

LAMBDA ALPHA JOURNAL



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Student Journal of the National Anthropology Honor Society

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Editor's Note



It is with great pride that I introduce to you the twenty-eighth volume of the Lambda Alpha Journal. To keep up with the responsibilities of publishing the journal is an elaborate task and I extend my thanks to all the contributors, the Wichita State Student Government Association which sponsors the Journal and has done so since the Journals inception, and finally, but not least, the volunteer staff.

The current volume is dedicated to a dear friend and member of Lambda Alpha, Mr. Chester Arthur Harrison, who passed away in 1997 while serving as an officer in the Society. His efforts and contributions are recognized in a special dedication which opens the volume.

The following papers are varied in content and reflects the breadth and diversity of the discipline of anthropology. The introductory article by Plested represents a unique and entertaining piece on socio-linguistics. Her paper is followed by an elaborate presentation by Oakland on the collective memory and improvisation in Jazz. He presents a number of complex assessments of interest to the generalist as well as the Jazz enthusiast. Additional papers include Nail's review of the Miocene fossil primate phenomenon *Gigantopithecus*, adding an interesting contribution from the field of paleoanthropology, and Gann's brief but rather unique behavioral study of a group of wild Howler monkeys in Costa Rica. Her study is of particular interest because of the relative sparsity of existing observational studies of these primates in the wild. A cultural anthropological contribution by Löbenbrück on the role the party cadre as a social institution in the changing society of China is accompanied by a diverse paper on aspects of the social dynamics of the Hadza and Kaguru of Africa. The concluding article represents a study by Phelps who reports on the effects of a unique field school project on the community that it is aimed at studying. A kind of anthropological study of the effects of anthropological interference. The main articles are followed by two book reviews presented by student contributors.

As always, the Journal concludes with an updated list of the student award recipients and chapter addresses and advisors. I take this opportunity to congratulate not only the award winners, but also all the participants in the two competitions. I also welcome all the new chapters and membership. In this vein, I invite all of you who are not currently subscribing to the Journal to do so. A common misunderstanding has been that the Journal and the Newsletter from the executive secretary at Ball State University is one and the same. Indeed, they are two different organs of the Society. The Lambda Alpha Journal is a separate publication, and has remained a non-profit, purely volunteer-based production which receives no funding from the Society. Our sponsor has been the Wichita State Student Government Association. The Journal publishes student submissions and student award competition papers following an editorial staff review/referee process. Approximately forty to sixty percent of all submissions are published following the review process. The Journal already has several individual and library subscribers and we would certainly appreciate more. Subscriptions are mailed to individuals or institutions throughout the U.S., in Germany, Japan and South America, thus contributions, if accepted, achieve wide exposure. All individual

student members are encouraged to subscribe (see form in back of journal), and even more importantly, all chapters are encouraged to take out a chapter subscription. We really depend on your subscriptions to keep us going. At Wichita State University, the Alpha Chapter requires their membership to subscribe as part of the active participation in the Society, thus showing their support and appreciation for the Journal.

When possible, we have mailed complimentary copies to the chapters in the past. Our intention was, of course, to establish an interest and greater awareness of the Journal. It is too early to judge whether or not we have succeeded. Yet as the editor-in-chief I have seen a substantial increase in manuscript submissions, and I am pleased to say that submissions are diverse in nature and content.

The growth of Lambda Alpha nationally has been considerable in recent years and I wish to recognize the special efforts of Dr. Swartz, our executive secretary, and the contributions of all of the individual Chapter faculty advisors. The increasing number of Chapters and membership is clearly suggesting that there is an important place for the society and I assume, by association, for the Journal. I urge you, therefore, to subscribe, and to submit manuscripts.

For now, as the editorial staff has proceeded to work on Volume 29, I urge the readership to take time to enjoy the volume before you. I shall look forward to *your* contributions.

Peer H. Moore-Jansen
Editor-In-Chief *λ α Journal*

Dedication

Chester Arthur Harrison

This issue of the Lambda Alpha Journal is dedicated to the memory of Chester Arthur Harrison, who passed away in the early Spring of 1997 following a long term illness. Chet, to all of us at the Wichita State University, was National Treasurer and an officer of the Alpha Chapter of Kansas.

A true generalist in anthropology, Chet's interests encompassed all of the subdivisions of the discipline. Fluent in French, Chet went to Strasbourg and Orleans, France, where he studied for a year. He participated in a number of archaeological field projects at home and abroad. During his stay in France he worked on archaeological excavations of late prehistoric and early historic sites and at home he worked in both Kansas and Texas archaeology.

Chet's interests in the realm of cultural anthropology focused on a particular aspects of medical anthropology and he had a great interest in the study of demography and disease among modern human populations. During the last couple of years, Chet developed an almost insatiable interest in paleoanthropology. His keen interest in models explaining mode and tempo in evolution directed him towards a thesis project in paleoanthropology. He spent endless hours reading and discussing the pros and cons of evolutionary models and he had progressed significantly towards the completion of his Master's degree. In spite of the stress of his illness, Chet never slowed down. To the very week of his passing he pushed along with the strongest intention of completing what he had started. He still had places to go and things to do.

A person with a keen sense of humor and dry wit, Chet's presence at any social gathering added greatly to it's success. His courage and spiritual strength were examples of strength to all of us at Wichita State. His ability to continuously smile in the face of adversity and oppressive medical tests, treatments, and hospitalizations, instilled in many of us, a sense of pride in him as well as a frustration in ourselves. Frustration, because there was so little that we could do to ease his obvious discomfort. To us, Chet will be remembered in a variety of ways; a beret (which he always wore), a plaster skull with sunglasses (of which he always drew caricatures), a hammock (in which he often fell asleep while in the field), Dr. Seuss (whose books he read with the greatest amusement), Fleetwood Mac (who performed his favorite music); and not to forget, his foot locker that traveled with him in the field and abroad, out of which he "lived" and in which he was eventually buried.

Chet did share his innermost thoughts with some of us. Yet, he never sought comfort during his long illness. Rather, he was there to comfort those of us who cried when we thought he wasn't looking. Even, in the darkest hour of his illness there seemed to be a bright moment that some of us could take comfort in. Having nearly completed his thesis project, his advisor was able to let him know that the University had granted him his degree, something that he had worked so hard for and with such enthusiasm. Yet, to Chet it was never a question of what to do with the degree at this juncture. Although he was very weak when he was told, he seemed to now exactly what he was going to use it for wherever he was

going next. True to form, even at the very last moment he new how to make the rest of us take comfort from his presence in our moment of despair. Please share with us the memory of an extraordinary human being.

Melvin A. Johnson
Student Editor

Peer H. Moore-Jansen
Editor-in-Chief



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A Joking Matter: Sociolinguistics at Work Within Southwest Airlines

“Ladies and gentlemen, this is the pilot speaking. I hope y’all are having a nice day. We have a full flight, several tons of baggage, and all your drinks and peanuts. So we’ll see if we can’t get this plane in the air...”

“Please review the safety instructions located in the pocket of the seat in front of you. In the event of loss of cabin pressure, oxygen masks will drop from the ceiling. Your directions are to stop screaming, and believe me, you will be screaming, and place the oxygen masks over your nose and mouth...”

Upon landing in New Orleans, the flight attendant says enthusiastically, “Welcome to New York!” A passenger on a Southwest Airlines flight would probably hear something similar to these examples. In contrast to their competitors, jokes and quips are the norm on Southwest’s routes which are also characterized by first-come first-serve seating, absence of a first-class section, and minimal “no-frills” service.

