CYRUS CHRONICLE JOURNAL (CCJ):

Contemporary Economic and Management Studies in Asia and Africa

An imprint of the CYRUS Institute of Knowledge (CIK)

Purpose:

The CYRUS Institute of Knowledge (CIK) Journal is a refereed interdisciplinary journal. The editorial objective is to create opportunities for scholars and practitioners to share theoretical and applied knowledge. The subject fields are management sciences, economic development, sustainable growth, and related disciplines applicable to the emerging economies in Asia, Africa, and other emerging economies. Being in transitional stages, these regions can greatly benefit from applied research relevant to their development. **CCJ** provides a platform for dissemination of high quality research about these regions. We welcome contributions from researchers in academia and practitioners in broadly defined areas of management sciences, economic development, and sustainable growth. The Journal's scope includes, but is not limited to, the following:

Business Development and Governance
Entrepreneurship
Ethics and Social Responsibility
International Business and Cultural Issues
International Economics
International Finance
Innovation and Development
Institutions and Development
Leadership and Cultural Characteristics
Natural Resources and Sustainable Development
Organization and Cultural Issues
Strategy and Development
Women and Business Development

Authors are responsible for the views expressed and the accuracy of the facts provided. Authors' opinions do not necessarily reflect the position of the CYRUS Institute of Knowledge, the Editor, or the Editorial Advisory Board of **CCJ**.

Editorial Advisory Board Members:

Professor Tagi Sagafi-nejad is the editor of **CCJ**. Dr. Sagafi-nejad is ex-editor of International Trade Journal, the author, in collaboration with John Dunning of The UN and Transnational Corporations: From Codes of Conduct to Global Compact, (2008) and "The Evolution of International Business Textbooks" (2014). He was the Radcliffe Killam Distinguished Professor of International Business, founding Director of the PhD Program in International Business, and Director and Center for the Study of Western Hemispheric Trade at Texas A&M International University (2003-2013). Dr. Sagafi-nejad is well-known internationally and has outstanding credentials to develop The Cyrus Chronicle into a high quality publication.

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Submission Process:

He will be assisted by an editorial board consisting of Tarek Hatem, Ph.D., American University in Cairo, Egypt

We invite authors to submit their papers and case studies to Editor@Cyrusik.org. We will have a quick turn-around review process of less than two months. We intend to begin with two issues per year consisting of about 5-8 papers and case studies per issue. The first issue is being planned for the fall of 2015. A selected number of papers submitted to the CIK conference will be double-blind reviewed for inclusion in **THE CCJ**. We intend to have special issues on themes that are within the scope of Journal. Also, we will have invited guest issues.

THE CCJ: An imprint of the CYRUS Institute of Knowledge (CIK)

Background:

This is a historical time for the mentioned regions, and The Cyrus Chronicle intends to offer what is most urgently needed. There is no question that organizations and businesses that are capable of analyzing and applying advanced knowledge in management sciences and development are in high demand, and especially during transitional periods. It is an unusual time in the target regions and the world, a time which requires active intellectual participation and contributions. It is the era of revolution in terms of communication, technology and minds for billions of people. It is a time for intellectuals, entrepreneurs, and philanthropists to help enlighten minds and therefore enrich the quality of life for millions. It is a time to focus intensely on the regions' historical characteristics, achievements, human and natural resources, and its significant deficit in development, management sciences, and democracy. CIK's vision, "to cultivate the discourse on human capital potentials for better living," is the appropriate response to current challenges, and the journal is a platform for sharing the perspectives of scholars and practitioner with a wider audience.

CYRUS associates tend to have a foot in two worlds. First, most of the associates possess a wealth of intellectual and experiential knowledge which is enhanced by their active involvement in business, consulting and scholarly research and collegiate teaching. Second, some associates are sons and daughters of the affirmation regions and possess an ethnic identity, language skills, and the insights only embraced by insiders. Third, most of the CIK board of directors' members and associates are well-known scholars, members of editorial boards of journals, and even editors. CYRUS possesses depth, breadth, and a competitive edge to successfully manage chronicle.
CYRUS is committed to developing knowledge that positively contributes to the life of the world citizens, especially, the target regions. CIK is a charitable, educational, and scientific organization that has been in operation since 2011. It is a secular and nonpartisan organization that has many scholars and practitioner as member.

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Editor's Introduction

Since inception in 2012, the Cyrus Institute of Knowledge has held five annual meetings. Last year we published the first volume of **Cyrus Chronicle Journal (CCJ)**: *Contemporary Economic and Management Studies in Asia and Africa* in conjunction with the 2016 annual conference.

CYRUS Institute of Knowledge (CIK) had two successful international conferences. Between the CIK March 2016 conference at the American University of Cairo and the April 2017 at MIT, we have received more than 120 abstracts and 30 full papers. Papers, abstracts, and presentations have come from all continents and more than 40 countries and more than 50 institutions of higher education and organizations. Please see CIK website for detail information in this regard.

The acceptance rate for this issue is less than 20% considering many papers that were submitted for review and full papers for the conference. Two papers in this issue are invited. These articles, one by Professor Ghadar and another by Professor Contractor, two eminent international scholars, whose insight will enhance the quality of CCJ and give it the prominence it seeks. Our aim is to publish the highest quality papers that pass through multiple review process. CIK colleagues and conference participants have proposed and suggested special issues of the journal which is based on core topics (i.e., entrepreneurship, innovation, ethics, and sustainable development) and/or country specific. Therefore, we welcome your articles which meet these characteristics. We already have several papers about Iran.

Now we welcome you to the second issue (CCJ.V2). The journal intends to cover scholarship pertaining to emerging economies in Asia, Africa, and other emerging economies. Scholarship dealing with these regions tend to be either ignored or misunderstood, and there are limited outlets for scholars who work in these countries to share their scholarly outputs. Focusing on these two continents will help researchers from both developed countries as well as these two continents - which together account for the largest portion of the world population and growth. The CCJ intends to fill these gaps. An examination of our mission may shed some light on this question. The primary purpose of the journal is four-fold:

1. To share and promote knowledge of economic, management, and development issues facing countries of Asia and Africa and other emerging markets. Focusing on assessment, evaluation, and possible solutions help advance countries in this which has the largest world habitats. Development challenges are global; virtually every country faces problems concerning economic development, sustainability, food and water, population and environmental degradation. Yet no country gains by shunning opportunities that globalization can provide, with the possible exception of a few countries whose leaders lack a full understanding of the opportunities that globalization can offer. To take advantage of such opportunities, knowledge is the primary requisite. And this journal aspires to make a contribution to this body of knowledge.

2. To encourage the generation and dissemination of knowledge by local scholars whose access to mainstream academic outlets may be limited? We know many scholars from academic, public and private sector organizations whose first-

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hand knowledge of problems and solutions isn't being shared for lack of an appropriate outlet for dissemination. The CCJ may provide an opportunity for spreading such knowledge.

