their right to a decent living on the basis of their status as "mothers," "housewives," or both. These types of social collectivities have been criticized by feminists who favor "equality" and "no special treatment" over supporting women in their traditional roles. Conversely, women activists engaged in informal social movements sometimes separate themselves, by way of identification, from woman activists who are more concerned with mainstream political participation and representation ("equality" and "no special treatment"). Since the period of advanced economic globalization, Latin American women have mobilized along with men in labor unions; yet, unions, it has been argued, continue to be regarded as a male sphere where women only serve as supplementary workers.

Other scholars believe there are positive effects to globalization such as women's political representation (in formal governmental institutions), the liberalization of traditional gender roles, and increased education. As a result of these positive effects, they argue, the political presence of women has increased dramatically in the beginning of the twenty-first century. For example, in January 2007 in Chile's presidential run-off Michelle

Bachelet was elected the first female president of Chile. Other Latin American women have made inroads into state power. The Brazilian constitution of 1988 formed The Council on the Condition of Women (subsequently named The National Council on Women's Rights), which implemented a family planning program; extended maternity leave; facilitated the establishment of a special police force to end sexual abuse and domestic violence; ended the prohibition of abortion; and successfully promoted a women's agenda.

The democratization and the rise of civil society often attributed to globalization further increased Latin American opposition groups. In 1988, Chilean women fought against President Augusto Pinochet's (1915–2006) military authoritarian rule and demanded the recognition of human rights. The Mothers of the Plaza del Mayo in Argentina played a decisive role in the defeat of the dictatorship there. On the basis of their status as mothers, sisters, daughters, The Mothers of the Plaza del Mayo protested the disappearance of their sons, brothers, and husbands.

The UN's Human Development Program has recognized the need for a broad understanding of gender that includes not only the role of politics, but economics and cultural interpretations of women's and men's roles on the lives of women throughout the world. Consequently, in 1995 they created the Gender Empowerment Measure, which measures gender equality/inequality on the basis of decision-making power, and political and economic participation.

SEE ALSO *Feminism; Feminism, Second Wave; Gender Gap; Inequality, Gender; Participation, Political; Poll Tax; Rape; Representation; Reproductive Rights; Roe v. Wade; Sexual Harassment; Sexuality; Suffrage, Women's; United Nations; Women; Women's Liberation; Women's Movement; Work and Women*

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Vaso V. Thomas

WOMEN'S LIBERATION

The term *women's liberation* in twentieth-century discourse has been used interchangeably with feminism, women's rights, and the women's movement. A more precise focus on the term *women's liberation* raises the question, "Liberation from what?" The response that feminists have offered is liberation from the oppressive practices of patriarchy and women's second-class social status that have been a part of the structure of traditional and modern societies. The concept of women's liberation was popularized by the early stages of the Second Wave of the women's movement, by the United Nations' (UN) decade of focus on women (1975 to 1985), and more recently by UN-sponsored events like the 1995 Beijing Conference on Women. Because women constitute 50 percent of the world's population, the potential for coalitions across nations, ethnicities, ages, classes, religions, and sexualities is significant for all people. These UN events, which included governmental and nongovernmental agency representatives, have offered opportunities for international networking to supporters of the women's movement. The term *liberation* draws insights from Marxist and liberal democratic theories, which argue that societies work best when all adult persons are free and able to participate fully in public life. But what counts as women's liberation shifts over time.

HISTORIC OVERVIEW

Historically, the women's movement can be divided into three waves, which begin with the issue of suffrage. Setting the stage for the First Wave were some key political writings in Western societies that articulated the centrality of individuals in the state. These include the eighteenth-century work of Mary Wollstonecraft (1759–1797), *A Vindication of the Rights of Woman*; the nineteenth-century work of John Stuart Mill (1806–1873) with Harriet Taylor (1807–1858), *On the Subjugation of Women*, which compares women's situations to slavery; and the work of the German socialist Friedrich Engels (1820–1895), *Origins of the Family, Private Property, and the State*, shaped by his work with the political philosopher Karl Marx (1818–1883), which argues that women's oppression begins with the division of labor in the family.

The women's movement has developed in a variety of world cultures in complex ways, but an understanding of the Western tradition offers a context from which to examine some of the key issues. For those influenced by U.S. politics, the First Wave began with the Seneca Falls Convention in New York in 1848, when activists involved in the abolition of slavery met to talk about women. It ended in 1920 with a U.S. constitutional amendment that granted women the vote. The Second Wave began with

the civil rights struggles in 1962 and included a push for an equal rights amendment, workplace equity, educational opportunities, and policies that supported women's participation in public life. During this period women's studies programs were established as challenges were made to traditional discipline-based theories and epistemologies. In the early 1980s the New Right began to gain momentum just as feminist goals were shifting from legal rights to cultural issues and as multiculturalism was gaining greater recognition. These developments gave rise to the Third Wave of feminism in the 1990s, which has gained momentum since the beginning of the twenty-first century.

The Seneca Falls Convention was organized by Lucretia Mott (1793–1880) and Elizabeth Cady Stanton (1815–1902), with the abolitionist Frederick Douglass (1817–1895) and various Quakers in attendance. The issues in the First Wave were laid out at the convention in the Declaration of Sentiments, which called for women to have access to education, to their own salaries, to courts, to property, to child custody, to employment, to professions, and to the right to vote, which was the most controversial resolution. It would take from 1848 to 1920 for this last resolution to be achieved in the United States. The struggles for women's equality in European societies followed similar historical paths.

THE SECOND WAVE

The Second Wave of American feminism grew out of the civil rights movement of the 1960s and the New Left. During the early stages activists readily employed the term *women's liberation* as a way of explaining that the problem women faced as a group was similar to that of other oppressed groups. Second Wave consciousness-raising groups helped women move from seeing themselves as ineffective individuals in a fair society to identifying the structural patterns of sex bias that turned women as a group into second-class citizens. Women were in need of liberation from patriarchy and the cultural, legal, and political practices that flowed from patriarchy to subjugate them. As the civil rights movement progressed and the women's movement gained supporters, four key categories became the base for critical analysis: race, class, gender, and sexuality. The removal of their accompanying social ills—racism, class privilege, sexism, and heterosexism—would liberate societies from oppressive practices and unjust institutional structures. Feminists argued that women's liberation would result in the liberation of men because gender roles would be more open and individuals could assume them according to their talents and tastes instead of the shape of their bodies.

The Second Wave of feminism was supported by a variety of local and national political organizations that

pressed for such rights as to continue work while pregnant and to have access to information about birth control, to abortion, to health care for pregnant women, and to legal protection from domestic violence, rape, sexual harassment, and economic discrimination. Concerns over women's health, reproductive choices, and body image came to the foreground as the issues of health and medical practices were scrutinized for sex or gender bias. Groups used lobbying, demonstrations, community-based organizations, and litigation and were loosely linked together through national-level organizations like the National Organization for Women (NOW), founded in 1966.

Betty Friedan (1921–2006), one of the NOW founders, raised a key question about women's liberation in her book *The Feminine Mystique*: “Who knows what women can be when they are finally free to become themselves?” (Friedan 1963, p. 378). Her critical review of women's roles as housewives helped citizens see how women were restricted in their ability to develop into full persons. Coalitions between the women's movement and the New Left, the anti-Vietnam War campaigns, the black liberation movement, and the ecological movement produced a variety of feminist theories and analyses, each of which explained liberation differently. Liberal feminism sought legal rights on a par with men's rights; socialist and Marxist feminism sought economic equity; radical feminism sought liberation and recognition for women-based theories, cultures, and sexualities; eco-feminism sought to explain how the subjugation of women is connected to the subjugation and abuse of nature; and postmodern feminism sought linguistic equities.

As the Second Wave of the women's movement progressed, pejorative nicknames like *women's libber* emerged as some social groups began to resist the changes. While there were feminists who wore the label *libber* or *radical* proudly, embracing the popular adage that “feminism is the radical notion that women are people,” others found that the labels hindered other types of political work. Feminists fought against the stereotype of themselves as man haters and humorless. While women as a group were oppressed, many also belonged to privileged groups: whites, elites, developed nations, majority religions, and heterosexual dyads. Since the term *liberation* could be understood as liberation from men or from slavery, other terms were employed to discourage these misunderstandings. Instead of using the term *women's liberation*, many political activists and scholars refer to this concept with the terms *feminism* or *gender equity*.

Groups within the feminist movement who focused on rights put their energies into legislation, gaining political office, protests, and litigation. Others were concerned with cultural transformations and focused on reframing language, what counted as the canon in art and literature,

everyday life activities, the division of labor in the household, and images of women presented in schools and the media.

"The personal is political" was a phrase that articulated the ways all women could be involved in this process of change, and personal choices were seen as manifestations of political commitments. The genuineness of a political commitment was indicated in the details of how one lived one's life. Those who were vegetarian were expected not to wear leather shoes. Those who believed women were equal to men were expected to refer to adult females as "women," not as "girls." Hence a notion of political connection between individual actions and political beliefs was advocated, and this led to a form of "political correctness" in that one's personal behavior was to match one's ethical commitments. Progressive activists would point out such inconsistencies in each others' actions in order to discourage patriarchal practices. Such actions examined and corrected speech practices to alert citizens to inconsistencies between political commitments and personal utterances. Calling adult women "girls" or referring to women as "chicks" could elicit public criticism. The Second Wave established inclusive speech practices for both genders that are now accepted in the society as a whole.

Affirmative action programs were put in place to recruit women and minorities into schools and the workplace, and watchdog agencies were created to be sure that such policies were followed. Sexism and racism were scrutinized, and citizens became aware that they needed to be careful about engaging in these types of behaviors. Some of these programs and the scrutiny associated with them have diminished with the rise of the New Right and its critiques of affirmative action, abortion policies, and other limits on corporate interests. The New Right resurrected the term *political correctness* to suggest that feminists and their allies had unduly politicized issues that were best left to individuals or corporations to work out as they thought best. Drawing from the ways in which *politics* has been treated as a negative term, the new use of *political correctness* permitted a quick negative label for social practices (especially related to affirmative action, protections for equal political and economic access for women and ethnic minorities, and inclusive language practices) that the political right wanted to eliminate from social policy.

Because rights in the United States are focused on limits to government action, U.S. politics has focused on how states have prevented women's access to contraceptives and abortion as well as preventing corporations from discrimination in employment and educational opportunities on the basis of gender or sex. The New Right in the United States has developed an antiabortion component to their political agenda with a "pro-life" argument based

on the protection of what they call the unborn. This position builds on the general interests of the New Right in gender politics. Antifeminists have attempted to reduce women's liberation to women's individual opportunity and even to "bra burning" by making the claim that Second Wave feminists burned bras. However, the occurrence of this event cannot be found by those who study the movement even though it was reported in the media. Reducing a movement to "bra burning" was probably a confusion with the anti-Vietnam War movement that burned draft cards, an illegal activity that did serve as civil disobedience. While burning draft cards is illegal, there is no such law against burning bras; discussions about bra burning are designed to trivialize women's liberation. The central issues of the Second Wave movement were equal access to education, employment opportunities, and health care.

Internationally, gender issues have included a struggle over women's identities as wife and mother with a primary location in the modern private sector as opposed to women's identities as political citizens with economic roles in modern societies that include but are not limited to their roles within the family. Because the world economy depends on women's economic contributions to the economies of nations, the limitation of women to the private sector of the home has disappeared as an economic factor even though the issue remains alive as an emotional factor in some political ideologies or religious interpretations. These issues were debated at the 1995 UN Conference on Women in Beijing, China, where representatives from major religions, the political right and left, and other sectors discussed what is required to liberate women.

In an international context, the key issues for feminists remain women's access to educational opportunities, including educational levels comparable to those offered to men, employment and pay opportunities that afford a living wage and are comparable to the pay men receive, and access to health care. In some nations women continue to struggle for equality with men in suing for divorce and custody of their children. Government policies vary on reproduction regulation, including abortion. In some nations abortion is limited to early stages or conditions that depend on the life of the mother. In others, such as China with its one-child policy, abortion can be encouraged and supported up to later stages of pregnancy. While some would reduce women's liberation to access to reproductive health technologies, women's liberation depends on access to general health care, education, and wages that will reduce women's poverty and the devastation that comes when women are unable to provide for themselves, their families, and their children.

As the political climate developed in the 1980s and 1990s, feminists no longer had to contend with the prob-

lems of invisibility or of not being taken seriously. Nonetheless, while they were taken seriously in the 1990s, they were targeted by the New Right as a source of social ills. Internationally, a New Right, neoconservative feminism emerged that emphasized the role of women as wives and mothers. In the United States these activists are often part of the “pro-life” movement that has opposed abortion and worked to counter the effects of *Roe v. Wade*. They have argued that women did not need and would not benefit from the individual protection that could be granted through social and political rights that are the same as those granted to men. At the same time, among Western feminists, tighter alliances were built with the gay and lesbian movements, so issues of sex and reproduction remained important in the struggle over what counts as women's liberation.

THE THIRD WAVE

In the 1990s postmodern analyses came to the foreground with a focus on the politics of language and culture and an emphasis on everyday political transformations as well as notions of difference. These shifts placed greater emphasis on culture and language as mechanisms for change at local levels. As the children of the Second Wave of feminism began to reach adulthood, they became activists with a new agenda that embraced the postmodern turn to language and cultural issues but also focused on mentoring, leadership, art, and new articulations of feminine and feminist identities. Rebecca Walker, the daughter of the Second Wave activist and novelist Alice Walker (b. 1944), is an example of a Third Wave activist. Building on Second Wave feminism, these activists and academics raise new questions such as that found in Leslie Heywood and Jennifer Drake's *Third Wave Agenda*: “Which personal? And whose politics? How to think ‘sisterhood’ in terms of difference and hybridity?” (Heywood and Drake 1997, p. 23). Examinations of multiple identities, complex articulations of feminine and feminist, coalition politics, and everyday practices became even more important than party affiliations and legal reforms. Retaining a loyalty to womanist perspectives and multicultural understandings, feminists continued to argue that each woman must gain the opportunity to tell her own story and speak for herself.

As academic feminism moved from the Second Wave feminists, who had drawn on empirical evidence to substantiate gender bias, to Third Wave academics, who drew more from postmodern theoretical frameworks, linguistic playfulness became a form of politics. Third Wave feminists have focused on reinventing women's identities, languages, and symbols while framing their own articulations of feminist politics. In this context *women's liberation* means the freedom to select the context for political change, the ability to frame the issues in response to both

contemporary and local contexts, and the means by which various surprising reversals, including linguistic turns, might liberate.

Women's liberation is a part of the women's movement, which includes access to education and political office; health care benefits, including reproductive health benefits; legal rights for women; employment access; protection from rape, domestic violence, and sexual harassment; access to professions and professional development; and protections from unwanted medical interventions and practices that put men in charge of women's lives. The democratization of nation-states depends on women's liberation because 50 percent of the population of a nation—women—cannot be denied equal participation and rights if a democracy is to emerge. Such denial undercuts democratization.

Women's liberation has come to mean liberation from patriarchal practices. However, the ways liberation might take place and what practices count as patriarchal are matters for political debate, and women, like men, differ in their assessment of their own needs. While there are similarities in women's situations, different contexts and values create different understandings of what women's liberation requires and how it might best be achieved. These differences offer important political insights for social justice and the development of strong democratic societies.

SEE ALSO *Affirmative Action; Civil Rights; Civil Rights Movement, U.S.; Feminism; Feminism, Second Wave; Gender; Gender Gap; Inequality, Gender; Left Wing; Liberation; Politics; Politics, Gender; Reproductive Politics; Reproductive Rights; Right Wing; Sexism; Social Movements; Vietnam War; Women and Politics; Women's Movement*

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WOMEN'S MOVEMENT

The women's movement has often been called one of the most important social movements of the twentieth century. Its most basic goals are to improve women's social, economic, and political conditions by facilitating personal transformations, introducing new ideas to public discourse, and exerting pressure on policymakers. In addition to voting, it has been a key form of women's political participation, joined only recently by greater numbers of women in political office. Beyond these basic features, however, there is considerable diversity among specific women's movements around the world.

First, not all types of political engagement by women would be considered a women's movement. As Karen Beckwith emphasizes, the term *women's movements* refers to any kind of systematic organizing by women, including that of a nonfeminist nature (Beckwith 2000). Women's movements are thus distinct from *women in social movements*, who are female participants in social movements that may or may not focus on gender issues. They are also a broader phenomenon that includes but is not equivalent to *feminist movements*, which engage women—and some men—through a more explicitly gendered lens that seeks to understand and overcome women's subordination.

Second, women's movements themselves vary enormously across countries and over time. They appear during different waves of feminism, originate in various kinds of other social movements, espouse a range of different issues of concern, and interact in numerous ways with global and regional trends. In addition, they are situated within a variety of social, economic, and political contexts that shape their emergence, development, and prospects for success. As such, many analysts are skeptical of universalizing claims about women's mobilization. When studying "the women's movement," therefore, they seek to understand the diverse conditions under which women organize as women—rather than with men—to achieve social, economic, and political change.

WAVES OF FEMINISM

Although women's movements are not synonymous with feminist movements, the two frequently overlap. As a result, one common starting point for analyzing women's

movements is to position them in relation to waves of feminism. Due to important differences in context, the timing and character of these waves vary significantly across countries. In the western world, the "first wave" is generally associated with the mobilization of women's groups across many countries in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The main focus of these movements was to attain basic rights for women, including the right to vote, the right to employment, the right to receive equal pay, and the right to retain their own nationality upon marriage to men of other nationalities. Focused on equality, these campaigns largely sought to gain rights for women that were already guaranteed to men. However, in many cases these movements overlooked crucial issues of race and class, devoting most of their attention to rights for white and upper-class women.

The "second wave" of feminism, often dated in the West to the 1960s and 1970s, embraced a much wider range of theories and issues. Initially inspired by the need to dispel the "feminine mystique," or the idea that women found their life's fulfillment in being married and raising children, second-wave groups began to question women's roles in the private sphere and to point to the social construction of gender roles. Drawing on ideas introduced by writers such as Simone de Beauvoir, they made a distinction between the terms *sex* and *gender*, using *sex* to refer to biological differences between male and female and *gender* to denote social differences between masculine and feminine. Although sex and gender were related, second-wave feminists emphasized that the relationship was imperfect, as men could be feminine and women could be masculine. Women's groups developed these ideas in a number of different directions: Some stressed the universality of women's oppression, some sought to revalue the "feminine," and still others aimed to break down the distinction between the public and the private through slogans such as "the personal is political." Despite this diversity, the shared feature of all these efforts was to focus on women as women, rather than as individuals who aspired to a male standard.

The feminist project of defining the terms *women* and *women's issues*, however, was not without controversy. On the one hand, activists disagreed as to the coherence of "women" as a group. Many called attention to race- and class-based exclusions that were implicit in discourse on "universal" female oppression that in fact reflected the experiences of women from dominant racial and class groups. Others noted that accounts of the sexual division of labor, and especially women's experiences as mothers, tended to assume that all women were heterosexual, thus overlooking—and marginalizing—the experiences of lesbians. On the other hand, feminists prioritized a wide range of women's issues that implied distinct—and even conflicting—visions of the status quo and prescriptions

for change. Whereas some aimed to undermine patriarchy by promoting women's status in the public sphere, others sought to foster a "women's culture" by revaluing women's labor inside the home, raise awareness of women's experiences through consciousness-raising, and theorize patriarchy by pointing to the power that men exercised over women through violence and coercion.

The "third wave" is a more contested concept, existing in an uneasy relation to the term *postfeminism*. Both notions are generally taken to refer to ideas that emerged in the West in the 1990s and continue to develop through the present day. This wave is largely characterized by a focus on difference, both between women and men and among women themselves. At the same time, it aims to break down binary categories by emphasizing the fluid and relational aspects of identity and experience. As such, it questions traditional approaches to conceptualizing sex and gender by exploring intersections between race, class, and gender; uncovering the assumptions of heterosexuality that underpin analysis of women in relation to men; and probing the possibility that gender may cause sex rather than sex causing gender. In this sense, the third wave incorporates a number of ideas articulated by feminists of color, lesbian feminists, and postmodern feminists. However, because these theories stress the contradictions and multiplicities inherent in definitions of women and women's issues, they have paradoxical effects on women's movements: They help build coalitions with other movements for social justice, but also undermine the prospects for mobilizing by women as women for social, economic, and political change.

ORIGINS OF WOMEN'S MOVEMENTS

Many scholars draw on the wave analogy to identify major shifts in feminist theorizing and their relation to concentrated periods of mobilization by women's groups. This approach has its critics, however, who point out that women are active politically between waves and are not always inspired initially by feminist concerns. Indeed, despite the widespread belief that women's movements emerge in cycles as women become more educated and politically informed, evidence from around the world suggests that women's movements often have their origins in various other kinds of social movements. In these cases, women gain a shared sense of gender oppression through discrimination they experience in the course of their participation in other campaigns for social justice. These include movements for civil rights, revolution, nationalism, independence, and human rights. Similar consciousness-raising also occurs in authoritarian regimes, where the creation of state-led women's organizations aims to control women's political activity but sometimes provides

an official platform for women's organizing. Many women's movements nonetheless hesitate to label themselves "feminist" on the grounds that the term has various negative associations as "bourgeois," "Western," "forced emancipation," and even "man-hating." Further, few movements succeed at incorporating all women due to differences among women that remain important, including nationality, race, class, religion, region, language, and sexual orientation.

ISSUES OF WOMEN'S MOVEMENTS

Given their distinct origins and relations to waves of feminism, women's movements around the world focus variously on a wide range of issues. These concerns fall into six broad categories: women's legal rights, violence against women, reproductive choice, sexual freedom, employment opportunities and discrimination, and women's political participation and representation. Legal rights include such issues as rights in marriage, the right to divorce, and the right to own and inherit property. Violence against women refers to practices such as rape, domestic abuse, female genital cutting, sexual slavery, and sex trafficking. Reproductive choice encompasses access to contraception, the right to abortion, and the right to not be subjected to forced sterilization. Sexual freedom involves the right to express one's own sexuality and claims for the same privileges conferred on heterosexual couples. Employment opportunities and discrimination include rights to equal pay, access to all jobs, provision of maternity leave, and freedom from sexual harassment. Women's political participation and representation, finally, comprise the rights to vote, join political parties, participate in civil society, and run for political office. Individual movements rarely cover all these issues, and specific movements address particular issues in a variety of different ways. In addition, some groups mobilize to preserve rather than undermine women's traditional status as mothers and inside the home.

GLOBAL AND REGIONAL WOMEN'S MOVEMENTS

Despite their emergence and development in specific contexts around the world, women's movements inform and reflect broader global and regional trends. Women's organizing has always had an international dimension, reaching back more than 100 years to the early suffrage campaigns and activism for world peace. In the last thirty years, however, women's movement activism has grown exponentially in relation to developments beyond national borders. At the global level, international conferences have placed new issues on national political agendas and facilitated networking among women's groups around the world, even as they have been marked in some

instances by sharp conflicts among women in developed and developing nations. At the regional level, transnational organizing has become increasingly important as a means for spreading new ideas across national borders, fostering policy diffusion and solidarity among politically marginalized groups. Despite their long history, women's movements are thus constantly being reborn, reinventing themselves, and taking on new forms in order to politicize women's concerns, however these are identified and defined.

SEE ALSO *Abortion Rights; Equality; Family Planning; Femininity; Feminism; Feminism, Second Wave; Gender Gap; Inequality, Gender; Interest Groups and Interests; Masculinity; Politics; Politics, Black; Politics, Gender; Politics, Gay, Lesbian, Transgender, and Bisexual; Reproductive Rights; Social Movements; Stepford Wives; Suffrage, Women's; Women and Politics; Women's Liberation*

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Mona Lena Krook

WOMEN'S RIGHTS MOVEMENT

SEE *Women's Movement*.

WOMEN'S STUDIES

Women's studies is an interdisciplinary academic field that concentrates on the experiences and aspirations of women. Although women's studies departments and programs in the United States and around the world are

reflective of their locations within educational institutions and their larger social context, a common thread is the claim that women's experiences have been underrepresented or misrepresented in more traditional academic disciplines that claim to capture the human experience. This has been found by some critics to be the case in traditional disciplines that purport to speak about human nature but consider only the social location of men or take men as the universal subject, casting women as either substitute or inferior men.

WOMEN'S STUDIES AS CRITIQUE AND CORRECTIVE

Arguing that women are human too and that the academic is also political, women's studies is founded on critical terrain, offering critiques of traditional disciplines and correctives to their representations or exclusions of women. Thus, a women's studies program may offer courses in education, literature, history, political science, philosophy, psychology, ethnic studies, biology, medicine, religious studies, and international relations, among other fields, centralizing women and the theoretical frameworks of feminism within each of those fields. Further, the misrepresentation of women's experiences in academic disciplines is thought by some to reflect a generalized societal devaluation of women's experience and social roles and thus to be part of the oppression of women. In this way the purpose of women's studies is shaped by its relationship with women's movements inside and outside the academy. The field has developed around the idea that the personal is political, meaning that gender identity and the subjectivities of individuals are shaped through the political structures of a gendered social system.

In these ways the field of women's studies is a critique and a corrective as well as a self-reflexive and politically engaged discipline that functions with a commitment to social transformation within education and the wider society in which it exists. Since their inception women's studies programs have operated from the often contradictory position of educating for social change and existing within traditional academic institutions that tend to favor neutral and disinterested knowledge production.

EARLY COURSES AND PROGRAMS

The first women's studies courses were offered in the United States in 1965 at the New Orleans Free School, the University of Chicago, Barnard College, Spelman College, and the Free University of Seattle. The earliest women's studies program was established in 1970 at San Diego State University, and the Women's Resource and Research Center was established at Spelman in 1981. Influenced by the civil rights, women's, and New Left movements and the inception of African American,

American, and ethnic studies, early women's studies courses were guided by a vision of a world free from sexism, racism, class bias, ageism, and heterosexual bias.

The scope of the field has expanded continuously, increasing from 150 women's studies programs in the United States in the period 1970–1975 and three cross-disciplinary journals in 1972 to the growing number of courses, programs, departments, academic conferences, and journals of the first decade of the twenty-first century. In 2006 there were over seven hundred degree-granting women's studies departments in the United States with approximately seventeen doctoral programs, including the Africana Women's Studies program at Clark Atlanta, the Graduate Certificate Program at Howard University, and the earliest doctoral program at Emory University; more than two hundred fifty women's departments in sixty countries worldwide, with approximately twenty-five doctoral programs; and over forty scholarly journals and dozens of annual national and international conferences. The U.S. National Women's Studies Association (NWSA) was founded in 1977, and Women's Worlds: International Interdisciplinary Congress on Women was founded in 1981 with conferences held since that time in locations ranging from Haifa, Israel, to Seoul, South Korea.

METHODOLOGY AND STRATEGIES

The primary methodological approach of women's studies is derived from feminist analysis, a complex field of study that questions the foundations of traditional male-centered knowledge. Feminists have interrogated the masculine—also known as the patriarchal, androcentric, and phallogocentric—biases and exclusions of prevailing social relations, institutions, and political structures to understand why women consistently experience gender-based oppressions that are manifested differently in accordance with the context. From home, to schools, to the workplace, to neighborhood streets, to war zones feminists have demonstrated the ways in which women, by virtue of being female, are barred disproportionately and systemically from the privileges enjoyed by men. At the same time feminist analysis documents women's political agency and resistance to oppressive circumstances. This has been particularly true of black feminist traditions.

To rectify structurally derived inequalities between men and women, one set of approaches feminists have offered consists of strategies to oppose existing masculine structures. Feminist oppositional solutions have taken a number of forms, from proposing equity in the workplace, government, and home to more profoundly transformative solutions of challenging masculinist epistemologies with feminist ways of knowing. Whereas man has dominated the social and human sciences, feminists

have proposed woman as a replacement, a supplement, or the basis for structural transformation.

A number of concerns about the transformative potential of feminist oppositional strategies have been articulated within feminist debates. Proposing woman as an oppositional category immediately raises the question of whether gender is the primary identification of all women everywhere, casting doubt on the core of much of feminist politics. Racialized women, lesbians, disabled women, working-class and poor women, and women outside North America and Western Europe have been the most insistent voices against homogenizing women into hegemonic categories, thus contributing to the plurality of feminist analyses.

The long tradition of black feminist thought, for instance, has reconceptualized feminism by demanding attention to race, to diaspora communities, and to the construction of womanhood outside the United States. Debates about difference, or multipositionality, within women's studies programs continue, revolving around the ways in which race, class, nation, ability, age, and other social locations modify gender. Not only was the notion of woman challenged, the entire notion of a core focus or single identity was challenged by debates that demanded intersectional, plural, and culturally attentive approaches to feminism that are simultaneously antisexist and antiracist. For women's studies programs that primarily have focused on the experiences of white women the challenge is to integrate a racial analysis; for programs within historically black colleges and universities the challenge is to integrate a gender analysis into already established racial analyses.

DEBATES WITHIN WOMEN'S STUDIES

Starting from their initial questioning of man as the legitimate grounds of knowing, feminism and women's studies debate the proper subjects and objects of the field. In this sense feminist and women's studies debates are both reflective of and a challenge to broader debates within the social sciences about conventional criteria of knowledge production, disciplinary configurations of relevance, verifiability and falsifiability, the separation of subject from object, and the criteria of objectivity and universality as necessary features of legitimate knowledge production. With the "crisis of reason" comes the instability of feminist claims to know, and feminism is both oppositional to and implicated in conventional epistemological discourses. In fact, the very immersion of feminism in patriarchal practices is seen a factor in the critical effectiveness of feminism and thus the transformative potential of the field of women's studies.

These debates manifest themselves in a variety of ways in women's studies programs. Pedagogically, the field of women's studies has attempted to create inclusive, non-hierarchical, and open learning environments that do not privilege hegemonic voices or experiences. In this regard peer facilitation, experiential knowledge, and self-reflection are emphasized in many women's studies programs. Epistemologically, women's studies programs offer feminist theory and methodology courses in interdisciplinary and politically engaged knowledge production. This means that women's studies programs provide courses that centralize women's experiences as well as methods of reading the social through feminist theory. Normatively, women's studies courses tend to highlight the value biases of feminist theory and demonstrate the hidden values of knowledge that is said to be neutral and disinterested. Institutionally, women's studies programs are often in an uneasy alliance with academia, on the one hand attempting to offer transformative curricula and on the other hand finding it necessary to offer courses and programs that are recognizably legitimate in comparison with other liberal arts degree programs. Additionally, women's studies departments often seek models of departmental governance that maintain some of the ideals of feminist organizing while operating within the larger institutional framework. Finally, the field of women's studies continues to nurture its relationship with women's movements and community activism beyond the academy.

Beyond women's studies programs and departments, feminist analysis has found its way into many traditional disciplines and departmental appointments. In light of the mainstreaming of feminist analysis, the question arises whether women's studies as an autonomous field has outlived its utility in the academy. At the same time there are qualitative differences between working as a feminist scholar within a discipline that does not centralize the project of academic and social transformation and working within an interdisciplinary women's studies department that is intended to transform the entire educational experience from the classroom to departmental governance.

As women's studies programs have increased their legitimacy within the academy, acquired departmental status, increased their number of tenure-track appointments, and developed doctoral programs, the negotiations about remaining transformational and autonomous have continued. In that context the field of women's studies is dynamic, worldly, and continuously engaged with the central epistemological and normative debates that animate much of the social sciences.