In the early days of air travel, commercial airline carriers provided formal business service echoing military influences. Southwest Airlines, however, sought to create a different, informal type of environment since its inception in 1971. Until recently, travelers dressed in their best (or at least better) clothes for the occasion of a plane ride. The interruption of formality is created by the airline’s flight attendants, pilots, and other employees (in descending order of frequency) with whom the client comes into contact. Witty remarks and jokes are predominantly told on board during the attendants’ recitations and during flight, but some quipping also occurs at the gate. Such brand of behavior manipulates the social interaction with its clients through linguistic means by breaking the seal of business-like formality through strategic implementation of humor. As Braveman notes, “all this silliness [does not] get in the way of the bottom line... Southwest is the only airline that has turned a profit every year since it began” (1993, p.9). The purpose of this project is to determine how the clients of Southwest Airlines react to its use of language, how it functions to create an atmosphere of community or friendliness with the airline, and explore the implications of the ritual state engendered.

For the purposes of this paper, a joke may be defined as by Random House (1993, p.1033) as “something said or done to provoke laughter or cause amusement, as a witticism, a short and amusing anecdote, or a prankish act” with the qualification that additional humor is implied through the irreverence atypical for the environment in which it occurs. The incongruity between the humor and the setting is important, because it is at this juncture that they meet where Southwest Airlines succeeds in generating a different operating environment. To my knowledge, this is the first study on this subject to date.

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The Formal Environment

In most businesses, one would expect personal interactions of a professional demeanor. The function of humor in this environment operates on a constrained continuum where polite jokes and witty anecdotes are normative. The possibility for the growth of humor lies in the frequency of repeated personal interactions and familiarity between the people involved. In a business with a high volume of mobile customers, personal distance is maintained and a heightened level of humor is difficult if not impossible to reach.

The formal environment of the main commercial carriers (United Airlines, Continental Airlines, Delta Airlines, etc.) has intimate ties to military influences. For example, many of the commercial airline pilots are Air Force trained, and therefore conceivably contribute to the preservation of a military formality. Secondly, the titles "Captain" and "Navigator" strongly echo their corresponding Air Force progenitors, especially when taken into consideration that "pilot" could easily substitute for "captain". Also, uniforms worn by flight attendants and cabin crew members are reminiscent of post-World War II military uniforms, with epaulets, stripes on the cuffs, distinctive hats, and flight wings worn on the breast of the navy blue jacket.

Methods

Data for the project was collected on the topic from client surveys conducted in the Southwest terminal at the San Antonio Airport on a Sunday afternoon and the following Monday afternoon. Since explicit permission to survey proved to be elusive, questions regarding the joking behavior were asked orally from a survey sheet to avoid official notice. Interviews with employees of Southwest Airlines were requested, but due to the volume of similar requests the company policy prohibits such meetings, therefore only clients were surveyed. Of the twenty surveyed who had traveled via Southwest before, there were nine females and eleven males. An effort was made to keep the sex ratios generally close, but during the course of data collection, it became apparent that males tended to be more familiar with the airline and its unusual tactics. Therefore despite the nearly equal sex distribution of passengers waiting at the gates, more men were surveyed than women.

By way of procuring informants, I introduced myself as a student of the University of Texas at San Antonio working on a sociolinguistics project, and gave a general introduction to the basis of the project which included a contrast of the formal military-like nature of airline travel with the informal joking behavior observable from Southwest Airlines. Questions asked of the participants were as follows:

- Does the client travel via Southwest Airlines often?
- Has the client noticed this type of informal speech used by employees of the airline?
- Does the behavior seem out of place to the client?
- Is this behavior amusing, laugh-out-loud, or is it just there?

- Does it ever cross a line and become offensive?
- Does this behavior make the client more/less comfortable about flying?
- Does the client feel like Southwest Airlines creates a different atmosphere than all the other airline carriers by using humor?

Responses of the participants yielded six pages of shorthand. This method of documentation was implemented because exact transcriptions were not necessary and because it attracted less attention than a tape recorder would have.

Results

Out of the nine females surveyed, four (44.4 percent) (Table 1.) did *not* notice the informal joking mentioned, though two of the four did notice a “more friendly” environment. Only one male out of the eleven surveyed (9.09 percent) (Table 1.) had *not* experienced the informal behavior. Ten out of the eleven males (90.9 percent) and four out of the nine females (44.4 percent, or 75.0 percent total) affirmed that there was a different, friendlier atmosphere in their dealings with Southwest that is lacking or diminished in interactions with other carriers, and they virtually all agreed (95.0 percent) that this atmosphere can be attributed to the joking behavior.

Table 1. Individuals surveyed.

Sex	Witnessed Behavior	Different Atmosphere
Male	10/11 (90.9 %)	10/11 (90.9 %)
Female	5/9 (55.6 %)	4/9 (44.4 %)
Total	15:20 (75.0 %)	14:20 (70.0%)

In actual words, sixty-four percent of the males (seven out of nine) and forty-four percent of the females (four out of nine) used the terms ‘comfortable’, ‘comforting’, ‘relaxed’, or ‘casual’ to describe the joking language usage. Eleven percent (1:9) of the females and twenty-seven percent (3:11) of the males used the term ‘different.’ Twelve of the fifteen participants who noticed the language use (80.0 percent) (Table 2.) found the jokes amusing, and two participants were unmoved by the joking. All participants reported that the joking never “went too far” or offended them. Only one participant described the behavior as “out of place.”

Table 2. Behavioral results.

Sex	Amusing	Indifferent
Male	8/10 (80.0 %)	2/10 (20.0 %)
Female	5/5 (100.0 %)	0/0 (00.0 %)

*Excludes those participants who observed none of the behavior

One male participant said that the joking behavior is *why* he prefers to fly Southwest Airlines. Another remarked that he appreciates the accessibility of the flight attendants and that their interaction makes one feel more important than when on another carrier's flight. Others expressed that they relished the break in the monotony of airline travel. All of the participants reacted favorably to the low fares. Most of the males were traveling for business purposes, and they all traveled frequently. The mean age of the males surveyed is 35.6 years. One female participant was traveling for business out of the nine surveyed, and none described themselves as frequent travelers. The mean age of the female participants is 43.2 years.

Discussion

Though the data reflects that the participants recognized the unique use of language to create an informal environment, the breakdown to sex ratios belies the actual extent. The percentages above imply that the half of the female observers had not noticed the joking behavior, but this is clearly not the case. None of the females described themselves as frequent travelers, yet five were familiar with the airline, and four recognized the friendlier atmosphere which they attributed to the joking. The disparity between the males' and females' assessments can be credited to the personal agendas of these passengers. The overwhelming majority of males surveyed were traveling for the purpose of business and do so habitually, and, therefore, are quite familiar with the style of operations of Southwest Airlines. The female participants were the converse: the majority of females were traveling on personal non-commercial business and seeking the lowest fare.

Interestingly, the female participants sampled averaged eight years older than their male counterparts. It might be said that business travelers tend not only to be male but also to be relatively young. Younger non-traveling "nine-to-five" people would be less inclined to travel during a weekday and would decrease in ratio to older retired and mobile people. It is therefore no surprise that those traveling for personal reasons would on the average be older than the business traveler, but the surprise lies in the sex of the older passengers.