3. To focus on countries that span the northern band of Asia – from China to Turkey – to the northern tier of Africa, areas that have not previously been the subject of much attention. In the past, these countries have tended to gain the attention of scholars and the media only in times of man-made or natural crises. But in fact, these nations have many challenges similar to those of others. They wrestle with shortages of food and water and the growth of population and pollution. Although they have educated their own citizens, especially in countries that had been under the shackles of dictatorship for decades, now they have become freer to express ideas in journals such as this.

4. Academic scholarship emanating from the region under the journal's coverage tend to get lost in the academic jungle where the pressure of "publish or perish" leaves behind the younger and less experienced members. This journal will give an opportunity to the scholars with first-hand knowledge of these areas to publish their research and thereby make important contributions to the management and development body of scholarship on which the journal will concentrate. We need to know more about these topics in countries such as Afghanistan, Kazakhstan, Morocco and Tunisia as well as other countries covered by this journal. The CCJ will provide a platform for established as well as younger scholars who might collaborate with them in their research.

In this second issue of the *Cyrus Chronic Journal*, we include six articles and four book reviews. Scholarly articles, from established scholars and policymakers, cover the gamut from US-China relations and anomie and dysfunction in the Middle East to direct investment in the MENA countries, inclusive business in supply chain and, finally, barriers that Western educational entrepreneurs face in pursuit of educational initiatives. In addition, we included reviews of four books each of which is timely in coverage and penetrating in their analysis. We will continue to bring you book reviews as part of our mission to advance knowledge.

On the journal's operational side, we want to make the publication more accessible to a wide audience across the world, and so, consistent with the 21st-century trend toward electronic media, we will publish this journal online. To maintain rigor and originality, articles submitted to the journal will undergo the standard blind review process. Reviewers' anonymous comments are shared with authors, as appropriate. Submission guidelines and procedures are delineated on the journal's website: http://www.cyrusik.org/research/the-cyrus-chronicle/.

As the first editor of the journal, I am pleased and proud to accept this challenge. I bring some experience; my first editorial assignment was as an undergraduate at the then Pahlavi University in Shiraz, Iran, a top-ranking institution in the region. A few students and I founded and published *Danesh-Pajouh* (knowledge seeker). In those days when freedom of expression was severely limited, we managed to publish one issue in March 1965 before the censors put a stop to the enterprise.

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Diversity and Equity in the Middle East: *Beyond Anomie and Dysfunction*

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INTRODUCTION

Many people view the Middle East in simplistic ways that envision great cultural uniformity (or perhaps assume that homogeneity should be established.). In reality, of course, significant diversity exists and is a positive asset. Nevertheless, rapid social and economic changes (and/or the pressures associated with them) put many Middle Eastern ethnic and minority groups under stress and/or peril.

Facing such circumstances, these enclaves often seek relief in the form of social equity involving some form of distinctive self-determinism. Opponents of such initiatives, in contrast, seek to have all people (members of cultural minorities included) act in accordance with some sort of universal standards or strategic models. Differences of opinion of this sort can (and have) led to tensions and conflict. This paper contributes to the dialogue regarding how disparities and disagreements such as these can be resolved.

CHANGE, STRESS, AND PAIN

In the Middle East, as elsewhere, people are often adversely affected by cultural, social, economic, and/or technological change. Being asked to adhere to traditions that are not their own can be especially painful. In other words, "minorities" (envisioned broadly as those lacking power and control) often suffer due to contact with powerful "majorities" who seek compliance to their standards. Under these conditions, significant dysfunction can result.

Mainstream researchers discussing these pressures (Appelberg, Honkasalo, and Koskenvuo 1996) report that people who have experienced a significant conflict at work during the previous 5 years are more likely to be diagnosed with a psychiatric problem. Apparently, significant stress in dealings with other people can result in detrimental and hurtful ramifications.

The average person who experiences difficulties on the job, however, is still a member of a viable and intact culture or society. Presumably, the cultural and social support available to these individuals continues and, in the process, provides a degree of comfort and balance even when these people experience hardships. When away from work, furthermore, these people are able to participate within the larger community and gain a respite from the troubles they face. Even when this comfort is available, the above research indicates that mental illness and the pain associated with it tends to increase. This situation can easily promote dysfunction.

The relative comfort provided by cultural stability can be juxtaposed with the opposite situation where the entire culture, heritage, and traditions of a people are under attack, weakened, rendered passé, or even destroyed. If people within a viable and functioning culture are adversely effected merely by "on the job" pressures, those whose entire heritage, traditions, and culture are under attack are likely to be even more vulnerable to adverse psychological responses.

For many years, advocates for ethnic groups have understood that change has hurtful potentials that need to be proactively addressed. The necessity to do so is particularly important when a people's way of life has been quickly transformed, weakened, or destroyed by some unanticipated, uncontrolled, and/or unmitigated onslaught. The agendas or actions of some "majority" (however defined) are typical catalysts for maladies of this sort.

Consider the case of Ishi, the lone survivor of a California (USA) tribe who was dubbed the "Last Savage" by the media and became a tourist attraction as well as the subject of anthropological research in the early 20th century (Kroeber 1964).

Many Native American thinkers point to the treatment of Ishi as a classic example of oppressive exploitation in which outsiders first destroyed the man's way of life and then turned him into a commodity to be studied and gawked at. Although such conclusions are understandable, the story and message of Ishi is much more complex than that. It is chronicled by Theodora Krober in her *Ishi*: *The Last of his Tribe* (1964) which explores the relationship between her husband (anthropologist Alfred Louis Kroeber) and Ishi as each comforted the other.

Theodora observes that around the time that Ishi stumbled into the modern world, starving and alone, Kroeber had suffered his own grievous loss. His first wife had died before her time and, as a result, Kroeber was thrown into a profound and disabling depression. Possessing great knowledge of the indigenous people of California, however, Kroeber was asked to help calm this unruly "wild man" who had unexpectedly appeared. Kroeber found a grief stricken soul who had lost

everything, not just a wife. Ishi's world was completely gone and everyone and everything that was important to him was dead. Nothing remained. Ultimately, Kroeber realized that suffering over a lost wife was relatively insignificant when compared to the agony of a victim whose entire social universe had quickly and irreversibly become extinct. In the process of helping Ishi adjust and cope, the grieving widower learned to deal with his own pain. Both men found salvation by helping each other.

The point is that people often feel profound and disabling pain when their heritage is stripped away. Although Ishi provides an extreme example of such anguish, this type of cultural and social loss is very common among ethnic groups who are confronted by the mainstream world or other powerful forces beyond their control. This pain should be recognized as well as the potential for dysfunction stemming from it. Those involved with the Middle East need to be aware of the ramifications of undermining and/or dismantling societies and communities. Strategies need to be developed to preserve cultures as well as mitigating the negative aspects of change and loss.