SEE ALSO *Gender; Gender Gap; Gender Studies; Women; Women and Politics; Women's Liberation; Work and Women*

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Liz Philipose

WOODSTOCK

Although the Woodstock Music and Arts Festival is a celebrated symbol of the “hippie” counterculture, it did not initiate the counterculture, nor did it mark its end. Nevertheless, Woodstock is a useful reference point for discussions of this significant social phenomenon. By 1969, the “hippie” movement had emerged as a group of primarily young people, who not only were opposed to

the Vietnam War but also wore distinctive and colorful clothing, engaged in illegal drug use, and enjoyed rock and roll music.

In early 1969, business associates John Roberts and Joel Rosenman met record executive Artie Kornfield and festival promoter Michael Lang, and the four decided to produce the largest music festival to date. Although not fully immersed in the counterculture, they sought to produce a festival that would appeal to that group. To promote the festival they formed Woodstock Ventures, named after the town in Ulster County, New York, where Bob Dylan lived. Woodstock Ventures advertised the festival in the alternative and college media, hired a crew to assist with production, and booked the most significant bands of that era. Their most difficult concern was finding a site to hold a large, three-day music and art festival, which would also allow attendees to camp. Woodstock Ventures eventually found a site in Sullivan County, New York. They leased land from a local dairy farmer named Max Yasgur. Although Sullivan County residents expressed trepidation about the concert and especially the influx of “hippies,” Yasgur resisted this pressure and allowed the festival to occur.

Woodstock started on Friday, August 15, 1969, and on that day, approximately 400,000 (some estimated closer to one million) people, many without tickets, arrived at the festival gate. Fans waited hours in line, and when they entered, it was clear that they were not prepared for three days of camping. To make matters worse, it had rained considerably during the weekend, soaking the festival grounds. The promoters also did not adequately prepare for the throngs of attendees, and eventually they agreed to waive admissions fees.

Woodstock is the quintessential symbol for the “hippie” counterculture. Illegal drug use was extensive and open. While most of the fans maintained control, a small percentage of them overindulged, though there was also a “freak-out tent” to calm them down. Woodstock included a self-contained market, in which fans sold food, artwork, jewelry, and clothing to one another. The artists, promoters, and fans were more concerned about music and art than about politics, but the undercurrent of progressive activism was inescapable. The musicians and fans expressed support for social justice and intense opposition to the Vietnam War.

Woodstock attracted considerable media attention, which brought the “hippie” counterculture into the mainstream, and, as a result, the festival became part of the American cultural imagination. Although the festival was only one of many crucial events during a time of social and cultural upheaval, intellectuals, the press, popular entertainment, and the advertising industry have made Woodstock into the symbol of the cultural and political

ideals of the late 1960s. Supporters of the social changes brought about by the 1960s cite the ability of the festival to overcome tremendous obstacles as an example of the success of the “hippie” subculture and progressive politics. Conversely, opponents of these changes deride Woodstock as an example of the chaos and lawlessness the 1960s wrought on American society.

Although in the early 1970s many experts predicted the end of the “hippie” movement, the spirit of Woodstock has not disappeared from the American cultural scene. Throughout the 1970s, 1980s, and early 1990s, the Grateful Dead, which had been at the forefront of the “hippie” movement and performed at Woodstock, played thousands of shows throughout the United States. A new generation of fans, known as *Deadheads*, many of whom were not born when Woodstock occurred, followed the band to different cities. Like Woodstock, Grateful Dead concerts featured illegal drug use, expression of progressive views, and vibrant economic activity. This subculture was so significant that University of North Carolina, Greensboro, sociologist Rebecca Adams set out to study Deadheads by attending shows and conducting field research on the fans (Adams 1998). During the 1990s a second generation of musicians and fans maintained the Woodstock spirit. So-called *jam bands*, such as Phish, have developed their own followings, especially after the 1995 death of Grateful Dead band-leader and “hippie” icon Jerry Garcia. Since 2002, the Bonnaroo Music and Arts Festival has occurred every June in Manchester, Tennessee. Although this festival only attracts 90,000 to 100,000 people and is generally well organized, it is strikingly similar to Woodstock. An eclectic selection of bands entertains fans; there is widespread and open illegal drug use; progressive political views abound; and people sell food, art, and clothing.

SEE ALSO *Popular Music; Rock 'n' Roll; Youth Culture*

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Steven Tauber

WORK

It may seem that everyone knows what *work* means—most people have engaged in activities that they call *work*, and they know that institutions and social structures are

sustained through the work of large numbers of individuals in society. Yet, a closer examination reveals that the concept of work has a long and contested history. Peter David Anthony, for example, characterizes work as anything that gives people “moral responsibility” and “spiritual significance.” He writes that “if life has any meaning, work has meaning because life is work” (1980, p. 419). Along the same lines, Sean Sayers notes that “the experience of being without a job is profoundly demoralizing and unfulfilling” (1988, p. 731). In contrast, Herbert Applebaum argues that “work in the modern world is purely instrumental. It is a mere means to gain a living, not an activity of value in itself, not a means of self-expression” (1992, p. 573). Paul Thompson (1983) characterizes work as a loss of autonomy and an experience of being confined by the scheduling and disciplining of others. As Nona Glazer summarizes, work is “a problematic concept” (1993, p. 33).

Common to the various debates on the meaning of *work*, however, is the recognition that in the contemporary social and economic system, work has an economic and moral function. As Arlene Kaplan Daniels notes, in modern industrialized society, “the most common understanding of the essential characteristic of work is that it is something for which we get paid” (1987, p. 403). In addition, the recognition of an activity as work gives it a “moral force and dignity”: “To work and earn money is also to gain status as an adult” (p. 404).

Many of the ways in which we think about work in relation to pay and value have been influenced by the writings of Karl Marx (1818–1883). Marx noted that the process of exchange makes all the different types of labor homogeneous; this homogeneous labor, which produces commodities, is called *abstract labor*. Value is measured in terms of abstract labor, which in turn is measured in terms of the time necessary to produce a commodity vis-à-vis another commodity (Bottomore 1991a, p. 565). In this way, Marx described value as “not something intrinsic to a single commodity apart from its exchange from another” (Bottomore 1991a, p. 566). Marx constructs value as a *social relation* rather than a description of a thing (Rubin 1972, p. 70). Under capitalism, labor—or work—itself becomes a commodity that is bought and sold. One of the central ways that we organize our understanding of work is in terms of the jobs people do. Jobs are classified into sectors, such as agricultural, industrial, manufacturing, managerial, and service, according to the main activities involved. Around the world, jobs are deeply stratified by gender. For example, women tend to predominate in agricultural employment in Asia, sub-Saharan Africa, the Middle East, and North Africa. Women in most parts of the world hold many of the jobs in the service sector, such as community, social, and personal services, whereas men

dominate in the business and financial sectors (Elder and Schmidt 2004).

Not all labor, or work, is valued equivalently. Work done by engineers, financiers, and managers is well paid, while the service jobs in which many women, people of color, and recent migrants are employed are precarious and poorly paid. According to the International Labour Organization (ILO), 1.39 billion people (almost 50 percent of the world’s workers) do paid work but earn less than two dollars per day. These people form the *working poor*, who are employed yet simultaneously live below the poverty line (ILO 2004).

Many scholars have focused their analyses on how work is deeply stratified in terms of gender. Peta Tancred notes that it is often assumed that “women are born with certain ‘natural’ skills which require neither talent nor training, and which are merely part of their ‘natural,’ ‘feminine’ behaviour” (1995, p. 17). Jane Aronson and Sheila Neysmith document the experiences of home-care workers who do work that is similar to that which would otherwise have been assumed by female relatives. Although home-care workers are paid, their work is accorded little status and assumed to require little skill (Aronson and Neysmith 1996, p. 61).

Feminist theorists also provide vivid illustrations of the ways in which individuals are expected to re-create particular versions of masculinity and femininity as part of their jobs. Lisa Adkins, for example, discusses the jobs of catering assistants within a leisure park, where women are required to have the “right” appearance to be employed. This “right” appearance includes being “attractive and looking fresh” and not looking “weird” or “too butchy” (Adkins 1995, pp. 105–106). Adkins’s study provides an illustration of the ways in which occupations are segregated not only by sex (i.e., biological femaleness or maleness) but more importantly by gender (i.e., appropriate manifestations of masculinity and femininity).

Jobs, and the organizations within which they are situated, do not just require individuals to conform to stereotypical notions of femininity and masculinity. As Jennifer Pierce notes, gendered structures shape “workers’ practices at the same time that ... workers participate—wittingly or not—in the reproduction of gender relations” (1995, pp. 2–3). Gender is a continual process, being actively created and resisted within organizational structures. The ways in which women and men both reproduce and re-create a variety of gender norms through their jobs is illuminated in Elaine Hall’s analysis of interactions between table servers and customers. Hall demonstrates the ways in which expectations of behavior conforming to stereotypical notions of masculinity and femininity are not universally held, but rather are contextually developed. For example, both female and male table servers

think that the public expects waitresses to be more friendly than waiters and “cross-sex interactions to be more friendly than same-sex interactions” (Hall 1993, p. 460). Female customers, however, are seen only by the waiters, and not by waitresses, to be friendly. Friendliness is, in this case, not a component of femininity across contexts, but rather a gendered process developed within the particular work role assigned to waitresses (termed by Hall a *service script*) (1993, p. 461).

In addition to the gendered nature of work, only certain activities are labeled as *work* in the first place, depending on the social context. An activity such as sewing a shirt can be paid work, unpaid work, or leisure, depending on the context. This raises the questions of how certain activities get labeled as *work* and how some are deemed worthy of remuneration. Feminist theorists have noted that the strong economic orientation in conventional understandings of work fails to recognize much of the “work” that women do in our societies. Domestic chores and childcare are seldom recognized as work, even though they require more effort, commitment, and skill than many paid jobs. In fact, a lot of work is difficult to classify in terms of payment. Marjorie DeVault (1991) describes the work that goes into feeding a family, which involves not only cooking but also planning, provisioning, and being attentive to family members’ nutritional needs and individual tastes. Many of these activities are not only unpaid, they *cannot* be paid for. For example, if one were to make a detailed list of the activities that are involved in finding a place to live in a new city, one would find that many of the activities (such as figuring out where like-minded people live; balancing such factors as the size, brightness, and proximity of the apartment; and reconciling the needs of various family members) cannot be done by others, even for pay. These activities require *emotion work* (Daniels 1987).

As Deanne Messias and colleagues argue, “attempts to define work in terms of economic activity are met with the problems of having to determine where noneconomic housework ends and economic activity begins” (1997, p. 307). Given that women more often than men assume primary responsibility for family work (Pierce 1995) and that women are significantly more likely to be employed in jobs requiring emotion work (Wharton 1993), much of women’s work is not only unpaid, but also cannot be paid for. Writers have called these tasks *tailoring work* and note that it is such invisible work that sustains many of our social structures. Daniels, for example, argues that “the normative expectation in every industrialized society is that women will coordinate public and purchased services with the private requirements of their families [and] ... this tailoring is ... part of the invisible work in social life” (1987, p. 405). Glazer provides illustrations of the tailoring work that women do through her analysis of the growth of self-service and self-care in the American retail

and health-care industries. Self-service in shopping, for example, translates into considerable work for the customer. This work, done by women, involves gaining knowledge about goods, locating and evaluating items, and transporting goods to the home. The tailoring work involved in shopping is constructed as leisure (Glazer 1993, pp. 49–102). In a similar way, cost-cutting measures in health care involve a “work transfer” where women learn and do high-technology health care at home, which includes providing food, changing linen, bathing, toileting, keeping detailed records, and administering medication. This care is treated as “routine housekeeping” rather than being recognized as skilled work integral to the U.S. health-care system (Glazer 1993, p. 179).

The discussion above illustrates the political nature of the concept of *work* and the ways in which different definitions of work signify gender, race, and class hierarchies within society. It can be seen that only certain activities are labeled as *work*, depending on the social context. William Ronco and Lisa Peattie, for example, ask what distinguishes *work* from a *hobby* and reveal the fuzziness of these categories. They conclude that “the distinction between ‘work’ and ‘hobby’ is thus not inherent in the activity; it lies in the social context in which the activity is carried out” (1983, pp. 13–18). The consequence of the social labeling of only certain activities as *work* is that these activities hold higher financial and normative status in contemporary society. Given the importance of unpaid, family, and emotion work, conventional definitions of work need to be constantly challenged.

SEE ALSO *Clock Time; Work and Women; Work Day*

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Kiran Mirchandani

WORK AND WOMEN

The term *work*, generally implying some sort of activity or achievements, acquired specific connotations due to the development of capitalist productive relations (Williams 1976), particularly since the Industrial Revolution in the

late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries in Britain. Under capitalism it is the payment of wages that makes clear the distinction between work and nonwork. The notion of work came to be associated with some sort of paid employment, so that time spent outside waged employment is not considered “work” but leisure time. For example, taking care of one's own household and children—a job typically done by women—is usually considered nonwork because it is a non-wage-generating activity. In fact, the dichotomy of work versus nonwork can be best understood if we look at how women's work has evolved through centuries in our society.

Though a single basis of comparison cannot be regarded as absolute in comparing historically what constitutes women's work across different cultures, studies have demonstrated that historically women in many so-called developed and developing countries have actively taken part in forms of work that are generally regarded as non-productive or non-income-generating. For example, women in Asia, Africa, and Latin and North America engaged in a wide variety of jobs (e.g., raising livestock, processing food, fetching water and fuel, sewing, selling homemade pottery, child rearing and housekeeping) that may not have always conformed to the clear-cut distinction of work and nonwork produced by the discourses of capitalism (Kessler-Harris 2003). Although in the gendered division of labor women generally had the bulk of domestic work, this was considered vital to the survival of the family and the society. In the wake of capitalist economy, while women continued to engage in various subsistence crafts or family labor systems, the emergence of a male-dominated waged workforce diminished women's visible role as productive workers. Women's housework gained a pejorative connotation and was seen as segregated from the public (i.e., male) capitalist economy. As many of women's traditional tasks (e.g., cloth manufacturing and spinning) became mechanized and production sites moved to factories, women's work increasingly became coterminous with nonproduction that cannot be evaluated in monetary terms. Women who did enter the wage labor market because of family responsibilities were either assembling goods at home for subcontractors or working in factory jobs that were considered low status and attributed less value in relation to work done by men.

Thus according to Deborah Simonton (1998), the advent of capitalism and industrialization resulted in creating a distinction between the public (men's) world and the private (women's) world. Household work came to be exclusively a women's activity, and the private world of home the ideal place for women. Women came to be identified more as mothers or caregivers and not as economic contributors to the family. As Elisabeth Prüggl and Eileen Boris (1996) note, women, being identified with nurturing and caring, were separated from waged workers, and men

were considered the ideal waged workers and main breadwinners of their families. This role of women in society gained wider life even outside Europe, in many countries of Asia and Africa because of British colonization. However, this social role had different implications for middle-class and working-class women, and was gendered and racialized. For example, for women of the rising bourgeoisie in Victorian and Edwardian England, working outside the home was not considered “respectable,” and home was considered a woman’s proper place. However, working-class women were forced to work for financial reasons, although mainly as seamstresses, spinners, weavers, or domestic servants—jobs that are traditionally considered women’s work. These jobs were perceived as less skilled and inferior to men’s work and were paid less as well. *Vis-à-vis* class, the public/private divide had a racial dimension as well. For example, in the late nineteenth century, many African American women migrants who settled in the United States had no other option but to work as domestic servants in burgeoning urban middle-class families. Being racially excluded from most occupations, these women had to go out of their homes to earn a living for their families.

A major change in women’s role in society in the United States, Britain, and continental Europe came with the two world wars (1914–1918 and 1939–1945). At the outset of each war, as men left their jobs to enlist, the supply of workers declined, resulting in labor shortages. The crisis of war unsettled the prescribed and dominant gender and class codes, and this, compounded by economic pressures, made possible the entry of women into the public workplace.

Women started entering into jobs that were previously considered men’s domain, not only in manufacturing and agriculture, but also in banks and offices. Professions and careers also opened up in academia, medicine, law, and engineering. As women demonstrated their abilities to do skilled and highly mechanized work, they cast doubt on the dominant assumptions about women’s physical abilities and social role. New work opportunities instilled in women a sense of confidence and individualism so that domestic work was no more the ultimate goal in their lives. For a significant number of women, paid work outside the home came to represent economic and social mobility, and they were ready to balance work and home without giving up one or the other.

Deborah Simonton (1998) notes that in spite of the significant achievements made in the workplace in the post–World War II era, attitudes toward women’s roles at work and home have continued to be patriarchal and gendered. Household work and child rearing are still considered to be women’s major role, and women’s paid work is mostly seen as neglect of home and family. Marriage and the arrival of children thus mark an end to many women’s

prospering careers in countries around the world. At the same time, certain jobs such as nursing and teaching are stereotyped as “women’s jobs” because they are assumed to be closely related to women’s “natural” caring and mothering roles; predictably, these jobs do not enjoy the same high social status as other official or clerical jobs belonging to the domain of men. Coupled with this, women in the workplace are expected to be polite, docile, apolitical, hardworking, and contented with a lower wage. Women are seen as casual or temporary workers, a reserve army of labor to be drawn on when needed and sent back when not required.

Economic restructuring and globalization since the 1980s have made women’s positions at home and in the labor market more gendered and unequal. As pointed out by Prügl and Boris (1996), women’s unpaid work at home has increased, as they need to compensate for care that was previously provided by the state. At work, because of the limited options in the formal sectors that consist of regulated, organized economies and protected workers, more and more women are forced to take up jobs in the informal sectors, where jobs are unregulated, part-time, low-paid, with no benefits or social protection and highly contingent in nature. Women’s share of informal sector employment thus remains high in many countries, through their involvement in self-employment, subcontracting production, family enterprises, and home-based labor. While these jobs contribute not only to families’ survival but to national income as well, they often go unrecognized or are considered peripheral and a mere extension of household work. For instance, women carpet weavers in Turkey or home-based garment sewers in Bangladesh who sew sweatshirts at home for multinationals are hardly recognized as “workers,” although their work provides important bases for national economic development.

The rise of sweatshops and home-based industrial labor in developing as well as industrialized countries has further disadvantaged women’s role in the labor market, as they force women into particular niches, with low pay, low skills, and poor working conditions. Often this involves doing repetitive, highly routinized, and regulated jobs on assembly lines; some believe that women are well-suited to these jobs because of their supposed inherent docility and dexterity and ability to do monotonous and labor-intensive jobs. Many labor-intensive, light manufacturing industries such as the garment, footwear, and electronics industries employ women rather than men because they make higher profits with a female workforce.

A further impact of globalization can be felt through the process of racialization of women’s work as well: Caribbean or Filipino women as domestic workers, Chinese or South Asian women as garment workers.

Indeed, studies indicate that a large number of women of color are clustered in low-income sectors in countries such as Canada or Britain (Sassen 1998; Jackson 2002). These women, especially immigrant women in developed countries, are low paid, receive no benefits, and are left with little in the way of social security, labor standards, or other state guarantees. Thus women of color are systemically excluded from the better paid, secure, and the more desirable jobs in the labor markets. Despite a major increase in women's labor-force participation, the intersectionalities of gender, class, and race continue to stereotype the women's labor force and affect the employment trajectories of women in the capitalist world economy.

SEE ALSO *Discrimination, Wage, by Gender; Gender; Gender Gap; Inequality, Gender; Inequality, Political*

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Srabani Maitra

WORK DAY

The current concept of the work day did not exist prior to the modern age. Before the Industrial Revolution work was an integral part of life. What we know today as leisure and work were mixed thoroughly. As late as the colonial period in American history daily work schedules were casual, set by custom rather than by contract, law, or the clock.

The work day in colonial America traditionally ran from dawn to dusk six days a week. However, meals and rest breaks customarily accounted for two and a half to three hours of that long day. In addition, the work day was casual, interspersed with non-work activities such as conversations, household chores, games, and simple idleness.

THE SEPARATION OF WORK AND LIFE

As the marketplace became increasingly rationalized and the factory system grew, competition forced labor to become more efficient. Work increasingly was purged of its nonproductive elements. The clear division between work and life fundamental to the modern definition of the work day emerged in the United States around the turn of the nineteenth century. Impersonal market forces transformed casual preindustrial work patterns. Wages replaced older kinds of traditional compensations such as masters' support of and guarantees given to apprentices and journeymen.

Having to pay daily wages, masters, managers, and contractors tried to increase profits by intensifying work effort and expanding the customary dawn-to-dusk work day to the limits of human endurance. By the 1830s traditional artisanal republican workshops were well on their way to being replaced by what commonly was called a "bastard system of production." As manufacturing was increasingly rationalized, what Karl Marx called in his *Communist Manifesto* the "motley feudal ties" ([1894] 1906) that had connected owner to operative fell away, replaced by impersonal market relations that often exploited workers in a kind of wage slavery that many, including Walt Whitman, likened to the experience of African Americans in the American South.

ATTEMPTS TO REDUCE THE WORK DAY

Initially workers struggled against the advent of modern work discipline. Gradually, though, as E. P. Thompson showed, workers accepted the division of work from life, but then began a new "fight ... about" time (Thompson 1967, p. 85). For over a century workers attempted to reduce the working day, week, year, and life to reclaim in their leisure the conviviality, creativity, equality, independence, and citizenship that characterized the essential republican virtues that once had been part of their jobs. The historians David Roediger and Philip Foner conclude that "the length of the workdays ... has historically been the central issue raised by the American labor movement" (Roediger and Foner 1989, p. vii).

William Heighton articulated a worker vision of *continual* work reduction that endured for over a century. In a pamphlet circulated during the 1827 carpenters' strike in Philadelphia for a ten-hour day, Heighton called for the work day to be reduced from "12 to 10, to 8, to 6, and so on" until "the development and progress of science have reduced human labor to its lowest terms" (Heighton 1827).

Organizing across craft lines and hoping to influence customary standards and new contracts, workers pressured politicians to pass ten-hour laws for government

employees. Various cities and states considered or passed such legislation. The process culminated in 1840 with President Martin Van Buren's executive order granting the ten-hour day to manual workers under government contract.

After the Civil War labor turned its attention to the eight-hour day. As Karl Marx observed, the issue "ran with the seven-leagued boots of the locomotive from the Atlantic to the Pacific, from New England to California" (Marx 1906, p. 329). The eight-hour day became an important political issue, finding a place in the Omaha platform of the Populists and the Bull Moose platform. The Democratic and Republican platforms in 1932 called for reductions in the work day to below eight hours. Some of the most dramatic and significant events in the history of labor, such as the strikes of 1886, the Haymarket disaster, and the steel strike of 1919, concerned the length of the work day. During Woodrow Wilson's administration, the eight-hour day became the national norm and Congress passed laws regulating the work day of children, women, and workers in hazardous occupations.

In the Great Depression, continuing their commitment to the "progressive shortening of the hours of labor," unions supported the introduction of the Black-Connery bill setting the work day at six hours as a remedy for unemployment. The bill nearly passed Congress in 1933 and continued to be a key political issue until it was refashioned as the Fair Labor Standards Act and passed in 1938. The Fair Labor Standard Act set the standard work day at eight hours instead of six. Since then no advance has been made. No new laws reducing the work day have been passed. Labor seems to have lost interest. Now there is some evidence that the work day is lengthening and the eight-hour norm giving way. Overtime is growing. Salaried employees' work days have lengthened. The work day in newly industrializing nations are at nineteenth-century U.S. levels (Hunnicuttt 1996).

EXPLANATIONS OF THE LENGTH OF THE WORK DAY

Trying to account for the length of the work day historically through the use of traditional economic models of supply and demand is unrewarding. The oldest relevant economic model, dating back to the mercantilists of Thomas Jefferson's day, is an economic paradox. Unlike all other goods and services, the supply curve of labor was long understood to be "backward-bending." For generations economists predicted that above a certain wage rate workers would offer increasingly less of their time to work; the work day would shrink naturally as workers chose to "buy back" their lives instead of continuing to work to purchase new, less desirable (by comparison) goods and services.

That theory was a good fit with the declining work day of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. However, economists such as Lionel Charles Robbins tried to amend labor supply theory in the 1920s, arguing that the substitution effect of higher wages offsets the income effect: A wage raise increases the cost of an additional hour of leisure, making the workers' choice between additional, more expensive leisure and new purchases indeterminate. Whatever labor supply theory was tested for the remainder of the twentieth century, however, in most longitudinal studies the correlation between the work day and wages and unemployment (unemployment rates are understood as a proxy for the demand for labor) was found to be insignificant.

Indeed, in 1998 Dora Costa argued that the length of the work day has not decreased as much for the highest-paid workers as it has for the lowest-paid. Economists such as Juliet Schor (1991) agree, demonstrating that salaried employees' work days have lengthened well beyond eight hours in corporate cultures that pressure workers to expand the work day to extreme limits. Observing these developments, some might theorize with Karl Marx that the expanding work day reflects the capitalist tendency to maximize surplus value and hence profits by lengthening the work day. Others may understand the progressive shortening of the hours of labor as a fundamental threat to capitalism. As Herbert Marcuse observed in 1966:

[A]utomation threatens to render possible the reversal of the relation between free time and working time: the possibility of working time becoming marginal and free time becoming full time. The result would be a radical transvaluation of values, and a mode of existence incompatible with the traditional culture. Advanced industrial society is in permanent mobilization against this possibility. (Marcuse 1966, p. vii)

For whatever reason, the century-old vision of industrial progress as consisting of both higher wages for the finer things in life and shorter work days to enjoy them seemed to have been lost at the turn of the twenty-first century.

SEE ALSO *Great Depression; Industrialization; Labor; Management; Mercantilism; Populism; Work; Work Week; Working Class; Working Day, Length of*

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Benjamin Hunnicutt

WORK WEEK

Annual hours of paid work increased substantially in much of the second half of the twentieth century due to more hours in a work week and more weeks worked. Economic sociologist Juliet Schor has sparked a national debate about work and time use with her best-selling books. For instance, in 1991 Schor reported that on average, men worked 43 weekly hours in 1969 and 43.8 hours in 1987. The corresponding increase for women was 35.2 to 37 hours. According to a study by Peter Kuhn and Fernando Lozano 18.5 percent of American men worked over 50 hours per week in 2001 (2005). In addition, with the increasing number of service sector jobs in the United States, “shift workers” have become more prevalent. A shift worker is at work during something other than a typical nine to five business day. According to numerous studies, workers keeping odd hours are more likely to have sleep difficulties and health problems.

The work week is also longer for many Americans due to urban expansion and increased commute times. In order to purchase larger houses in upscale neighborhoods with strong schools, many Americans have moved farther from their employer, therefore spending more time traveling to work each day. This trend suggests that Americans have less leisure time, and live with a rather frenetic pace of life. A number of surveys report that Americans would prefer shorter work weeks, but they do not want a lower standard of living. Increased time on the job generates income for the family, but a longer work week and commute further reduce the time workers have with their families.

Some statistics counter Schor's findings. The *Current Employment Statistics* compiled by the U.S. Department of

Labor's Bureau of Labor Statistics reveal a decline in the length of the work week across all private sector jobs, from nearly thirty-nine hours in the mid-1960s to thirty-four hours in the early twenty-first century. This change is largely fueled by sharp decreases in average weekly hours in retail and services, sectors that have expanded substantially over the last half of the twentieth century, and that employ many part-time workers. In contrast, weekly hours worked in manufacturing have stayed fairly constant at forty-one hours during this time period. In addition, many professional and managerial employees are expected to work more hours than a standard full-time schedule.

Changes in the work week arise from a number of factors, including company policies. During recessions, firms regularly lay off workers (sometimes closing entire plants) to cut costs and manage inventories. The recession of the early 1980s saw many layoffs, but during the economic recovery that followed, firms did not rehire many workers. Instead, many firms added more overtime for existing workers. Indeed, there has been a general increasing trend in average manufacturing overtime from 2.5 hours in 1960 to 4.6 hours in 2000.

Largely due to higher health costs, benefits as a share of compensation have generally increased over time as well. According to the U.S. Department of Labor's Bureau of Labor Statistics' *National Compensation Survey*, at the beginning of the twenty-first century benefit costs comprised nearly 30 percent of total compensation. Benefits are fixed costs for employers, because they are paid once for each worker, and are not dependent upon how many hours an employee works. Therefore, high benefits costs deter businesses from adding workers.

Throughout the 1900s workers were increasingly paid on salary rather than with an hourly wage. This coincided with increased educational attainment, more professional occupations, and fewer manufacturing jobs. Salaried workers are required to work enough hours to keep their jobs, and the company culture reveals these expectations. For an employer, the cost of an additional hour of work from an hourly worker is the wage or the overtime wage. For salaried workers, the additional cost is zero. Salaried employees work longer hours in order to finish projects, to fit in the company culture, or to be productive enough to earn a promotion.

The structure of compensation has also changed, in that seniority-based pay is less common while pay for performance is more prevalent. Piece rates were the first form of incentive compensation, where employers tied pay to the amount a worker produced. Economist Edward Lazear presented the success of a piece rate system instituted at Safelite Glass, where both productivity and profit improved substantially. When workers face

schemes that tie their compensation to productivity, they have a clear incentive to put forth more effort and work longer hours (2000).

Government policies have also contributed to longer work weeks. For instance, caps on employer contributions to social security, unemployment insurance, and other business costs are based upon employee salary levels. In order to eliminate the funding gap for Social Security, it is possible employer contribution caps may be removed. But these sorts of tax caps clearly suggest that having fewer workers (even highly-paid workers) can lessen a company's tax burden. This is an incentive not to hire more workers, but to keep existing employees working more hours. In addition, the Fair Labor Standards Act dictates overtime pay eligibility. Around the turn of the twenty-first century, more occupations became ineligible for overtime pay. Exempt workers include computer professionals, administrative workers, and some salespersons—all are occupations that employ many American workers. Thus, the cost to a company for an additional hour of work is further reduced.

The structure of the work week has also changed as a standard nine to five schedule became less common in the twentieth century. Some employers offer “flex time,” which is a schedule that involves some variable hours that workers can choose, according to their preferences. This is particularly valuable to employees with family commitments. Other nontraditional arrangements include the extended and compressed work week. The extended work week spreads the same amount of hours over more days, with shorter shifts. This is compared to the more common compressed work week, which includes longer shifts over fewer days. One particularly popular arrangement is four ten-hour days from Monday through Thursday, yielding an extended weekend. It seems that some employers understand workers' desires to have flexible leisure time without sacrificing their standard of living.

In order to increase earnings, many workers have more than one job. According to the Bureau of Labor Statistics (2002), 7.8 million Americans (5.7 percent of the labor force) had multiple jobs in 2001, and the most frequently cited reasons for this were to earn extra money (35.4 percent of respondents) and meet expenses or pay off debt (27.8 percent). Schor states that workers are caught in a cycle of ever more spending and ever more working to cover their expenses. Labor economic theory generally assumes that workers select their optimal number of hours, but Schor argues that this is not the case. Instead, employers set the hours they expect from workers and their employees adjust accordingly.