From a more-or-less equal representation of sexes in the Southwest terminal, most of the females surveyed were traveling for personal business, and five were not familiar enough with the airline to have witnessed the joking, while all but one male had witnessed it. This might support that Southwest Airlines draws on a pool of frequent male customers and a larger pool

of individually infrequent female customers. Constraints on this assessment include the small number of days the survey was conducted and the relatively small survey base, however the explanation helps to account for the disparity in the observations and suggests that the observations of frequent female customers of the airline would conform to the observations of the male customers.

Provided this or not, the results indicate that the overwhelming majority of Southwest Airlines customers surveyed credit the informal character and more comfortable environment of interaction to the use of humor by the employees. The airline's advertisement campaigns have kept no secrets regarding the eccentric CEO Herb Kelleher and often depict him in different -- sometimes gender-crossing -- costumes or in amusing situations. A call to the People Department's Automated System informs that a sense of humor is not a prerequisite but helps one's chances for employment in the company (Southwest Airlines [B] 1997). As confirmed by the passengers, not every flight attendant is particularly skilled at the art of joke-cracking, but overall the company has succeeded in incorporating the manipulation of humor in language to set itself apart in a favorable way from its competitors.

Another socially symbolic point of interest here is the introduction of the anthropological sense of mundane ritual, the actions and repetition of actions whose meanings include and transcend the pragmatic. In a very real sense, the telling of jokes within the airline is a gimmick to attract customers and a way to create a solidarity among its employees (Sunoo 1995) that they hope is taken up by the customers as well. But in another sense, the social distance normally between the provider of a service and the buyer is breached by the interruption of formality through the use of humor, and a new ritual space of the mundane sense is created, and this is the environment that Southwest's passengers recognize. The company generates a small shock with the breach of the confines of social distance, breaking the monotony of air travel and simultaneously creating a new space of social interaction.

Conclusion

The aim of this project has been to frame the formal and informal sectors functioning within the airline industry and elucidate the social space with remarkable symbolic potential which separates them. Illustrative of the in-between, Southwest Airlines supplements its competitive business strategies with the careful manipulation of language. Personal interview and survey of passengers to collect data regarding the reactions the joking behavior receives were conducted, and contrasts between the normative formal environment were set against the informal behavior typical of Southwest. By maintaining a consistent minor shock breaching the social barriers of business protocol, Southwest fosters an informal space within the perimeter of formal social interactions. The contrast draws the attention of would-be clients, and now serves as a model marketing strategy for its competitors and other national airlines. One informer recalled hearing on a USAir flight to LaGuardia, "Welcome to Phoenix" (Penzien 1997). The linguistic strategy enacted at Southwest Airlines predicates the company's interactions with its clients on a micro-level, and influences the strategies of the markets' airlines on a macro-level, and there-in lies its importance.

“Please pass all the plastic cups to the center aisle so we can wash them out and use them for the next group of passengers.” (Sunoo 1995, p.62)

“Welcome to New Orleans. Please remain seated until the plane has come to a complete stop, and the pilot has turned off the seatbelt sign. I have a joke for you. What do you call a boomerang that doesn't come back? (Pauses) A stick. Thank you for flying Southwest Airlines and enjoy your stay in New Orleans or wherever your final destination may be.”

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Remembering in Jazz: Collective memory and Collective Improvisation

Speaking of jazz performances, the late composer Alec Wilder is reported to have once said “ I wish to God that some neurologists would sit down and figure out how the improviser’s brain works, how he selects, out of hundreds of thousands of possibilities, the notes he does at the speed he does - how in God’s name his mind works so damned fast! And why when the notes come out right, they are right (Wilder as quoted in Suchor 1986:134).” There are undoubtedly many people who, after listening to an improvised solo, have wondered either the same question or something akin to it.

Recently, Paul Berliner published the results of his fifteen-year ethnomusicological study of jazz improvisation, entitled *Thinking in Jazz: The Infinite Art of Improvisation* (1994). *Thinking in Jazz* is a wonderful comprehensive “tome” detailing many aspects of the ever elusive art of improvisation. Berliner would probably not wish to consider himself a neurologist, yet despite this he may have found the solution - or at the very least, a good-sized portion of the solution - to Wilder’s question. Quite simply stated, the solution is that behind each improvisational performance is an entire lifetime of experience which the performer utilizes to make “the notes come out right.” Berliner’s study essentially lays to rest the popular but misleading notion that improvisation is a completely spontaneous art form (i.e. something not given much thought).

The purpose of this paper, as its title may reflect, is to expand on Berliner’s work by drawing upon the concepts of memory and performance as utilized in recent anthropological research and applying these concepts to Berliner’s heavily documentary research on the learning process in jazz as well as the metaphor of “storytelling” (see Berlin 1994:201-220) used by jazz musicians to describe improvisation. In order to accomplish this, I will first give a brief synopsis of common musical form in Jazz. This will then be followed by a discussion of some conceptions of jazz as proposed by various ethnomusicologists and anthropologists. Secondly, I wish to summarize Berliner’s findings regarding the learning process in jazz. This summary will then lead into a discussion of some possible roles of memory in jazz improvisation via cross-cultural comparison. Finally, as this type of comparison becomes problematic if taken to the point of rigid adherence to certain shared characteristics, the insights gleaned from these comparisons will be applied and modified to jazz. Hopefully this exercise will shed light on aspects of collective memory and collective improvisation within the jazz medium.

As a final note before beginning a discussion of musical forms commonly used in jazz improvisations, I should state that this paper will take into account only bebop and its related genres with common, recurring chord progressions (e.g. 12 bar-bar blues, 32-bar AABA and ABAC forms, etc.) And not “free” or “out” jazz as documented by researchers

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such as David Such (1993). I emphasize that the reason for this is not to exclude “free” jazz from being considered a form of jazz. This omission exists only as a result of the fact that although more memory undoubtedly plays a major role in this genre of jazz compared to “mainstream” jazz, “free” jazz deliberately attempts to release itself from the constraints of song structures imposed on jazz standards and similar pieces of music. While the relevance of the subsequent discussions to “free” jazz becomes debatable in regard to some aspects of this paper, some of the principles generated in what follows could be applied to “free” jazz.

Some Thoughts on Jazz

Jazz improvisation is unique and a little bit surrealistic in that it creates something new and different while using traditional components. Jimmy Heath and John Coltrane both expressed amazement at how Dizzy Gillespie could begin the tune “I Can’t Get Started” differently every time he played it (Berliner 1994:269). Indeed, in the majority of jazz performances well-known traditional compositions are used as “vehicles” for improvisation (Berliner 1994:63).

In bebop and its related genres, the structures and chord progressions of popular songs as well as 12-bar, 24-bar, etc., blues progressions are used quite frequently for these “vehicles”. The “popular” song structure used by jazz musicians is almost always the 32-bar AABA form with each section comprising an eight bar phrase. These pieces are exemplified by such songs as Vernon Duke’s “I Can’t Get Started”, mentioned earlier, and George Gershwin’s “I Got Rhythm”. In contrast, blues songs often vary more in their structure than popular songs, but do have regular, repeating chord progression as well. For example, the 12-bar blues has an AAB structure with each section consisting of four measures. Often times jazz performers will begin and end the song by playing the “head” of the tune - that is, the recognizable melody associated with the song. During the middle of the piece, the musicians play improvisational lines over the chord progression of the song. When jazz musicians create new songs, the chord changes of previously composed songs are often “recycled” into the new musical piece. For example, Charlie Parker’s “Mohawk” is really Ray Noble’s “Cherokee” with a different melody, and the alto saxophonist’s “Kim” is a “recycled” “I Got Rhythm.”