A classic discussion regarding the discomfort triggered by change is presented by G. N. Appell who observes that a strong and robust cultural heritage can help people cope with the impacts of traumatic change. Appell reminds us that "A society undergoing change...has a right to access its cultural traditions, its language and its social history" (Appell 1977 14) because these cultural assets can help temper the pain and disorientation caused by what he calls the social separation syndrome which "involves role conflict and ambiguity, threat to one's self esteem, and an impaired social identity".

Discussing this social and psychological threat, Appel continues, "Social bereavement arising from social change seems to follow a developmental sequence similar to personal bereavement...There is first a period of denial as numbness accompanied by anxiety, fear, and feelings of threat to one's identity. This is succeeded by a phase of frustrated searching for the lost world or individual, hoping for a reversal and then bitter pining and unrelieved sense of pain…Following this is a period of depression and apathy...Finally there is the phase of reorganization when the bereaved begins to build new plans and assumptions about the world" (1977 14.)

Although some of the details of Appel's vintage observations might be dated or metaphoric, the gist of his message continues to resonate clearly. Cultures are powerful coping devises that provide grounding, practical tools, comfort, and a sense of identity. They offer solutions to the problems that people face as well as presenting suggestions regarding how to think, act, and respond. If these tools are undercut, rendered passé, or

destroyed, a void can emerge causing people to lack the ability to live in a socially and psychologically healthy fashion.

Although this vulnerability is real, it does not inevitably lead to cultural extinction. In a classic observation, for example, David Maybury-Lewis reminds us that "There is no natural or historic law that militates against small societies. There are only political choices." (1977 58). Thus, the demise of ethnic groups is avoidable even if popular paradigms of cultural evolution and extinction reflect the world view (and perhaps the priorities) of many advocates of economic development, change, or conformity.

ANOMIE: THE DISRUPTION OF CHANGE

Social scientists recognize that change can lead to pain that triggers hurtful dysfunction. In the late 19th century, Emil Durkheim, for example, demonstrated how unhappiness and despair that is correlated with social displacements can lead to a growing suicide rate (Durkhiem 1893). Durkheim explained this relationship with reference to what he called "anomie" which refers to tensions and alienation triggered by significant disruptions or alterations in the daily life that people experience. Durkheim clearly recognized that unmitigated social change can produce dysfunctional, harmful, and counterproductive behavior.

Durkheim envisioned anomie as an inconsistency between (1) the standards of socially acceptable behavior and the goals embraced by a social group and (2) the realities that actually exist. When the inconsistency between the two is great, the rules of society begin to deteriorate or break down creating a chaotic and unpredictable environment capable of launching alienation, sorrow, a feeling of hopelessness, and hurtful responses.

From the 1930s to the 1950s, Robert Merton (1957) expanded Durkheim's concept of anomie, arguing that the norms of society provide individuals with (1) goals to which they should aspire, on the one hand, and (2) conventional methods for achieving these objectives, on the other. Merton understood that over time, the social structure (or the socio-economic milieu in which a community exists) may change to such a degree that its members are no longer able to attain sanctioned and honored achievements in the traditionally acceptable manner. Under such conditions, the predisposition for deviant and/or dysfunctional behavior tends to increase.

Social and economic development projects or initiatives involving ethnic groups can easily create conditions that give rise to anomie. The ways in which

people respond under these conditions, however, vary with some alternatives being more productive and positive than others. Merton provides a typology of responses to anomie that includes 1. Conformity, 2. Innovation, 3. Ritualization, 4. Retreatism, and 5. Rebellion (Merton 1957). They can be described as:

Conformity is the situation in which people continue to embrace the goals of their society and seek to achieve them in the traditional socially acceptable manner. Conformers continue to respond in the manner they did before the pressures causing anomie were present. Conformity is a conservative response and it preserves traditional relationships between people. Conformity, however, can inhibit the ability to adjust to new conditions.

Innovation is a situation where people embrace the goals of society but attempt to achieve those using new methods that might not be socially acceptable. Mainstream sociologists often characterize these methods as illegal and antisocial behavior. Among ethnic, groups, however, innovation might include responses that while violating traditional norms or expectations result in productive and moral adaptation. If so, embracing productive, but taboo, behaviors as legitimate methods for achieving socially acceptable goals might be a positive response that ultimately benefits society.

Ritualization is a situation where the person acts according to the norms of society but loses track of the goals to be achieved. In this case, people begin to act in a rote manner using tradition as a guide with little focus upon the costs vs. the benefits of doing so. This type of response is not strategic and is not likely to be productive. When people follow the old ways merely as an end in itself, the ability to respond in a productive and beneficial manner is reduced.

Retreatism is a situation where the person rejects both the cultural goals and the institutionalized methods for achieving them. Although people might reject the status quo, they do not necessarily embrace any positive or beneficial alternative. Under these conditions, the potential for dysfunctional responses, such as alcohol abuse, increases. While under the influence of alcohol or drugs, for example, the victim might be temporarily distracted from the plight faced, but fail to respond in an effective manner that generates long-term benefits.

Rebellion is a situation where the person (1) rejects both the goals that society provides and the traditional means of achieving them while (2) simultaneously embracing substitutes that take their place. Under such circumstances, the break with the old ways is profound and complete. Massive changes in thought and attitude take place when the old ways are discarded and new alternatives embraced. Chaos might result. Different factions might arise in conflict with one another. The situation, created by widespread rebellion, can be particularly painful to those who hold on to tradition and/or fear change.

Anomie, therefore, can spawn a wide variety of responses that are directly related to how individuals and the community deal with the pressures faced. These alternatives are compared in Table 1:

Table1: Responses to Anomie

RESPONSE	DESCRIPTION	ANALYSIS
Conformity	The traditions of the culture are preserved. People and the community continue to be motivated and act as in the past	The community and its culture is stable, but strategically responding to circumstances is minimal. Little positive adaptation.
Innovation	Although the goals of society remain intact, people embrace new methods of achieving them.	Although maintaining the goals of the community, the means of achieving them evolves to reflect new circumstances.
Ritualization	People continue to act according to the old conventions of behavior although doing so has little ad hoc value.	Although the ways of the past continue to be embraced, strategically responding to new conditions is insignificant.
Retreatism	People withdraw and abandon the old ways, but do not embrace a new alternative.	Psychologically, people are cut off from their heritage. Dysfunctional responses are likely.
Rebellion	New goals and new codes of behavior are embraced.	People replace both the traditional goals and the strategies that are used to achieve them.
DISCUSSION		
When ethnic groups confront change and anomie, a number of responses exist. The choices people make have far-reaching consequences regarding the viability of the culture and the mental health of individuals. By examining the possible responses to particular situations, people can better predict the consequences of change and the anomie it causes. The people of the Middle East need to be aware of anomie and responses to it.		