SEE ALSO *Labor; Leisure; Vacations; Work; Work Day; Working Day, Length of*

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Sherrilyn M. Billger

WORKING CLASS

The capitalist class structure consists of two main classes: the capitalist class, owners of means of production, and the working class, owners of labor power. The relations between these classes are complementary and contradictory. Complementary, because capitalists need workers to produce the wealth they accumulate, and workers' economic survival depends on capital investments: Lacking access to means of production, it is only through the sale of their labor power that workers and their families subsist. Their class interests are, however, inherently contradictory: It is in capitalists' interest to lower production costs—that is, wages, pensions, health plans, and so on—to increase profits and facilitate capital accumulation. It is in workers' interest not only to attain good wages and benefits but, eventually, to overthrow capitalism and take over the means of production, thus ending their exploitation by the capitalist class: The working classes are bound to become the capitalists' “gravediggers” (Marx and Engels [1848] 1998).

HISTORICAL CHANGES AND THE WORKING CLASS

Karl Marx (1818–1883) and Friedrich Engels (1820–1895) wrote in the nineteenth century, when class differences were stark and the large and growing working class was composed of manual, mostly male workers.

Since then and up to World War II (1939–1945), workers lived close to the factories, in dense working-class communities. These conditions facilitated workers' awareness of shared experiences and interests, and the formation of trade unions that enhanced workers' economic and political power (Marx [1847] 1969, pp. 172–173). The concentration of capital and emergence of large-scale industry resulted in the spacial concentration of workers, giving "this mass a common situation, common interests. This mass is thus already a class as against capital, but not yet for itself. In the struggle ... this mass becomes united, and constitutes itself as a class for itself. The interests it defends become class interests. But the struggle of class against class is a political struggle" (p. 173).

During the nineteenth and the first half of the twentieth centuries there were in the United States and Europe numerous instances of violent class struggles and widespread working-class mobilization and organizing under socialist, Communist, and anarchist banners: "social and cultural identities were forged by the categories of class and strata; everyday life, aesthetic expressions, and cognitive mappings articulated with production relations" (Aronowitz 1992, p. 23). In 1917 successful revolution in Russia seemed to confirm Marx and Engels's prediction about the revolutionary role of the working class.

After World War II, however, the world's economic and political conditions changed, partly as a result of the cold war and anticapitalist struggles in Asia, Africa, and Latin America. In the advanced capitalist countries, the working classes abandoned anticapitalist politics in exchange for steady employment and a good standard of living. Changes in the forces of production altered the economic and the occupational structures, decreasing the proportion of manual, "blue-collar" workers employed on farms and in the industrial, manufacturing sector. The proportion of workers employed in the service sector and in nonmanual, "white-collar" clerical, professional, and managerial jobs increased, thus giving rise to theories that conceptualized the top echelons of such jobs as a new class. Typical of such views is the "professional managerial class" (PMC) thesis put forth by John and Barbara Ehrenreich (1979). The PMC owes its existence to "the expropriation of the skills and culture once indigenous to the working class" (p. 2) and acts, with some degree of class awareness, in ways detrimental to the working class, leading to, for example, "the reorganization of the productive process, the emergence of mass institutions of social control, and the commodity penetration of working class life" (p. 18). Although professionals and managers may make decisions adversely affecting the working class, it remains open to debate whether such decisions reflect their own antiworking class intentions, or the objectives of the capitalist employers for whom they work. More important is the contention that the PMC is guilty of

expropriating the workers' skills and culture and that this expropriation constitutes a sufficient basis for considering them a social class. Historically, the development of capitalist industrialization has entailed the progressive deskilling of the working class and the emergence of a complex division of labor that includes deskilled masses of workers and layers of intermediate workers (foremen, managers, engineers, administrators, etc.), which embodied the power of capital and its ability to deskill and control the organization and pace of the labor process (see Braverman 1974 for a thorough analysis of these processes). The PMC is found not only in factories, of course, but also in all institutions where high-ranking salaried employees are the visible face of capitalist or of institutional power over rank-and-file workers. The view that the PMC is a "class for itself," acting autonomously against the working class, overlooks the significance of its intermediate location, as employees who carry out the mandates of their bosses. The PMC can be viewed more appropriately as a strata within the propertyless class, occupying a "contradictory class location" between the capitalist class and the proletariat—that is, foremen, technocrats, bottom and top managers, and so on—and between the petty bourgeoisie and the proletariat—that is, semiautonomous employees such as teachers, professors, scientists, and so on (Wright 1978, p. 84). In other words, the PMC occupies the top layers in the social stratification of the working population; it is not a class but a social strata within the working class, objectively defined as the class of relatively privileged propertyless workers whose power and economic resources depend on their continued employment. Loss of a job can reduce them to poverty or near poverty because, barring individual exceptions, the members of the PMC do not own capital and depend on their salaries for their economic survival (Gimenez 1978).

In the last twenty-five years the rise and widespread use of information technologies and the increasing mobility of capital resulting in deindustrialization, downsizing, and outsourcing have further changed the occupational composition of the working classes, as well as their conditions of employment: Stable, relatively well-paid blue-collar and white-collar employment is becoming scarce, while contingent and temporary employment is increasing among low-skilled and highly skilled professional workers. Long-standing racial, ethnic, and gender conflicts—which have excluded women and nonwhite workers from well-paid, stable jobs and led to disproportionate female and nonwhite poverty—eventually in the last decades of the twentieth century spurred social movements for civil rights and equal opportunity for all. The politics of class, particularly in the United States, was replaced by identity politics.

ISSUES IN WORKING-CLASS SCHOLARSHIP AND POLITICS

The changing occupational composition of the working class, the decline in workers' anticapitalist struggles and union membership, and the dominance of identity politics challenge the validity of the Marxist concept of the working class and its revolutionary potential. If narrowly defined as composed only of "productive workers," that is, blue-collar workers producing surplus value (Poulantzas 1973, pp. 30–31), it would seem the working class is dwindling away within advanced capitalist countries. Reducing the working class to only skilled, craft workers, André Gorz argues that organizational and technological changes that have practically abolished skilled work have rendered obsolete the working class as a class composed of knowledgeable workers capable of taking over control of the means and the process of production; we must, therefore, bid "farewell to the working class" (Gorz 1982, p. 46). If broadly defined, in terms of political allegiances, the working class could include everyone mobilized in struggles against the state. Rosa Luxemburg (1871–1919), for example, celebrated the spontaneous rising of the laboring masses composed of factory workers, rural proletarians, policemen, military personnel, and bank employees (Luxemburg [1906] 2004, p. 180). Historian E. P. Thompson (1924–1993) offered a dialectical understanding of the working class. Emphasizing process and agency, and arguing that class is a historical phenomenon, not a structure or a category, he states that "the working class was present at his own making" (Thompson 1966, p. 9). It is in the midst of struggles, as people sharing similar experiences become aware of common interests and enemies, that the working class "makes itself," that "class happens" (p. 9). Thompson acknowledges, however, that common experiences, the basis for the emergence of class consciousness, are "determined by the productive relations into which men are born—or enter involuntarily. Class consciousness is the way in which these experiences are handled in cultural terms" (pp. 9–10). As culture (that is, institutions, value systems, beliefs, traditions, and so on) varies historically and cross-culturally, class consciousness, though it reflects an economically determined experience, is itself undetermined in its content; class struggles, it follows, can be fought under a variety of ideological legitimations.

Like Marx, who stressed the need to distinguish between changes at the level of production and the ideological ways in which individuals become conscious of those changes and engage in political struggles (Marx [1859] 1970, p. 21), Thompson differentiates between the determining role of productive relations and the contingent, cultural, or ideological forms that class consciousness might take. In Marx and Engels's *Communist Manifesto* (1848), however, class consciousness—that is,

workers' awareness of their economic and political interests as a class that can succeed only by abolishing all classes, in the struggle to overthrow the economic and political power of the capitalist class—seems to flow unproblematically from the experiences of the working class. Capitalists require, in their economic and political struggles, the support of the working class; capitalists educate the proletariat and supply it with the political and economic know-how to fight and defend its interests as a class (pp. 18–19). Late-twentieth- and early-twenty-first-century capitalists, however, through the mass media and the democratization of consumption, seem to have established firm ideological control over workers' consciousness, an unsurprising development because "the ideas of the ruling class are in every epoch the ruling ideas" (Marx and Engels [1845–46] 1947, p. 39). The lack of working-class mobilization and revolutionary upheavals in advanced capitalist social formations, and the successes of globalized capitalism, have undermined, among some academics and most left-leaning activists, the traditional Marxist analysis of the working class as the only revolutionary class, the only class capable of challenging the rule of capital (Marx and Engels [1848] 1998, p. 20).

The working classes of the twenty-first century are far less class conscious (in the sense indicated in the *Manifesto*) than they were a century ago. Recent social movements, the effects of racial, ethnic, and gender oppression and exclusion, have centered around inequality rather than exploitation. In their work, African American, Latino, and feminist scholars have examined the connections between class, gender, and race and have expanded the concept of working-class politics to include issues related to racial, ethnic, and gender oppression and discrimination (see, for example, Collins 1993; Davis 1981). In the United States the impact of these social movements on the social sciences and on politics was profound. It led to a bifurcation in political practice and in scholarship between those who give primacy to working-class politics and class analysis, and those who prioritize identity politics and race, gender, and ethnicity as structures of inequality independent from social class, and as equally determinant of individuals' life chances as social class. A new social science perspective emerged in the late 1980s: the "race, gender, and class" trilogy, popularized by a journal originally called *Race, Sex & Class*. This perspective is enshrined in countless articles, anthologies, and books (see, for example, Landry 2007). Within this perspective, the role of class, ostensibly given equal visibility, is often minimized, for class is often reduced to income, and/or to another identity.

Another effect of the bifurcation in politics and scholarship mentioned above is the rise of cultural politics and the rejection of class politics and scholarship as forms of economic determinism or class reductionism. The cul-

turalization of politics can be traced in the new academic and political language: policies about diversity, multiculturalism, identity, inclusion of “diverse” (a euphemism for women and nonwhites) populations in educational institutions and the workplace, the value of “multiculturalism” and “cultural diversity,” and so on have replaced, to a large extent, earlier concerns with the economic, racial, and gender discrimination. This discourse obfuscates the class divisions within the “diverse” populations, and the working-class basis of many of the grievances (for example, low wages, segregated labor markets and employment, exclusion from opportunities for upward mobility and access to higher education, etc.) that fueled the social movements of the late 1960s and early 1970s. The grounds for the emergence of political solidarity across gender and racial/ethnic differences remain as overlooked, in the context of cultural politics, as the poverty, powerlessness, and economic insecurity of white male workers. This is why, in the absence of a discourse on class that could contribute to undermine racial and gender antagonisms, “many Americans have displaced their resentments resulting from what Sennet and Cobb called the ‘hidden injuries’ of class, to patriotism ... nationalism ... racism and sexism” (Aronowitz 1992, p. 67).

The philosopher Charles Taylor explored the potential conflict between universalizing democratic politics, which equalize all citizens under the law, and the political affirmation of gender, racial, and ethnic differences as sources of dignity and claims for recognition, rather than second-class citizenship. A positive, rather than negative, public evaluation of difference is the objective of what Taylor calls “the politics of recognition” (Taylor 1992). The feminist philosopher Nancy Fraser offers a clear statement of these divisive issues:

Demands for “recognition of difference” fuel struggles of groups mobilized under the banners of nationality, ethnicity, “race,” gender and sexuality ... group identity supplants class interest as the chief medium of political mobilization. Cultural domination supplants exploitation as the fundamental injustice. And cultural recognition displaces socioeconomic redistributions as the remedy for injustice and the goal of political struggle. (Fraser 1995, p. 64)

Arguing that justice requires both redistribution and recognition, Fraser identifies important problems inherent in the changes necessary to remedy these injustices, whether such remedies support or challenge the status quo. Measures that seek only to redistribute income to different groups require the preservation of group identities, thus provoking negative reactions from the excluded (for example, whites’ critique of reverse discrimination). Though those groups may strive toward the public affir-

mation of their identities’ worth and dignity, changes in the allocation of respect will remain superficial, because of the endemic struggles triggered by redistribution. But, transforming identities through deconstruction of the categories currently used to define difference would be just as problematic, for this would deprive groups of the identities that today mechanisms of redistribution and inclusion use to identify those who benefit from such policies (pp. 86–91). Although preserving the cultural and economic status quo is inherently problematic, “... the scenario that best finesses the redistribution-recognition dilemma is socialism in the economy plus deconstruction in the culture,” which “to be psychologically and politically feasible requires that people be weaned from their attachments to current cultural constructions of their interests and identities” (p. 91). In reality, these struggles are intertwined, as the feminist philosopher Iris Young argues in her critique of Fraser’s analysis: economic relations presuppose cultural understandings and cultural and political recognitions are a means toward economic and political justice (Young 1997, p. 148). But these struggles so far appear to be remarkably ineffective in mobilizing the U.S. working class as a class, despite its worsening economic situation. As long as workers tend to perceive themselves primarily in terms of group identities rather than common class location—a situation strengthened by the official political discourse, within which any mention of class and class interests is deemed undesirable, almost “un-American”—perhaps only mass unemployment and household bankruptcies on a scale not seen since the Great Depression might create the material conditions for the emergence of working-class political leaders, simultaneously with the rise in workers’ receptiveness to their views.

Class struggles in Latin America, as in China and Vietnam, have included workers and peasants in political mobilizations under socialist and nationalist banners. For Chairman Mao Tse-tung (1893–1976), national struggles were class struggles; he set in opposition to the ruling classes the masses of “enlightened” workers, farmers, and intellectuals (Mao 1966, p. 10). Some scholars argue, however, that the proletarianization of the middle strata and peasantries has not happened, and that the working class has no privileged role to play. Anticapitalist struggles, in their view, encompass a variety of conflicts between capitalism and sectors of the population inside and outside the working class (for example, conflicts around war and peace, environmental pollution, land management, and so on) (Laclau and Mouffe 1987, pp. 103–104).

Marxist social scientists, however, continue to study the working class and the changes in its size, racial, gender, and occupational composition, giving equal importance to individuals’ relationships to the means of production, skills and credentials, and location in the authority structure (Wright 1997, pp. 17–26). Examining

the transformation of the U.S. class structure between 1960 and 1990, Wright concludes that there has been a decline in the proportion of skilled workers (from 13.46% of the labor force in 1960 to 12.77% in 1990) and unskilled workers (from 44.59% to 41.38%). The working class as a whole, skilled and unskilled, declined from 58.05 percent to 54.15 percent (p. 99). In terms of race and gender, “by a large margin, the American working class now predominantly consists of women and racial minorities” (p. 69). Changes in the racial and gender composition of the working class contribute to the persistence of racial/ethnic and gender conflicts within the U.S. working class and the extent to which issues of racial, ethnic and gender oppression are the most salient and important aspect of workers’ consciousness in the United States.

The meaning of the decline in the size of the working class in the United States and other advanced capitalist countries remains an unresolved and unresolvable issue in Marxist theory. For some (for example, Gorz 1980; Laclau and Mouffe 1987) it signals a reversal of the proletarianization process and an end to the revolutionary role of the working class. Others, however, point out that the proletarianization process worldwide proceeds unabated, and that as the size of the working class declines in the wealthy countries, proletarianization is intensifying in the rest of the world (Arrighi 1990; Wright 1997, pp. 109–110). Another issue subject to conflicting interpretations is the rise in the proportion of propertyless but expert, professional salaried workers, placed in “contradictory locations within class relations” (Wright 1997, p. 20). Is this an indicator of the future demise of the working class, the rise of a new class (for example, a “professional managerial class,” according to Ehrenreich and Ehrenreich 1979), or of the rise of a new working class? On the basis of the analysis of the effects of capitalist development upon the characteristics of the labor force that Marx presents in the *Grundrisse* (Marx [1857–1868] 1953), Nicolaus (1973) reaches this conclusion: The working class fated to lead the revolution is not the impoverished, unskilled, and pauperized working class but the educated, expert, credentialed working class that develops as capitalists develop the forces of production to such an extent that

the creation of real wealth comes to depend less on labor-time and on the quantity of labor expended, and more on the power of the instruments which are set in motion during labor-time, and whose powerful effectiveness itself is not related to the labor-time immediately expended in their production, but depends rather on the general state of science and the progress of technology. (Marx [1857–1868] 1953, cited in Nicolaus 1973, p. 328)

Marx depicts a time in which the development of the forces of production empowers workers, when

the cornerstone of production and wealth is neither the labor which man directly expends, nor the time he spends at work, but rather the appropriation of its own collective productive power.... As soon as labor in its direct form has ceased to be the great wellspring of wealth, labor-time ceases and must cease to be its measure. (Marx [1857–1868] 1953 cited in Nicolaus 1973, p. 329)

Perhaps Nicolaus’s inferences are correct, for it is possible today to observe a bifurcation in the development of the working class: on the one hand, growth in the exploited, poor, and relatively powerless proletariat whose labor fuels the industrialization of Asian and Latin American countries while being the source, through migration, of cheap manual labor and services in the wealthy countries; and on the other hand, growth in the numbers of “the well-fed proletariat, scientifically competent, to whom an eight hour day would presumably appear as a waste of time” (Nicolaus 1973, p. 329). These are issues that can be resolved only by the outcome of current and future political struggles, not by theoretical fiat or the exegesis of scholarly texts.

SEE ALSO *Bourgeoisie; Capitalism; Employment; Employment, White Collar; Lumpenproletariat; Proletariat; Underemployment; Unemployment*

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Martha E. Gimenez

WORKING DAY, LENGTH OF

In countries where hours of work are the subject of collective agreements, the pattern of reference for the length of the working day is often given by governmental legislation

that limits working hours. The concept of “normal hours” or “legal hours” (France) is used to describe the limit beyond which overtime becomes payable. Although this legal, institutional, and focal time sets the basic rules for entrepreneurial activity, it does not provide an accurate indicator for the amount of time effectively supplied by individuals. The pervasiveness of practices such as overtime, part-time, moonlighting, sick leave, and remuneration systems such as piece rates, hourly wages, or monthly salary, all contribute towards extending or shrinking job hours across offices, shops, and manufacturers. If common sense generally recognizes the working day as something typical that can be calculated as the work time accomplished during a twenty-four-hour period or as the total work-time accomplished in one week, statistical analysis prefers instead to draw this measurement over the full cycle of the year to capture the global picture of work effort. Two main variables are generally considered: “average hours of work per person employed,” which describes actual hours in the work-post, whether paid or unpaid; and “market hours,” which describes hours at work, plus paid off-time (e.g., vacations, holidays, sick leave, and maternity leave).

In terms of free workers who receive payment, the peak of human effort seems to have been historically reached by the middle of the nineteenth century, a time when working hours attained an annual level of between 3,150 to 3,650 hours per year (61 to 70 hours per week). Such harsh conditions resulted from a long-term trend to cut leisure time in the form of breaks and holidays, and from a short-term tendency to expand work time in factory and cottage industries. In western Europe and the United States, men, women, and children experienced the repetition of a twelve-, fourteen-, or even sixteen-hour day, six days a week, fifty-two weeks a year. This was also a period of habituation to the economy of time revealed by mechanical clocks, supervisor’s discipline, and fines.

From 1880 onwards, most workers saw the achievement of the ten-hour day, and only a few who worked in the more competitive industries such as textiles, leather, food-processing, paper, chemicals, and energy production exceeded this limit. In spite of these achievements the spark of industrial agitation and strikes continued thereafter ignited by the demand for higher pay and shorter hours, in what came to be known as the “eight-hour day movement.” The bulk of unions’ and workers’ voluntary associations joined this demand, and both businessmen and governments were preemptively forced to review work schedules.

By 1920 the eight-hour day was recognized by law in the main industrialized countries. Further reductions in work time took the form of reducing the work week from six to five-and-a-half days, and later to five days. After that,

the downward trend continued through small incremental decreases instead of drastic changes. Thanks to the extension of vacations, holidays, sick days, personal leave, and earlier retirement, substantial improvements were added to the standard of living and the leisure time of workers. The decline in labor time became visible not only in the typical working day, but in all aspects of people's lives.

For much of the 1950s and 1960s, the primary beneficiaries of fewer working hours were the less educated and lower paid workers. Studies regarding American occupations revealed that individuals with a college education worked longer hours than people with a less formal education. To a lesser extent, those with larger incomes followed the same path of an extended working time. Hence, the upper echelons benefited from the productivity gains brought about by the golden age of economic development through increases in money instead of increases in leisure.

According to sociologist Juliet Schor (1991), the trade-off of more money for less leisure time, endemic of senior executives and professionals, soon filtered down to the less well-off segments of society, wedging millions of Americans into a work-and-spend cycle and an unremitting shortage of free time. Schor estimates that between 1969 and 1987, the average employed person was on the job for an additional 163 hours per year, the equivalent of an extra month. The additional month is attributable to both longer weekly schedules and to more weeks at work, revealing an overturn in the process of incremental decreases of the working day. The causes are twofold: On the supply side, people changed the extension of vacations, holidays, sick days, personal leave, and single jobs for more money; on the demand side, enterprises preferred to pay for overtime rather than increase the fringe benefits required by a larger staff. Schor then concludes that individual choices and economic constraints contributed to the contemporary outcome of the overworked American.

Recent studies have confirmed the tendency to augment working hours, even though this is a phenomenon restricted to a particular group of countries, such as the United States, Sweden, and Hungary. The main pattern of industrializing nations still runs in the direction of a shorter working time or through a stabilization of the average hours of work per person employed, which at present is between 1,500 and 2,000 hours per year.

The increased flexibility of working hours established by a number of arrangements has contradictory effects over the length of the working day: On the one hand, it contributes to the extent of full-time employment through overtime, evening, night, and weekend working; on the other hand, it contributes to shorter hours through the growth of part-time employment. While the United States currently matches the first case, the Japanese evolution fits well into the second.

SEE ALSO *Clock Time; Labor; Leisure; Regulation; Vacations; Work; Work Day; Work Week*

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Nuno Luis Madureira

WORKPLACE RELATIONS

In 1957 economist Gary Becker, in his seminal work on workplace discrimination, noted that employees may interact, and hence have professional workplace relations, with their managers and coworkers as well as customers of the firm. Workers and managers at a firm typically interact through institutions designed to assist firms in carrying out their objectives. These institutions govern performance evaluation, compensation, and discipline. The design and functioning of these systems is studied by human resource professionals and management scholars to evaluate a range of questions, including whether diverse workers are treated fairly and if a firm's compensation practices promote productivity and firm loyalty. In his 2003 work Paul Levy provided a thorough review of this literature. Marketing researchers and practitioners explore the link between customers and representatives of a firm. Their inquiries are aimed at identifying the services customers expect from a firm's workforce, how they are best provided, and if customers prefer workers based on race, ethnicity, gender, and factors related to workplace efficiency, such as experience. Social scientists following the pioneering 1952 work of the psychologist Kurt Lewin study the nature of associations between persons in small groups to enrich their understanding of how coworkers interact and influence firm performance. This essay provides an overview of this area of inquiry with emphasis placed on the questions being explored and the insights fostered by prior research.

WHY WORK GROUPS

A worker's productivity, the output he or she generates per unit of time, depends on the skills and knowledge he or she possesses, called human capital, along with the technological resources available at the work site. Human capital can be acquired through additional schooling, improvements to health, and learning on the job owing to participation in formal job training programs and learning-by-doing through experience. Accumulation of human capital is often a costly and time-consuming process since more highly skilled workers command higher wages, educational materials and instructional time must be paid for, and learning time results in lost production. Nevertheless, firms are willing to finance acquisition of human capital for members of their workforce if the additional knowledge advances worker productivity enough to expand firm profits. However, the breadth of knowledge needed to successfully complete assignments in the workplace has increased since the late twentieth century due to advances in technology and greater globalization along with more complex legal and reporting requirements. Therefore managers have become increasingly uneasy with the prospects that an employee, in isolation, can meet the challenges of the modern workplace.

Managers can organize workers into work groups, also referred to as work teams, that are responsible for completing tasks for the firm rather than assigning duties to an individual. Work groups consist of individuals who are truly interdependent in that they must coordinate their efforts or work together to complete the tasks assigned to the team. Work groups are necessary because of the range of knowledge and talents needed to solve the problems that must be overcome to produce goods and services in a profitable manner. Managers recognize that workers possess different types of skills, talents, backgrounds, and experiences; that they are heterogeneous. The fundamental idea promoting the organization of workers into work groups is that employees with complementary skills can be clustered to enhance the productivity of the firm's workforce if they are willing to readily share skills and expertise. Thus the breadth of talents needed to complete work does not need to be embedded in a single worker but can be obtained across the members of a work group. A product development work team might be composed of researchers, market analysts, accountants, sales personnel, legal counsel, secretaries, and communications specialists. However, worker heterogeneity may present obstacles to effective work group functioning.

WORK GROUP DIVERSITY AND COWORKER RELATIONS

Managers often construct diverse work groups by selecting members with different demographic characteristics,

including race, ethnicity, and gender. They believe that diverse groups will promote better work team performance by incorporating a wider range of ideas and perspectives into the decision-making process. However, when group members are dissimilar, conflicts among them are more likely to arise, weakening group cohesion, which harms skill sharing and productivity (see Patrick L. Mason's 1995 article for a discussion of the relationship between workplace diversity and discrimination). Social psychologists attribute this to work group members identifying with a subgroup of workers who share a particular demographic trait to a greater extent than to the entire work team. Social psychologists have developed a number of theories to explain why persons in a particular demographic group form such strong allegiances and engage in prejudiced behavior toward persons outside of their group. The litany of theories includes social identity theory (Tajfel and Turner 1986), realistic conflict theory (Sherif 1966), and group position theory (Blumer 1958). These theories hold that biased perceptions and poor treatment across groups is motivated by a desire to maintain or improve the standing of the group a person is affiliated with relative to other groups. Two decades of experimental research by psychologists reviewed by Marilynn Brewer and Rupert Brown in 1999 reveals that social identification with a group elicits liking, trust, and cooperation toward members of that group that are not extended to persons outside of their group.

In 1906 the anthropologist William Sumner coined the term *in-group* to describe a subgroup ascribed high social status in a society. In 1985 the Nobel Prize-winning economist Arthur Lewis asserted that high social status groups often maneuver and shape legal, political, and educational institutions to obtain economic status and privilege. He referred to subgroups with both social and economic power as dominant groups, while subaltern groups are composed of persons lacking economic privilege and social standing. Relations between coworkers associated with dominant and subaltern subgroups can be particularly troublesome for firms seeking to establish harmonious, highly productive work groups since dominant group members may feel little pressure to share skills with members of the subaltern group. Meanwhile members of the subaltern group may be compelled by their weak political and economic position to cooperate extensively with persons in the dominant group. Therefore status and power differentials may set in motion behaviors that foster economic inequality and tense workplace relations.

Gordon W. Allport's 1954 contact hypothesis theory and Leon Festinger's 1957 dissonance theory suggest that bringing diverse groups into greater contact with one another can be an effective way to reduce tensions, alter preconceived perceptions, and ultimately improve cross-group sharing, leading to better firm performance. Work

site policies to improve workplace relations between diverse subgroups are likely to be an expanding presence in the United States due to the growing diversity of the labor force.

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Arthur H. Goldsmith

WORLD BANK, THE

Conceived in 1944 at a meeting of the Allied powers in Bretton Woods, New Hampshire, the World Bank was created as a counterpart to the International Monetary Fund (IMF). Located side-by-side in Washington, D.C., the World Bank was designed to provide development assistance to countries in need, while the IMF was set up to serve as a lender-of-last-resort for countries struggling with balance-of-payment crises. Together, these twin entities have come to symbolize the kinds of post–World War II multilateralism and institution-building known as the Bretton Woods system. Both the World Bank and the IMF are owned and governed by 184 member countries, which make up the client base of each organization.

Formally, the World Bank is run by a board of governors and a board of directors, which jointly represent the views of all the member countries. The founders of the

World Bank vested predominant ownership and control in the wealthier countries, as embodied in a weighted voting system that gives more power to those countries that contribute the most financial resources or quota, which is the amount each member pays according to a percentage of its gross national product (GNP). The World Bank is thus clearly divided between those countries that primarily give funds and those that mostly receive them. The formula used to determine country quotas is based on measurements of national income, foreign reserves, and international trade. Some technical changes in the formula have occurred through the years, while the most important revisions have come about as a result of fierce political negotiations.

Although the World Bank's early work centered on the reconstruction of war-torn Europe, over the years it has primarily focused on the welfare of developing countries. At the same time, it has evolved into a far more complex institution. The World Bank has acquired five main affiliates, which now operate under the banner of the World Bank Group: the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (IBRD); the International Development Association (IDA); the International Finance Corporation (IFC); the Multilateral Investment Guarantee Agency (MIGA); and, the International Centre for Settlement of Investment Disputes (ICSID).

The IBRD focuses on middle-income and creditworthy developing countries, while the IDA targets poverty reduction in the poorest countries in the world economy. For example, the IDA provides interest-free loans and some grants for programs aimed at enabling poor countries to meet the United Nations' Millennium Development Goals (MDGs), which were adopted in 2000 in an effort to halve world poverty rates by the year 2015. The role of the IFC is to promote sustainable private-sector investment in developing countries, and MIGA's mission is to promote foreign direct investment (FDI) in developing countries. Finally, ICSID provides facilities for the arbitration of disputes between member countries and investors who qualify as nationals of other member countries. Recourse to ICSID conciliation and arbitration is entirely voluntary.

A common depiction of the World Bank nowadays is that of an international organization that is overstretched and undernourished, and one that faces several conflicting challenges. These include the general decline in resources available for official development assistance, a rapidly expanding development agenda, and increasing competition from private lenders and other bilateral and non-governmental aid agencies. The World Bank has also been subject to mounting criticism from nonstate actors, who are demanding the adoption of new policies that would greatly increase transparency, accountability, and self-

evaluation. Much of this has to do with the marked changes that have occurred in the international political economy since the World Bank's inception more than sixty years ago.

FROM PROJECT LENDING TO STRUCTURAL ADJUSTMENT

Up until the late 1960s, the World Bank was largely committed to project lending, meaning that its loans were used for investment in physical assets and infrastructure. Such projects were concrete, finite, and usually tied to a given sector, such as hydroelectric energy or railroad transport. This all changed when Robert McNamara assumed the World Bank presidency in 1968. McNamara placed poverty alleviation and the development process itself at the top of his agenda. He shifted the World Bank's mission toward country programming and a region-by-region deployment of project work that was no longer tied to just one sector. It was also during this period that conditionality for World Bank lending was tied more closely to a given country's effort to promote the satisfaction of basic needs among the poorest segment of the population. One of McNamara's strongest legacies was a massive allocation of in-house financial support for development research.

By 1973, when he began his second term as president, McNamara had linked growth with poverty reduction and strongly supported a shift from project lending to loans that would enable the developing countries to undertake structural adjustment programs geared toward policy reform and export promotion. These structural adjustment loans (SALs) would offer incentives for reform progress, as well as disincentives for reformers that lagged. The coinciding of the SALs and the 1973 oil price shocks would delay their widespread implementation until the 1980s, however, because the oil shocks generated excess international liquidity and low-cost private lending alternatives for many developing countries. As a result of these alternative lending sources, the World Bank's client countries were less receptive to the policy coaching and reform guidance that were a condition for disbursement of the SALs. McNamara served as president of the World Bank until 1981.