When jazz musicians “solo” (this word is a bit misleading and will be dealt with later in this paper) over a set of chord changes known by all of the accompanying musicians, the participants (including the audience) are well aware of “what to expect next” in regard to the progression of chords in a song. In other words, those accompanying the soloist(s) are providing a foundation for the song that, in most cases, everyone is familiar with. These accompanists could theoretically play the underlying chord progressions of the song while the soloist continues to improvise “over the top.”

Thomas Brothers has compared this concept of improvisation over an underlying preconceived structure to the music of the souther Ewe people of Ghana (1994). Ewe musicians divide themselves into two rhythmic groups during the performance” one which plays a cyclical underlying pattern and another which plays improvised lines over the cyclical

foundation. The soloing group is perceived by the Ewe as being both connected to, and yet detached from, the cyclical foundation (Brothers 1994:488). Brothers argues that this musical style is very similar to the manner in which a jazz soloist improvises over the accompanying cyclical chord progression. Thus, by way of analogy,

“The jazz soloist relies mainly on correct harmony (i.e. consonance, playing the melody without variation) for achieving agreement with the cycle and on details of phrasing (i.e. dissonance, “blue notes”, and extra musical “mimicking”) for achieving disagreement...the soloist’s melody is perceived in terms of the cycle (Brothers 1994:489- comments are mine).”

In this manner, the improvised line is both connected to and detached from the chordal foundation. Quoting Duke Ellington’s view on dissonance in jazz: “Dissonance is our way of life in America. We are something apart, yet an integral part (Brothers 1994:503).” Brothers concludes, “Perhaps the paradoxical play between connection and detachment...has something to do with the experience of African-Americans as a minority group in the United States (Brothers 1994:503).”

Brothers notion of the improvisation (or on a higher allegorical level, the musician) as being both connected to and detached from the underlying structure (or society) is a concept which seems to fit rather nicely under Victor Turner’s idea of “liminality” - that is “betwixt and between”, or neither this nor that, yet both simultaneously (Turner 1967:93-111). This concept of liminality seems to be rather popular as others have come to the same conclusion while applying Turner’s term (or similar terms) to different aspects of jazz.

Ethnomusicologist Ingrid Monson is a second example of those who have applied the liminal concept to jazz. In an article titled “Doubleness and Jazz Improvisation: Irony, Parody, and Ethnomusicology,” Monson argues that “opposing aesthetics” (e.g. “Being serious/playing [swing]; cleanliness/dirtiness; knowing rules/breaking them [1994:291]”) and “the heterogeneity of musical elements found in jazz improvisation [are] deeply related to the heterogeneity of African-American cultural experience (Monson 1994:311).” Similarly, Frank Salamone writes “jazz is not simply West African and the tension produced by its essentially [European and African] dual heritage is compounded many times over through a series of contradictions within the music itself...Out of that tension comes much of the creative force for jazz (1988:97).”

While the works of these three authors do have much to offer any ethnomusicological discussion of jazz, the similar conclusions of these arguments are a bit problematic. Even though jazz is without doubt strongly African-American in its heritage and could be taken by many to metaphorically represent the social role of a minority group in American society, I do not believe this meaning to be inherent in the music. Consequently, I find anthropologist Ann Beeson’s article on the narrative qualities of jazz to be rather enlightening both in its own right as well as in its potential for “pulling” useful concepts out of the aforementioned articles - avoiding becoming entangled in the sticky matters of race and to “whom” jazz belongs.” Beeson’s concept of the tradition/innovation paradox is one which, for the most part, avoids racial issues while still managing to consider the musical heritage.

Beeson has stated that jazz musicians are victims of a paradox common in many forms of art:

“On the one hand, spontaneity and creativity are highly praised. On the other hand, jazz players show a strong respect for the past in their art, and a deference to legendary players is considered appropriate and necessary in the creative learning process. Aesthetic tensions like the tradition/innovation dialectic keep the music vibrant and alive (Beeson 1990:2).”

Likewise, Frank Salamone also perceives this paradox as one which “combinations of awesome, weird, and wonderful new things [are] made up from scraps of old elements (Salamone 1988:94).” Keeping this tradition/innovation paradox in mind, I hope that a brief overview of Berliner’s findings on learning processes in jazz will further heighten understanding of jazz and jazz improvisation.

Learning the Changes

Education, whether formal or informal, is a major part of becoming assimilated into any culture, and jazz musicians are not an exception to this seemingly universal observation. “For almost a century, the jazz community has functioned as a large educational system for producing, preserving, and transmitting musical knowledge, preparing students for the artistic demands of a jazz career through its particularized methods and forums (Berliner 1994:37).” Berliner lists some of the methods by which the student of jazz learns “how to play jazz” as: “hanging out” with both local musicians and those in town for a gig, on vacation, passing through, etc.; attending “jam sessions” with peers in the community and occasionally with professional musicians who may be “sitting in” on the performance; becoming apprenticed to a mentor in the jazz community or enrolling in and receiving instruction from an established musical institution; and perhaps most importantly, intensively watching and listening to jazz musicians (Berliner 1994:36-59).

This last method, listening and watching, is the method which I wish to put emphasis on in this paper. Students of jazz, especially those studying in the years before written notations for jazz pieces became popular, have often learned primarily by oral/aural means. Even today, students often treat recordings of their favorite artists as “formal educational tools (Berliner 1994:58)” which enable them to memorize and “play along” with their idol’s solos.

“Eventually, students anticipate and recreate the solo’s every nuance, blending their performance of the solo inextricably with all the other parts on the recording. Breathing together, following the same line of musical thought, and experiencing the same sense of urgency and shades of feeling that motivated the soloist’s initial expression, young performers become engaged in an intimate union with their idols (Berliner 1994:97).”

After such an “intimate union” jazz musicians are not likely to forget the solo. Berliner remarks on the “phenomenal long-term memories” which allow some performers to recall their favorite solos note-for-note (perhaps in some case, “blow-by-blow”) even after thirty years and more (Berliner 1994:111).

Watching jazz musicians at clubs or informal jam sessions is another way in which students learn by imitation. Calling upon the research of ethnomusicologist John Blacking, John

Murphy hypothesizes that the influence of one's musical idols "might work as much through motor memory as it does through musical memory (1990:18)." Memory works in other mysterious ways as well. Berliner recounts one incident in which he was practicing a line on trumpet repeatedly, when suddenly "I found myself playing another phrase altogether, one that I had practiced months earlier and then abandoned (1994:208)." The reason for this was that the inadvertent phrase and the intended phrase both began with the same fingering pattern; this resulted in the intended phrase triggering the previously "abandoned" phrase. In another instance, a tenor saxophonist interviewed by Berliner commented on how at times he plays a pattern that seems new and original to him, realizing later that it was something he heard on a record somewhere (1994:196). In other cases, jazz musicians purposely make reference to other musicians through musical quotation or imitation. This reference could be made for a variety of subjective reasons discussed later in this paper, but in John Murphy's analysis of a solo by Joe Henderson (Murphy actually consulted the tenor saxophonist) which quoted a Charlie Parker melody, it is frequently out of admiration for one's influences (1990:13).