In conclusion, the concept of anomie deals with the tensions caused by social change. Ethnic groups in the Middle East and elsewhere can use this model to better understand the variety of ways in which people cope with the disruptive pressures they face. In recent decades, various refinements, such as *strain theory*, have been developed that focus upon how and why people respond to stress. Although such theories are often used to depict criminal and antisocial behavior and its causes, the same approach can be used to examine any significant change in behavior that people exhibit. On many occasions, reactions to anomie are disruptive and painful. Other responses may be positive. By understanding this range of reactions, Middle Eastern strategists and policy makers can recognize and more effectively mitigate significant side effects of cultural contact and change.

REPRESENTATIVE EXAMPLES OF DYSFUNCTION

On some occasions, unmitigated change and stress can cause people to exhibit rather bizarre beliefs and actions. Three such examples are the ghost dance (Mooney 1896 Kehoe 1989) and the "cargo cult" (Harris 1974, Inglis 1957 and Worsley 1957) and the Cultural Revolution in China. They are case studies of cultural adaptation gone wrong.

The Ghost Dance was an influential late 19th century religious movement among Native Americans. Its most prominent leader was a visionary named Wovoka who intertwined aspects of local traditions with a new religion. Suggestions, such as living in a more productive, moral, and harmonious manner were beneficial and can be viewed as positive and productive aspects of the movement.

Others demands and beliefs, however, were counterproductive and hurtful. Wovoka, for example, taught that if a certain dance was properly performed, the dead ancestors would come back to life, herds of buffalo would return, the white intruders would go away, and the old way of life would be restored. None of these projections, unfortunately, reflected reality. Acting according to them proved to be tragically counterproductive.

Some devotees were even convinced that if they wore "ghost shirts" they could not be killed by the guns of the white man and, therefore, victory was assured. The emerging ghost dance and the hope it provided appealed to many indigenous people who had suffered grievously due to reservation life, sickness, cultural decline, and governmental policies that sought to undercut the local Native American heritage. Sadly, ghost dance activities led to the massacre at Wounded Knee, the last major bloodbath of the Indian Wars.

Viewed from the perspective of anomie, the ghost dance can be viewed as an example of conformity in which the traditions of the culture were largely preserved and embraced, albeit in an unproductive manner. People were encouraged to look to the past, ignore reality, reject the new order of things, and act accordingly. Unfortunately, by doing so the actual circumstances being faced were not addressed in any meaningful manner. The result was disastrous.

The cargo cult, usually associated with Melanesia, involves people whose lives were hurtfully transformed and disrupted by social and economic change associated with outside contact during the early 20th century. Apparently, these reactions to circumstance were attempts by indigenous people to reassert control over their lives in a world that was being irrevocably changed in ways that undermined the old economic system and way of life, leaving the local people in a precarious and bewildering situation.

The responses to these hurtful circumstances are well known. When intrusive foreigners began to gain a foothold in Melanesia, members of the indigenous community noticed that these powerful outsiders built airports and harbors and then waited for airplanes and ships to arrive with great wealth. Apparently, the local people, becoming desperate and jealous, wanted their share of the cargo. One ploy they used was to build phony airports in the misguided belief that by doing so they could magically attract their own supernatural airplanes, gaining affluence as a result.

Although such responses are typically associated with some charismatic leader, a common explanation is that these cargo cults are responses to sorrow, fear, and anxiety caused by rapid and uncontrolled change. Although such strategies might be associated with ignorance and, superstition coupled with a lack of familiarity with modern economics and technology, the most important catalysts seem to have been desperation, hopelessness, and disappointment.

Viewed from the perspective of anomie, the cargo cults appear as innovative and/or rebellious responses to anomie. Devotees of the cult, for example, embraced new ways to achieve goals (luring cargo carrying planes by building bogus airports) even though other aspects of the society might have remained intact. This behavior might also be reflective of rebellion in which new goals (a desire for western goods) was accompanied by new economic strategies (luring cargo planes). In any event, a major adjustment (although counterproductive) took place. It

was precipitated by profound tensions in the culture and economy caused by rapid and uncontrolled outside contact.

Such reactions do not just occur among small scale cultures. Consider the Cultural Revolution in China during the 1960s and 1970s when militants encouraged by Chairman Mao rejected their cultural traditions and attempted to destroy the rich cultural heritage of the Orient. This movement (Lee 1978, King 2010) sought to eliminate remnants of Western business practices as well as aspects of Chinese civilization that were considered old fashioned and inhibiting progress in China. This reaction appears to have been triggered by the social and economic troubles that China was experiencing during that era.

As a political movement, various purges eliminated leaders who were considered to be too connected with the bourgeois. Culturally, many Chinese, especially the young, lashed out against China's rich heritage. Millions of people were harassed, shamed, and punished because they were identified with Chinese civilization or its traditions and knowledge. Intellectuals, teachers, writers, and cultural leaders found themselves under attack.

Innumerable relics from China's impressive historic legacy were destroyed or mutilated. Thus, when I visited the tomb of Confucius a few years ago, I discovered that his grave marker had been badly damaged during the excesses of that era. Today, of course, repairs have been made and the Chinese people (and the rest of the world) hold Confucius in the highest of esteem. During this period, however, anyone who was identified with the past, even world famous philosophers, became vulnerable.

Archaeological remains, archives, art works, and artifact were destroyed in a massive wave of devastation. Thus, the Cultural Revolution is an example of people strongly rejecting their culture and all it stood for. According to the theory of anomie, this can be viewed as a case of how people react when they are unable to achieve socially acceptable goals in a socially acceptable manner. It took the form of rebellion in which the old ways were rejected and replaced with alternatives that were distinctive and divergent from the past. Although this movement was the work of overenthusiastic zealots (and not officially condoned by the government), the destruction was profound and seems to be a spontaneous reaction, similar in some ways to the ghost dance and the cargo cults. All three were encouraged by charismatic leaders, but rooted in a feeling of hopelessness and a grassroots demand for profound change triggered by troubled times.

The Chinese Cultural Revolution is now recognized as a disaster by the Chinese as well as the rest of the world. Today in the Middle East, unfortunately, some forces have begun to attack the rich cultural legacy of the region by destroying archaeological ruins, monuments, and the artistic achievements of the past. Although these events are unique, they also seem to be emotional responses triggered by the heat of the moment, not careful thought. Like the Chinese Cultural Revolution, they are tragic examples of the wanton destruction of an irreplaceable heritage during a moment of strong emotions.