The advent of the 1982 debt crisis revealed the excesses of the previous decade's borrowing spree, as well as the inability of the World Bank and the IMF to motivate debt-burdened developing countries to sustain the kinds of macroeconomic policy reforms that had been built into the SALs. With the end of the cold war in the late 1980s, and after a full decade lost to policy mismanagement and false starts on the reform front in Africa and Latin America, SALs became most important for these regions. The World Bank embraced a new wave of neo-

classical economic orthodoxy and openly promoted the virtues of liberalization.

The 1989 Baker Plan for developing-country debt restructuring signaled another shift in which the World Bank would play a major role. The idea, which met with debatable success, was to use multilateral lending to encourage private international banks to offer fresh loans to those highly indebted middle-income countries that were prepared to undertake further policy reforms. This period also saw the expansion of the World Bank's mandate to include new issue areas like environmental protection, women and development, private-sector reform, and deeper involvement in social service delivery. In 1990 the World Bank's annual *World Development Report* focused on poverty reduction, reviving earlier commitments that had surfaced during the McNamara era.

THE GLASS IS STILL HALF EMPTY

On December 31, 1991, then World Bank president Lewis Preston inserted the following reminder into each staff member's Operational Manual: "Sustainable poverty reduction is the Bank's overarching objective." This became a main benchmark by which the World Bank was judged as it approached its fiftieth anniversary in 1994. For many critics, the World Bank's shortcomings on this count were more notable than its achievements. "Fifty years is enough" became one of the retorting slogans from within a tightly knit community of global nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) that had been monitoring the World Bank's track record. Even a former career economist at the World Bank, William Easterly, would go on to publish a highly critical best-selling book, *The Elusive Quest for Growth* (2002), a patently blunt analysis of the weak link between World Bank lending and positive developmental outcomes in client countries over the lifetime of the bank.

Apart from its lackluster record on sustainable poverty reduction, the World Bank's branching out into other issue areas has run up against measurement and financing constraints. On the question of measurement, with each passing decade it has become more difficult to firmly assess and hold the institution accountable for the multiplicity of goals that have been pursued. The need to prioritize policy preferences and establish reliable evaluation indicators is one part of this problem; the other lies on the side on internal leadership. Rather than directly tackle those institutional weaknesses that have long been identified as impeding the World Bank's performance, Paul Wolfowitz, who was appointed World Bank president in 2005, has narrowly focused on the elimination of corruption within client borrowers. In the meantime, although the 2015 deadline for reaching the Millennium Development Goals is rapidly approaching, the World

Bank risks lagging further behind in its ability to play a key poverty reduction role.

On the question of financing, the World Bank faces two main constraints. First, there is a growing divergence between voting rights and the contributions made to IBRD equity by shareholders, as the share of retained earnings has risen while the share of paid-in capital has declined over the years. In short, the major shareholders have used their control rights to allocate portions of IBRD net income in ways that serve their interests over those of the institution as a whole. Second, the continuation of a stagnating loan portfolio in nominal terms, and a declining one in inflation-adjusted terms, is likely to curtail the bank's net income from lending operations and make its profitability increasingly dependent on financial trading. Part of this is a generational shift, whereby the dependence of middle-income countries on official assistance has greatly declined, leaving the IBRD with a dwindling client base. An obvious but highly controversial solution would be to shift these funds to the IDA, where the borrowing demands from poorer country members are still on the rise. While the IBRD is still the most important institution of the World Bank Group, and while it is obviously reluctant to cede financial power, the IDA is gaining ground in a de facto manner.

In sum, since the 1980s, the work of the World Bank has mainly affected the poorer developing countries, yet the structure of representation on the board of directors has changed little since it was established at Bretton Woods in 1944. This imbalance raises crucial stakeholder issues, for the World Bank's own research suggests that policy reform commitments will be upheld when governments actively participate in the identification and formulation of these very programs. On these grounds alone, the argument favoring internal reform of the World Bank's governance structure is a compelling one.

DEVELOPMENT AGENCY VERSUS DEVELOPMENT BANK

For all its shortcomings, it is important to note that the World Bank has successfully changed its profile from that of a development bank proper to the world's leading development agency. This partly reflects the long-term payoff from the financing of development research. Indeed, the World Bank has become one of the most important sources of knowledge for development and poverty reduction. The influence of the policy research generated in-house by the World Bank is overwhelming, both in terms of quality and quantity. Lending and operations, loan proposals, and assessment of the outcomes are still an important part of the bank's daily workload, but it also undertakes research in over 150 countries and brings

together the world's largest concentration of development specialists.

A key criticism nowadays is that the legitimacy and credibility of the World Bank's expertise is drawn through a circular process between the knowledge it produces and the audiences that legitimize this knowledge. The World Bank Institute (WBI), created in 1955 to train policymakers in development economics, has become increasingly influential. In 1999 the WBI created the Global Development Network (GDN) with the aim of building research capacities in the Global South. But the GDN's doubters point to its rationalist tendency, which portrays research as scientific and independent from its social context. This is captured by the GDN slogan: "Better Research, Better Policy, Better World." However, neither its ideas nor its research are neutral. Partnerships with the South have enabled the World Bank to pair up with institutions that share its core ideas while arguably excluding other viewpoints. At a time when critics are calling for a more open and inclusive debate about development strategy, the World Bank seems increasingly resistant to an open exchange of this nature.

SEE ALSO *Corruption; Developing Countries; Development; Development Economics; Globalization, Social and Economic Aspects of; International Monetary Fund; Loans; Needs, Basic; Poverty; Structural Adjustment; Transparency*

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Carol Wise

WORLD HEALTH ORGANIZATION

The World Health Organization (WHO) was established in 1948 when its constitution entered into force. WHO

was created to be the United Nations' specialized agency for health. The WHO's mission is "the attainment by all peoples of the highest possible level of health" (WHO Constitution, Article 1).

International health cooperation began in the mid-nineteenth century, and the need for an international health organization was discussed in the latter half of that century. The first half of the twentieth century witnessed the creation of various types of health organizations, both regional (e.g., Pan American Sanitary Bureau, 1902) and international (e.g., Office International de l'Hygiène Publique, 1907; Health Organization of the League of Nations, 1923). WHO's establishment consolidated international health activities in one organization, membership in which was open to all states. In 2005, 192 states were WHO members.

The WHO Constitution's preamble defines *health* as the "state of complete physical, mental, and social well-being and not merely the absence of disease or infirmity." This definition empowers WHO to work on virtually all aspects of communicable and noncommunicable diseases. The WHO Constitution also stipulates that the enjoyment of the highest attainable standard of health is a fundamental human right, and the concept of a "right to health" has helped shape WHO policies.

WHO has three governing organs—the World Health Assembly (WHA), Executive Board (EB), and Secretariat. The WHA is the supreme policy-making body and is made up of representatives from all WHO member states. It meets annually to establish policy for the organization and to make other decisions important to WHO's operations, such as approving the budget. The EB acts as the WHA's executive organ and is comprised of representatives from thirty-two WHO member states who are technically qualified in the health field. The Secretariat, headed by a director general appointed by the WHA, is responsible for the technical and administrative aspects of WHO policy implementation.

WHO's headquarters are in Geneva, Switzerland, but there are also regional offices in the Americas, Europe, the eastern Mediterranean, Africa, Southeast Asia, and the western Pacific. WHO representatives working at the country level provide support to WHO headquarters and regional offices.

Since its establishment, WHO has focused much of its effort on improving health conditions, systems, and policies in developing countries. WHO efforts in this regard have followed two basic approaches. First, WHO has implemented "vertical" programs targeting specific diseases, such as disease eradication efforts. The second approach involves "horizontal" strategies that seek to improve health-system capacities with respect to multiple threats that populations face. WHO's efforts to ensure

universal access to primary health care services provide an example of a horizontal approach.

WHO achieved some success in both vertical and horizontal strategies during the first few decades of its existence. In the late 1970s WHO completed the worldwide eradication of smallpox, an achievement widely regarded as one of the most important public health successes of the twentieth century. WHO also helped developing countries increase childhood immunization rates. Vertical strategies did not, however, always work. For example, WHO's campaign to eradicate malaria, initially started in the 1950s, did not succeed.

At approximately the same time that WHO successfully eradicated smallpox, it launched the seminal Health for All by the Year 2000 initiative, a horizontal campaign to provide all people, especially those in developing countries, with access to primary health care services. In addition to advancing the concept of the "right to health," the Health for All effort increased attention to the social determinants of poor health (e.g., poverty, limited education, and racial and gender inequities), which cannot be managed through medical technologies, such as vaccines, but only through social policies linking health with the pursuit of broader social or distributive justice.

These achievements were followed in the 1980s and 1990s by crises that revealed the weaknesses of and problems in WHO. The 1980s witnessed the explosion of HIV/AIDS into a global health problem, particularly for developing countries and especially sub-Saharan Africa. Responsibility for the global response to HIV/AIDS was eventually taken from WHO's Global Programme on AIDS in 1996 and assigned to a newly created entity, the Joint United Nations Programme on AIDS (UNAIDS). Nevertheless, HIV/AIDS continued to spread globally and, according to UNAIDS, has become one of the worst pandemics in human history.

In the 1990s WHO struggled with the emergence and reemergence of many new and old communicable diseases, a phenomenon made more challenging by the acceleration of globalization that occurred after the end of the cold war. The 1990s also saw WHO trying to address increased morbidity and mortality in the developing world caused by noncommunicable diseases, especially those related to tobacco consumption. WHO's responses to these mounting global health threats were undermined by leadership and institutional problems at WHO headquarters and regional offices. The failure of WHO member states to achieve the goals of Health for All by the Year 2000 was painfully apparent as the twentieth century came to a close.

Efforts in the latter half of the 1990s and the early 2000s to renew and reinvigorate WHO and its mission have achieved some success, returning credibility and

influence to the organization. Key achievements include the successful WHO global response to the 2003 outbreak of severe acute respiratory syndrome (SARS); the adoption of the Framework Convention on Tobacco Control in 2003 as part of the global strategy to reduce tobacco-related diseases; and the adoption in 2005 of the new International Health Regulations, which represent a significant development for global health governance and for WHO's authority and responsibility concerning the international spread of disease. WHO has also been active in addressing the benefits and costs globalization presents to health policy, assessing potential synergies and conflicts between health and international trade law (especially within WHO), working with nongovernmental organizations in health-centered public-private partnerships, advancing health components of the UN's Millennium Development Goals, and pursuing disease eradication (e.g., Global Polio Eradication Initiative).

SEE ALSO *Health in Developing Countries; Public Health*

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David P. Fidler

WORLD HEALTH REPORT

SEE *Health in Developing Countries*.

WORLD INSTITUTE FOR DEVELOPMENT ECONOMIC RESEARCH (WIDER)

SEE *Deiningering and Squire World Bank Inequality Database*.

WORLD MUSIC

The term "world music" was first circulated in ethnomusicology (the study of music in or as culture) and entered Western popular culture as a category of musical commodity in the 1980s. It is a packaging of music "from the outside" into popular music primarily intended for Western consumers. In this sense, world music generally connotes non-Western music traditions (e.g., singing-storytelling in Mali, *qawwali* in Pakistan, and Aboriginal music in Australia); music that combines Western and non-Western elements (e.g., Nigerian *jùjú* and Afrobeat, Paul Simon's collaborations with South African musicians); and non-mainstream music from folk traditions or ethnic groups within Western societies (e.g., Irish folk music, salsa in New York, Indian *bhangra*—fusion of folk music with Western popular music—in London). The term is intended to exclude other marketing categories (e.g., classical, rock), but its boundaries have never been clearly delineated, and what is considered world music has changed over time, affected by shifting patterns of Western musical interests.

At least since the 1960s, ethnomusicologists have used the term world music to denote all music (e.g., folk, art, popular) of all the world's peoples. The "world" qualifier stresses the inclusion of non-Western music. In practice, studies of world music have tended not to include Western art (classical) music, so the term, as used in ethnomusicology, tends to refer more to music outside of that tradition.

Music scholar Timothy D. Taylor recounts the entry of world music into popular discourse in *Global Pop: World Music, World Markets* (1997). In response to growing sales of non-Western music recordings, representatives of independent record companies, broadcasters and concert promoters met in London in 1987 to discuss marketing the music. They determined that record stores were reluctant to stock the music because it was not clear under which heading it should be sold: The existing rubrics of folk, ethnic and international were not clearly defined, differentiated or adequately promoted. Following ethnomusicologists, the group decided to term the emerging niche *world music*. The term entered the music press and spread internationally. In 1990 *Billboard* magazine created a world music chart, and in the 1990s catalogues and guidebooks to world music appeared, such as *World Music: The Rough Guide*.

Whereas ethnomusicologists introduced the term world music as an inclusive term, in music promotion and distribution the term is used to distinguish it from other existing categories such as pop, rock, classical, and jazz. Yet the precise boundaries of the world music category are unclear and somewhat fluid, as the following examples illustrates. Filipina singer Banig sings in a Western pop

style with English lyrics, and as Timothy Taylor observes in *Global Pop*, she is classified as a world music artist. Swedish band Ace of Base, French Canadian Céline Dion, and German singer Nena are all categorized as pop music rather than world music, regardless of which language they use. World music is sometimes defined as “roots music,” meaning that it is perceived as explicitly connecting with or continuing a people’s tradition or heritage. Thus, while Nena and the German band Kraftwerk are not classified as world music, German Heimatmusik (music associated with the countryside) is categorized as world music. In addition, the content of world music racks in stores is shaped more by trends in Western music purchasing than a systematic attempt to represent all the world’s music. The swelling of the Celtic music subcategory within world music in the 1990s was due to North Americans exploring their (vaguely defined) Celtic heritage and not, for example, a change in the overall makeup of the music of the world.

THE POPULARITY OF WORLD MUSIC IN WESTERN CULTURES

There has been Western interest in world music as far back as Westerners have encountered other cultures. For example, the Middle Eastern santur was a blueprint for the European pianoforte, and the banjo was descended from a Northwest African lute adapted by Africans in the Caribbean. During the twentieth century there was an acceleration of outside influences on music. Examples include the “Latin invasion” of the 1930s and 1940s (audible in the music of Duke Ellington and Dizzy Gillespie); the popularity of calypso in the 1940s and 1950s (the Andrew Sisters and Harry Belafonte); Brazilian *bossa nova* in the 1950s; and South African vocal music in the 1960s (The Tokens’s “The Lion Sleeps Tonight”).

During the 1960s and 1970s there was a surge in popularity of folk and folk-rock music, stimulating an unprecedented interest in world folk music recordings. Folkways Records and Elektra Records’s Nonesuch Explorer Series began to meet this growing demand. Several British and American popular musicians incorporated world musical elements into their music, for example, George Harrison (Indian *sitar* and *ragas*), Led Zeppelin (Arabic melodies) and the Clash (reggae rhythm).

George Harrison, and Paul Simon later (with *Graceland*), not only incorporated world influences, but “curated” the music like ethnomusicologists. The musicians went into the field (Harrison to India, Simon to Africa), “discovered” the music, and presented it to the Europe and North American market, often performing with world musicians. World music was introduced to listeners by familiar musical personalities with star appeal.

David Byrne, Peter Gabriel, and Mickey Hart followed in this vein. Ethnomusicologist Steven Feld argues that the Western experience of world music in the 1980s was largely shaped by “pop star collaboration and curation” (Feld 2000, p. 149). As world music grew in popularity, an increasing number of record labels started marketing it.

Pop-star collaboration and curation continued into the 1990s; however, other channels of distribution also emerged. In the late 1990s and 2000s the Internet became a leading means of distributing world music. With the Internet, the term world music is perhaps less crucial to marketing because consumers can also search online by country of origin, musician, or instrument. But the category shows no signs of disappearing. The world music category is prominently used in Web sites and sold in the cosmopolitan cities of Europe, North America, Australia, and elsewhere. Also, chain coffee shops increasingly sell recordings of world music, such as the Hear Music CDs in Starbucks.

SEE ALSO *Ethnology and Folklore; Ethnomusicology; Globalization, Anthropological Aspects of; Indigenismo; Internet; Music; Music, Psychology of; Popular Music*

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Paul D. Greene

WORLD TRADE ORGANIZATION

The World Trade Organization (WTO) is the international organization that oversees trade among member nations and acts as a forum for governments to negotiate trade agreements and settle trade disputes under a system of rules and procedures. Its aim is to increase world trade by lowering barriers to the international sale of goods and services, including intellectual property. The WTO was formed on January 1, 1995, replacing the postwar multilateral trading order under the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) with a more formal institutional arrangement. Headquartered in Geneva, Switzerland, the WTO as of November 2006 had 150 members, the latest addition being Vietnam. As of this date Russia was the largest state that was not yet a member. The governing principles of the WTO's global trading system were described by Director General Pascal Lamy in 2006: "Built up stone by stone over the past 50 years, this system is founded on the idea that prosperity depends on efficiency, stability, predictability, and equity in international trade" (Lamy 2006).

THE SUCCESSOR TO THE GATT

In some respects, the WTO is a new organization, growing out of globalization, but the idea of an international trade institution dates at least to the period immediately following World War II (1939–1945). The Bretton Woods Conference of 1944, near the end of World War II, proposed the creation of an International Trade Organization to complement the International Monetary Fund and Bank for Reconstruction and Development (World Bank) in order to stabilize the postwar world economy and promote trade. The member states of the United Nations (UN) agreed to the creation of the International Trade Organization (ITO) at the UN Conference on Trade and Employment in Havana, Cuba, in 1948. The ITO charter covered trade in goods and services and included rules on employment, commodity agreements, restrictive business practices, and investment. The organization failed to materialize, however, when the U.S. Senate rejected the implementing agreement.

GATT, a part of the proposed ITO, survived as a treaty agreement among twenty-three of the fifty signatory states of the ITO to set tariffs (or customs duties) to mutually agreed-upon levels without discrimination among members under a *generalized system of preferences*. This system called for treating goods from all countries on the same level as that of the *most-favored nation (MFN)* and allotted *national treatment* to both domestic and imported goods once they had entered the market. Certain exceptions to the *nondiscrimination principle* were allowed—for example, for regional trading arrangements

or special access to developing countries—because these types of arrangements expanded regional trade and accorded with the goal of expanding global trade. These principles and exceptions were incorporated into the WTO. Tariff levels were agreed on through an intergovernmental negotiating forum facilitated by the small GATT secretariat, but the system did not provide for any enforcement mechanisms or dispute-settlement procedures, and it dealt almost entirely in trade in goods. Services and intellectual property were later addressed under separate agreements—the General Agreement on Trade in Services (GATS) and the Agreement on Trade-Related Aspects of Intellectual Property Rights (TRIPS)—that were also incorporated into the WTO. GATT also contained provisions against unfair competitive practices, such as dumping and subsidies, that are also part of WTO fair-trade rules.

Two major industries were given special treatment under the postwar system—agriculture, which was not covered by GATT, and textiles and apparel, which was regulated under a quota system set up by a separate multilateral agreement, the Multifiber Agreement, until 2005. Eight rounds of multiyear trade negotiations were completed under GATT. The WTO was created at the conclusion of the eighth round, known as the Uruguay Round (1986–1995).

INSTITUTIONAL FRAMEWORK AND DISPUTE-RESOLUTION MECHANISMS

Unlike GATT, the WTO has an extensive institutional structure. It comprises the Ministerial Conference, the General Council, and a Secretariat with various bodies, committees, divisions, and working groups on specific issues. The General Council is the WTO's highest decision-making body and meets on a regular basis. Its members are official government representatives, the ambassadors to the WTO, from all member states. The Ministerial Conference comprises the trade or commerce ministers of the member states and meets approximately every two years; the Sixth WTO Ministerial Conference met in Hong Kong, China, on December 13–18, 2005. The Ministerial Conference issues declarations and decisions outlining the broad mandate of the WTO. A recurrent desire expressed in these declarations has been for greater cooperation and coherence between the IMF, World Bank, and WTO on global economic policy making and development.

The structure of the WTO was created by the legal texts of the Uruguay Round of trade negotiations, which include approximately sixty agreements, annexes, decisions, and understandings incorporating GATT, GATS, and TRIPS and covering trade in goods, services, intellec-

tual property, dispute settlement, and transparency through reviews of governments' trade policies. The agreements negotiated under GATT and the WTO provide the legal ground rules for international commerce, binding governments much like commercial contracts. Like any contract, disputes between parties are likely to arise, and for this reason a new dispute-settlement process was written into the WTO agreements and have become a central pillar of the global trading system. Within this system, a member country can file a dispute against another country or group of countries that it believes is violating a rule of the agreements or failing to live up to its obligations under the agreements.

The procedure resembles a court or tribunal, with formal consultations, mediation, and a panel set up to hear the arguments, examine the legal obligations of the parties, and prepare a report for the Dispute Settlement Body (consisting of all WTO members) to adopt or reject. It also includes an appeals process based on legal interpretation heard by a permanent Appellate Body composed of seven individuals of high legal standing without governmental affiliations. Members of the Appellate Body have four-year terms and can uphold, modify, or reverse the panel's legal findings or conclusions. Rulings are adopted by the Dispute Settlement Body automatically unless there is a consensus against the panel or appeals report (not a consensus in favor of the report) and are binding; if a state loses a dispute, it must comply with the report recommendations and state its intention to do so within thirty days. In cases of nonimplementation, the parties negotiate compensation pending full implementation. The Dispute Settlement Body monitors implementation of the report rulings and recommendations (if adopted) and has the power to authorize retaliatory action by the harmed country against the country violating its treaty obligations. By July 2005 a total of 332 cases had been brought before the WTO. A typical dispute may take up to sixty days for consultations, up to a year for panel review without an appeal, or a year and three months with an appeal. For any given dispute, the panel's report is normally presented to the parties within six months (or three months when the issue involves perishable goods).

THE DOHA ROUND

Trade negotiations among member states continue under the WTO, as under GATT, on a multiyear, multilateral basis. As of May 2007 the ninth round of global trade negotiations, the Doha Round, was still ongoing. Doha Round negotiations began in 2001 and are considered by many as much more difficult than earlier rounds. Several reasons are commonly used to explain this difficulty: (1) It goes deeper and farther than other rounds in addressing for the first time such issues as agricultural subsidies and

bureaucratic border requirements and documentation, making for political complexity. (2) It makes greater attempts at fair trade by making economic development more central to the international trading system. (3) The membership has grown so much in size and socioeconomic diversity that negotiating outcomes based on the practice of consensus has become much more difficult. (4) It faces strong opposition to globalization by various non-profit associations representing labor, the environment, and other constituencies. The WTO has been a focus of globalization debates among intellectuals and policy makers and a target of antiglobalization protests by civil society groups.

CONTROVERSY AND 1999 SEATTLE PROTESTS

The WTO has come to represent the institutionalization of globalization, with its positive trade expansion effects as well as its negative effects on communities, local industry, and human rights. The adverse effects of globalization have given rise to a global social movement with active published criticism and consistent protests by activists at WTO Ministerial meetings as well as the annual World Bank-IMF conferences. The first protest of significant size and impact took place at the WTO Ministerial meeting in Seattle from November 29, 1999, to December 3, 1999. An estimated 50,000 protesters from around the world included human rights groups, students, environmental groups, religious leaders, labor-rights activists, others demanding fair trade with less exploitation, and various protectionist groups demanding a nationalist response to maintain domestic industries and preserve communities without foreign influence. While the majority were nonviolent protestors, a small group clashed violently with police, leading the Seattle police and the National Guard to declare a state of emergency that included curfews, arrests, teargas, pepper spray, and rubber bullets fired at nonviolent protestors. Many found the violation of the right of free speech for the purpose of free trade and the ensuing police actions unacceptable. Enormous public protests ensued, ultimately causing the resignation of the Seattle police chief and succeeding in disrupting the meeting, which collapsed. Over 500 related events took place between February 18, 1999, the day the Ministerial location in Seattle was announced, and mid-December 1999, after the WTO had departed. Over 1,400 organizations signed a letter stating their opposition to the WTO. According to the text of the letter, protesting organizations accused the WTO of

principally to pry open markets for the benefit of transnational corporations at the expense of national and local economies; workers, farmers, indigenous peoples, women and other social

groups; health and safety; the environment; and animal welfare. In addition, the WTO system, rules and procedures are undemocratic, un-transparent and non-accountable and have operated to marginalize the majority of the world's people. (WTO History Project)

At the root of the protests are many fundamental differences in the perspectives of developing and industrialized nations, as well as labor unions and some domestic industry in developed countries, on the current reality of free trade and how it affects them. The protests have drawn attention to the democratic deficit within the WTO and to the social issues globalization can adversely impact. However, long-term legislative impact on the WTO itself remains unclear.

SEE ALSO *Diplomacy; Free Trade; General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade; Globalization, Social and Economic Aspects of; International Monetary Fund; Protest; Social Movements; Trade; Uruguay Round; World Bank, The*

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Anastasia Xenias

WORLD WAR I

World War I (1914–1918), known as “The Great War” at the time, marked a profound political, economic, and

social shift in international relations. Historian Eric Hobsbawm has referred to 1914 as the *de facto* beginning of the twentieth century.

The triggering cause of the war was the assassination of Archduke Franz Ferdinand, the Habsburg heir, on June 28, 1914, in Sarajevo by Bosnian Serb nationalists. This matter might have stayed an internal dispute in Austria-Hungary, but other states quickly took sides. Germany, the Ottoman Empire, and Austria-Hungary made up the Central Powers. Russia stood up for the Serbs, and was joined by France and Great Britain in the Triple Entente.

According to one interpretation of World War I, a rigid alliance structure drew reluctant states into what would otherwise have been a localized conflict. Many of the belligerents did have alliances binding them to a particular side. For example, both Britain and France had pledged to defend Belgian neutrality, which was violated at the beginning of the war by German invasion. However, all of the belligerents also had compelling national interests for participating in World War I, including concerns about national insurgency and perceptions of the European balance of power.

Nationalism drew belligerents into World War I in two ways. Russia defended Serbia at least partly in the name of pan-Slavism, or solidarity among Slavic peoples. The Ottoman Empire had a different concern. Like its Habsburg counterpart, the Ottoman Empire comprised a variety of national groups, all ruled by a single dominant national group. The spread of democracy and other egalitarian movements in Europe challenged the legitimacy of the old empires. Over the course of the nineteenth century, the Ottoman Empire experienced various national uprisings, including those by Greeks, Serbs, Bulgarians, and Armenians. By helping the Habsburgs resist nationalist insurgency, the Ottomans hoped to avert future problems of their own.

In addition, many states were concerned about the changing European balance of power. The pentagonal balance created at the 1815 Congress of Vienna had been relatively successful, both in keeping European conflicts manageable and protecting the interests of Austria-Hungary, Britain, France, Germany (previously called Prussia), and Russia. By 1914, however, several of these states were not content with the existing balance of power.

For example, Germany was a latecomer to imperialism, a process dominated by France and Britain, and therefore perceived itself at a disadvantage in both power projection and resource extraction. Although overseas imperialism offered limited possibilities by the early 1900s, Germany began to pursue a policy (*Drang nach Osten*) of increased economic and political influence in eastern Europe, thus “colonizing” the region. German leaders argued that this would balance French and British power.

France and Britain, however, did not perceive themselves as at an advantage vis-à-vis Germany. Germany had benefited tremendously from the Industrial Revolution, especially since its natural resource base was well suited to industrial production. In 1870, Germany ranked third in industrial production behind Britain and France. By 1914, Germany led them both by a substantial margin. Britain and France feared that Germany's economic trajectory would soon render moot efforts at power balancing. To avoid German hegemony as a *fait accompli*, the other great powers would need to act quickly.

Russia, too, had balance-of-power concerns regarding Germany, with which it shared a tense history. The *Drang nach Osten* interfered with Russia's domestic economy and trade with its neighbors. Furthermore, Russia had been at an enduring geopolitical disadvantage because it lacked warm water ports (i.e., ones in which the water does not freeze), which limited its military and commercial expansion. Defeating the Central Powers could mean Russian access to Germany's Baltic ports and the Mediterranean Sea via Turkish straits.

THE WORLD AT WAR

Once the war began, its course was horrifyingly unique to European experience. Germany expanded the aggression outside of Austria-Hungary by implementing the Schlieffen Plan, a military strategy designed to prevent Germany from fighting on two fronts simultaneously. The existence of such a plan reflected the influence of prevailing social attitudes on military doctrine. The popularity of ideas such as Social Darwinism, a perversion of Charles Darwin's concept of natural selection then applied to human social interaction, bred a pan-European "cult of the offensive," or fanatical confidence in initial aggression as the guarantor of victory. Darwin argued that organisms with traits well suited to their environment would be the most likely to survive and reproduce. The Social Darwinist ideal twisted this commentary to argue that powerful groups had the ability, even the right, to dominate weaker ones and to mold human relations as they saw fit. As a result, states generated extremely aggressive military grand strategies—their overall plans for using the military instrument of foreign policy. For example, Germany's Schlieffen Plan called for the speedy conquest of France, via neutral Belgium, so German forces could then focus on an eastern front against Russia, which would mobilize relatively slowly for geographic and technological reasons.

The reality of World War I looked very little like the Schlieffen Plan. In early August 1914, Germany attacked Belgium. Reinforced by troops from Britain and France, Belgium tenaciously resisted German invasion. Russia, having anticipated conflict with Germany and availing itself of technological advances such as railroads, mobi-

lized faster than Germany had anticipated. Within weeks, Germany found itself caught in a two-front war.

This conflict was unlike any Europe had seen before. A popular slogan claimed that soldiers marching off in August 1914 would be "home before the leaves fall from the trees," but even after months the two sides had made little progress toward their war aims. Various conditions of the war made territorial conquest difficult. In the west, the extremely flat terrain of Southwestern Belgium provided little natural shelter. This encouraged trench warfare, the digging of passageways open to the surface, from which soldiers could attack with at least minimal cover. The introduction of barbed wire assisted in this process and in holding territory. Capturing territory from the trenches was difficult. Instead, World War I became a war of attrition, in which victory would be defined by exhausting the enemy's resources rather than by superior mobility and territorial conquest. Military engagement frequently ended in deadlock, as when the 1916 German attack at Verdun preempted an Entente offensive on the Somme, but did not achieve the larger goal of crippling the French. Later that year, Britain launched its first major offensive of the war, at the Somme. In four months the Entente lost some 600,000 men while gaining only a few miles of territory. For years, neither side had an enduring battlefield advantage, although both expended unprecedented amounts of materiel and human lives. At least twenty million soldiers were killed or wounded during the war.

Military leaders introduced destructive new technologies, attempting to break the trench stalemate. Machine guns allowed for tremendous firepower and resulted in devastating casualties, as did tanks and submarines as new weapons platforms. Poison gas, introduced by Germany at Ypres in 1915, was difficult to control in deployment and undetectable until its effects were irreversible; gas caused pain, burns, other physical trauma, and death. These conditions eventually generated a sense of futility and ennui among many soldiers, and caused mutiny late in the war, such as that of the French army in 1917. One of the lasting consequences of these battle conditions was the emergence of "shell shock" (today known as post-traumatic stress disorder), which disabled thousands of soldiers who had survived the fighting.

On the eastern front, armies enjoyed greater mobility but suffered staggering casualties in the face of the technological innovations. In 1917 Russia withdrew from the conflict because of the Bolshevik Revolution. Britain and France appealed to the United States, which had been supplying their war effort for some time, to take Russia's place. Although President Woodrow Wilson (1856–1924) had campaigned on a no-war platform, the economic significance, in particular of Britain and France, finally persuaded him to change his position. With the declaration

of war by the U.S. Congress on April 6, 1917, the United States formally allied itself with Britain and France.