At times pupils may even go to the extreme of imitating their idol's personal (as opposed to musical) style, manner of dress, etc., teetering on the "verge of idolatry (Berliner 1994:40)." The jazz community frown upon excessive musical and personal imitation, however, as one of the essential "rites of passage" for the up-and-coming jazz musician is to find his or her own "voice" both musically and personally. "On a grand scale of judging the overall contribution of the artist to jazz, a fundamental criterion for evaluation is originality (Berliner 1994:273)." Pianist Walter Bishop, Jr. sees the career of the jazz musician as being composed of imitation, assimilation, and finally innovation (Berliner 1994:273). This reflects Beeson's conception of the tradition/innovation paradox quite well. Jazz musicians must learn the ways of the past, and for much of their formative years, they play jazz in the shadow of those who have come before them. Yet at some point during their lives, in order to truly contribute to the art form, they must invent something new while paying reverence to their precursors at the same time, for "the identity of the genre is continually rejuvenated and metamorphosed through its *opposition* to social boundaries and stagnant forms (Beeson 1990:13 - original emphasis)

Memory and Storytelling in Jazz

Paul Berliner refers to Jazz improvisation as "storytelling" both in the sense of structure many improvisers impose upon their creations as well as in the sense of developing a unique voice in order to tell a "new" story. Unfortunately, there is not much in the way of analysis regarding this storytelling metaphor in *Thinking Jazz*. I believe that this concept of storytelling could be further expanded upon with beneficial results. In this section, I propose two analogies which, in my opinion, enable Berliner's storytelling metaphor to become more potent. In order to discuss these analogies, however, I find it necessary to expand on Beeson's view of semantics and semiotics as applied to jazz.

Though in the past attempts at applying semantic and semiotic theories and methodologies to music have been a very confusing matter fraught with various entanglements, Ann Beeson has taken a very simple, straightforward approach to the application of these theories and methodologies to jazz. Though perhaps many would refer to it as lacking originality, evasive and avoiding the question of “what music means” altogether (for example see Swain 1996:136), Beeson states “jazz ‘tells a story’ about itself; self-reflectivity is an integral part of the genre (1990:1).” This concept of the self-referentiality of jazz, although it could be seen as too simplistic by some, provides a topic for the “storytellers” to tell a story about. Granted, all jazz musicians when they improvise are likely attempting to communicate more than simply “I’m playing jazz” to the listener, but the meaning created by the listener could be (and I would venture usually is) quite different from the intended message. Hence, Miles Davis could very well have been thinking of “autumn time, the falling leaves, the end of something, remembrance, and pathos (Chuck Israels as quoted in Berliner 1994:414)” when he played “Autumn Leaves,” and the music may have actually provoked some of the same thoughts in the audience. For the majority of the participants in the musical event, however, the music surely evoked other unrelated subjective thoughts.

One thing “Autumn Leaves” does evoke in the minds of the participants is memories of performances heard previously. For those who are familiar with “Autumn Leaves,” the music most likely evokes other musicians’ rendition of the piece, both inside and outside the jazz genre; the song’s lyrics; one’s state of mind or environment during the last listening period; and/or many other possibilities. For those who have not heard the song previously, perhaps, the music reminds them of similar melodic lines within other pieces, abstract emotions, and/or other ideas and feelings. The main point is that by interacting with the memories of all participants in the activity, jazz does indeed recount its history with each performance. It does this by referring to musical and extra musical contexts of past musical events both inside and outside the “category” of jazz (Monson 1994:292-293; Walser 1993:350-351; Beeson 1990:4-6).

I consider the work of Mary Nooter Roberts and Allen Roberts regarding the mnemonic systems of the Luba peoples of southeastern Zaire (Republic of Congo) as a useful aid in conceptualizing the role memory plays in jazz improvisation. The Luba weave art and memory into mnemonic devices which are encoded with symbolic signs referring to narratives about the past (Vansina 1996:12). Foremost among these mnemonic devices is the *lukasa*, a small wooden board upon which beads and/or incised lines are embedded in the symbolic ways mentioned above. During certain Luba rituals, the *lukasa* is utilized “to teach neophytes about sacred lore, about culture heroes, clan migrations, and the introduction of sacred rule” as well as a multitude of other aspects which construct the history of Luba culture (Roberts 1996a:37).

Obviously for people other than musicians. “Sacred” is probably not a word that comes into mind when jazz “lore” is mentioned, nor do migrations and the like compose a very large part of this lore. Nevertheless, the knowledge passed on from the elder to the younger jazz musician is deeply rooted in the collective memory of the jazz community. By collective memory I mean the total sum of the subjective memories possessed by individuals sharing a common musical heritage. In many cases, important past musical event may “overlap” in the

subjective memories of many people. Though these “overlapping” memories may vary slightly in detail from person to person, they do form a sense of shared history which may assist in binding a group together. When a teacher demands that a novice memorize every nuance of an “important” Charlie Parker solo in order to achieve that “intimate union” with one’s precursors, that solo may become incorporated into his or her style and etched into his or her memory forever. What may not be quite as evident is that the influence of Lester Young, whom Charlie Parker idolized as a youth, is also etched into the mind of the novice. Lester Young’s idols too, are there - if only faintly. If the novice then successfully negotiates the tradition/innovation paradox and creates something he is remembered for in the collective memory of jazz community, perhaps someone will someday memorize his or her solos. With these solos, those of Charlie Parker and Lester Young will be carried on as well.

This line of influences is also recognized by the jazz audience. If someone hears “a little bit of John Coltrane” in Branford Marsalis, it is due to the self-referentiality of jazz that such connections are made. Writing about the dream narratives performed by the Xavante of central Brazil, anthropologist Laura Graham states: “through movements and sounds of these expressive forms, participants create and affirm their links to those who have performed them in the past. Performance thus engenders a subjective sense of continuity (1995:6).” In this same manner, jazz musicians’ improvisations created in the real-time of the present maintain a sense of continuity with the past.

Despite this continuity with the past, the Luba and the Xavante refuse to allow their performances - be they memory or dream - to stagnate in past traditions. The tradition/innovation paradox seems to be quite common as an evaluative criteria for performance. “Memory is active, always in the present, and a construction, transaction, and negotiation, as opposed to a reproduction (Roberts 1996a:29).”

Mnemonics also play a role in jazz improvisation. “Mnemonic devices organize and encode information to make it more memorable (Roberts 1996a:86),” and thus it is easy to understand why such a device may be valuable to the jazz musician. In jazz, mnemonic devices take form in the musicians’ instruments themselves. Studying their instruments, “students conceptualize the successive sound clusters of harmonic forms as mapped out in particular positions on instruments and as visual images of abstract designs whose colors and tints may represent different shadings of harmonic tension (Berliner 1994:72).” As would follow, the traditional solos and pieces of music young musicians’ attempt to memorize “verbatim” are applied to these harmonic “maps” and abstract designs.

As was demonstrated by an earlier example, this action of musical recall may be either voluntary or involuntary for the performer. Berliner’s anecdote of inserting an unanticipated phrase into a solo he was practicing is an example of involuntary “quoting” from a past musical event. The fingerings for the intended an involuntary phrases landed closely together on Berliner’s harmonic map, and therefore the attempt to perform one phrase involuntarily triggered memories of the other.

The remembrance of past musical occurrence, however, does not have to be involuntary. At times the improviser may be “toying” with ideas and making connections between the “visual images...that mediate between the subject of memory and the person who wishes to remember (Roberts 1996b:86).” Berliner has found

“The experience of negotiating through the ever-changing patterns [chords, contexts, etc.] around them from the perspective of their personal structural maps is a rich and dynamic one for improvisers. It potentially involves the imaginative play of sounds, physical gestures, colorful shapes, and abstract symbols, whose gestalt creates the impression of perpetual movement through a multidimensional realm (1994:93).”