These examples demonstrate that a strong potential exists for people to make poor decisions when they are faced with hurtful disruptions in their way of life. The theory of anomie can be used to model these changes. With this in mind, the ghost dance, the cargo cult, and the Cultural Revolution are compared in Table 2

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Table2: Patterns of Dysfunctional Response

ISSUE	GHOST DANCE	CARGO CULT	CULTURAL REVOLUTION
Trigger	Cultural Stress. Economic reversals.	Cultural Stress. Economic reversals.	Cultural stress. Economic reversals.
Response	A belief in a magical return of ancestors, the old ways, and personal invincibility.	A misguided copying of the techniques used by outsiders who threatened the traditional way of life.	Widespread disrespect and rejection of cultural traditions long held by the Chinese people and their culture.
Impact	Suicidal behavior. Reliance upon magic.	Counterproductive economic strategies.	Cultural destruction on a massive scale.
DISCUSSION			

DISCUSSION
The ghost dance, the cargo cult, and the Cultural Revolution represent hurtful and unproductive responses to change, stress, and anxiety. Members of ethnic groups need to be aware of such potential reactions in order to envision more production strategies.

The ghost dance, the cargo cult, and Chinese Cultural Revolution point to damaging and ineffective means of addressing social and economic change. They demonstrate that when people are not prepared for the conditions they face, dysfunction is likely to occur. The opposite, however, is also true: some cultures and the people within them respond to the pressures faced in positive and constructive ways while simultaneously maintaining their unique cultural character and distinctiveness. The examples of the Iroquois Indians of New York State (USA)/Ontario (Canada) and the Yup'ik of Alaska (USA) are examples.

POSITIVE ADAPTATIONS

The Iroquois of New York State (USA) and the Province of Ontario (Canada) are impressive in many ways. In the 18th century they successfully manipulated the colonial forces of Britain and France, reaping significant benefits in the process. During the French and Indian War (1754-1763), known as the Seven Years War in Europe, the Iroquois strategically controlled the situation and enjoyed prosperity as a result. Once the French had been totally defeated and driven from North America, however, the Iroquois were "no longer able to play off the British and French against each other and [found themselves] surrounded by a circle of British forts" (Wallace 1978 442). Because an alliance with the Iroquois was no longer needed, British generosity dwindled and economic suffering crept in.

When the Revolutionary War between Britain and their North American colonists began, the Iroquois became embroiled, once again, in a conflict that was larger than their world. Realizing that the British valued the region merely for trading purposes while victorious colonialists would probably be tempted to migrate into Iroquois territory, most Iroquois sided with Britain. The decision was costly: [During the war, the Iroquois homeland] was devastated by the John Sullivan [United States military commander] expedition in 1778, which in a three pronged offensive managed to burn the houses and the crops in almost every major Iroquois town. Many of the women and children, and the surviving warriors, took refuge at Fort Niagara with the British, who housed them in a refugee camp, inadequately clothed, inadequately fed, inadequately sheltered, and swept by disease. By the end of the war, despite their military successes, the Iroquois population had been cut approximately in half (Wallace 1978 443.)

After the war, the victorious United States, remembering that the Iroquois had been their enemy, showed them few favors. And, as the Iroquois had feared, White settlers were attracted to the area. By the turn of the 19th century, the Iroquois were beaten in war, decimated by diseases brought by the Whites, and besieged by new economic rivals. The results of this unenviable situation included infighting, personal resignation, despair, and retreat. As is often the case under such circumstances, dysfunctional behavior (including alcoholism) became rampant.

Anthropologist, Anthony Wallace, an Iroquois specialist, points to the widespread dysfunction that arose including violence, uncontrolled weeping and pining, fear of peers (as evidenced by accusations of witchcraft),

social disunity, and, widespread alcoholism. Clinical depression was commonplace and Wallace observes that when people were sober, they were likely to be suicidal (1970 196-201). With the culture and its people in total disarray, the Iroquois, as a viable culture, appeared to be headed towards extinction.

Within this milieu of cultural decline, Handsome Lake, a once respected indigenous leader, had fallen into hopeless alcoholism and his productive life appeared to be over. By the spring of 1799 he was "bedridden, reputedly...as a consequence of prolonged [alcoholism] (Wallace 1978 445).

In June of that year "Handsome Lake collapsed [and] appeared to have died, but actually he was in a trance state and was experiencing the first of a series of visions in which messengers of the Creator instructed him in his own and his people's religious obligations" (Wallace 1978 445). After recuperating, Handsome Lake dedicated his life to sobriety and to the restoration of Iroquois culture and society.

On the one hand, Handsome Lake encouraged his people to embrace their cultural traditions in innovative ways. The late 18th and early 19th century had devastated the Iroquois, throwing their culture into a state of complete disarray. Economically, the Iroquois could not effectively compete with the new settlers who entered the region. Although embracing and championing Iroquois culture, Handsome Lake also recognized that Iroquois society needed to adjust to the emerging economic realities in order to be revitalized.

Iroquois men, for example, focused upon hunting and warfare, viewing farming as an unmanly and shameful profession that was left to women. When white settlers migrated into Iroquois territory, however, new methods of farming (that included men performing their share of the work) proved to be more efficient and productive. The success of these outsiders further undercut the Iroquois economy. Under these circumstances, Handsome Lake encouraged Iroquois men to take up farming and he urged them to perceive agriculture as a legitimate profession, not a source of shame or embarrassment. This change of attitude helped the Iroquois to rebound economically, socially, and culturally.

The response suggested by Handsome Lake is clearly an example of what Robert Merton describes as an innovative response to anomie in which the goals of society remain intact although people are provided with new methods for achieving them. While Merton often associated innovation with harmful and hurtful substitutes such as illegal activities, in this case innovation took the form of a productive and legitimate rethinking of traditional sex roles. It allowed the Iroquois to adjust to emerging social and economic circumstances.

Handsome Lake, furthermore, forcefully denounced the disruptive and dysfunctional responses exhibited by his people. Drinking alcoholic beverages, in particular, was banned, along with promiscuous sexual behavior, the practice of witchcraft, and other troublesome habits that were undercutting the society and its people. Handsome Lake went on to insist that people acknowledge their past errors and refrain from similar misdeeds in the future.

From the perspective of anomie, Handsome Lake seems to have intuitively understood that many people had fallen into responses that resemble retreatism; they had abandoned the old ways but had not replaced them with any positive alternative. He demanded that people find a meaningful focus and began to combat social and individual degeneration.

Largely through Handsome Lake's example and message, the Iroquois people reversed their downward spiral of decline and re-emerged as a vital and viable culture. They continue as a powerful force today. This example emphasizes that ethnic groups can adapt to changing circumstances by tempering their traditions in productive and strategic ways. Cultures are powerful forces and as Appel indicated above, they often provide invaluable tools for both physical survival and psychological health. In addition, they are flexible and capable of innovation and change.