The new influx of American resources and personnel, beginning in earnest in the summer of 1918, was too much for Germany. Recognizing that Germany could not win a war of attrition against this energetic, well-supplied new enemy, the German navy mutinied, popular revolution led the Kaiser to abdicate, and the new government agreed to an armistice on the Entente's terms. The agreement was signed on November 11, 1918, at 11:00 a.m. For many Germans, the Entente victory seemed illegitimate. Germany had not been outmaneuvered on the battlefield and victorious Entente troops did not capture Berlin. Rather, the Entente seemed to have won by calling in outsiders to the dispute; this said nothing about Germany's prowess vis-à-vis France and Britain.

Beginning in January 1919, the former belligerents met in Paris to formulate the peace treaty, known as the Treaty of Versailles after the palace in which it was signed. President Wilson attended the conference, to the surprise and consternation of many of his counterparts, making him the first sitting U.S. president to visit a foreign country. Two major goals of the treaty were to render Germany harmless and to avoid future problems with national insurgency. To achieve the first goal the victors implemented a number of programs targeting Germany, including reparation payments, disarmament, and neutralization of territory. To achieve the second goal, the victors promoted national self-determination for European ethnic groups, redrawing the map of eastern Europe so that the political boundaries more closely matched the homelands of ethnic groups.

SEE ALSO *Colonialism; Darwinism, Social; Genocide; Imperialism; Isolationism; Monarchy; Nationalism and Nationality; Ottoman Empire; Patriotism; Post-Traumatic Stress; Revolution; Russian Revolution; War; Wilson, Woodrow; World War II*

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Lisa L. Ferrari

WORLD WAR II

World War II was a military conflict from 1939 to 1945 that engulfed much of the globe. It is considered to have been the largest and deadliest war in world history, killing 62 million people on the battlefield, in massive bombings of civilians in cities, and by genocide. There were two hostile camps—the Axis Powers of Germany, Italy, Japan, Romania, Bulgaria, Hungary, Croatia, Slovakia, Finland (cobelligerent), Thailand, and others; and the Allied Powers of the British Empire and Commonwealth (including India, Canada, Australia and New Zealand), France, the United States, the Soviet Union, China, the Netherlands, Norway, Belgium, Poland, and others. The global reach of the empires of France, Italy, and Britain meant that non-European areas became directly involved with battles fought in Africa, the Middle East, Europe, and Asia. Organized civilian resistance movements in occupied countries (notably Yugoslavia, France, and Greece) made important contributions to the Allied war effort. The economic effects of the war have been estimated at \$1 trillion in 1945 (approximately \$10.5 trillion in 2005 terms). It is the only time in history that nuclear weapons were used (by the United States against Japan). The end of World War II resulted in the partitioning of Europe into East (ruled by Communist governments under the sphere of influence of the Soviet Union aligned under the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance, or Comecon, and the Warsaw Pact) and West (with democratic governments receiving economic reconstruction aid through the U.S. Marshall Plan aligned under NATO), the U.S. occupation of Japan, and new international organizations such as the United Nations, the International Monetary Fund, and the World Bank. The immediate postwar era also saw the rise of European integration efforts with the formation of the European Coal and Steel Community and the European Economic Community, which would develop into the European Union by the end of the century, and the beginning of the cold war between the United States and the Soviet Union that would mark the second half of the twentieth century.

EXPANSIONISM AND ECONOMIC CONDITIONS

Territorial expansion of Germany and Italy began before any military hostilities. The most noted example of territorial demands made by Hitler's Germany is Czechoslovakia (where Germans comprised one-third of the population), followed by German-speaking Austria. But the Reich sought further expansion. Many in Germany never accepted the creation of Poland following World War I, and they focused territorial demands on the Polish Corridor, a narrow strip of land separating East Prussia from Germany that allowed Poland access to the Baltic

Sea, but also sought broader territory that would expand Germany to a common border with Russia. In 1935 Germany regained the Saar region, in March 1936 it reoccupied the Rhineland, and in 1937 it achieved *Anschluss* (union) with Austria. Italy's fascist leader, Benito Mussolini, also hoped to acquire territory, particularly at the expense of France, Albania, and Greece, to create a New Roman Empire. In 1934 Italy moved against Abyssinia on the border of Italian Somaliland and Ethiopia. Territory was also an important factor in the war in Asia. One of the most often cited reasons for Japan's aggression in Asia is that nation's need for the raw materials naturally lacking in its own territory. Thus Japan, the only burgeoning industrial economy in Asia at the time, invaded first Manchuria, then other areas throughout the Asian mainland, and finally the Western Pacific in order to secure necessary natural resources such as oil and iron ore.

The economic effects of the Treaty of Versailles and the Great Depression were important factors in radicalizing German politics. In April 1921 Germany was presented with a reparations bill of \$33 billion by the victorious allies of World War I. Reparations payments hobbled the weakened German economy, causing rapidly rising inflation and a dramatically depreciating currency. France refused Germany's request for a postponement, Germany defaulted on the war reparations in 1923, and the French army occupied part of the Ruhr (the German industrial zone). Hyperinflation ensued as the German currency, the mark, plummeted to 4 billion marks to the dollar (from 75 marks to the dollar in 1921 and 18,000 in January 1923), eliminating life savings and making salaries worthless. Groceries cost billions of marks (wheelbarrows of currency were needed for a single loaf of bread) and hunger riots broke out. In September 1923 the German government resumed reparations payments, inciting bitter popular resentment and paving the way for extremist political groups such as the Nazi Party (National Socialist Party).

IDEOLOGY, NATIONALISM, AND MILITARISM

Under the terms of the Treaty of Versailles, the German army was allowed to remain intact and was not forced to admit defeat by surrendering. The German general staff supported the idea that the army had not been defeated on the battlefield and could have fought on to victory were they not betrayed at home (the *Dolchstoßlegende*, or "stab-in-the-back legend") by German politicians who signed the November 1918 armistice (the "November Criminals"). The theory became very popular among Germans: Adolf Hitler, a World War I veteran, became obsessed with this idea, laying blame firmly on Jews and Marxists for undermining Germany's war effort. The Nazi

Party won 230 of 608 seats in the Reichstag (German parliament) in January 1933; within six months Hitler was elected chancellor. The Nazis pledged to first restore Germany to its rightful place in Europe, and then to seek world power.

Racism and anti-Semitism characterized the Nazi Party, which organized official boycotts of Jewish shops and professional men and the opening of the first concentration camp in Dachau, outside Munich, in March 1933. In September 1935 the Nuremberg Laws relegated Jews to separate, second-class status and prohibited intermarriage and sexual relations with Aryan Germans. In November 1938 Nazis orchestrated a nationwide pogrom on Jews following the murder of a German diplomatic assistant in the German embassy in Paris by a French Jew. Jewish homes, shops, and 191 synagogues were destroyed and 20,000 Jews were arrested on *Kristallnacht* ("Night of Broken Glass"). German anti-Semitism culminated in the Holocaust.

Although technically an absolute monarchy under Emperor Hirohito, Japan was politically dominated by a group of militaristic generals in charge of the most powerful army in Asia at the time. Japanese militarism was accompanied by racism, toward both Europeans and other Asians, especially Chinese and Koreans. Anyone who was not Japanese was considered inferior and treated as such. One example of Japanese violent racism is General Shiro Ishii's Unit 731 experiments in Pingfan in Harbin, China, in which as many as 10,000 Chinese, Korean, and Russian prisoners of war and civilians were subjected to brutal experiments in vivisection, germ warfare, and weapons testing.

APPEASEMENT

Britain and France followed an early policy of accommodation and compromise in Germany's favor in the hope of avoiding another war, known as the "policy of appeasement"; many thought the Treaty of Versailles imposed unreasonable demands on Germany. In June 1935 the Anglo-German Naval Agreement was signed, signaling Britain's unwillingness to defend the Versailles settlement. In March 1936 German military reoccupation of the Rhineland (demilitarized under the Versailles Treaty) met with no opposition from France and thus successfully challenged France's willingness to defend the Versailles settlement. In January 1937 Hitler publicly broke with the Treaty of Versailles.

Neville Chamberlain, the prime minister of Britain from 1937 to 1940, is known for adopting a policy of appeasement in an attempt to preserve the peace and buy time for any major rearmament. In September 1938 Britain, France, and Italy agreed at the Munich Conference to grant Czechoslovakia's Sudetenland to Germany. In

return, Hitler gave Chamberlain his personal word on future cooperation. The Munich Pact is considered the height of appeasement. On his return to London, Chamberlain stated: "We regard the agreement signed last night [Munich Pact] and the Anglo-German Naval Agreement as symbolic of the desire of our two peoples never to go to war with one another again.... My good friends, for the second time in our history, a British Prime Minister has returned from Germany bringing peace with honor. I believe it is peace for our time.... Go home and get a nice quiet sleep." Chamberlain resigned in 1940 and was replaced by Winston Churchill, who led Britain to the end of the war. The Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact of nonaggression signed by Germany and the Soviet Union in 1939 is also considered by some historians as an act of appeasement or as an attempt by Joseph Stalin to buy time to prepare for an impending German attack on the Soviet Union.

U.S. ENTRY INTO THE WAR

Since 1940 the United States had allowed the covert operation in China of the American Volunteer Group, or "Chennault's Flying Tigers," to assist the Chinese war effort. The Flying Tigers destroyed an estimated 115 Japanese aircraft, sunk numerous Japanese ships, and participated in the Burma land campaign. U.S. president Franklin D. Roosevelt cut exports of oil and scrap iron to Japan in 1941. Japan planned and executed a strike on Pearl Harbor, Hawaii, on Sunday, December 7, 1941, to cripple the U.S. Pacific fleet and consolidate oil fields in Southeast Asia. The attack on Pearl Harbor achieved military surprise and severely damaged the U.S. navy, and it remains the largest military attack on U.S. soil.

Following the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor, Hitler declared war on the United States on December 11, 1941, in the hope that Japan would assist Germany by attacking the Soviet Union (it did not). Pearl Harbor, in conjunction with Hitler's declaration of war, gave Roosevelt the domestic support he needed to join the war in Europe and Asia without meaningful opposition from Congress. Many historians consider this an important turning point of the war in Europe, marking the formation of a grand alliance of powerful nations (the United Kingdom, the United States, and the Soviet Union) against Germany.

POSTWAR DIVISION, OCCUPATION, AND RECONSTRUCTION

After World War II, Europe was informally partitioned into Western Europe and Eastern Europe under the NATO and Warsaw Pact military alliances and the Marshall Plan and Comecon economic arrangements. Germany was formally divided into the states of the Federal Republic of Germany (F.D.R., or West Germany) and the German Democratic Republic (G.D.R., or East

Germany). Allied troops remained in Germany for decades following the war. Following German reunification in October 1990, the new united Germany still had Soviet troops stationed in its eastern provinces.

The U.S. Marshall Plan intended to rebuild the European economy and promote European unity while thwarting the political appeal of communism. For Western Europe, economic aid ended the dollar shortage and stimulated private investment for postwar reconstruction. The Marshall Plan required European states to work together to utilize the funds, an obligation that later facilitated the formation of the European Economic Community.

The Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (COMECON, Comecon, CMEA, or CEMA) was formed in 1949 as an economic organization of Communist states. Its original members were the Soviet Union, Bulgaria, Romania, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, Albania, the German Democratic Republic, and Poland. Albania, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, Bulgaria, and Romania, which were allied with the Axis Powers during the war, came under the Soviet sphere of influence, with their Communist governments joining the Soviet-led Comecon economic and trade area, as did Poland. In 1950 East Germany joined Comecon. (Other members included Mongolia [1962], Cuba [1972], and Vietnam [1978]. Yugoslavia [1964] was an associate member; other Communist countries or Soviet-friendly governments were observers.) Comecon members had common approaches to state economic ownership and planned management, and political regimes that espoused the ideologies of Marxism-Leninism. In 1949 the ruling Communist parties of the founding states were also linked internationally through the Cominform, the Communist Information Bureau, which established information exchanges between members. The East European members of Comecon were also militarily allied with the Soviet Union in the Warsaw Pact.

In Asia, the U.S. military occupation of Japan led to Japan's democratization. China's civil war continued during and after World War II, culminating in the establishment of the Communist People's Republic of China. Europe's Asian colonies India, Indonesia, and Vietnam started toward independence.

LEGACY OF WORLD WAR II

One of the most important legacies of World War II was the creation of a set of international institutions to provide for international governance of global security and monetary relations. Postwar security and economic institutions were created exclusively by the victorious Allied Powers and reflected the postwar power structure. The term *United Nations* was first coined by Roosevelt during

the war to refer to the Allies. On January 1, 1942, the Declaration by the United Nations committed the Allies to the principles of the Atlantic Charter and pledged them not to seek a separate peace with the Axis Powers. Thereafter, the Allies used the term *United Nations Fighting Forces* to refer to their alliance. The United Nations institutions were created during the war itself to govern international relations after the war.

The initial ideas for a global security organization were first elaborated at wartime Allied conferences in Moscow, Cairo, and Tehran in 1943. During August to October 1944 representatives from France, Britain, the Soviet Union, China, and the United States met in Dumbarton Oaks in Washington, D.C., to prepare plans for an organization that would maintain peace and security, and economic and social cooperation. The formal monetary conference predated the security conference: The United Nations Monetary and Financial Conference of July 1 to 22, 1944 (called the Bretton Woods conference), took place in Bretton Woods, New Hampshire, with 730 delegates from 45 Allied countries. It established the Bretton Woods system of international exchange-rate management that remained in place until the mid-1970s, and it produced two separate institutions (called the Bretton Woods institutions) to monitor, regulate, and facilitate international monetary affairs and finance in the post-World War II era. The World Bank and the International Monetary Fund, both headquartered in Washington, D.C., have had lasting influence on the international political economy since their inception. The International Monetary Fund was entrusted with overseeing the global financial system by monitoring exchange rates and balance of payments, providing liquidity, and offering technical and financial assistance. The World Bank, or International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (IBRD), was entrusted with providing finance such as grants or loans at preferential rates, technical assistance, and advice to countries for the purpose of economic development and poverty reduction, and for encouraging and safeguarding international investment. Although the World Bank's activities have evolved to focus on developing countries, the first loan issued by the World Bank was approved on May 9, 1947, to France in the amount of \$250 million for postwar reconstruction; this remains its largest loan to date in real terms. World Bank loans and grants provide financing to countries that have no access to international capital markets.

The United Nations Conference on International Organizations opened at the Fairmont Hotel in San Francisco on April 25, 1945, with fifty nations and some nongovernmental organizations represented. Initially referred to as the United Nations Organization, the UN was comprised of several administrative bodies (General Assembly, Secretariat, Economic and Social Council,

Trusteeship Council, and the International Court of Justice to adjudicate disputes among nations), the most prominent of which is the Security Council, where members resolve action on issues of war and aggression. (For example, all UN peacekeeping operations must be approved by the Security Council.) The United Nations Charter was signed on June 26, 1945, and the UN, headquartered in New York City, came into existence in October 1945 after the charter had been ratified by the five permanent members of the Security Council and a majority of signatory states. It replaced the League of Nations, which had been founded after World War I and had proved ineffective at preventing war and securing peace and order. The structure of the UN reflected the World War II victory, with the most powerful Allies—the United Kingdom, France, the United States, the Soviet Union, and China—holding the only permanent seats in the UN Security Council with veto power over decisions. The World Bank and International Monetary Fund came into existence a few months after the UN, in December 1945 following international ratification of the Articles of Agreement (called the Bretton Woods agreements).

Another legacy of World War II saw the development and use of many new technologies, including long-range missiles, jet aircraft, radar, and atomic (nuclear) weapons. Nuclear weapons were created in the top-secret Manhattan Project in the United States (with assistance from the United Kingdom and Canada) by an international team that included émigré scientists from Central Europe, initially out of fear that Germany would develop them first. (The Soviet Union became the second nuclear power in 1949.) Nuclear weapons have only been used twice in the history of warfare, both in the closing days of World War II by the United States against Japan, the first on August 6, 1945, on the Japanese city of Hiroshima, and the second on August 9, 1945, on the Japanese city of Nagasaki. Each use comprised the dropping of a single airborne atomic bomb (atom bomb, A-bomb, or simply “the bomb”). The bombs killed an estimated 200,000 people (mostly civilians) instantly, and twice as many later through the effects of radiation. The advent of nuclear weapons came only weeks after the signing of the UN Charter, providing immediate impetus to concepts of arms limitation and disarmament. The first resolution of the first meeting of the UN General Assembly on January 24, 1946, was “The Establishment of a Commission to Deal with the Problems Raised by the Discovery of Atomic Energy,” which called upon the commission to make specific proposals for “the elimination from national armaments of atomic weapons and of all other major weapons adaptable to mass destruction.”

World War II atrocities and genocide in both Europe and Asia led to a consensus that nations must work to prevent such tragedies in the future. Another early objective

of the United Nations was to create a legal framework for considering and acting on complaints about human rights violations. The UN Charter obliges all member nations to promote “universal respect for, and observance of, human rights” and to take “joint and separate action” to that end. The Universal Declaration of Human Rights was adopted by the UN General Assembly in 1948 as a common standard of achievement for all.

World War II resulted in a fundamental shift in global power from the weakened British Empire to the United States and the Soviet Union. Almost immediately following World War II, a protracted geopolitical, ideological, and economic struggle emerged between two of the most powerful Allied Powers—the United States and the Soviet Union. The struggle was called the cold war because it did not involve direct armed conflict between the United States and the Soviet Union, although each formed an opposing military alliance in Europe and engaged in the biggest arms race (including nuclear weapons) in history. The cold war lasted from about 1947 to the collapse of communism in the late 1980s, the fall of the Berlin Wall in 1989, and the dissolution of the Soviet Union in 1991.

The North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO, or the North Atlantic Alliance, Atlantic Alliance, or Western Alliance) was established with the signing of the North Atlantic Treaty on April 4, 1949, in Washington, D.C., for the purpose of collective security of the members, binding each to a military alliance with all the others. The treaty avoids identification of an enemy or concrete measures of common defense, but the implied adversary was the Soviet Union. This marked a significant change in the isolationist tendencies of the United States and signaled the lasting involvement of the United States in European security affairs. It also formally divided the World War II Allies in the West from the Soviet Union by creating a new military alliance composed largely of World War II Allied Powers. The original members of NATO were the United States, France, Britain, Belgium, Luxembourg, Netherlands, Portugal, Norway, Denmark, and Iceland (West Germany was not incorporated until 1955, after the formation of the Warsaw Pact).

In 1955 the Warsaw Pact (Warsaw Treaty, or Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation, and Mutual Assistance) was established as a military organization of Eastern and Central European Communist states to counter the threat perceived by NATO. Its members consisted of the Soviet Union, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Poland, Romania, East Germany (in 1956), and Albania (which withdrew in 1968). Similar to the NATO members, the Warsaw Pact signatories pledged to defend each other if one of them was attacked. It is noteworthy that the members of the Warsaw Pact consisted of Axis Powers as well

as Allied Powers (the Soviet Union and Poland). The Warsaw Pact officially dissolved in 1991. Although not a member of NATO, the Axis Power Japan became allied with the United States. Although not a member of the Warsaw Pact, the Allied Power China was friendly to the Soviet Union. Countries such as Yugoslavia, Switzerland, Austria, India, Sweden, and Finland conspicuously maintained their neutrality by participation in the Non-Aligned Movement.

SEE ALSO *Defense; Deterrence, Mutual; Disarmament; Pearl Harbor; Warfare, Nuclear; Weaponry, Nuclear*

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Anastasia Xenias

WORLD-SYSTEM

The great French historian Fernand Braudel coined the term *économie-monde* (world-economy). The hyphen is important; it signifies that he did not mean that his “economy” covered the whole world, merely that it was effec-

tively a world. Braudel's major work, *The Mediterranean and the Mediterranean World in the Age of Philip II* (1972–1973) on the sixteenth century, inspired the American founder of “world-systems theory,” Immanuel Wallerstein (b. 1930).

According to Wallerstein, if we exclude small-scale societies, which he calls mini-systems, where a complete economic division of labor is accompanied by a single culture, we have only *world-systems*. Of these there are just two variants. The *world-empire* has many cultures but a single political superstructure (and a division of labor). The *world-economy* possesses a single economic division of labor. Unlike the mini-system and the world-empire, it has both many cultures and many political units. The capitalist world-economy started in sixteenth-century northwestern Europe and has continued to exist ever since, unlike other (non-capitalist) world-economies and world-empires. Capitalism is a system given over to the unlimited accumulation of capital through exchange. It is driven by the search for profit. Profit comes from unequal exchange (a term pioneered in the Latin American context), whereby goods produced under monopolistic conditions in the core are traded for other goods produced in the periphery under competitive conditions; that is, non-monopolistic ones, in many countries. The former goods enjoy a cost advantage over the latter. This is because the sale price is high relative to the cost of production, whereas, in contrast, peripheral producers are forced to sell cheaply, close to or at the cost of production. (*Surplus value*, for Wallerstein, is the difference between cost of production and sale price of a product.) Goods produced under competitive conditions in the peripheral zones of the capitalist world-economy tend to flow to countries located in the core of the capitalist world-economy. Profits are highest to producers located in this core. The states located in the core are used by leading capitalists to prop up the system. Trade within this system, in which they enjoy a marked, historically unprecedented freedom of maneuver, benefits the latter unequally.

Wallerstein likens his interest in the historical development of the capitalist world-economy, seen as a single “unit of analysis,” to that of the astronomers in the single planetary system, the laws of motion of which they set out to discover. It is the world-system as a whole that interests him. This overall system determines what goes on in any particular part. Nation-states are only one institution among others in the capitalist world-economy. What goes on in them is determined less by the character of a particular nation-state and far more by this state's position within the capitalist world-economy.

From 1540 the geographical area of northwestern Europe emerged as the “core.” Eastern Europe and Iberian America were reduced to peripheral status in relation to

this core. Mediterranean Europe settled into an intermediate position, becoming semiperipheral, midway between core and periphery within the system. Its trade, state structure, and forms of labor exploitation reflected this intermediate position, just as in the cases of the core and the periphery. Subsequent phases of development saw industrial capitalism appear in the core; the European world-economy spread to encompass the entire globe; and changes within the core, semiperiphery, and periphery. The periphery includes most of Asia and Africa, the semiperiphery at various times Japan, the United States, Germany, and Russia. After 1945 the United States assumed a leading role in the whole system, closely followed by, among others, Soviet Russia. The USSR, although nominally a socialist state, could not, in Wallerstein's judgment, possibly have been one. There is just one capitalist world-economy to date, and there can as yet be no socialist systems. Socialism awaits the qualitative change of the whole system, which, following deepening crises, will eventually assume the form of a world government. This revolution is preparing itself mainly in the periphery of the capitalist world-economy.

WORLD-SYSTEMS ANALYSIS

Capitalism requires a world economy. This is because it requires capitalists to be free of political interference—that is, free to accumulate; capitalists also require a large market, so cannot inhabit a mini-system. It is the continuous accumulation that has provided the system with its dynamism over five hundred years. Competition between capitalists is continuous. The division of labor, implying the exchange of basic goods and significant flows of capital and labor, alone binds the system together. It can do so because of the expansive properties of capitalism that have enabled capitalism to survive and grow continuously. (Noncapitalist world-economies have not survived.) Capitalists, to flourish, need to be able to evade states hostile to their interests and to pressure other states into pursuing policies favorable to those interests. They need a multistate world-system. Profit comes from state-supported quasi-monopolies. Capitalists in the core can charge high prices but producers in the periphery are in no position to do so.

Core countries are few. Peripheral ones are many. The semiperipheral countries (e.g., South Korea, India, and Brazil) aim to move up to the core and to avoid falling down into the periphery. They have a mix of activities—some are core-like, some are periphery-like—whereas in core and periphery countries, core and periphery activities are respectively preponderant. Surplus value flows in the core from the working class to the employers, but it also flows from the periphery to the core in world-system terms via trade. Analysts detect long cycles of expansion

and recession over about sixty-year periods (known as Kondratieff cycles). These occur as quasi-monopolies become exhausted. Recovery from recession does not bring the world-economy back to where it was before the cycle started. "Secular" or long-term trends are visible. Eventually these create problems for the system.

Cultural phenomena are interpreted by Wallerstein in terms of his world-system model. Subsequent to the publication of his historical-sociological trilogy (*The Modern World-System*, 1974, 1980, 1989), Wallerstein has treated these phenomena in response to the criticism that he had neglected them. The world-system, he argues, now has a "geoculture." Central to it is "centrist liberalism." Principles of universalism (equality of opportunity, meritocracy) applicable to the managerial cadres are offset and balanced by de facto particularisms—of race, nation, ethnicity, gender, and religion. These legitimate the various divisions within the capitalist world-system—for example, states promote "nations"; the core-periphery division encourages divisions of "race"; and households placed at a lower level in the world occupational hierarchy socialize their young into consciousness of ethnic identity and uphold the mainly unpaid labor of their female members through sexism. These particularistic definitions involve lines of social division that are drawn and redrawn in the workforce as divisions within the capitalist world-economy change: changes in the position of countries in the long-term cycles and in overall tendencies toward crisis, and adaptive responses to particular crises of the system as a whole. Semiproletarian households that predominate in the periphery today effectively subsidize capitalists in the core (where truly proletarian households fully supported by wage labor predominate). Such households permit workers and their families to survive through means of support other than wage labor, such as subsistence and petty trading, thus allowing wages to fall below what otherwise would be necessary to ensure the survival of the whole household.

Just as the modern world-system of today has a single culture, the content of which was initiated by the ideals of the French Revolution, so too it has an interstate system. Here again, this system follows in its workings the patterns visible in the world-economy to which it is bound of necessity. The actions of states influence the workings of the capitalist world-economy through their relations to their capitalists and to foreign states, especially in other "zones," and their relative strengths and weaknesses vis-à-vis each other are determined by their relative economic success as taxing and military entities.

Wallerstein and his colleague Terence K. Hopkins built a successful research school, the Fernand Braudel Research Center at the State University of New York, Binghamton. Fellow analysts include Samir Amin, Christopher Chase-Dunn, Giovanni Arrighi, Albert J.

Bergesen, and, notably, André Gunder Frank, whose metropolis-satellite model was effectively replaced by the world-system. A list of former students produces a series of illustrious names in American social science, many of whom, with others who are not world-systems scholars, have attempted to synthesize the world-system approach with ideas from other traditions. World-systems analysis should not be seen in isolation.

World-systems analysis and orthodox Marxism overlap in many ways, despite significant differences. Marxists of the stature of Rosa Luxemburg (1871–1919) (see *The Accumulation of Capital*, [1913] 1951); V. I. Lenin (1870–1924), whose analysis bears some striking resemblances to Wallerstein's; and N. I. Bukharin (1888–1938) (see *Imperialism and the Accumulation of Capital*, [1924] 1972) struggled with the problem of imperialism, as did J. A. Hobson. (It should also be noted that the non-Marxist scholar Oliver Cromwell Cox's *The Foundations of Capitalism* (1959) anticipated Wallerstein's conception in certain noteworthy ways.)

The central issue dividing orthodox Marxism from world-systems theory is whether analysis should focus on class relations within a given national mode of production, pivoting on the wage contract. The defense of this position has been made by Robert Brenner (1977) and has led to the charge that Wallerstein's is a neo-Smithian Marxism—a charge with which other critics like Theda Skocpol (who argues for a degree of state autonomy allegedly denied by Wallerstein) have some sympathy (1977). Wallerstein's dating of the origins of the capitalist world-economy means that he cannot subscribe to these tenets, and his conception of the role of states in monopolies, of the world-system in which states are contained as the relevant totality, and of the historical variety of forms of labor control (not just wage labor) necessarily denies them too. The issue dividing Marxists from non-Marxists is the primacy to be accorded to economic relations: Are they primary or not? And how are states and culture to be understood relative to economic matters? Whatever the answers to these profound, complex questions, Wallerstein and his colleagues have opened up questions previously considered closed. In their scholarship, fact and theory are brought into a fruitful relationship, as in the days before modern social science replaced historical sociology with the abstract "science" of society.

SEE ALSO Cox, Oliver C.; *Imperialism*; Skocpol, Theda; Wallerstein, Immanuel

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Ian Varcoe

WORSHIP

The term *worship* refers to a complex of acts whereby humans express their devotion and reverence toward a deity (in theistic religions) or toward a transcendent yet nondivine being (in nontheistic religions). Arguably, as soon as human individuals become conscious of their utter dependence on a supernatural power and express their devotion to him, her, or it, worship is born. While this private worship is undoubtedly valid, conventionally *worship* refers to the public and corporate acts of devotion performed in an organized religion. Furthermore, the three pronouns—in the masculine, feminine, and neutral genders—used above to refer to the deity (alternatively, deities) or the transcendent but nondivine being(s) indicate the diverse ways they are conceived, either as personal (male and female) or impersonal, as singular (monotheistic) or as plural (polytheistic). This entry focuses on worship rendered to a personal deity, male or female, in theistic religions.

Studies of religion have shown that there is a reciprocal relationship between worship and belief and that in this relationship the former is prior to the latter. The first human reaction to the presence of the *tremendum et fascinans*—to use Rudolf Otto's (1869–1937) expression for the

sacred—is not to formulate beliefs about it but to worship it in awe and devotion. This worship eventually gives rise to theological reflections and beliefs, which in turn shape and regulate the rituals in which worship is carried out.

One of the most fundamental forms of worship is sacrifice. These rituals are performed publicly, in the open air or in religious buildings, and privately, among family. Religious officials generally preside at public sacrifices, whereas the male head of the household often, but not always, presides over worship in family settings. In Daoism and Buddhism, for instance, worship, including sacrifices, may be undertaken by women as representatives of the family. Various objects are offered to the one God, gods, spirits, ancestors, demonic beings, or any other transcendent being. In *bloodless sacrifices*, food and drink, such as fruits, grains, and baked goods, milk and milk products, water, alcoholic beverages, and flowers, are offered. Inanimate objects are offered too, including clothing, jewelry, coins, precious stones, and precious metals. In *blood sacrifices*, domesticated animals and, less often, humans are ritually slain, and their blood is sprinkled on the altar or on the fields to maintain the cosmic order or promote fertility. The sacrificial rite may be a simple act of lifting up the offering, killing or burning the animal, and the libation of its blood. Eventually, the rite can become highly complicated, requiring performance by religious experts. The intentions of sacrificial worship are described as fourfold: praise, thanksgiving, supplication, and expiation. Sacrifices are offered regularly (daily, weekly, monthly, at the beginning of seasons, and yearly) and extraordinarily (for special joyful events or on dangerous occasions) and at various sacred sites, both natural (e.g., trees, mountains, rivers, and stones) and constructed (e.g., temples, pagodas, and churches).