As an addition to Berliner’s list of phenomena that influence the improviser’s imaginative play, I would add language - specifically the titles and lyrics of songs. I think it very likely that Berliner would grant this due to the many examples in his book (see for example page 176, 233, 312, 427) which focus on the way musical quotations are used to convey meaning to the listener. These quotations achieve this communication by indexically referring to the titles, lyrics, previous performers, and other ideas dependent upon the context of past performances. For example, George Coleman once concluded a solo in the song “You Don’t Know What Love Is” by quoting the theme from John Coltrane’s “A Love Supreme” (Berliner 1994:195). Obviously, Coleman was making a connection between the concepts of love each song evoked in his mind.

Each jazz musician’s mnemonic conception of his or her instrument undoubtedly varies from individual to individual. Because of the very subjective memories and mnemonic systems of each performer, the audience can hardly be expected to follow the connections being made in the same way the improviser conceives them. In order for the improviser’s use of mnemonics and jazz self-referentiality to past musical events as meaningful to others, there must be a common heritage shared musically. “Theoretically almost any musical detail or composite thereof could convey a reference, so long as a community of interpreters [including both performers and audience] can recognize the continuity...For a sonic detail becomes socially meaningful and actionable only in an at least partially shared context of use (Monson 1994:305).” In other words, without a group sharing common memories of past musical events, the improviser’s “stories” will fall upon ears which cannot comprehend them because the listener cannot relate to past performances.

Up to this point I have considered much regarding “tradition” and very little on “innovation.” Nevertheless, “memory is always now (Roberts 1996:29),” and by placing bits and pieces of the past into the context of the present, something new is indeed created. It is in this way that the improviser creates along the fine line between tradition and innovation, and clearly it must be a difficult path to follow. Extremely innovative jazz “can never be truly popular with a mass audience (Salamone 1988:100),” because it is considered as making a leap which breaks the continuity of the tradition. Similarly, as was mentioned earlier, the jazz community frowns upon those who only reproduce the past and allows jazz to stagnate. Therefore, an important component of remembering is *forgetting* (Roberts 1996a:44).

The pressures of the tradition/innovation paradox during improvisatory performances in jazz create a very collage-like, personal recollection of the genre’s history. Considering the combination of the processes that entail creating something considered “new”, voluntary or involuntary remembering and inserting parts of “old” musical material; forgetting other musical material; and making connections between all of these things while perpetually moving through the “multidimensional music realm” mentioned above; it is easy to understand how the improviser’s recounting of past musical events is such a subjective, surrealistic one.

Despite the surrealism, if the “community of interpreters” is able to either pick out even a few of the references the improviser makes, make their own, and understand how their references might relate to the completely innovative portions of the improvisation; then even though the audience’s understanding may differ from the improviser’s intention, the “solo” becomes socially meaningful. Continuity with the past is established while something entirely new is created.

Collective Memory and Collective Improvisation

Though the comparisons I have made between jazz musicians and both the Luba and Xavante are hopefully enlightening, there are differences between all three peoples, as one would very well expect there should be. Having established the analogies which illustrate my ideas on how anthropological conceptions of performance and memory relate to jazz, I will now depart from these comparisons in order to focus on some of the unique characteristics of jazz.

In the previous section, I demonstrated how the individual performance which utilizes the subjective memory of the “soloist” is able to stimulate the collective memory of the jazz community by achieving a sense of continuity with the past. Jazz improvisation, however, is not the performance of one individual, it is a very interactive performance between or among the participants in the event. The participants include all members of the group performing as well as the audience. Due to this process in which “performers and audiences mutually share and create meaning (Salamone 1988:99),” jazz is a “collective improvisation” in the broadest sense.

Audiences influence the directions improvisations take with their behavior. Applause, shouts of praise, swaying, nodding, dancing, etc. greatly encourage performers while silent indifference, talking, and general acts of disrespect hinder performers (Berliner 1994:456-458). The “vibe” of the venue in which the performance occurs depends mainly upon audience, although performers’ attitudes do certainly have an effect on the atmosphere of the performance.

In the topics addressed in this paper, the way in which performers collectively create music together is slightly more significant than the audience’s contribution, and therefore I shall discuss these at greater length. Although the word “solo” is used very frequently in jazz, the “soloist” is actually always the entire group - at least those playing at any given moment. In a study done on group jazz performances, communication studies researchers David Bastien and Todd Hostager analyzed the organizational structure and forms of communication used by a quartet playing together for the first time. The researchers concluded that “individual invention is embedded in a collective context and is inseparable from the inventive and integrative activity of the entire group...greatness [of certain musicians] in jazz resulted from a constellation of cooperatively improvising artists (1988:599-600).”

Taking this study into account, the subjective improvisation of the individual “soloist” is not independent of the “accompanist” providing the cyclical foundation for the solo.

Furthermore, the accompanists, too, are influenced by the soloist as well as other accompanists. For the individual performer, this interdependency creates a web of references not only to memories of the past, but also to musicians playing alongside the individual in the present. These musicians, though, are prey to the tradition/innovation paradox as well, and therefore they may be referring to past musical events while creating new ideas. Monson terms this concept of collective interplay “intermusicality (1994:307),” and give an excellent example of group intermusicality. In a performance by drummer Ralph Peterson, Jr.’s Trio, the pianist played the beginning of a motif which reminded Peterson of a phrase frequently played by legendary jazzman Art Blakey. Peterson then rhythmically finished the phrase as he remembered it. Peterson’s response then evoked the riff from Dizzy Gillespie’s “Salt Peanuts” in the mind of the pianist who began to work that melody into his improvisation/accompaniment (Monson 1994:307-308). Peterson remarked to Monson:

A lot of times when you get into a musical conversation, one person in the group will state an idea or the beginning of an idea and another person will complete the idea or their interpretation of the same idea, how they hear it. So the conversation happens in fragments and comes from different parts, different voices (ibid. 308).

In a way then, the performing musicians’ memories taken together collectively, influence the individual improvisations created through each participant’s own melodies, mnemonic system, and “the imaginative play” within personal structural maps (Berliner 1994:93).” - all of which are constantly called upon as the individual negotiates between tradition and innovation. The individual improvisations then, together with the collective improvisation of the group, allow a chain of associations to be set off “that engage[s] the listener and unite[s] him or her with a community of other individuals who share a similar musical point of view (Monson 1994:303).” I would suggest that this “similar musical point of view” is fueled by a collective memory of past musical events. Thus the collective memory of the jazz community is kept “alive” through the genre’s self-referentiality manifested in the improvisatory performances of the present.

Conclusion

The subtitle of Paul Berliner’s *Thinking in Jazz* is “The Infinite Art of Improvisation” and I find this phrase very fitting for the issues discussed in this paper as well. The infinite cycle I have describe may be too similar to the question of the chicken and the egg to be explained with any sort of starting point. Nevertheless, perhaps it can be summarized as follows: an individual musician negotiating the tradition/innovation paradox contributes in some way (or ways) to jazz; these contributions are subsequently assimilates into the collective memory of the jazz community; the important aspects of the community’s collective memory are then imparted to young musicians who use these past musical events to shape their contributions to jazz, and so on.