Approximately 175 years after Handsome Lake's achievements, Alaska Native Harold Napoleon provided another example of cultural renewal. Napoleon's *Yuuyaraq: The Way of Being Human* (1996) examines his indigenous people (the Yup'ik of southwestern Alaska USA) focusing upon the trauma and stress caused by contract with the outside world during the 20th century. Napoleon chronicles the plight of a downtrodden and bewildered people who fell into disarray and dysfunction but ultimately rebounded with healing and renewal.

Instead of being a scholar or professional researcher, Napoleon is an insightful layman who recovered from a personal bout with alcoholism. Writing on a subjective and intuitive level, Napoleon discusses the traumatic events that undercut Yup'ik society (as well as the positive steps that can be taken to insure its renewal.) Revealingly, these observations and recommendations independently duplicate the example and suggestions of Handsome Lake.

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While not excusing or discounting his lapses and personal responsibilities, Napoleon focuses upon the destructive power of uncontrolled social and economic change and the alienation and disruption they produce. He argues that social and individual dysfunction can best be overcome through cultural revitalization.

Napoleon points to the irony that profound decline among the Yup'ik was correlated with economic progress and physical wellbeing. The people had warm clothes, comfortable homes, and enough to eat. Famines were a thing of the past. Viewed from a material perspective, life was good. Nonetheless, the suffering was profound, alcoholism was rampant, and the suicide rate rose to epidemic proportions.

Napoleon explains these responses as the fruit of cultural destruction. He records that in the early 20th century disease had killed many of the elders who carried the traditions of Yup'ik culture. As a result, the survivors were denied their heritage and floundered emotionally as a result. Economically, moreover, the traditional subsistence lifestyle was rendered passé. This situation, of course is largely similar to what Handsome Lake's Iroquois faced in the late 18th and early 19th centuries. The response, furthermore, was almost identical: dysfunctional behavior, mass suicide, despair, and passive resignation.

The solutions suggestions by the Iroquois and the Yup'ik, furthermore, are almost identical even though there is no evidence that Napoleon was aware of his predecessors. In both cases, cultural renewal and an embrace of the local heritage and traditions was urged. The rationale underlying these tactics is the belief that by nurturing and rebuilding the culture and its traditions the people can heal from a painful past and a new and positive chapter in Yup'ik culture can begin.

Napoleon uses the theory of Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder as a metaphor to portray the painful process of stress, alienation, and dysfunction that long plagued his culture and people. Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder, of course, is a condition in which people develop dysfunctional patterns of response as a result of being exposed to danger, fear, stress, and so forth. Speaking with reference to this disorder, Napoleon argues that rapidly changing social and economic conditions caused unmitigated stress that, in turn, triggered dysfunctional responses and behaviors that almost destroyed the Yup'ik. This ongoing process proved to be a vicious circle because as the culture became weaker, it became less able to help people cope, leading to even more profound problems.

Discussed in terms of anomie, a pattern of retreatism emerged in which people abandoned their old ways, but did not replace them with new and powerful alternatives.

A key strength in Napoleon's account is that he is not a professional social scientist or psychologist. Indeed, his status as insightful layman who is member of his community gives his work added credibility. This analysis has special value because it independently verifies and reinforces the findings of researches such as Merton and Appell while simultaneously paralleling the example of Handsome Lake. They are compared in Table 3.

Table3: Positive Adaptation

Example	Hurtful pressures	Positive responses
Handsome Lake	Due to changing political and economic conditions, the Iroquois suffered. The resulting sorrow triggered disabling dysfunctional behavior.	Handsome Lake called for the people to preserve their heritage while adapting to changing social and economic conditions. The decline of the Iroquois was overcome.
Harold Napoleon	Due to new conditions caused by disease and the intervention of outsiders, the Yup'ik faced a crisis emerged leading to counterproductive responses and personal dysfunction	Harold Napoleon notes that the people suffered because they lost touch with their heritage and traditions. He suggested reconnecting with their cultural heritage in order to more effectively cope.
DISCUSSION		
Although some responses to anomie (such as the ghost dance, cargo cults, and the cultural revolution are hurtful and counterproductive, alternatives exist. The examples offered by Handsome Lake and Harold Napoleon demonstrate this potential.		

Those who deal with Middle Eastern ethnic groups can benefit by keeping these positive examples of beneficial responses to change in mind. Social, change, economic development and business intervention trigger change. On many occasions hurtful reactions are the result. Positive alternatives, however, are possible. Efforts must be made to insure that transitions are positive, sensitive, as well as culturally and psychologically beneficial.

The fact that pain and alienation may exist, of course, does not mean that outsiders should force people to preserve and live according to their traditions. Self-determinism at a local level should prevail. People,

however, need to understand the full implications of their actions.

In this regard, Ormund Loomis has observed: "Proposing…efforts to stem…inevitable change would be pointless. Further, in a free society, even expecting [organizations or] the government to slow…[inevitable] progress would be wrong…It is possible, however, to temper change so that it proceeds in accordance with the will of the people, and not in response to the pressures or faddish trends of insensitive public or private projects" (1983 29.)

Ethnic groups in the Middle East and throughout the world need to remember that the cultural heritage and traditions of a people can be a source of great strength and comfort. And they should not forget that transformations and regulations mandated by outsiders can undercut a culture in hurtful ways leading to stress, psychological discomfort, and dysfunction (Salzman 2001, Walle 2004.) Care needs to be taken to minimize this kind of negative and hurtful response. The examples of the Iroquois and the Yup'ik, however, prove that positive and constructive responses are possible.

Many methods for strengthening the cultures of ethnic minorities can be proposed. One example is the concept of what has been called the "concurrent majority" a political construct that was developed in the United States during the first half of the 19th century to protect the rights of minorities that are threatened by the will of the majority. This strategy was a reaction to what has been called the "tyranny of the majority".

THE TYRANNY OF THE MAJORITY

Empowering minorities (such as ethnic groups) to live as they see fit is profoundly important. The discussions of the Iroquois and the Yup'ik that were presented above dramatize this reality.

As also discussed, significant obstacles often prevent people from following their preferred ways of life. Denying people the right to self-determinism is often labeled the "tyranny of the majority". The term "majority" can be used to refer to being outvoted by a numerical superiority (such as in an election). It can also refer to domination that results when others control a "majority" of some kind of power, such as economic or political clout, that is used as leverage. An example of raw power being more influential than a demographic majority is the complaint that often been made that in Iraq a Sunni minority was long able to force its will upon a Shiite majority. (This paper has no opinion regarding this debate and simply mentions it as a well-known point of contention).