Ritual worship varies greatly from religion to religion, from age to age, and from place to place. In Vedic practice and later Hinduism, the central sacrifice is the offering of fire, personified as the god Agni and the symbol connecting Vedic understandings of the person, society, and the cosmos. In addition, worship of deities through the offering of foods, service, and gestures of respect toward the deities (*pūjā*), later amalgamated into devotional (*bhakti*) Hinduism, is one of the most pervasive forms of Hindu worship. This worship takes a variety of forms, from simple gestures, such as offerings of water, foods, and flowers, recitation of mantras, singing of songs, and the waving of camphor before the image of the deity, to more elaborate gestures, such as offering hospitality to the god, invocations, bathing and dressing the image, and carrying the enthroned image in procession. Central to this *pūjā* is the experience of “auspicious seeing” (*darsana*), in which the devotee “sees” the god or goddess and is “seen” by those who are granted favors by the deity, symbolized by the returning of the sacred food (*prasāda*).

In ancient Israel, sacrifices at the Jerusalem Temple, officiated by the priestly class, played a pivotal role in the religious life of the people until the destruction of the Temple in 70 CE. In terms of ritual, in pre-Rabbinic Judaism a distinction is made between *burnt offerings* (“holocaust”), in which the sacrificial animal is totally burned up, and *peace* or *communion offerings*, in which only parts of the sacrificial animal are burned, with the animal’s blood poured out or smeared on the altar and some parts of the animal consumed by the people in a sacrificial meal. In *expiatory sacrifices*, the sacrificial animal is burned up and no part of it is eaten. Ancient Israel also practiced bloodless sacrifices consisting of the offering of agricultural products. These sacrifices, blood and bloodless, were made daily and on solemn festivals, such as Passover, Shavu’ot, Yom Kippur, and Sukkot. With the destruction to the Temple, the whole Jewish sacrificial system came to an end, and new forms of worship arose with the emergence of the rabbis as spiritual leaders.

According to Christianity, the Jewish sacrificial system and worship reached their culmination in Jesus’s death on the cross, which is seen as the perfect and definitive sacrifice, bringing about the redemption of the world. Jesus’s life, ministry, death, and resurrection are made efficaciously present (not repeated) in the sacraments—there are seven of these in the teaching of the Roman Catholic Church. Of them, the highest is the Eucharist, the perfect sacrifice, in which Jesus’s body and blood are believed to be physically and really present and the spiritual benefits of Jesus’s sacrifice on the cross are imparted to his followers and constitute the church as his mystical body. Christian worship is often called *liturgy*, that is, the whole public worship of the mystical body of Jesus Christ, head and members.

Islam is in principle opposed to sacrifice. Consonant with its fundamental belief in the unity of God (*tawhīd*) and in Muhammad (c. 570–632) as the final prophet, Islam emphasizes worship as “service” (*‘ibadah*) to God and veneration of the Prophet. This worship/service constitutes the so-called Five Pillars of Islam: the confession of faith (*shahada*), ritual prayer (*salat*), fasting (*sawm*) during the month of Ramadan, the pilgrimage (*hajj*) to Mecca, and almsgiving (*zakat*).

Whereas sacrifice occupies an important place in theistic religions, it is by no means the only form of worship. In all the religions examined above, the reading and studying of the scripture constitutes an essential part of worship. In Hinduism, the study of the sacred books is combined with ascetic (*tapas*) and meditation (*yoga*) practices. In Judaism, after the destruction of the Temple and in the subsequent Diaspora, a class of nonpriestly leaders called *rabbis* sought to construct a system of worship in which the study of the Torah is a central mode of honoring God. This

Torah piety also provides insights into the commandments (*mitsvot*) that govern the lives of devout Jews. To replace the Temple sacrifices, the rabbis composed prayers for the use of their synagogues (such as the Prayer of Eighteen Blessings) and introduced the practice of reciting Deuteronomy 6:4–9 and 11:13–31 and Numbers 15:37–41 (the *shema*). Worship is conducted in the presence of the Torah scroll, and the leader of the worship stands in front of the ark housing it. Another innovation is the public reading of the Torah and exposition of scripture. In Christian liturgy, scriptural readings, from the Old and New Testaments, are incorporated into the liturgy and are often followed by a homily. In Islam, the Qur’an is the object of ubiquitous veneration and devotion. Wrapped in silk, it is stored as the most sacred object in the room and must not be handled in a state of ritual impurity.

The reading of sacred scripture also plays a key role in other religions, such as Sikhism and Buddhism. The Ādi-Granth, draped in silk and placed on a cot under an awning, is the central object of worship in every Sikh *gurdwārā*, and offerings of money, flowers, and food are made to it. On special occasions there is nonstop recitation by a relay of readers. In Buddhism, the simplest act of devotion is homage in front of the image, usually of the Buddha, accompanied by an offering of flowers, incense, and candles. In this ritual the devotee, particularly in the Theravada tradition, takes refuge in the *three jewels*, that is, the Buddha, the *dhamma* (teaching), and the *samgha* (community). Because of the emphasis on the Buddha’s teaching, one important component of Buddhist liturgy is the recitation and chanting of the sacred texts, such as the *tipitaka*. In Tibetan Buddhism, the reading by a monk of a specific text, often a version of the *Prajñāpāramitā* in 100,000 verses or 8,000 verses, is done if possible once a year in each household to insure blessings for the family.

In addition to the official liturgy, other acts of worship, conventionally referred to as *popular religion* or *devotion*, play a no less important role in the piety of the faithful. Among these are fasting (e.g., during Ramadan for Muslims, during Lent for Christians, on certain festivals for Jews, and throughout the year for Buddhists), pilgrimage (e.g., the hajj for Muslims, circumambulation in Tibetan Buddhism, visits to sacred places for Hindus, Buddhists, and Christians), meditation (in yoga, Zen Buddhism, and Daoism), ancestor worship (in Confucianism) and the feeding of hungry ghosts (in Buddhism), veneration of saints (in Roman Catholicism and Orthodoxy), the cult of relics and images (in Roman Catholicism and Buddhism), life-cycle rituals (the *samskāra* in Hinduism and the sacraments in Christianity), the sanctification of time by means of the Liturgy of the Hours and the sacred calendar, the taking of vows, healing and exorcism, and so on.

Worship

Worship is the lifeblood of religion. Ever-changing and yet permanent, this universal phenomenon represents the response, both of the individual and the community, to the presence of God or a supernatural being. While historical and theological studies of worship have revealed much of its nature and developments, much still remains controversial, especially regarding the origins of worship and sacrifice, the relation between worship and ideology, the social dimensions of worship and devotion, the role of goddesses and women in worship, the relation between worship and personal cultivation in meditation, the relation between the local and translocal traditions of practice, and the impact of postmodernism and globalization on worship.

SEE ALSO *Buddha; Buddhism; Christianity; Church, The; Hinduism; Islam, Shia and Sunni; Jainism; Jesus Christ; Judaism; Lay Theories; Muhammad; Nation of Islam; Religion; Rituals; Sikhism; Supreme Being; Symbols*

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Peter C. Phan

X

X-CRISE

X-Crise is an acronym for the Centre de Renseignements et d'Informations Sociales et Économiques, an association created by alumni of France's elite École Polytechnique; this association was later known as the Centre Polytechnicien d'Études Économiques (CPEE). *X-Crise* was formed in 1931 by Gérard Bardet, manager of the Bardet company, who became CPEE's general secretary; André Loizillon, whose career in industry spanned companies from Shneider to Shell and who was CPEE's treasurer for a while and a member of *X-Crise*'s transport workshop; and John Nicoletis, a consulting engineer and manager specializing in less-developed countries. *X-Crise*'s purpose was to examine the causes of the world economic crisis and propose possible solutions. From a membership of about twenty *Polytechniciens* in October 1931, it grew to close to two thousand members (not all *Polytechniciens*) in 1939, the year the association disbanded. As an open, tolerant, and scientific think tank, *X-Crise* gathered together liberals (in the French sense of the word; i.e., market-oriented economists) like Clément Colson, Jacques Rueff (both teachers at the Ecole Polytechnique), Alfred Sauvy, and Henri Michel; socialists personalities like John Nicoletis, the tireless Jean Coutrot, Jules Moch (a socialist deputy and close relative of Charles Spinasse's), and the French historian Marc Bloch; and centrists such as Gérard Bardet, Auguste Detoeuf (Alsthom's founder), and André Loizillon.

X-Crise was not a research center as one finds in universities. It was a network of *Polytechniciens*, graduates considered to be part of the elite of the French nation, together with some non-*Polytechniciens*, all united around

a mission: to get France out of economic crisis through intervention both in government, as experts in macroeconomics, and in industry, as managers skilled in the scientific organization of work. But if some of these *Polytechniciens* had already applied the scientific organization of work to their own firms, none of them, initially, was expert in macroeconomics. Hence, *X-Crise* organized meetings and published working papers in the École Polytechnique's bulletin. Small workshops were created to focus on particular topics like econometrics (Fischman and Lendjel 2000b), transport, finance, foreign experiences, and the study of the present state of the economy. Their members were volunteers; while they published many reports in *X-Crise*'s bulletin, they were never academic researchers trying to obtain intellectual fame in France and abroad. Yet because *X-Crise*'s aim was also to help *Polytechniciens* become France's macroeconomics experts, *X-Crise* became a magnet for innovative economic studies.

Two bodies of economic work that were very innovative for France in the 1930s have to be mentioned here: Maurice Potron's (Abraham-Frois and Lendjel 2004), and the economic models of François and Georges Guillaume and François Moch (brother of the socialist deputy Jules Moch). Indeed, as early as 1911 Maurice Potron applied Perron-Frobenius's theorems to a Leontief-type model, in order to find the conditions for the existence of a "satisfactory economic regime." He also laid the foundations of input-output analysis in work published in 1912. The works of the Guillaume brothers and of François Moch provided one of the first economic models in France. The Guillaume brothers' model (Guillaume 1932; Fischman and Lendjel 2000a) can be considered a draft of the French

national accounting system. Moch's model (Moch 1933–1934; Fischman and Lendjel 1999), designed to explain the positive consequences of a cut in working hours on the level of economic activity, presented some Keynesian arguments. Firstly, it pointed out the important role of demand as an economic motor; secondly, it demonstrated the need for the state to intervene in order to get the economy out of a downward economic spiral; and, thirdly, it made an argument quite close to the acceleration principle of R. F. Kahn that Keynes used. Guillaume and Moch attempted also to test their theoretical models with statistical facts. This led Moch to elaborate an econometric “method” of interpreting economic cycles.

Even in X-Crise, these works did not have a large audience. But they have had a great impact on subsequent thinking, as have other X-Crise writings and debates. Indeed, as Michel Margairaz wrote, there is “no doubt X-Crise has eased Ecole Polytechnique's conversion to economics, as well as [that of] the State experts to macroeconomics, more or less explicitly inspired by Keynesianism” (Margairaz 1995, p. 181). In fact, before, during, and after World War II, some of X-Crise's members—such as Charles Spinasse, Georges Boris, Jacques Branger, Jean Coutrot, Georges Guillaume, Louis Rosenstock-Frank, Alfred Sauvy, Jean Ullmo, Robert Gibrat, Lucien Romier, Robert Loustau, Gérard Bardet, Auguste Detoeuf, Louis Vallon, and François Divisia—had high positions in the country's administration, especially in ministries in charge of economic matters. For example, X-Crise members served in the Ministry of National Economy (MEN in French)—a true instrument of political economy—in 1936; in the Vichy government in the public works department, in communications, and in the ministry of production; and, finally, in General De Gaulle's administration.

SEE ALSO *Economics, Keynesian; Potron, Maurice*

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XENOPHOBIA

Xenophobia is discrimination against and hatred of foreigners, targeting outsiders and strangers or more often those who are in effect part of one's own society but are perceived as incommensurably different from the majority population. The most pointed, long-term, and widely documented case of xenophobia is that of anti-Semitism, which culminated in the mass murder of six million European Jews and countless others during World War II (1939–1945). A new form of xenophobia that grew in western Europe and North America during the late twentieth century and early twenty-first century is Islamophobia, which targets migrant Muslim communities with or without citizenship.

CAUSES AND CHARACTERISTICS

Anti-Semitism and other forms of xenophobia often are said to be related to the innate characteristics of a given culture or a consequence of economic malaise and political turmoil in select societies. The typical example given for such an assertion is Germany. These explanations are not only insufficient, they also lead to normalization of the hatred and violence commonly associated with institutionalized practices of exclusion and discrimination. The problem of hatred of foreigners and intolerance for ethnic, religious, racial, and cultural difference must instead be put into the larger context of dominant political movements and ideologies with a transnational dimension.

There are observable links between migration, racism, discrimination, ethno-religious stereotyping, and xenophobia. Increased ethno-religious and racial diversity

in societies makes the reality of the heterogeneity of human communities more obvious. In the absence of political, legal, social, and economic mechanisms to ensure mutual respect and to mediate relations across differences, xenophobia and various related forms of racism become manifest. Particularly among European societies that received substantial numbers of immigrants after World War II both as workers and as asylum seekers, migrants with a different skin color or religion became the targets in violent internal disputes about authentic national identity. This indicates that despite the en masse elimination of Jews from Europe, xenophobia did not loosen its grip across the Continent. Still, xenophobia was by no means an exclusively European phenomenon. In an era when first nation-state politics and then neoliberalist policies increased societal and economic inequalities, and societies grappled with the changing realities of their multiethnic, multireligious, or multiracial makeup and often arbitrarily carved national borders, a marked increase was seen in discrimination and violence directed toward migrants, refugees, and minorities on a global scale.

XENOPHOBIA AND RACISM

Although racism and xenophobia are distinct phenomena, they are closely interrelated. Racism generally implies value-laden distinctions based on presumed or aggrandized differences in physical characteristics, such as skin coloration, hair type, facial features, and body type. Xenophobia, by contrast, is the perception that people and communities identified as “other” are foreign to a given community or society, that they lack the capacity for integration, and that they can bring harm to the authentic identity of the majority. Racism is an ideological construct; it assigns a certain race or ethno-religious group a position of power and privilege on the basis of the group’s physical and cultural attributes. It involves the establishment and sustenance of hierarchical relations in which the self-appointed superior race exercises domination and control over others. Xenophobia too refers to attitudes, prejudices, and behavior that reject, exclude, and vilify its targets based on the belief that they are perpetual outsiders who cannot be included or trusted. Consequently it is sometimes difficult to make a clear distinction between racism and xenophobia because they exhibit similar motivations for exclusive behavior designed to demean others and the exercise of political violence. However, there is one element missing in racism that is often present in xenophobia: religious identity. Manifestations of xenophobia occur not only against people with different physical characteristics but also against those of similar background who are believed to hold different and presumably dangerous and hostile religious convictions.

INITIATIVES AGAINST XENOPHOBIA

Even in societies with a long history of legalized discrimination, it is possible to take measures to alleviate or at least curtail the culture of hatred aimed at those deemed essentially unassimilable. The Roll Back Xenophobia campaign established in South Africa in 1998 is a succinct example of how political will and determination can produce a widely visible and national effort to confront systematic incidences of xenophobic hostility and violence. The campaign began as a joint initiative between national and international institutions: the South African Human Rights Commission, the National Consortium on Refugee Affairs, and the office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees. It emphasized broad, multifaceted, and synchronized activities by the government, civil society organizations, and communications media, including information campaigns by national and local governments, retraining of the police force, strengthening of labor rights protections for migrant workers, sensitization of trade union officials, awareness raising by religious organizations, reinstatement of codes of conduct for civil servants, and the inclusion of migration- and refugee-related concerns in primary, secondary, and tertiary education. These measures, in the larger context of the antiapartheid movement in the country, were suggestive of a tidal wave of change in South Africa in terms of how its citizens began to deal with differences that had violently divided the society in the past.

Another example that points in a positive direction is reforms made in Canadian immigration policies beginning in the 1980s. Immigration and refugee policy discussions are rarely separable from general debates on racial, interethnic, and interreligious relations within host communities. Therefore strong border controls are often advocated as necessary for dealing with and controlling the status of racial, cultural, or ethno-religious minorities by the dominant culture. Still, while immigration controls have historically discriminated between nationalities, ethnicities, and religions, the Canadian example proved that it is possible to alleviate at least the overt marks of racism or xenophobia via institutional reforms and policy changes.

Xenophobia is clearly observable when immigration procedures target particular ethno-religious groups for exclusion or lack transparency or when the immigration process itself is made so grueling for select groups that it can act as a deterrent. With regard to refugee applications, for instance, the systematic use of detention often singles out specific nationalities or ethno-religious groups more than others. Meanwhile many refugees have no choice other than to use irregular entry, increasingly at the hands of smugglers. Thus they run the risk that their irregular

migration will be held against them in their asylum claim, and if they gain entry, they will be set apart from other minorities and mainstream society. This tension has been clearly observable in European Union (EU) policies regarding refugees and asylum seekers. In this regard the establishment of the European Monitoring Centre on Racism and Xenophobia (EUMC) in Vienna by the European Union in 1997 and the successive creation of the European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights on March 1, 2007, were important initiatives to develop regional institutional mechanisms for monitoring and countering xenophobia. They kept records of the racial and xenophobic discrimination and violence directed toward migrants and other ethno-religious minorities in Europe. They also identified and highlighted examples of good practices in challenging and remedying xenophobic policies.

The global nature of violence and discrimination against migrants, refugees, and settled ethno-religious minorities has also been increasingly acknowledged by the post-World War II international human rights community. By 2007 there had not yet been wide acceptance by signatory states of the basic rights and entitlements for unauthorized migrants recognized in the United Nations 1990 International Convention for the Protection of the Rights of All Migrant Workers and Members of Their Families. However, under the International Labor Organization Conventions related to migrant workers, undocumented migrants are entitled to equal treatment with respect to rights related to their present or past employment, including issues of remuneration, social security, and other benefits as well as trade union membership and exercise of trade union rights. The undocumented migrants and refugees remain especially vulnerable because they were either unwilling, out of fear of being deported, or unable to seek protection from authorities when confronted with xenophobic violence.

RESURGENCE OF RIGHT-WING POLITICS

Increasingly after the 1980s Europe witnessed growth in racism and xenophobia that began to swamp its politics. In June 2004 elections for the European Parliament, twenty-five representatives of ten neo-Nazi and extreme right-wing parties from seven member states won seats. Although xenophobia and the growth of neo-fascist and far-right parties in Europe had long been held in check by the memory of the atrocities of Adolf Hitler's Germany, subsequent developments suggested that the situation had started to change and new forms of counteraction needed to be developed. In Austria the radical right-wing Freedom Party, led by Jörg Haider, won an unprecedented 27 percent of the vote in national elections in 2001 and

ascended to power. The EU, of which democratic Austria is a member, immediately imposed diplomatic sanctions, citing the Freedom Party's long history of xenophobia and Nazi sympathies. Meanwhile although the EU categorically denounced Haider's anti-immigration agenda, its own member nations also instituted policies that excluded nonwhite immigrants from entering the Continent. While Austria markedly tightened its immigration and asylum rules in the aftermath of the Yugoslav crisis, several European countries also introduced new legislation restricting immigration and asylum, citing the need to respond to growing xenophobia in European societies and thus inadvertently blaming the immigrants and refugees for the societal reaction against them. In addition although the rise of the right in British politics during the late 1990s and the early 2000s was not a revival of the classic fascism of the 1930s, the xenophobic and racist tendencies embodied by the new movement had similar characteristics. Furthermore skinheads, neo-Nazis, and other xenophobic movements that emerged in the aftermath of German unification exhibited a shift in anti-Semitic and antiforeigner violence and demonstrated an increasing connection to local and ideological networks with aggressive elements. These European movements found support in national politics to an extent that would have been unimaginable in the 1970s. Following Haider's success in Austria, in Italy's May 13, 2001, general election Umberto Bossi and his religious and xenophobic Northern League party became a full governing partner in the center-right coalition led by Silvio Berlusconi. The league was the party most loyal to Berlusconi's government until 2006, and it held the three ministries of Labor and Social Affairs, Justice, and Institutional Reforms and Devolution.

The increase in xenophobic sentiments toward migrant and refugee populations in European societies was examined by data compiled from four waves of Eurobarometer surveys in twelve countries between 1988 and 2000. The resultant analysis showed a substantial rise in antiforeigner, xenophobic sentiments and fears between 1988 and 2000 in all twelve core European countries. The analysis also proved that antiforeigner sentiment is much more pronounced in places with greater support for right-wing extremist parties and fascist movements. According to these findings, the impact of individual-level socioeconomic characteristics such as education remained stable over the years, but the effect of political ideology increased. In this context, formation of civil society organizations such as the European Coalition of Cities against Racism constituted an important step toward combating xenophobia in Europe. Linked with the International Coalition of Cities against Racism, an initiative launched by UNESCO in 2004 to establish a network of cities interested in sharing experiences in order to improve poli-

cies to curtail racism, discrimination, and xenophobia, a ten-point plan of action was formulated by the European coalition. These comprised areas such as increased competence of city authorities in education, housing, and employment as well as cultural and sport activities for combating racism and xenophobia and suggested practical policies that city authorities might develop. To the same end of combating xenophobia, the United Nations World Conference against Racism, Racial Discrimination, Xenophobia, and Related Intolerance (WCAR), held in September 2001 in Durban, South Africa, was a gathering that provided nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) representing minority populations and historically oppressed groups an opportunity to speak against their governments over human rights violations.

ISLAMOPHOBIA

After the World Trade Center bombings in the United States in 2001, there emerged an alarming surge in racism and xenophobic actions against people of Arab background and Muslim faith across Europe and North America. This phenomenon, called Islamophobia, denoting fear of Islam and Muslims, made life particularly difficult for Arab and Muslim Americans after the September 11 attacks. Many were harassed at work, had their property vandalized, and were subjected to regular security checks. Although public leaders, including President George W. Bush, called for tolerance, the Council for American-Islamic Relations (CAIR) in Washington, D.C., counted some 1,700 incidents of abuse against Muslims in just the 5 months following September 11. In response to these developments in 2004 the United Nations held a conference called *Confronting Islamophobia: Education for Tolerance and Understanding* at its New York headquarters. Attended by more than 600 delegates, the event was part of the progressive initiative organized by the United Nations Department of Public Information seeking to improve awareness of xenophobia.

Criticisms of Islam and anti-Muslim political rhetoric have been intertwined with cultural and ethnic hostility that extends even to secularized immigrants from traditionally Muslim societies. As early as 1997 the Runnymede Trust in the United Kingdom issued a report on Islamophobia, revealing widespread hatred of Islam and Muslims across all sections of British society. Similarly the November 2005 riots in which minority ethnic youths in France took part exposed a deeply entrenched racism in the country. Both the riots and the response to them, which involved the invocation of emergency law, the imposition of curfews, and the deployment of thousands of police, brought into the open the xenophobic aspects of France's secular republicanism. These events were fol-

lowed by the debate over the publication of Danish cartoons of the Prophet Muhammad, based on the assumption that Muslims do not have any experience of freedom of speech or do not believe in the concept. In the United States and Canada the growing threat to civil liberties and the resultant alienation experienced by many Muslims or citizens of immigrant background from traditionally Muslim societies also constituted direct examples of xenophobia. In Britain the 2005 London bombings led to new antiterrorist legislation advanced by the government of Prime Minister Tony Blair, ultimately scapegoating past policies of multiculturalism and targeting Muslim communities as a whole.

Immigration has historically been associated with xenophobia. In periods of high unemployment and global dislocation, immigrants easily become the targets of political leaders who accuse them of criminality, lack of morals, making excessive demands on public services, and creating undue competition for scarce employment. Meanwhile the danger represented by the rebirth in eastern Europe of highly aggressive forms of nationalism; the growth of xenophobia in western Europe both as increased anti-Semitism and as Islamophobia and racism against people of Asian, African, and Caribbean background; and the increase in the strength of the extreme right and xenophobic politics in the United States suggest that xenophobia cannot be eradicated purely by procedural democracy or welfare state policies. Lack of respect for difference and of the political will for negotiating national identities in the face of change constitute challenges that feed reformulations of xenophobia even at the very bastions of pluralism and tolerance.

SEE ALSO *Anti-Semitism; Borders; Discrimination; Hate Crimes; Immigration; Islam, Shia and Sunni; Nativism; Phenotype; Prejudice; Racism; Religion; Third World; United Nations*

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Nergis Canefe

Y

YELTSIN, BORIS

1931–2007

Boris Nikolaevich Yeltsin was the founding father of the post-Communist Russian state, and the man responsible for giving shape to contemporary Russian democracy. His life reflected the sufferings and achievements of the Soviet era, and also came to symbolize the chaos and confused aspirations of the capitalist democracy that came after. Yeltsin was born on February 1, 1931, in the village of Butka some 250 miles east of Yekaterinburg (called Sverdlovsk at the time). In that year the region was engulfed by Stalin's savage struggle to force peasants off their individual plots and into collective farms. Yeltsin's family was comparatively prosperous and therefore, as *kulaks* (rich peasants), were exiled to the east. With the countryside in chaos, in 1932 Yeltsin's father, Nikolai Ignatevich, moved to work on a construction site in Kazan. Two years later Ignatevich was arrested as a "dekulakised kulak," or someone allegedly retaining the kulak mentality, and sentenced to three years hard labor, a fact that Yeltsin kept secret until 1994. The family moved to Berezniki in the Perm region to work on the construction of a giant potassium processing plant. The hard conditions worsened following Russia's entry into World War II in 1941, but the young Boris thrived at school, taking up numerous sports and excelling at volleyball.

In 1949 at the age of 18, Yeltsin became a student in the civil engineering department of the Urals Polytechnical Institute in Sverdlovsk, the city he made his home for the next 36 years. He divided his time between intense bouts of study and sporting activities, travelling the country as captain of the volleyball team. He met his

future wife, Naina Girina from Orenburg, at this time. Yeltsin graduated in June 1955, and then gained practical experience on a building site. He was a hard but fair task master, imposing enormous demands on himself and fellow workers. In 1957, newly married, Yeltsin took charge of the construction of the Sverdlovsk Textile Kombinat, a major project that he completed on time. In 1959 Yeltsin joined the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU), but only in 1966 did he leave active civil engineering to head the Construction Department of the Regional Party Committee (Obkom, the acronym of the Oblast [Regional] Committee of the Communist Party). Yeltsin refused many of the perks that went with the job, but he was driven by his characteristic "obsessive ambition."

In November 1976 Yeltsin made it to the top, becoming Obkom First Secretary over a region with a population of nearly five million, covering an area the size of England. He was an innovative and demanding leader, but never strayed from Party orthodoxy. At the Twenty-Sixth Party Congress in March 1981 Yeltsin was elected a member of the Central Committee (CC).

In March 1985 Mikhail Gorbachev came to power committed to reform. In April 1985 Gorbachev brought Yeltsin to Moscow as head of the CC's Construction Department. In December of that year Yeltsin was appointed head of the Moscow Party Organization and with it, shortly afterwards, candidate membership of the Politburo, the Communist Party's highest body. Yeltsin ran Moscow in a confrontational manner, firing those whom he considered resistant to change, but his talk of "social justice" and condemnation of elite privileges and corruption won him enormous popularity.

At the CC plenum of October 21, 1987, Yeltsin criticized the slowness of reforms and Gorbachev personally, and announced that he would resign from the Politburo. Facing a barrage of condemnation, Yeltsin was removed from leadership of the Moscow Party but was appointed head of the state construction agency, Gosstroï. Cast out of the political establishment, Yeltsin placed himself at the head of the anti-Soviet revolution. He skillfully exploited the new democratic opportunities, being elected by acclaim in March 1990 a deputy from Moscow to the new Russian Congress of People's Deputies (CPD). On May 29th, he narrowly defeated orthodox contenders to become chair of the new Russian parliament. He sponsored Russia's declaration of state sovereignty on June 12, 1990, signaling the end of the Soviet Union and of Gorbachev's attempts to reform communism from within. Elected Russia's first president on June 12, 1991, Yeltsin exploited his democratic legitimacy to defeat the attempted hard-line coup of August 18 to 21, 1991. A meeting of the presidents of Ukraine, Belarus, and Russia near Minsk on December 8, 1991, announced the disintegration of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. Russia was now independent, and Yeltsin its leader.

Yeltsin's impetuous and determined character stamped the new state. Throughout his leadership he remained committed to market-oriented liberal, democratic, and Westernizing policies, although the way these policies were implemented was often at odds with the goal. In Yeltsin's typical campaigning style, economic "shock therapy" was launched in January 1992, allowing the liberalization of prices. His failure to build consensus with parliament led to a breakdown in relations that ended with the forced dissolution in September and violence in October 1993.

The new constitution of December 12, 1993, provided for a strong presidency with weak oversight powers by parliament and the courts. Yeltsin used his powers to drive through market reforms, including a crash privatization program that allowed a few to become very rich (the so-called oligarchs), while the mass of the population became much poorer. Yeltsin's decision to invade the breakaway republic of Chechnya in December 1994 caused untold suffering, and contravened several articles of the constitution. In federal relations, Yeltsin encouraged the development of segmented regionalism whereby regional leaders were able to enjoy an enormous devolution of authority as long as they remained loyal to him personally. Only by allying with the oligarchs was Yeltsin able to win a second term in 1996, but at the price of mortgaging the state to big business. The fall in oil prices precipitated the partial default of August 1998, provoked by the failure to collect enough taxes to service the growing budget deficit. On December 31, 1999, Yeltsin transferred power to his hand-picked successor, Vladimir

Putin. He entered political retirement, offering critical support for the new president. Yeltsin left Russia a democratic, federal, market-oriented society, but all of these were deeply flawed in their operation. Yeltsin laid the foundations for a free society, but it would be up to his successors to build on what he had started.

SEE ALSO *Democracy; Democratization; Economies, Transitional; Gorbachev, Mikhail; Putin, Vladimir; Stalin, Joseph; Union of Soviet Socialist Republics*

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Richard Sakwa

YIELD

In economics and finance the word *yield* is used to describe the interest rate on a bond. In fact, the words *yield* and *interest rate* are used interchangeably and mean the same thing. There are several ways of calculating interest rates, with the most important being the *yield to maturity*, also known in many contexts as the *internal rate of return*. Economists consider the yield to maturity as the most accurate measure of the interest rate, and this is what they have in mind when they talk about interest rates.

The yield to maturity is the interest rate that equates the present value of payments received from a debt instrument with its cost (its value today). As an example, consider a simple, one-year loan. Assuming that you borrowed \$1,000 for a year and you are required to repay the principal of \$1,000 one year from now along with an interest payment of \$100, then (according to the definition) the yield to maturity is given by

$$\$1000 = \frac{\$(1000 + 100)}{1 + i}, \quad (1)$$

where \$1,000 is the value of the loan today and $\$(1,000 + 100)/(1 + i)$ is the present value of the payments received from this instrument. Solving equation (1) for i yields $i = 0.10$ (or 10%). In this case, the yield to maturity is the same as the *simple interest rate*, the latter being calculated as the ratio of the interest payment to the principal, $\$100/\$1,000$.

Although for simple loans, the yield to maturity equals the simple interest rate, this is not the case for other debt instruments. To calculate the yield to maturity on an n -year coupon bond with market price P , coupon payment C , and face value F , the following formula is used (see Mishkin and Serletis 2007, Chapter 4, for more details):

$$P = \frac{C}{1+i} + \frac{C}{(1+i)^2} + \dots + \frac{C}{(1+i)^n} + \frac{F}{(1+i)^n}. \quad (2)$$

If P , C , F , and n are all known, then the above equation could be solved for the yield to maturity on the n -year bond (also known as the n -year interest rate), i . It should be noted that the yield to maturity is different from the coupon rate of interest, the latter being the ratio of the yearly coupon payment to the bond's face value, C/F . In fact, when the coupon bond sells at its face value ($P = F$), the yield to maturity is the same as the coupon rate; when the bond sells at a discount from face value ($P < F$), the yield to maturity is greater than the coupon rate; and when the bond sells at a premium from face value ($P > F$), the yield to maturity is less than the coupon rate. Equation (2) also shows that the yield to maturity and the price of a coupon bond are negatively related; when the yield to maturity increases, the price of the coupon bond falls, and when the yield to maturity falls, the price of the coupon bond rises.