Every young musician carries his or her own notions of the past, yet during improvisation, young musicians are influenced by other musicians’ subjective ideas and memories which are made known in the “musical conversations” of group performances. These musical

conversations could be seen as small portions of the collective memory made manifest during musical events to both performers and audience. Granted, these are the memories which constitute less than the total collective memory, yet more than that of a single individual. Hence, part of the collective memory (albeit a minute part) is constantly creating “new” past musical events that may find a place in the larger community’s memory along with other well-known past events which “overlap” in the minds of many people. Other events may be forgotten. Whatever the case may be, improvisation is the process by which the cycle both retains its continuity and rolls onward, infinitely.

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The Mysterious Phylogeny of Gigantopithecus

Perhaps the most questionable attribute given to *Gigantopithecus* is its taxonomic and phylogenetic placement in the superfamily Hominoidea. In 1935 von Koenigswald made the first discovery of a lower molar at an apothecary in Hong Kong. In a mess of “dragon teeth” von Koenigswald saw a tooth that looked remarkably primate-like and purchased it; this tooth would later be one of four looked at by a skeptical friend, Franz Weidenreich. It was this tooth that von Koenigswald originally used to name the species *Gigantopithecus blacki*. Researchers have only four mandibles and thousands of teeth which they use to reconstruct not only the existence of this primate, but its size and phylogeny as well.

Many objections have been raised to the past phylogenetic relationship proposed by Weidenreich, Woo, and von Koenigswald that *Gigantopithecus* was a forerunner to the hominid line. Some suggest that researchers might be jumping the gun on the size attributed to *Gigantopithecus* (estimated between 10 and 12 feet tall); this size has perpetuated the idea that somehow *Gigantopithecus* is still roaming the Himalayas today as Bigfoot. Many researchers have shunned the Bigfoot theory and focused on the causes of the animals extinction. It is my intention to explain the theories of the past and why many researchers currently disagree with them. It will be necessary to explain how the researchers conducted their experiments and came to their conclusions as well.

The Research

The first anthropologist to encounter *Gigantopithecus* was von Koenigswald who happened upon them in a Hong Kong apothecary selling “dragon teeth.” Due to their large size one may not even have thought that they belonged to any sort of primate, however von Koenigswald knew better because of the markings on the molar. In 1981 von Koenigswald described again the shape of the molar he came upon and wrote about in 1935.

This tooth, larger than a gorilla’s and the larger orangutan teeth, is markedly different from the orangutan teeth of the same drugstore. The tooth is higher, there are no wrinkles, and the cusps must have been depressed but are rather high and swollen. This unusual type must have belonged to an as-yet-unknown higher primate. (von Koenigswald 1935; von Koenigswald 1981: 38).

Based on his previous knowledge of what tooth characteristics set the anthropoids apart from other primates von Koenigswald named the species *Gigantopithecus blacki* von Koenigswald. The suffix -pithecus in the name *Gigantopithecus* implies that von Koenigswald believed that tooth belonged to a primate and more specifically to an anthropoid (1981).

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There were others that von Koenigswald discussed his finds with, but they presumed by his description of the tooth that it belonged to a giant orangutan (von Koenigswald 1981). In 1944 when Weidenreich was able to look at the teeth (by that time von Koenigswald had acquired 3 more) he was able to discern, even though all they had to use in their calculations were the lower and upper molars, that "*Gigantopithecus* considerably exceeded *Meganthropus* in size and robustness" (Weidenreich 1944: 481).

Aside from the general size estimation made about *Gigantopithecus* Weidenreich carefully examined the occlusal surface noting in particular the pattern similarities found in *Gigantopithecus* and in modern humans. What he noticed was that:

The patterns of the two third lower molars and that of the upper one are identical with the corresponding pattern of any hominid tooth, including modern man, not only with regard to their general character, but also to minute details; and they are to the same degree quite different from any known recent fossil anthropoid (Weidenreich 1945: 124).

With this information Weidenreich was able to extrapolate information from the teeth that indicated a probable phylogenetic relationship for *Gigantopithecus* in Hominoidea. It seems that most of the research done on *Gigantopithecus* was done in the early part of this century, and the conclusions drawn from these studies were generally accepted. It was however very important to determine the placement of *Gigantopithecus* in the geologic time scale to get an idea of its diet and possibly more insight into its proper placement in the anthropoid lineage. Dirk Hooijer was able to determine its placement by looking at other fossilized tooth descriptions from the drug store in which von Koenigswald bought the teeth. "The associated fauna strongly suggests the so-called *Stegodon-Ailuropoda* fauna from southern China" (Hooijer 1951: 276). The fauna found with the teeth suggests a time period during the Middle Pleistocene. This knowledge lead him to believe that *Gigantopithecus* was roaming the landscape sometime during the Middle Pleistocene therefore a contemporary of *Stegodon-Ailuropoda*.

Much of this information went unchanged until in the late 1960's when a mandible was found. It wasn't quite as large as the three other *Gigantopithecus* mandibles that had been found earlier, which indicated to researchers that they may have found another genus of primate or possibly another species of *Gigantopithecus*. What they discovered was later determined to be a new species, and it was named *Gigantopithecus bilaspurensis*. This discovery opened new doors to the phylogenetic placement of *Gigantopithecus* because not only was it smaller than *G. blacki* v.K. and found in India, but it has been determined to come from the middle Pliocene. This lead to the reexamination of old research done on *Gigantopithecus* to review the old phylogenies and reconstruct new ones.

Simons and Chopra were intricately involved with the discovery of *G. bilaspurensis* and the subsequent revising of the work done by von Koenigswald, Weidenreich, and Woo earlier this century. They too looked at the teeth for some phylogenetic clue and what they discovered was rather interesting. The canines were not the projecting and dimorphic ones that is expected in a good ape, they were reduced considerably; speculation suggests that this has something to do with diet and a specialization of the teeth for the purpose of grinding. Another deviation from what one would expect to find in the great apes is the form of the P₃

and P₄. The shape of the P₃ “does not exhibit an antero-lateral extension for sectorial or sharpening action against the posterior wear facet of the upper canine” (Simons and Chopra 1969a: 12). In fact even the P₄ has some peculiarities to it “. . . the trigonid portion of the P₄ is greatly expanded while the talonid is much reduced over what is typical of apes” (Simons and Chopra 1969a: 12). On the other hand, Simons and Chopra note, the molars (M₁-M₃) appear to have a primitive form found in most pongids, where the molars increase in size in breadth and length posteriorly (1969a).

The discovery of *G. bilaspurensis* by Simons and Chopra has opened up, again, the question of the phylogenetic positioning of *Gigantopithecus* to many researchers. David Pilbeam looked at the jaw of *Gigantopithecus* to help visualize some of the phylogenetic connotations found in some specific characteristics. By looking at the buttressing at the mandibular symphysis he noted that “The symphysis was strongly buttressed by superior and inferior transverse tori” (1970: 518). This statement suggests that *Gigantopithecus* possessed an incipient simian shelf or possibly a full simian shelf a characteristic normally associated with the great apes. He made mention of the size of the canines being reduced, as mentioned by Simons and Chopra, however, he went further to say that the “. . . canines were reduced like those of Hominidae (and *Oreopithecus*) they were not incisiform slicing teeth like those of hominids” (Pilbeam 1970: 518).