The phrase "tyranny of the majority" goes back to the 18th century and was used by American political theorist John Adams in 1788. In the early 19th century, it was employed by Alexis de Tocqueville in his *Democracy in America* (1835). De Tocqueville, of course, was a liberal who favored democracy but was leery that unbridled majority rule could turn ugly, as it did during the French Revolution. The phrase and the concept it represents gained additional international attention in John Stuart Mill's, *On Liberty* (1859).

When significant social or economic initiatives are taking place, local peoples and communities often fear that the resulting changes will be detrimental. A key question that can arise asks "To what degree does a raw majority have the right to control and veto the way of life and the economic activities of distinctive and established minorities?" Phrased in another manner, "Should minorities be able to practice self-determinism even when doing so violates principles that are held by the majority?" Many advocates for liberty and equity believe the answer to this question should be "Yes".

These are complex issues. For justifiable and laudable reasons, the raw majority (and the countries in which they reside) want to establish uniform standards that provide guidance in their territory (or even globally, as argued by proponents of universal human rights). Majority rule can help create these sought after standards. On the other hand, if the dictates of the majority are strictly followed, the legitimate choices of minorities might be curtailed.

In the United States of America, this dichotomy has led to controversy and inconsistency. On some occasions, the United States demands that its indigenous people honor the demands of the majority. Thus, indigenous tribal courts are allowed to operate, but only if defendants are guaranteed all the rights granted by the United States (such as the ability to personally confront accusers and/or those who are witnesses against them). Thus, the rights of indigenous minorities, although acknowledged, are tempered by policies that are established by the majority even though they might conflict with local traditions.

In other circumstances, the will of minorities prevails over the preferences of the majority. Indigenous people of the United States, for example, are allowed to operate casinos and games of chance in states where the majority of the population has outlawed gambling. In such cases, the democratically established decrees of the majority are overruled by the will of the minority. (The complex rationales for these conflicting policies are not discussed here because they are distinctly American. The

point bring made is that ad hoc variation and inconsistency exist.)

The Kurdish people of the Middle East present another example of majority vs. minority rights in conflict. The region of Kurdistan is a vast area in which the Kurds are in the majority. This region, however, is parceled out to a number of nations including Turkey, Syria, Iraq, and Iran. In each of these sovereign countries, the Kurds are a minority. Many Kurds complain that their inherent rights and needs are denied because of their minority status. In some countries, attempts are made to provide the Kurdish people with a degree of autonomy and home rule that takes their distinctiveness into account while simultaneously integrating these regions and their people into the countries where they reside. Even when such concessions are present, many Kurds believe that the only legitimate solution is for the various parts of Kurdistan to be united to form a new country. This paper has no suggestions regarding how to resolve the problems and does not take sides. The compelling arguments of both sides are recognized.

By looking at these representative examples from North America and the Middle East, the potential problems and inequities associated with relying upon simple majority rule are showcased. These tensions need to be resolved.

A SAMPLE METHOD OF RESPONSE: THE CONCURRENT MAJORITY

Ethnic groups have an unexpected friend in 19th century American political theorist John C. Calhoun. Many will find this alliance to be ironic because Calhoun was a stalwart defender of a social and cultural elite that exploited racial and/or ethnic minorities (such as the 19th slave population of the United States).

In this regard, liberal American historian Richard Hofstadter (1948) observes "Not in the slightest was [Calhoun] concerned with minority rights as they are chiefly of interest to the modern liberal mind – the rights of dissenters to express unorthodox opinions, of the individual conscience against the State, least of all of ethnic minorities". This point is well taken, Calhoun was an apologist who supported slavery and the privileged classes that benefited from it.

In spite of championing an elite gentry that gained fortunes using slave labor, Calhoun grappled with how to protect the rights of minorities even when outvoted. Although most progressive people today have little sympathy for the "minorities" that Calhoun defended, his logic and thinking, nevertheless, provide generic tactics that can be used to shield any group against

the tyranny of the majority. The particular theory that Calhoun developed in this regard is usually called the "Concurrent Majority". It asserts that factions have a right to protect their interests, even if outnumbered.

Calhoun's thinking arose in the early 19th century when strong tensions existed in the United States between the industrialized North and the agrarian South. The existence of slavery was a key issue, but not the only one (as demonstrated by arguments over tariffs which seemingly benefited the North at the expense of the South). Calhoun's fear that the minority might be downtrodden by the majority was not unreasonable, and he had repeatedly seen the federal government unlawfully do so.

On March 3 1832, for example, the United States Supreme Court decided "Worcester vs. Georgia" a case that affirmed that the states (which reflect the will of the local majority) had no authority to meddle into the affairs of the American Indians (a minority) that resided in its territory. The case was brought to the Supreme Court by an individual who had been detained for breaking a Georgia law that interfered with the rights of indigenous people to have unregulated contact with whites.

The United States Supreme Court declared that these laws enacted by Georgia were null and void. Andrew Jackson, president of the United States at the time, however, disagreed and took no action. He is reputed to have said "[Chief] Justice Marshal has made his decision, now let's see him enforce it." Since the court had no control over the military, Georgia was not forced to comply. In other words, the administration of the United States (voted into office by a white majority) denied a minority, composed of indigenous people, their legitimate rights in conscious disregard for the law.

Later in the same year, Calhoun and his state of South Carolina rebelled against President Jackson in what is called the Nullification Crisis. "Nullification" is the long standing principle that if a federal law is illegal, the states may ignore it. At the end of the 18th century, the nullification argument had been employed by Thomas Jefferson and James Madison in their opposition of the Alien and Sedition Acts (as articulated in Thomas Jefferson's *Kentucky Resolution* and James Madison's *Virginia Resolution*.) As a result of such precedence, South Carolina was in familiar territory when it sought relief by cancelling what it felt were illegitimate federal laws. On November 24, 1832, South Carolina passed a law nullifying the tariff within its territory and threatened to secede from the United States. President Jackson stood firm, declared that such action was treason, and threatened military intervention. Eventually a

compromise was reached and the immediate crisis subsided. The underlying belief in nullification, however, remained among the Southern states, emerged as its rallying cry, and prepared the nation for Civil War.

The American Indian Removal Act of 1830 and the forced migrations of Eastern Indians to Oklahoma that it mandated is an even more blatant example of minority rights being denied by the federal government. Jackson's brutal "ethnic cleansing", known as the Trail of Tears, is one of the greatest injustices in American history. These actions were an illegal, shameful, and a flagrant denial of the legitimate rights of a minority. Without doubt, Calhoun was well aware of these examples of the tyranny of the majority.

This was the situation when Calhoun sought strategies for protecting the rights of minorities who were threatened by majority rule. In general, the term "concurrent majority" refers to methods which help an outvoted minority (however defined) to block the initiatives and desires of a majority. As might be expected, such remedies are popular among subgroups that feel that, otherwise, they might not be treated with parity and equity.