As already noted, the yield to maturity can be calculated by solving equation (2) for i , if P , C , F , and n are known. But this equation is difficult to solve algebraically, especially for high values of n . However, the same answer can be obtained using a financial calculator. Consider, for example, an eight-year, 10 percent coupon bond, with a face value of \$1,000, selling for \$900. Set a Texas Instruments BA-35 solar calculator in FIN mode by pressing the MODE key until the word FIN appears on the screen, and clear it by pushing the 2nd key and then the CE/C key. To find the yield to maturity:

1. Enter 900 and push the PV key.
2. Enter 1000 and push the FV key.
3. Enter 8 and push the N key.
4. Enter 100 and push the PMT key.

5. Push the CPT key and then the %i key.

The answer is 12.01 (or 12.01%).

Because of difficulties in calculating the yield to maturity, other less accurate measures of the interest rate have also come into common use in economic and finance. Two such measures are the *current yield* and the *yield on a discount basis*. The current yield is calculated as the ratio of the bond's yearly coupon payment, C , to the bond's current market price, P . That is,

$$\text{Current yield} = \frac{C}{P}.$$

The current yield is the best approximation to the yield to maturity for coupon bonds, and changes in the current yield always signal changes in the same direction for the yield to maturity.

In the case of discount bonds, the interest rate is usually quoted as a *yield on a discount basis*. Discount bonds are bonds that sell at a discount from face value and involve no periodic coupon payments (this is why they are also known as zero-coupon bonds). Treasury bills and long-term zero-coupon bonds are examples of discount bonds. Consider, for example, a ninety-day Treasury bill with a face value F selling at a price P . The yield on a discount basis (also known as *discount yield*) is usually calculated as follows:

$$\text{Discount yield} = \frac{F - P}{F} \times \left(\frac{\text{Days in year}}{\text{Days to maturity}} \right).$$

A related concept is the *yield curve*. The yield curve, published in the financial pages of most newspapers, shows the yield to maturity, i , as a function of the term to maturity, n . When the yield curve is upward sloping (the most typical case), the yield to maturity on long-term bonds (or, equivalently, the long-term interest rate) is greater than the yield to maturity on short-term bonds (the short-term interest rate); when the yield curve is downward sloping (referred to as an inverted yield curve), the spread between long- and short-term interest rates is negative; and when the yield curve is flat, short- and long-term interest rates are the same.

Early investigations into the yield curve looked at whether the slope of the yield curve can help predict future short-term interest rates and the level of economic activity. It was found that the yield curve does not always help predict future short-term interest rates—see, for example, Shiller, Campbell, and Schoenholtz (1983) and Mankiw and Summers (1984). More recent research based on better testing procedures, however, supports the view that the slope of the yield curve contains useful information about future interest rates over the short run and the long run, but not over the intermediate term—see, for

example, Fama (1984) and Campbell and Shiller (1991). Moreover, research over the past twenty-five years has documented a relationship between the slope of the yield curve and the overall level of economic activity; it has been shown that the slope of the yield curve is a good predictor of future economic activity. More recently, Estrella and Trubin (2006) offer practical guidance regarding the use of the yield curve as a forecasting tool in real time.

SEE ALSO *Capital; Economics; Finance; Financial Instability Hypothesis; Financial Markets; Hedging; Interest Rates; Liquidity Premium; Loans; Overlending; Yield Curve*

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Apostolos Serletis

YIELD CURVE

The yield curve is a graph depicting the relationship between yield and the length of time to maturity for debt securities with comparable degrees of risk. The horizontal scale measures years to maturity, while the vertical axis presents yield to maturity. This relationship is also called the term structure of interest rates.

The shape of the yield curve plays a critical role in the decisions of individuals and corporations, and in the conduct of monetary policy by central banks, such as the U.S. Federal Reserve Bank. Individuals choosing between an adjustable and fixed-rate mortgage, and corporations deciding whether to issue short- or long-term debt, can make sensible decisions only if they understand the factors that shape the yield curve. Central banks, which operate

in the short-term market, need to understand the likely effect of their activities on long rates.

Generally, the yield curve approximates one of three shapes. The curve may display the lowest yields on short-term issues, then rise and become relatively flat in the longest maturities, forming an ascending curve. Alternatively, yields may be highest on short-term securities, forming a descending (or inverted) curve. Sometimes, yields are the same for all maturities. Three economic theories—the expectations, liquidity-preference, and institutional or hedging pressure theories—explain the shape of the yield curve.

THE EXPECTATIONS THEORY

For expectations theorists, the shape of the yield curve is a reflection of investors' anticipations of future interest rates. Suppose that lower rates are likely in the future. Long-term bonds will appear more attractive than short-term ones if both maturities sell at equal yields. Long-term bonds allow an investor to earn a relatively high rate for a longer time period than shorter issues permit. Short-term bond investors risk having to reinvest their funds later at lower yields. Also, since bond prices move inversely to interest rates, buyers of long-term bonds realize capital appreciation if yields decline.

If investors act in accordance with these expectations, they will tend to bid up prices (force down the yields) of long-term bonds and sell short-term securities, causing their prices to fall (yields to rise). These operations will produce a descending yield curve with short-term issues yielding more than long-term bonds. Similarly, the expectations theory predicts the yield curve will be upward-sloping when investors expect interest rates to rise. The yield curve will be flat when no change is expected in rates.

THE LIQUIDITY-PREFERENCE THEORY

The liquidity-preference theory agrees that expectations are important but argues that short-term issues are more liquid and thus inherently more desirable to investors than longer-term bonds. Short-term issues can be converted into cash on short notice without appreciable loss in principal. Long-term issues tend to fluctuate in price with unanticipated changes in interest rates and hence ought to yield more than shorts by the amount of a risk premium.

If no premium were offered for holding long-term bonds, most individuals and institutions would prefer to hold short-term issues. Borrowers, however, prefer to issue long-term debt to assure themselves of a steady source of funds. This leaves an imbalance in the pattern of supply

and demand for the different maturities. Thus, even if interest rates are expected to remain unchanged, the yield curve should be upward-sloping, since the yields of long-term bonds will be augmented by risk premiums necessary to induce investors to hold them. The “normal relationship” is assumed to be an ascending yield curve.

THE INSTITUTIONAL OR HEDGING-PRESSURE THEORY

Liquidity is critical for some investors, but not for others. Commercial banks care about liquidity and prefer short-term issues, but liquidity is not important for life insurance companies and pension funds, which typically hedge against risk by purchasing long maturities.

That is precisely the thrust of the hedging-pressure argument. Different groups of investors have different maturity needs that lead them to concentrate their security purchases in restricted segments of the maturity spectrum. Flows of funds to particular investors, as well as changes in those preferences, will then influence the curve independent of expectations. So will the preference of international investors recycling Petro and Sino dollars. In 2005 foreigners invested over \$350 billion in U.S. Treasury bonds while they were net sellers of Treasury bills, depressing the yields of long-term U.S. bonds.

EMPIRICAL STUDIES OF THE YIELD CURVE

Empirical studies of the yield curve suggest that all three theories have an influence on the shape of the yield curve. Expectations of future rates are important, but so are liquidity and institutional considerations. The average shape of the yield curve is ascending, suggesting that holders of long-term bonds do earn (il)liquidity premiums. The yield curve also appears to be a predictor of future economic activity. Inverted yield curves, while not invariably followed by a recession, have preceded all recessions experienced in the United States during the last forty years. Such a signal is consistent with the logic of the expectations theory. An inverted curve suggests that investors expect lower future rates. Recessions usually lower rates by lowering business loan demand and encouraging expansionary monetary policy.

SEE ALSO *Capital; Expectations; Financial Instability Hypothesis; Financial Markets; Hedging; Liquidity Premium; Loans; Overlending; Yield*

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YORUBA

SEE *Negro; Santería.*

YOUTH CULTURE

The term *youth culture* is used generally in reference to the ways adolescents set themselves apart from the adult culture. Although age-based cultural differences have existed since the beginnings of recorded history, it was only in the 1950s, after the crystallization of “teenagers” as distinct social personae with their own music, lifestyles, fads, and characteristic slang, that the concept of a “youth culture” as separate from adult culture materialized in North American and European society. Before then anyone reaching the age of puberty was expected to conform to the norms of the larger adult culture.

The emergence of an autonomous youth culture was heralded in fictional form by the American novelist J. D. Salinger (1919–) in his still popular and controversial novel *The Catcher in the Rye*, published in 1951. Salinger provided the first portrait of the new teenage persona—a portrait that was shortly thereafter enshrined in all kinds of media (magazines, songs, television programs, and movies), taking on a social life of its own. Since the mid-1950s youth culture has evolved independently and primarily through lifestyle designations associated primarily with youth-generated musical trends and styles (rock and roll, disco, punk, and rap). This is why cultural historians tend to characterize the evolving forms of youth culture with terms such as the *hippie era*, the *disco era*, the *punk era*, and the *hip-hop era*. Each era is in fact marked by its own pattern of symbolism, ritual, slang, and overall lifestyle (clothing and body decorations) derived from attendant musical styles.

The study of youth culture in the social and human sciences has become a major academic enterprise since the 1960s. Three major cultural theories have come forth relating specifically to youth, as separate from the psychology of adolescence. One of these posits that any youth trend is perceived initially by the adult culture as subversive or transgressive, constituting a sign of impending apocalyptic danger or threatening societal values, but which gradually dissipates and blends into the larger cultural mainstream. Known as “moral panic theory,” the concept was proposed by Stanley Cohen (1972) in his

insightful study of mods and rockers in the mid-1960s. An early twenty-first century crystallization of moral panic surfaced as a result of the trend of many youths to “network socially” on the Internet at sites such as MySpace and Friendster.

Another main theory is that youth culture has become the default form of all North American and European culture, spreading throughout the social landscape independently of age. As the social critic Thomas Frank (1997) has skillfully argued, youth has become a social and economic commodity since the 1960s. Because youth sells, trends in the adolescent world quickly become the cultural norm, dictating look, taste in music, and fashion.

A third major theory of youth culture is that it constitutes a form of carnivalesque theater in which the sacred, perceived to be anything authoritative, rigid, or serious, is “profaned” or mocked simply for the sake of it. This theory has been inspired by the work of the social critic Mikhail Bakhtin (1986). It would explain why, for example, emerging youth forms of culture seem to fly in the face of the adult official “sacred world” while at the same time not posing any serious subversive political challenge to it.

SEE ALSO *Culture; Street Culture*

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Marcel Danesi

YOUTH RISK BEHAVIOR SURVEY

SEE *Research, Cross-Sectional*.

YOUTHS

SEE *Adolescent Psychology*.

YUGOSLAVIAN CIVIL WAR

The civil wars in Yugoslavia after 1991 involved the most severe violence in Europe since the Greek civil war (1946–1949), generating almost 70,000 battle-deaths and displacing many refugees. Many claimed that the cold war had contained nationalism in Europe, and that its end would unleash a wave of sectarian conflict. Paradoxically, this failed to materialize in most socialist states except for Yugoslavia, where the Soviet Union had only minimal direct influence, previously considered a relatively successful case of multi-ethnic political integration.

The Federal Republic of Yugoslavia was torn apart by demands for autonomy from the relatively more prosperous republics of Slovenia and Croatia and the increasing assertiveness of Serbia under Slobodan Milošević (1941–2006). Slovenia's declaration of independence in June 1991 led to a minor violent confrontation with the Yugoslav National Army (JNA) but was quickly settled. Whereas independence was relatively uncontroversial for the ethnically homogenous Slovenia with undisputed borders, Croatia was much more contentious due to its large Serb population. The increasingly Serb-dominated JNA seized control over much of Croatia, and violent conflict escalated with the siege of Vukovar in August–November 1991. A January 1992 United Nations' (UN) peace plan brought combat to an end but perpetuated Serb control over much of Croatia. Later that year violence erupted between Croats, Serbs, and the Muslim dominated central government in Bosnia, leading to a protracted war with many atrocities. An International Criminal Tribunal (ICT) was set up in 1993 to investigate allegations of war crimes in the former Yugoslavia. Although fighting in Bosnia formally was carried out by autonomous militias, the Milošević and Franjo Tuđman governments of Serbia and Croatia are believed to have provided extensive support, and the ICT has brought charges against official representatives of both.

The inability of the UN to contain the conflict in Bosnia led NATO and the United States to take a more active role in 1994. The United States brokered a settlement agreement between the Bosnian Croats and the central government and provided military assistance to Croatia. In a military offensive in mid-1995, Croatia reconquered most of the Serb-held areas, and NATO bombardment forced the Serbs to sign the Dayton peace agreement in late 1995. The growing inability of Milošević to control events outside Serbia proper in turn

promoted violence among the Albanian majority in the formerly autonomous Kosovo province. The main Albanian opposition leader Ibrahim Rugova (1944–2006) had advocated a strategy of nonviolent resistance, which had succeeded in keeping Kosovo quiet but brought few Serb concessions and did not prevent extensive repression.

Following an influx of arms during the chaos in Albania in 1997, the Kosovo Liberation Army (KLA) turned to violent confrontation. Although the KLA was militarily much weaker than the JNA and the immediate Serb response was increased repression, the escalating violence, with a large outflow of refugees and allegations of atrocities, prompted NATO to start bombing Serbia in March 1999. Faced with prospects of a ground invasion, Milošević agreed to NATO demands in June, and a UN protectorate was established in Kosovo. Although Milošević had survived previous mass demonstrations calling for his resignation in 1991 and 1996, he was finally forced to leave in October 2000 after attempts to dispute an opposition electoral victory, and Serbia has not engaged in conflict with its neighbors since his ouster. The perceived success of the KLA inspired an Albanian armed uprising in Macedonia in 2001, but outside involvement prevented the conflict from escalating.

SEE ALSO *Civil Wars; Croats; Genocide; Milosevic, Slobodan; Muslims; North Atlantic Treaty*

Organization; Serbs; Tito (Josip Broz); United Nations; War Crimes; Warsaw Pact; World War I

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Kristian Skrede Gleditsch

YUNUS, MOHAMMED

SEE *Grameen Bank; Nobel Peace Prize*.

Z

ZAPATA, EMILIANO

1879–1919

Leader of the Mexican Revolution of the early twentieth century, Emiliano Zapata was born on August 8, 1879, in Anencuilco in the southern state of Morelos and died in an ambush on April 10, 1919. Zapata was the revolution's leading advocate of agrarian issues and one of Mexico's most renowned and mythological heroes. The iconic image of Zapata dressed in a broad sombrero with a black mustache and cartridge belts across his chest appears commonly across Mexico. Contemporaries and subsequent scholars have alternatively interpreted Zapata as a bandit or a social revolutionary. The division between rural supporters who viewed Zapata as their champion and urban dwellers who denounced him as the Attila of the South points to persistent social divisions that run through the country.

The Zapata family had long been privileged leaders of their community, but under the dictatorship of Porfirio Díaz they had begun to lose their lands and their class status eroded. Recognizing Zapata's organizing skills, his community elected him to a leadership position in 1909. When legal negotiations for land titles with landowners collapsed, Zapata led community members to occupy haciendas. He had become an armed revolutionary, and his followers were known as Zapatistas.

Zapata initially joined forces with Francisco Madero, who launched a revolution against Díaz in 1910. When Madero disposed the dictator in 1911, Zapata asked the new president to return communal lands. Madero, however, insisted on following institutional procedures and demanded that Zapata's Liberation Army of the South dis-

arm. Zapata refused, arguing that they could gain their goals only through the pressure of armed force. This led Zapata to break from Madero and demand more radical reforms. On November 25, 1911, Zapata issued his Plan of Ayala (named after his local municipality), which denounced Madero as a tyrant and dictator worse than Díaz unwilling to make the necessary deep-seated changes that the revolutionaries demanded. Zapata called for a continued revolution to overthrow Madero.

The Plan of Ayala's most important thrust was a demand for agrarian reform, including a return of communal lands and expropriation of hacienda lands—without payment if the owners refused to accept the plan. The plan led to Zapata's most famous slogan “Tierra y Libertad” (Land and Liberty), which was borrowed from and reflected the ideological influence of the anarchist Ricardo Flores Magón. Over the next decade the plan became the guiding principle for Zapata's forces.

In February 1913, when General Victoriano Huerta assassinated Madero in a military coup, Zapata allied with Venustiano Carranza's Constitutionalist Army to defeat the new dictator. After Huerta's disposal, Zapata unified forces with Pancho Villa at a convention in Aguascalientes to continue the battle against the more moderate Carranza. Together, Zapata and Villa occupied Mexico City. Zapata, however, was more interested in local issues in Morelos than governing the country. His alliance with Villa quickly broke down, and Carranza recaptured the capital. Carranza convoked a constitutional assembly that elected him president. Even though he did not invite Zapata to the assembly, the latter's Plan of Ayala influenced Article 27 of the progressive 1917 constitution that codified an agrarian reform program. No significant dis-

tribution of land occurred, however, until Lázaro Cárdenas's populist government in the 1930s.

Zapata fought on despite overwhelming odds. With his prospects for victory declining and desperately short of weapons, Zapata was lured into an ambush on April 10, 1919, at the Chinameca hacienda in Morelos. Revealing their fear of Zapata's leadership and symbolism, government troops riddled his body with bullets and then dumped his corpse in Cuautla's town square. Supporters refused to accept Zapata's death, claiming that someone else had taken his place and that he had escaped to the mountains. With Zapata gone, the Liberation Army of the South began to fall apart.

After his martyrdom Zapata was incorporated into the pantheon of Mexican revolutionary leaders, even though he most certainly would oppose the policies of many subsequent political leaders. Although over the years Zapata's name was invoked for a variety of political causes, his name and image gained renewed interest in 1994 with the Zapatista Army of National Liberation (EZLN) uprising in Chiapas. Although Chiapas was isolated from the Mexican Revolution and Zapata never organized in that area, the neo-Zapatistas fought for many of the same issues that their namesake had almost a century earlier. Paralleling the situation in Morelos, indigenous communities in Chiapas had lost their lands to large landowners and faced a corrupt and repressive regime with a political stranglehold on local communities. Zapata's slogan "Land and Liberty" summarized their ongoing struggle and pointed to how few of Zapata's dreams had been realized.

SEE ALSO *Chiapas; Mexican Revolution (1910–1920); Villa, Francisco (Pancho)*

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Marc Becker

ZAPATISTAS

SEE *Zapata, Emiliano*.

Z-D MODEL

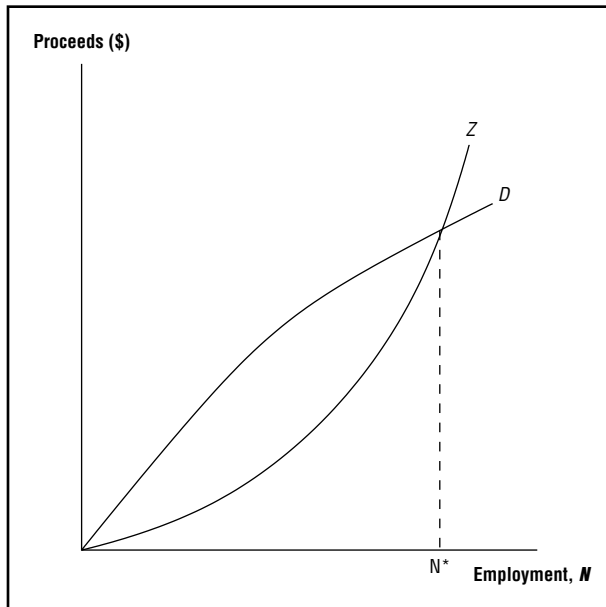
The Z-D model refers to the analysis contained in chapter 3, "The Principle of Effective Demand," of John Maynard Keynes's *The General Theory of Employment, Interest, and Money* (1936). It was in this early chapter that Keynes first unveiled what he considered a revolutionary new approach, defining the range of possible levels of employment that could (and in the West in the 1930s, did) characterize a market economy in equilibrium. At this early stage of his book, his task was to outline the path his argument was to take. He used what has since become known as the Z-D model to accomplish this task.

Keynes's model is based on the expectations of producers and demanders as to how much employment-generating aggregate activity they can profitably either engage in (the producers) or purchase the output of (the demanders) in the *short period*. The short period is defined by the time necessary to realize the results of the aggregate of producers' decisions (whether these were maximally profitable or not) for demand and supply. Crucially, demand for consumer goods can be known within this period, but the demand for investment goods cannot, since the value of such goods to demanders depends on an expectation of return over a longer time horizon than just the short period. In practice, this reduced to the assumption that the following are fixed: (1) the existing level of technology; (2) capital and labor; (3) the existing propensity to consume or save out of income; and (4) the expectations of the return on newly produced investment (what Keynes termed *long-period* expectations).

With this in mind, we can understand Keynes's basis for declaring—as he did many times after the *General Theory* was published—that his theory of short-period employment is most easily understood under the assumption that short-period expectations are always fulfilled; that is, given their assumptions, producers' output *is* the profit-maximizing one for each of them in this situation. Notice this leaves the state of long-term expectations, and so the level of investment, as given, and not necessarily at the level required for full employment.

A *Z* or *aggregate supply function* is then posited to capture producers' short-period expectations as to what level of production and employment will be profitable, given the relevant *ceteris paribus* conditions (above) and their expectations of demand (which can be assumed to be correct in equilibrium). Thus *Z* is a function of the proceeds producers expect, given the costs of producing a level of output. Hence: Let *Z* be the aggregate supply price of the output from employing *N* men, the relationship between *Z* and *N* being written $Z = \Phi(N)$, which can be called the *aggregate supply function* (Keynes 1936, p. 23).

Similarly, a *D* or *aggregate demand function* is posited to represent the sectoral demands, namely, the consump-



tion function for goods and services by households (later in the chapter, D_1), and the demand for newly produced capital by investors (D_2). Hence: Similarly, let D be the proceeds that entrepreneurs expect to receive from the employment of N men, the relationship between D and N being written $D = f(N)$, which can be called the *aggregate demand function* (Keynes 1936, p. 23).

Due to diminishing returns to employment, N , in the short period, we may expect the supply function, $\Phi(N)$, to rise at an increasing rate in N . We also expect D_1 to rise at a constant and eventually less-steep rate than $\Phi(N)$ as N increases (with growing output) because the household marginal propensity to consume (χ) is less than one (or, amounting to the same thing, the marginal propensity to save out of increased income is positive); and that D_2 is fixed by long-term expectations as to the amount a community is currently willing to spend on investment. Thus, where the increasingly rising Z function intersects a constantly rising total D function, employment will be determined.

This is the point of expected profit maximization. To the left of the intersection, producers can expect to make increased profits by employing more workers; to the right, the expected proceeds do not justify the additional expected cost.

“Hence the volume of employment in equilibrium depends on (i) the aggregate supply function, Φ , (ii) the propensity to consume, χ , and (iii) the volume of investment, D_2 . This is the essence of the General Theory of Employment” (Keynes 1936, p. 29).

Thus does Keynes stake out his question. Those factors that determine the marginal propensity to consume

and the volume of investment become the keys to what level of employment a market economy will generate in short-period equilibrium (i.e., the time frame in which we live).

SEE ALSO *Aggregate Demand; Aggregate Demand and Supply Price; Aggregate Supply; Economics, Keynesian; Investment; Keynes, John Maynard; Long Period Analysis; Propensity to Consume, Marginal; Propensity to Save, Marginal; Returns, Diminishing; Short Period*

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Michael S. Lawlor

ZEN

SEE *Buddhism*.

ZERO MARGINAL PRODUCT OF LABOR

SEE *Labor, Surplus: Conventional Economics; Lewis, W. Arthur*.

ZERO POPULATION GROWTH

The term *zero population growth* encompasses both an urgent call to reduce the number of human beings and a neutral description of anticipated future demographic conditions. In either case, social scientists have not debated whether the world will reach zero population growth but when, at what level, and with what costs or benefits along the way.

Population growth has periodically preoccupied theorists since ancient times, but fears of overpopulation emerged in earnest in response to the unprecedented demographic expansion that accompanied the post-1650 global agricultural revolution. (From 50 million in 1000 BCE, the earth's population increased slowly to 545 million in the year 1650, and then more than doubled to 1.2 bil-

lion in 1850 [Kremer 1990, p. 683]). At the turn of the nineteenth century, the British economist and pastor Thomas Malthus (1766–1834) famously argued, “Population, when unchecked, increases only in a geometrical (exponential) ratio. Subsistence (the food supply) increases only in an arithmetical ratio” (Malthus [1798] 1959, p. 5). During much of the nineteenth century, leading European classical economists, especially John Stuart Mill (1806–1873), incorporated Malthusian precepts and argued that population growth leads to diminishing economic returns as poorer land is brought under cultivation and an excess of workers drives down wages. Yet Thomas Jefferson (1743–1846) and other American intellectuals dismissed the notion of a population-resources problem as inapplicable to their imagined wide-open and egalitarian nation.

THE MALTHUSIAN ERA

The closing of the American frontier, as declared by the U.S. Census Bureau in 1890, engendered a Malthusian revival (that is, calls for immediate zero population growth). Moreover, as immigration to the United States surged and a pseudoscience of race matured, the desire to limit total population growth became intimately related to anxiety among many elite, white Americans that native-born Americans were having fewer children than non-white immigrants. A trans-Atlantic eugenics movement sought to breed a better population by encouraging more births among the genetically “fit” and discouraging them among the “unfit.” The mixture of eugenics and Malthusianism contributed to the passage of restrictive immigration laws in the United States in the 1920s.

During the 1930s, Malthusian concerns abated. Birthrates in the industrialized world, in response to the Great Depression, continued to decline. For the first time, the prospect of zero population growth in the wealthy European and North American nations seemed a possibility. One group of economists, led by Great Britain’s John Maynard Keynes, overturned the classical economists on the matter of population growth; they argued that population growth spurs economic progress by creating more consumers and economies of scale. Many economists and demographers, however, disagreed. They continued to espouse the traditional view that a smaller population would be good for the economy; in their view, the economy could grow through higher consumption per person rather than through a sheer increase in numbers.

After World War II (1939–1945), overpopulation concerns reemerged. A few social scientists and policymakers suggested that the war had been caused by population-resource pressures in the Axis nations. Many more became alarmed by the skyrocketing rates of population growth in the developing or Third World, which resulted

from better hygiene and public health, and by the baby boom in the United States and other wealthy nations (from 1945 to 1964). Two best-selling books of 1948, Fairfield Osborn’s *This Plundered Planet* and William Vogt’s *Road to Survival*, briefly generated a revival of radical Malthusian ideas.

The postwar Malthusian resurgence was undercut somewhat by optimism that modern science would alleviate resource scarcity by better extracting natural resources and even creating new ones from scratch. In particular, atomic power and the Green Revolution in agriculture (the higher yields produced by crop breeding and pesticides) promised nearly unlimited energy and food supplies. In addition, while many postwar intellectuals concluded that population growth in the developed world caused aesthetic problems (e.g., more garbage and less parkland) as well as cultural concerns (e.g., more conformity and less privacy), they doubted whether it engendered true resource scarcity.

Still, in the 1950s and early 1960s, most social scientists continued to espouse a moderate anti-population-growth position, if not the strident Malthusian’s goal of a rapid transformation to zero population growth. The dominant paradigm within the demography profession was *demographic transition theory*. This was the idea that industrialization and economic development first drive population increase because medical and sanitary improvements lower mortality well before cultural norms of (copious) childbearing shift. In the next stage, however, birthrates drop in response to the new gender and economic arrangements that accompany modernization. Eventually, population decreases. Demographers concluded, however, that waiting for modernization to run its course was not sufficient; population expanded too rapidly in the early stages and the resulting poverty actually blocked the further progress of modernization. They reached a consensus that direct intervention (e.g., family planning aid) was needed to induce the transition to lower birthrates. In a seminal 1958 study of India, two American economists, Ansley Coale and Edgar Hoover, predicted that lower birthrates would substantially increase incomes in that nation. The Coale-Hoover thesis informed efforts to invest in family planning programs for the developing world. In the 1950s, the American philanthropic sector (especially the Population Council, founded by John D. Rockefeller III [1906–1978] in 1952) took the lead in promoting such programs and fostering population-related research.

THE ZERO POPULATION GROWTH MOVEMENT PEAKS

The United States government did not articulate an official anti-population-growth policy, but it did incorporate

population-resource concerns into cold war geopolitical strategies. The idea that population growth generated conditions conducive to communism was fundamental to the development of foreign aid programs to the Third World as well as diplomatic efforts to promote international resource conservation. In the mid-1960s, the U.S. government began providing direct technical assistance and grants for family planning programs overseas and at home.

By the late 1960s, the peak of the annual global population growth rate (about 2.1 percent from 1965 to 1970; Cohen 1995, p. 54), famine in Africa, and burgeoning mass environmentalism propelled an organized zero population growth movement, the high-water mark of postwar Malthusianism. The fear now was that population growth—in both the developing and developed worlds—would ruin the world's ecological systems, not merely threaten the food supply. In 1969, the American biologist Paul Ehrlich (b. 1932), author of *The Population Bomb* (1968), spearheaded the creation of the group Zero Population Growth. This organization created widespread awareness of the putative population problem and generated significant publicity. *The Limits to Growth*, a widely debated 1972 study by a team of Massachusetts Institute of Technology (MIT) researchers, used a crude algorithm of resources, pollution, and population to predict the collapse of the world system in 100 years. Most proponents of zero population growth primarily emphasized education and the need for voluntary reductions in fertility (and to a lesser degree, promoted public policies such as the elimination of tax benefits for families and the legalization of abortion rights). A small but vocal minority, however, reduced the staying power of the population movement by calling for such radical measures as involuntary sterilizations of women after they had given birth to a certain number of children.

As the 1970s began, the U.S. government briefly accelerated its engagement with the population question beyond the question of funding for contraception, but ultimately abandoned the issue all together. President Richard Nixon offered a special message to Congress endorsing a gradual transition to zero population growth. In 1972, after meeting for two years, the Commission on Population Growth and the American Future, chaired by Rockefeller, called for several moderate measures to hasten the arrival of zero population growth in the United States. Nixon, however, immediately distanced himself from the commission's final report, and in particular its call for abortion rights (the Supreme Court would not decide the epochal case of *Roe v. Wade* until January 1973). Personally opposed to abortion, the president was also embracing a political strategy of appealing to Catholic and culturally conservative voters.

Wider forces than presidential politics ensured the rapid demise of the zero population growth movement. Ascendant conservatives, led by Julian Simon, celebrated the purported economic and cultural benefits of steady population growth (1990). In addition, the birthrate decreased noticeably in the early 1970s, which took some of the sting out of the zero population growth movement's critique. Many opponents of the zero population growth movement accused it—unfairly, for the most part—of seeking to primarily regulate the fertility of racial minorities. Other critics insisted that blaming population growth for environmental and social ills was a copout compared to attributing primacy to technology run amok and the inequalities of capitalism.

TOWARD ZERO POPULATION GROWTH

By the late 1970s, the Malthusian moment had passed in the United States. Domestic and overseas family planning policies had become institutionalized, but policymakers no longer seriously considered intervening to reduce the birthrate. The environmental movement largely abandoned its support for zero population growth due to an anti-immigration stigma increasingly attached to this position. China's adoption in 1979 of a one-child policy, which engendered myriad human rights violations (even though in many locales, especially the cities, the policy merely codified existing trends), further increased the stigma surrounding population policy. At the 1984 World Population Conference, the U.S. delegation famously declared that population growth was a neutral phenomenon. In the early twenty-first century a few Malthusians around the world continue to argue that population growth, especially in wealthy, high-consumption nations, is a major cause of global warming and will eventually have ruinous consequences for the worldwide standard of living and the environment. Some economists continue to argue that the transition to lower fertility leads to a *demographic dividend* for developing nations. But demands that world leaders act to slow down population growth are few and far between.

The United States has become something of a demographic outlier. Currently, the global population increases by about 80 million, or 1.2 percent, per year, but developing nations account for virtually all of that growth (*World Population Prospects: The 2006 Revision* 2007). Many industrialized nations such as Japan and Italy are headed toward zero population growth and should actually be in decline in fifty years. In contrast, in the United States, high levels of immigration and relatively high birthrates among immigrants and the U.S.-born alike have put the nation of 304 million (in 2007) on a path toward 570 million in 2100, according to the U.S. Census Bureau's

middle-range projections (*Methodology and Assumptions for the Population Projections of the United States: 1999 to 2100* 2000). Some experts fear the possible geopolitical consequences of this demographic trajectory, such as a further dependence on foreign oil. But most experts celebrate the supposed economic benefits of steady population growth. Perhaps the greatest demographic fear in the United States is of an aging crisis. That is, many social scientists worry that Americans are not having enough babies (future workers) to pay the imminent Social Security bill of the baby boom generation.

Assuming that fertility declines continue on their present course, the United Nations Population Division predicts the earth's population will reach 9.2 billion in 2050 (from nearly 7 billion in 2007) and then crest soon thereafter (*World Population Prospects: The 2006 Revision* 2007). Since the 1970s, the zero population growth movement has faded into near irrelevancy, but if early twenty-first-century trends hold, zero population growth will nonetheless be achieved in the not-too-distant future.

SEE ALSO *Abortion; Baby Boomers; Club of Rome; Cold War; Contraception; Demographic Transition; Demography; Eugenics; Famine; Green Revolution; Immigration; Jefferson, Thomas; Keynes, John Maynard; Limits of Growth; Malthus, Thomas Robert; Malthusian Trap; Overpopulation; Population Control; Productivity; Reproductive Politics; Roe v. Wade; Stationary State; Third World; Welfare State*

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Derek S. Hoff

ZERO-SUM GAME

“Zero-sum game” describes a situation in which two “players” with strictly opposed interests each make a decision that results in one player’s winning equaling the opposing player’s loss. Many recreational games, such as chess, poker, and tic-tac-toe, are zero-sum because for one player to win, the opposing player(s) must lose.

The notion of zero-sum games originated in a branch of applied mathematics known as game theory, which has enjoyed extensive application in the social sciences. John von Neumann (1903–1957), a mathematician, is usually credited with creating game theory, and he first explicated the theory of zero-sum games in his seminal work with Oskar Morgenstern, *Theory of Games and Economic Behavior* (1944). Game theory is essentially a study of conflict situations between two or more opponents or players. Each player in the game situation must decide on a course of action, or *strategy*, and the strategy each player chooses affects the outcome for all players in the game. The outcome, or solution, to a zero-sum game specifies how each player should move, and if each player moves accordingly, then the resulting payoff is known as the *value* of the game (Kelly 2003).

The easiest class of games to analyze is *two-person* zero-sum games, and these games typically receive the most scholarly attention among those who study zero-sum games. In *Theory of Games*, von Neumann and Morgenstern focus their attention on *two-person* zero-sum

games and show that in this type of game situation there always exists a solution that allows each player to avoid the worst possible outcome. To arrive at this solution, both players base their course of action on what they expect their opponent's action will probably be. Keeping their opponent's likely course of action in mind, both players attempt to minimize the opponent's maximum payoff, thereby maximizing their own minimum payoff. In doing so, the outcome of the game ends up being that both players obtain the best payoff they possibly can, given the nature of the game, and neither is able to do any better. This outcome is known as the *equilibrium* of the game, and this point can be thought of as the outcome in which neither player has any regrets about the course of action chosen. This method of play is known as the *minimax theorem*, and von Neumann and Morgenstern showed that all two-person zero-sum games have a minimax solution.

All zero-sum games can be classified as having either *perfect information* or *imperfect information*. In a game with perfect information, each player in the game is fully aware of all previous moves in the game, meaning that each player knows what actions the opponent has already taken. In tic-tac-toe, for example, after the "X" player's move, the "O" player knows exactly where the "X" player has placed an "X." In games of perfect information, there is always at least one optimal or best possible strategy for each player. However, the existence of a best possible strategy does not guarantee that a player will win or even be able to identify that strategy. Using the best possible strategy only guarantees that both players will minimize their losses, regardless of whether they win. But there may also be so many viable strategies to choose from that it becomes impossible to determine what the best strategy is.

When applying the minimax theorem to zero-sum games with perfect information, it is possible to achieve the equilibrium point, or the point that represents the outcome that results from both players using their best possible strategy, also known as the *saddle point*. All zero-sum games with perfect information have at least one saddle point, and the saddle points can be determined using the minimax theorem. However, on some occasions the minimax theorem does not necessarily have to be used to determine a game's saddle points. Occasionally, one player has strategies available that *dominate* the other strategies. A strategy is considered *dominant* if it yields a player a better outcome than any other strategy, despite the actions taken by the opponent. When a strategy is dominated by another, then the dominated strategy is said to be *inadmissible* because, if players are trying to get the best possible outcome, then it cannot make sense to choose a dominated strategy (Kelly 2003).

In games with imperfect information, the players are not fully aware of their opponent's prior moves. This

means that each player must choose an action without knowing what action the opponent has taken or may be taking simultaneously. A simple example of this would be the game rock-paper-scissors. While there may not be one best possible strategy, it is still possible to find a minimax solution to two-person games of imperfect information. This solution can be obtained by using *mixed strategies*. Using a mixed strategy means that a player uses one strategy sometimes, another strategy at other times. The player assigns each strategy a particular probability of being used and chooses a strategy based on these probabilities. When mixed strategies are in equilibrium, meaning that neither player can do better by deviating from these strategies, the strategies are sometimes called *minimax mixed strategies* (Kelly 2003).

Analysis of zero-sum games has been applied to a variety of social science disciplines, but it has probably enjoyed most extensive application in the fields of economics and political science. In political science, for example, most elections can be thought of as zero-sum games given that for one candidate to win, the opposing candidate must lose. Also, when considering the distribution of political resources, some scholars believe that for one group to gain political resources, others must lose resources, thus implying a zero-sum nature to political competition. However, the application of zero-sum games to political and economic phenomena is necessarily limited given that most conflict situations are not zero-sum. In many conflict situations, competitors do not have strictly opposed interests; it is often possible for both players in a game to win, as sometimes is the case with economic competition, or for both players to lose, as can happen with pollution or arms races (McCain 2004). Because of the dearth of real-world zero-sum situations, and thus zero-sum's limited applicability, most game theoretic applications in the social sciences are not zero-sum.

SEE ALSO *Elections; Electoral Systems; First-past-the-post; Game Theory; Information, Asymmetric; Information, Economics of; Mixed Strategy; Politics; Social Science; Strategic Behavior; Strategic Games; Voting Schemes*

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Monique L. Lyle

ZIMBARDO, PHILIP 1933–

Few psychologists are as famous as Philip George Zimbardo. Zimbardo is known both for his flamboyant behavior (e.g., he is rumored to have worn a black cape decorated with a Z) and for his research, teaching, and promotion of psychology. His work has had a meaningful impact on the social sciences and the general public. Zimbardo received his PhD from Yale University in 1959. He became a professor at New York University in 1960 and in 1968 joined the faculty at Stanford University, where he remained until his retirement in 2003. This entry discusses just a few of Zimbardo's important contributions.

Zimbardo obtained fame in 1971, when he conducted what has become known as the Stanford Prison Experiment (SPE). Zimbardo randomly assigned twenty-four normal college students to the roles of prison guard and prison inmate in a mock prison set up in the basement of the Stanford psychology building. The experiment was to last two weeks but was terminated after six days because some participants became the role they were assigned to play; some guards acted sadistically and aggressively toward inmates, whereas some inmates exhibited depressive-like symptoms, anxiety, and extreme anger. Zimbardo's experiment led him to conclude that the behavior of guards and inmates in real prisons is created more by their roles than by their personalities.

Zimbardo's SPE is a classic in psychology. It revealed the power that situations and roles can have in shaping behavior. Zimbardo frequently speaks on this topic and has even pointed out parallels between his experiment and the 2004 Abu Ghraib prison abuse scandal. Zimbardo's experiment, however, is not without its critics. Some critics (including Zimbardo) contend that it was blatantly unethical because of the extreme stress placed on inmates, whereas other critics challenge the conclusions of the SPE because of its methodology (e.g., the data collection was limited; guards were given instructions on how to behave).

Although Zimbardo is most known for his SPE, he has contributed to psychology in other important ways. After the SPE, Zimbardo and colleagues embarked on a program to investigate debilitating shyness. His research

led to over thirty publications on this topic alone and to the creation of a shyness clinic. Zimbardo is also an instrumental voice in promoting psychology to the general public. He has authored a popular introductory to psychology textbook, *Psychology and Life*, that was in its eighteenth edition in 2007. In 1990 he narrated the PBS television series *Discovering Psychology*, which discussed almost every area of psychology in an understandable and engaging format. This series introduced many people for the first time to the fascinating world of psychology. Its 2001 updated edition is frequently used in high schools and universities. The possible highlight of Zimbardo's career came in 2002, when he was elected president of the American Psychology Association, the largest worldwide association for psychologists with over 150,000 members.

Few psychologists are as well known as Zimbardo. The mere mention of his name to others in psychology might lead to stories of his flamboyant behavior or to an engaging discourse about the ethics and conclusions of the SPE. Regardless of what comes to mind when one thinks of Zimbardo, it is difficult to discount the positive impact his research, teaching, and promotion have had on psychology and society.

SEE ALSO *American Psychological Association; Ethics in Experimentation; Experiments; Experiments, Human; Hierarchy; Prisons; Psychology; Punishment; Role Theory; Shyness; Social Psychology*

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Brian P. Meier

ZIONISM

Zionism is the modern movement whose goal is the restoration of the Jewish people to the region on the eastern shore of the Mediterranean commonly known (at least until the establishment of the Jewish State of Israel in 1948) as Palestine or Zion. Not all of its adherents have been Jews. It draws, however, on ancient motifs sustained in Jewish collective memory, religion, and culture (and to some extent in the Christian West more generally), relating the telos of world-historical redemption and the com-

ing of the Messiah to the restoration of the Jews to their ancient homeland and the building of the third, and eternal, holy Temple in Jerusalem. Since its inception in the nineteenth century, Zionism has been an ideologically multifaceted and internally contentious movement, and its fortunes have changed in complex relation with European anti-Semitism and with colonialism beyond Europe's borders.

It is certainly difficult, and may be impossible, to present a summary account of Zionism, along with its bases of support and the sources of opposition to it, that is genuinely objective—not only because the movement continues to inspire intense passions, both positive and negative, but because its premises rest on accounts of history, geography, and nationality that are themselves fundamentally contested. Thus, Palestine refers to an ancient Roman province, to a British protectorate in the period of late European colonialism, and to the place claimed as a homeland by those residents of the region who have come to understand themselves as forming part of a non-Jewish, Palestinian nation. Speaking of the land as Zion reinforces the centrality of the region to Christian as well as Jewish sacred history and eschatological expectations. Even the notion that the Jewish people the world over constitute a single nation, central to Zionism and accepted as well by some competing Jewish movements prior to World War II (1939–1945), has not been universally accepted by Jews in the modern period.

ANCIENT AND MEDIEVAL ROOTS

Zionism draws on a rich and powerful repository of memorial resources preserved through Jewish generations, which profoundly inform ritual and expressions of religious yearning. Memorial literature that has been continuously studied since the destruction of the First and then the Second Temples in Jerusalem mourns their loss, enjoins their memory, and promises their restoration. The model of return from exile, as noble adventure and divinely sanctioned, is prefigured in the chronicles of the return from Babylonian exile led by Ezra and Nehemiah. Portions of the Babylonian Talmud detailing the correct procedures for fulfillment of commandments and strictures that relate only to times when the Jews live in Israel and the Temple stands continued to be studied, both in commemoration of the past and in anticipation of a redeemed future.

Nearly all this commemoration took place not only in the absence of Jewish sovereignty, but outside the land. At least since the destruction of the Second Temple in 70 CE, and continuing throughout the Christian era until the twentieth century, Jewish communities have been found overwhelmingly outside the imagined national homeland. This condition is itself subject to differing designations

with various ideological implications. The Hebrew and Yiddish terms *galut* or *goles*, commonly translated as *exile*, stress the element of loss inherent in location outside the homeland. On the other hand, the scattered Jewish communities are also commonly described as being in *diaspora*, an ancient term originally applied to colonies of Greek settlers throughout the Mediterranean. A thriving Jewish diaspora existed prior to the destruction of the Second Temple, and some recent scholarship has stressed the sustainability and creativity of Jewish and other diasporas.

Along with the memory of the land, its reality was preserved throughout the Middle Ages by the reports of occasional pilgrims, including famous Jewish artists and thinkers, such as the twelfth-century philosopher-poet Judah HaLevi. Extremely pious Jews sought to die, or at least to be buried, in the soil of Zion. Small settlements of religious mystics were established in Jerusalem and the Galilee during the early modern period. During the late seventeenth century, the false messiah, Sabbatai Zevi (1626–1676), raised hopes of immediate restoration of the Jews to Zion; Jews across the Western world sold their worldly goods and prepared for the journey that never came.

MODERN ZIONISM

The modern movement of Zionism, understood in large part as a mobilization to “actualize” these ancient hopes and dreams, is inseparable from key aspects of modern European history, including the dissolution of the ancien régime; the rise of secularism and religious pluralism; and the effort to create one-to-one alignments between ethnic collective identities and territorially defined nation-states. As part of the first aspect, Jewish communities were simultaneously freed of historic restrictions on movement, settlement, and employment, and deprived of their historic self-governing character. As part of the second, the *haskalah*, or “Jewish Enlightenment,” sparked a profound internal critique and resistance to traditional modes of communal authority, based as it was on patriarchy, family, and class prestige, and mastery of religious law and lore. Meanwhile, chauvinist nationalisms in Europe spawned the modern variety of Jew-hatred that went by the “scientific” name of *anti-Semitism*. This inspired Zionism as a response, claiming that the only possible place for the Jewish people in a modern world of nation-states was together, preferably in its own historical homeland.

Starting in the late nineteenth century, various Zionist manifestos appeared. In Eastern Europe, Leon Pinsker's (1821–1891) *Autoemancipation*, which was inspired by a wave of pogroms in 1881 and argued that the Jews would neither be safe nor free so long as they remained in an “abnormal” situation as guests and strangers, was published in 1882. In 1896 the Viennese

journalist Theodor Herzl (1860–1904), who came to be canonized as the founder of Zionism, published his *The Jewish State*, arguing that the Jews would never be free nor gain respect until they ceased being a scattered minority. Ahad Ha'am (1856–1927), who argued that Zion should serve as a spiritual center for the renewal of world Jewry, did not carry the day, but his vision may be seen as a remarkable prediction of the relation between Jewish Israel and the Jews of the diaspora at the start of the third millennium. Intellectuals such as Judah Magnes (1877–1948) and Martin Buber (1878–1965), concerned with the ethical demand to acknowledge the presence and humanity of the Arab inhabitants of Palestine, argued early in the twentieth century for a binational solution to what came increasingly to be understood as a conflict between two nationalist movements struggling for control of the same land. The Revisionists, led by Vladimir Jabotinsky (1880–1940), contended that such reconciliation was impossible and that the conflict might well be a fight to the death, one that the Jews must at all costs win. Meanwhile the most popular variant of Zionism as a popular movement was Socialist Zionism, itself subject to bitter contention, though all of its adherents believed both that the way to revive the Jewish people was through the renewal of Jewish labor in the Jewish land and that the Zionist effort was consistent with the worldwide movement of the working class. Zionist ideology emphasized the close attachment between the people and the land in modern practice, not only in historical memory; and Zionist strategy prior to World War II involved substantial efforts to purchase land in Palestine.

WORLD WAR II AND POSTCOLONIALISM

World War II affected the Zionist movement in profound ways: It seemed to offer convincing proof that there was no safe future for Jews in diaspora, and it led to mass immigration by refugees and survivors to what was, until the late 1940s, still commonly called *Palestine* even by Jews. The establishment of the State of Israel in 1948 and the ensuing war marked a new phase in the history of the movement and the controversies surrounding it. Many Zionists understood themselves as anticolonialists, both because the Jews worldwide whom they sought to redeem could plausibly be understood as being “internally colonized” by various powerful nations and empires, and because the Zionist pragmatic and military effort involved resistance as well as collusion with the British protectorate. Palestinians displaced during the 1948 war known in Israel as the War of Independence were neither allowed by Israel to return to their homes, nor absorbed into surrounding Arab countries, thus exacerbating and perpetuating the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. The Soviet Union,

after initially voting in the United Nations for recognition of Israel, came to be aligned with the Arab States and with the Palestinian movement, while much of the world came to see Israel and Zionism as opposed to postcolonial liberation struggles.

Consistent both with the Zionist ideal of worldwide Jewish peoplehood and with the reality of vastly different Jewish communities in various parts of the world, the mass absorption of a large percentage of the world's Jews has been problematic and controversial. In the decades following World War II, the majority of the Jews of North Africa and the Middle East emigrated to Israel, as did a large percentage of the Jews of Eastern Europe and, somewhat later, the Soviet Union. Tensions arose and persist among these major immigrant groups. In the latter decades of the twentieth century, the secular Zionist goal of shaping the “new Jew,” free of supposed religious obscurantism and the supposed neuroses of diaspora, was challenged both by movements to retain rather than jettison traditional Jewish cultures and by an increasingly popular and militant combination of Zionist-exclusive territorialism and fervent religious orthodoxy. Moreover, a number of scholars and commentators have argued that by the end of the twentieth century, the era of “post-Zionism” had come, meaning that the fundamental goal of establishing and securing a Jewish state had been achieved, but that it was no longer feasible or necessarily desirable to persist in the attempt to gather in all of the world's Jews.

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Jonathan Boyarin

ZOMBIES

The word *zombie* refers to the “living dead” and originally derives from Central Africa. In Kongo, the cadaver or spirit of a deceased person is called *nzambi*. But the belief in the existence of the “living dead” is widespread, and the term has also been subject to much cross-cultural appropriation, decontextualization, and recontextualization.

Popular discourses associate zombies with the Caribbean Voodoo religion. For example, Haitians believe that malevolent sorcerers sometimes gain control of the bodies of their victims by robbing them of the component of the soul that contains personality, character, and willpower (*tibon ange*) or by raising them from their graves. The sorcerers then lead their innocent victims in a comatose trance, under cover of night, to distant places where they must toil indefinitely as slaves. The Haitian conception has informed the image of zombies in mass-mediated popular culture as the macabre figure of a corpse in tattered rags, entirely subservient and beholden to the authority of some unknown master. Zombies are portrayed as docile, with glassy empty eyes, and as being without will, memory, and emotion.

A controversial theory by ethnobiologist Wade Davis (1988) suggests that there may well be an ethnobiological basis for reports of the zombie phenomenon in Haiti. He refers to a case of zombification that was verified by a team of physicians. In 1962 Clairvus Narcisse was pronounced dead at a hospital, and buried eight hours later. But Clairvus reappeared in 1980, claiming that his brother had made him a zombie because of a land dispute. Davis argues that Clairvus was mistakenly diagnosed as dead, buried alive, and taken from the grave. Clairvus claimed that following his resurrection from the grave, he was forced to work as a slave with other zombies. He escaped after two years and spent the next sixteen years wandering about the country, fearful of his vengeful brother. Among the various preparations used by Haitian sorcerers, Davis identified a fish containing tetrodotoxin, an extremely potent neurotoxin that induces a complete state of peripheral paralysis and imperceptibly low metabolic levels. Davis postulates that the Haitian belief in zombies could be based on rare instances where an individual receives the correct dosage of the poison and is misdiagnosed as dead. Davis describes zombification as a form of punishment imposed by Bizango secret societies. These societies are arbiters of social life, protect community resources such as land, and use poison and sorcery as weapons.

Other scholars regard the belief in zombies as purely mythical. From a neo-Marxian perspective, the image of zombies as people who are dehumanized and left only with the ability to work is seen as a symbolic commentary on the historical processes of enslavement, colonialization, and proletarianization.

In many parts of Africa, zombies are recognized as an integral aspect of witchcraft discourses, particularly where these address social inequalities. Throughout the Cameroon, *nouveau riches* are imagined as witches who no longer eat their victims but change them into zombies. For example, the concept of *nyongo* emerged amongst the Bakweri after German and British colonists arrogated

their land, resettled them on reserves, and allowed strangers to profit from the new economic opportunities. The Bakweri suspected prosperous outsiders of forming witch associations, taking deceased kin from their graves, and transporting the zombie spirits by lorry to Mount Kupe, where they worked on invisible plantations. These beliefs are informed by traumatic memories of the slave trade and of forced labor, as well as by perceptions of wealthy absentee landlords.

In Malawi, witchcraft discourses constitute an argument about the morality of accumulation. Accumulation is endowed with moral adequacy when entrepreneurs make their constitutive relations visible by supporting their kin financially, and by redistributing wealth through patronage, gift giving, and feasting. It is perfectly legitimate when entrepreneurs, who are motivated by these concerns, use medicines to protect their businesses. By contrast, accumulation that is motivated by individualism and greed is morally despised. In this situation, entrepreneurs are said to achieve prosperity at the cost of human lives. Zombies are believed to reside with them, to protect their money, and to attract customers to their businesses. Zombies thus serve exactly the same purposes as medicines, but are an index of morally disreputable witchcraft.

In South Africa, images of witches and zombies have multiple symbolic meanings, but capture the desire to dominate and the fear of being dominated. These images resonate with those of elderly women who control the work of their daughters-in-law, and of white industrialists who employ black laborers. The deployment of zombies in a nocturnal "second world" echoes the daunting experiences of young brides who leave their natal households for those of their husband's family, and of migrants who leave the countryside for alien industrial and mining centers. The smallness of zombies alludes to the diminutive status of these persons, and the idea that their tongues are cut suggests unquestioning obedience.

SEE ALSO *Vodou*

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Isak Niehaus

Z-TEST

In scientific and social investigations, researchers may need to make decisions through statistical-hypothesis testing guided by underlying theory and empirical observa-

tions. The Z-test is one of the most popular techniques for statistical inference based on the assumption of normal distribution. Many social and natural phenomena follow the law of normal (Gaussian) distribution, which was discovered by Carl F. Gauss (1777–1855), a German mathematician, in the early nineteenth century. The normal distribution is one of the fundamental statistical distributions used in many fields of research, and it has a bell-shaped density function with μ (mean) representing the central location and σ^2 (variance) measuring the dispersion. The normal density function is

$$\frac{1}{\sqrt{2\pi} \sigma} e^{-\frac{1}{2}(\frac{x-\mu}{\sigma})^2} \tag{1}$$

A general normal random variable X with a mean of μ and variance σ^2 can be rescaled into the standard normal random variable Z with mean 0 and variance 1 using

$$Z = \frac{X - \mu}{\sigma} \tag{2}$$

where σ is the standard deviation of X . The observed value of Z is called the Z score. Almost all introductory statistics books provide the table for the probability of $\{Z \leq c\}$ or its variants for many convenient values of c (Agresti and Finlay 1997). These values are available in all statistical software packages.

Statistical hypothesis testing and inference on the population mean are usually performed through a sample of random variables observed from the population. Let X_1, X_2, \dots, X_n be n independent and identically distributed normal random variables with a mean of μ and a variance of σ^2 , such as the gas mileages of a particular type of vehicle, the annual average income of households in a city, or the vital signs of patients under various treatments.

Denote the sample mean $\sum_{i=1}^n X_i / n$ as \bar{X} . Then

$$Z = \frac{\bar{X} - \mu}{\sigma / \sqrt{n}} \tag{3}$$

is distributed as the standard normal random variable, where σ / \sqrt{n} is the standard deviation of \bar{X} . This result provides the base for a one-sample Z-test on the mean (μ) of the study population when σ^2 is known. To test the null hypothesis $H_0: \mu = \mu_0$ (for example, to test if the mean gas mileage $[\mu]$ is 25 $[\mu_0]$ miles per gallon for a particular type of vehicle), one can form the Z-test statistic as

$$Z = \frac{\bar{X} - \mu_0}{\sigma / \sqrt{n}} \tag{4}$$

One would reject the null hypothesis H_0 in favor of the alternative $H_a: \mu \neq \mu_0$ (the two-sided Z-test) when the observed value of Z is significantly different from 0. In

many situations, one may be interested in a one-sided alternative ($H_a: \mu < \mu_0$ or $H_a: \mu > \mu_0$).

In rejecting or accepting the null hypothesis, one could commit two types of errors. The type I error (α) is the probability of rejecting the null hypothesis when it is true, and the type II error (β) is the probability of accepting the null hypothesis when it is false. The p -value is the probability of the test statistic as contradictory to H_0 as the observed Z value. A detailed study on statistical hypothesis testing is given by Erich Lehmann and Joseph P. Romano (2005). For the two-sided Z-test, one may reject $\mu = \mu_0$ in favor of $\mu \neq \mu_0$ if the observed Z value of the test statistic satisfies

$$|Z| = \left| \frac{\bar{X} - \mu_0}{\sigma / \sqrt{n}} \right| > 1.96. \tag{5}$$

The type I error for this test is less than 0.05. The upper bound of the type I error is called the *size*, and $1 - \beta$ is called the *power* of the test. For a test, if the p -value is less than the size, one may reject the null hypothesis H_0 . A commonly used size is 0.05. For the two-sided Z-test with size 0.05, the critical region is $\{|Z| > 1.96\}$. The Z-test is closely related to the constructing of confidence intervals. For example, the 95 percent confidence interval for the mean μ is

$$(\bar{X} - 1.96\sigma / \sqrt{n}, \bar{X} + 1.96\sigma / \sqrt{n}) \tag{6}$$

for the two-sided estimation. If X_1, X_2, \dots, X_n are not independent and identically normally distributed, under some conditions, the central limit theorem shows that

$$Z = \frac{\bar{X} - \text{Mean}(\bar{X})}{\sqrt{\text{Var}(\bar{X})}} \tag{7}$$

is approximately standard normal when n is large (typically $n \geq 30$). That is, one can still use the Z-test when n is large.

In many applications, the standard deviation of the population is unknown. In these cases, one can replace σ with the sample standard deviation s and form a test statistic as

$$t = \frac{\bar{X} - \mu_0}{s / \sqrt{n}}, \tag{8}$$

where

$$s^2 = \frac{1}{n-1} \sum_{i=1}^n (X_i - \bar{X})^2 \tag{9}$$

is the sample variance. The test follows the t -distribution of $n-1$ degrees of freedom. As n increases, t converges to Z . Hence, even when the standard deviation is unknown, the Z-test can be used if n is large. In fact, the estimates of parameters from many parametric models, such as regres-

sion models, are approximately normally distributed. The Z -test is therefore applicable for statistical inference of these parameters. When comparing the means (μ_1 and μ_2) of two normally distributed populations, $N(\mu_1, \sigma_1^2)$ and $N(\mu_2, \sigma_2^2)$, one can construct a two-sample Z statistic for testing $H_0: \mu_1 - \mu_2 = \mu_0$:

$$Z = \frac{\bar{X} - \bar{Y} - \mu_0}{\sqrt{\sigma_1^2/n + \sigma_2^2/m}}, \quad (10)$$

where $\bar{X} = \sum_{i=1}^n X_i/n$, $\bar{Y} = \sum_{i=1}^m Y_i/m$ and X_i, Y_i are independent random samples from these two populations respectively.

The two-sample Z -test can be carried out in the same way as the one-sample Z -test. Similar to the case of the one-sample Z -test, the two-sample Z -test corresponds to the two-sample t -test when the population variances are replaced by their sample variances. However, when n and

m are large, there is not much difference between the two-sample Z -test and the two-sample t -test. The two-sample t -test is a special case of Analysis of Variance (ANOVA), which compares the means of multiple populations. For a small sample size, it is preferable to use nonparametric methods instead of the Z -test, particularly when it is difficult to verify the assumption of normality.

SEE ALSO *Student's T-Statistic; Test Statistics*

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Dejian Lai

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This annotated bibliography is the product of the efforts of the Board of Editors to identify works in the social sciences published from 1960 onward that have had a major academic or sociopolitical impact or that represent exceptional creativity and originality. By no means do the Board of Editors claim that this list encompasses all works of merit published in the social sciences since 1960. Additional article citations are listed under a separate heading in each subject section.

ANTHROPOLOGY AND ARCHAEOLOGY

- Ali, Tariq. *The Clash of Fundamentalisms: Crusades, Jibads, and Modernity*. London: Verso, 2002. Responding to Huntington's argument in *Clash of Civilizations*, Ali presents a scathing indictment of U.S. imperialism and of fundamentalism in both Islam and the Christian right.
- Appadurai, Arjun. *Modernity at Large: Cultural Dimensions of Globalization*. Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press, 1996. Appadurai, while engaged in an important meditation of the idea of "modern," examines the effects of globalization on identity, lifestyle, culture, and political thought.
- Behar, Ruth. *Translated Woman: Crossing the Border with Esperanza's Story*. Boston: Beacon Press, 1993. Researching in Mexico, anthropologist Behar went to a cemetery near the town of Mexquitic and attempted to photograph a Mexican-Native American woman placing flowers on the graves of her children. The woman, to whom Behar assigned the name Esperanza, bargained with Behar. If Behar and her husband would serve as godparents to one of her living children, Esperanza would tell her story to Behar, providing intimate details of the life of women in Mexquitic. The result is Behar's moving portrait of suffering and abuse. This work crystallizes the possibilities associated with subject and observer being collaborators in ethnographic projects.
- Behar, Ruth. *The Vulnerable Observer: Anthropology That Breaks Your Heart*. Boston: Beacon Press, 1996. Behar advocates a more personal approach to anthropology in which the line between observer and subject is not so easily drawn. She addresses the methodological issues inspired by her earlier study, *Translated Woman*, that pushed toward a more collaborative, negotiated relationship between subject and observer. She maintains that "anthropology that doesn't break your heart just isn't worth doing."
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- Lévi-Strauss, Claude. *La Pensee Sauvage*. Paris: Plon, 1962. The noted French anthropologist presents his theories of culture and mind and his thoughts on history and social change.
- Lévi-Strauss, Claude. *Mythologiques*. 4 vols. Paris: Plon, 1964–1971. Lévi-Strauss’s complex series of works provide a frame for the analysis of myths and explores their importance in understanding human thought and social relationships.
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