MODERN APPLICATIONS IN THE HINTERLAND

As indicated above, in Calhoun's era the agrarian cotton planters of the Southeastern United States were outnumbered by the more populated Northern industrialists. In such an environment, Calhoun feared that the Northern majority would unjustly shift laws and economic policies (such as tariffs) to their advantage at the expense of the South. To avoid this possibility, Calhoun insisted that minorities must possess an ability to maintain their way of life, even when the majority is hostile to it. This basic reasoning continues to be a strong justification for the rights of minorities, such as ethnic groups. On many occasions, for example, indigenous peoples, such as the Maya of Belize, assert their traditional rights in ways that overtly contradict the will of the majority. They justify doing so by arguing that protecting these rights is a key to their survival as a people. They have found support and success when doing so.

Consider the example of the Crimean Tatars (Shevel 2014, Kinstler 2014, Balson 2015), an Islamic people, primarily Sunni, who are of Turkish descent. These Tatars have been the local people of the Crimea (an area bridging the Middle East and Central Asia) for hundreds of years. They have a better claim at indigenous status in the area than anyone else.

In the late 18th century, Russia defeated the Turkish Empire and took over the Crimea. This political shakeup was followed by a mass migration of ethnic Russians into Crimea, making the Tatars a minority in their own land. During World War 2, the Tatars were accused of collaborating with the Germans against Russia and a mass exile resulted. Today, the remnants of this indigenous group constitute only about 15% of the total population.

When the Crimea was a part of the Ukraine, the Tatars were granted a significant degree of autonomy. Currently, Russia, once again controls, Crimea and what the future holds for these people is uncertain. Nonetheless, a Tatar leader Refut Chubarov has called for an autonomous Tatar region to be established.

Although minorities such as the Maya and the Tatars are very different from the plantation owners who Calhoun defended, the situation they face is largely the same. They all oppose an eroding of the freedom to practice and enjoy their way of life. Calhoun developed the theory of the concurrent majority as a defense against the tyranny of the majority, and his logic is as strong today as when it was written in the early 19th century. Calhoun's writing, furthermore, is consistent with well-respected political theorists, including liberals such as John Stuart Mill who wrote the celebrated *On Liberty* (1859).

When decisions are made purely with reference to majority rule, subgroups can emerge as losers in an inequitable power-grab that favors the numerical majority at the expense of minorities. Calhoun sought to control the tyranny of the majority using methods that protect minority rights. In this regard, Calhoun rhetorically asks, "How can those who are invested with the powers of government be prevented from employing them [from] aggrandizing themselves instead of using them to protect and preserve society" (1851 271-272). Because of this potential misuse of power, Calhoun argued that minorities must possess the ability to prevent their rights from being annulled and their legitimate wishes and priorities from being ignored.

Providing these protections can be justified by complaining that without them the will of the majority can be forced upon minorities in hurtful, burdensome, and unfair ways. This potential is especially strong and oppressive if the minority is significantly distinct from the dominant majority (as is the case with many ethnic groups).

Perhaps in a small and homogeneous community, simple majority rule might function effectively and equitably. As the population rises and divisions and

differences between segments of the population expand, however, this ability is reduced. Recognizing this reality, Calhoun observes "the more extensive and populous the country, the more diversified the condition and pursuits of its population; and the richer, more luxurious, and dissimilar the people, the more difficult it is to equalize the action of the government" (1851 273).

Under these conditions, Calhoun concludes that it becomes "more easy for one portion of the community to pervert its powers to oppress and plunder the other" (1851 273). This, of course, is exactly the complaint that is made by many ethnic groups whose lands are dominated by forces that attempt to transform or eliminate minorities in ways that accommodate the powerful or the majority.

Calhoun's basic point is that the mere will of a majority does not give it the right to destroy the way of life of a minority. Ethnic groups can use Calhoun's theory of the concurrent majority to affirm and justify rights that pure majority rule can easily undermine. Calhoun, furthermore, recognizes that the greater the difference between people, the more likely that majority actions might prove inequitable to minorities. Under these circumstances, methods for transcending raw "majority rule" are likely to be needed.

DISCUSSION

This paper is not presumptuous enough to assume that an example from the 19th century United States can be generalized for application elsewhere, such as in the Middle East and adjacent regions. The use of this specific example merely illustrates that minorities, including ethnic groups, need to embrace their distinctiveness, on the one hand, while recognizing the inevitable reality of change and its challenges, on the other.

As David Maybury-Lewis (1977) indicates, cultures are not necessarily destroyed by contact with the outside world and the pressures of change. If given a chance, most societies and their heritage have a profound ability to adapt. Variation and diversity, furthermore, can be strong and invaluable assets. This is true in the Middle East and elsewhere.

Change and the rivalries between peoples, however, often take a toll. This can be especially true if rapid and unmitigated transformations are forced by outside pressures. Under many circumstances, people find themselves unable to achieve socially acceptable goals in socially acceptable ways. This situation can lead to anomie coupled with the estrangement and bewilderment it often causes.

All too often, the responses to anomie are hurtful and dysfunctional. This is what we saw in the examples of the ghost dance, the cargo cults, and the Cultural Revolution. Positive examples, however, such as those associated with Handsome Lake and Harold Napoleon can also be found. These positive examples demonstrate how cultures can adapt and prosper while maintaining their distinctiveness and essence. These examples prove that cultural preservation can be combined with an appropriate adaptation to new circumstances.

The vast majority of the world's countries believe that people, as individuals, should have rights to what most generally can be viewed as self-determinism and an appropriate degree of freedom (as defined by the specific nations). Many of these jurisdictions, however, possess few mechanisms to protect distinctive groups of people (such as cultures and ethnic minorities). As argued above, however, cultures and traditions often need to remain strong and vital in order to nurture those who are members of these groups.

A threat that often needs to be overcome when people face new realities is the "tyranny of the majority" in which powerful outside forces mandate that people adjust in ways that reflect the will of the majority or the powerful. Under such conditions, self-determinism and the process of equitable and orderly cultural transformation can be undercut.

Minorities (measured either demographically or with reference to power structures) need methods to resist these tendencies. Especially when smaller or weaker ethnic enclaves are distinctive and/or their situations are different from those who dominate, full human rights and self-determinism might not be available to these peoples. Under these conditions, small and distinctive enclaves often require proactive and additional protections. The method of the concurrent majority is one illustrative example of how these goals can be accomplished.

These are issues that impact the Middle East. The region (and the adjacent areas of North Africa and Central Asia) are the home to a wide array of distinctive peoples. Many small minorities are vastly outnumbered. And yet, their human and cultural rights need to be protected. By resolving these tensions and dilemmas, cultural diversity can emerge as a powerful and treasured asset, not as a source of division and strife. When that day comes, the Middle East and it people will be poised to prosper and live in peace.

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