By looking at the teeth and jaws Pilbeam was able to use a theory brought about by Clifford Jolly in 1966 when discussing the differences in the “dental, mandibular and facial adaptations of the gelada baboons (*Theropithecus*) . . . from those of other baboon (*Papio*)” (Pilbeam 1970: 518). The theory suggests that the differences found in *Theropithecus* came about because of a specialized diet. This led Pilbeam (1970) to believe that the short deep face of *Gigantopithecus* could be attributed, like *Theropithecus*, *Ramapithecus*, and *Australopithecus* to a need for the powerful mastication mechanisms needed for its proposed diet of bamboo. This terrestrial diet would explain the very worn occlusal surface of *Gigantopithecus*' teeth as well as its robust mandible.

Aside from visually identifying physical attributes of *Gigantopithecus* researchers have conducted numerous versions of multivariate experiments using measurements of the teeth to determine alternative phylogenetic relationships. The idea behind a multivariate experiment is to determine which groups cluster around each other, or in other words which are close enough to imply a phylogenetic relationship. Three important multivariate experiments were conducted by Robinson and Steudel (1973), Corruccini (1975), and Gelvin (1980), each refuting the other, but all very important.

Robinson and Steudel used the multivariate technique to determine the separation between the different groups that they looked at: *Pan*, *Pongo*, and *Gorilla* including fossil samples of *H. erectus*, *A. africanus*, *Paranthropus*, *G. bilaspurensis*, and *G. blacki* (1975). They chose to keep “the most frequently preserved representative of the anterior dentition, the canine. In addition the sequence P3-M1 was retained to represent the posterior teeth” (Robinson and Steudel 1973: 573). In this analysis they used measurements that covered the mesio-distal length and bucco-lingual breadth to determine a plausible relationship. What they discovered was that “all four figures show a distinct separation between hominids and pongids, except for the intermediate *G. blacki*” (Robinson and Steudel 1973: 515).

Corruccini as well used multivariate analysis techniques to determine the phylogeny of *Gigantopithecus* comparing his results with others that had done the experiments. He was able to reduce the number of specimens used by excluding the M_3 lengths because they are not present in every *Gigantopithecus* (Corruccini 1975). *Australopithecus* specimens with more than half of the measurements missing were also excluded. However, this did leave the researchers with 17 variables to work with: “bicanine breadth, symphyseal height, corpus height and width, $P_4 - M_2$ chord, and the length and breadth of I_2 through M_2 ” (Corruccini 1975: 167). The specimens were separated out by sex as well as by species therefore eliminating the major problem than Corruccini had with Robinson and Steudel’s (1973) multivariate experiment, stating that it “can be objected to on the basis of their failure to separate considerations of size and shape. Thus they analyze raw dental measurements, and the results, expectably, are dominated by size” (Corruccini 1975: 169).

One other influential multivariate analysis was conducted by Gelvin in 1980 where he looked at Neogene fossil apes (*Proconsul africanus*, *P. nyanzae*, *P. major*, *Dryopithecus laietanus*, *Ouranopithecus macedoniensis*, *Sivapithecus indicus* and *S. Sivalensis*), *Gigantopithecus*, and fossil hominids (gracile, robust, and hyper-robust Plio-Pleistocene hominids, and *Homo erectus*). Fossil primates were used instead of extant primates because Gelvin believes that “taxonomic studies of fossils are more effectively performed if their affinities are assessed in the context of other phylogenetically related fossils rather than extant forms (Conroy, 1972; Oxnard, 1972)” (Corruccini 1975: 542). The results that were obtained from the multivariate analysis place *Gigantopithecus* in a cluster with *Australopithecus*, *Homo erectus*, and *Ouranopithecus macedoniensis*. However in one of the canonical variates (canonical variate II) *G. blacki* is separated from the hominids, however, *G. bilaspurensis* was not (Corruccini 1980).

Conclusions of Researchers

In the beginning, von Koenigswald truly believed he had found an anthropoid and as of yet no one has considered that presumption false. What researchers today have a problem with stems from the fact that new information has come about since von Koenigswald considered *Gigantopithecus* to be a hominid. However, in 1981 he wrote “. . . the teeth are too overspecialized to fit into the *Homo* line.” (von Koenigswald 1981: 39). He hasn’t allowed himself to be fully drawn into some of the newly proposed phylogenetic proposals such as classifying *Ramapithecus* together with *Sivapithecus*, and *Gigantopithecus* as a whole under Ramapithecidae. His feeling is that what has been uncovered about *Ramapithecus* does not lent itself to any “conclusive interpretations” (von Koenigswald 1983: 525).

Weidenreich also came to the same conclusion as did von Koenigswald, he wrote that *Gigantopithecus* should be placed as a hominid because in his opinion the most primitive state was gigantism and not dwarfism. Dwarfism being the most common primitive form of many mammals, Weidenreich proposes his idea based on the fact that “. . . living pygmies do not possess any true primitive features which make them different from taller races; nor do they represent a uniform morphological group, as the theory demands” (Weidenreich 1946: 47).

Simons and Ettl cite that Weidenreich “concluded that they evolutionary line leading to modern man must have run from *Gigantopithecus* by way of *Meganthropus* to *Pithecanthropus* and then to modern *Homo sapiens*” (Simons and Ettl 1970: 77). This supports Weidenreich’s theory that giants predated dwarfs in the hominid line, and one can infer from this proposed phylogeny that Weidenreich believed that *Gigantopithecus* was a hominid.

Currently there are few researchers who believe that *Gigantopithecus* was a precursor to modern humans, and tend to place it in Hominoidea by way of the Pongidae. One of Pilbeam discoveries on the jaw of *Gigantopithecus* was transverse tori which would indicate a possibility of a simian shelf, which is found in the great apes, members of the Pongidae. Pilbeam and Simons (1965) believes that orangutans, chimps, and gorillas should be placed in Pongidae as well as *Dryopithecus* and *Gigantopithecus*. His proposed phylogenetic sequence is: “*Dryopithecus indicus* (Late Miocene)_ *D. giganteus* (Early Pliocene)_ *G. bilaspurensis* (Middle Pliocene)_ *G. blacki* (Middle Pleistocene)” (Pilbeam 1970: 517). It is fairly evident from his research and proposed phylogenetic relationship that Pilbeam believes that *Gigantopithecus* is a aberrant pongid (Pilbeam 1970).

Simons (1960) suggested that because of similarities in the relationship of mandible to tooth size, and other tooth characteristics, there was a possibility of a relationship between *Oreopithecus* and *Gigantopithecus* (Simons and Chopra 1969a). Simons and Chopra (1969b) created a tentative phylogeny for *Gigantopithecus*. That *Gigantopithecus* probably deserves to be kept in the family Pongidae, and seen as a specialized branch which had in the past been suggested by von Koenigswald (1935) and by Simons and Pilbeam (1965). However, “HERBERER [1959], DART [1960], and JU-KANG WOO [1962] have taken the position that *Gigantopithecus* is a hominid . . .” (Simons and Chopra 1969b: 141). Simons and Chopra (1969b) attribute this proposed phylogeny (Dart, Herberer, and Woo) to the terrestrial adaptations that both *Gigantopithecus* and *Australopithecus* have developed.

Others that believe the placement of *Gigantopithecus* belongs in Pongidae are Martin (1990) who suggests *Gigantopithecus* is part of the radiation that occurred during the Miocene that developed into the thick enameled great apes “from which the human lineage may have diverged at some point” (Martin 1990: 82). Simons and Ettl (1970) propose that *Gigantopithecus* is a side branch of pongid evolution which includes a “line of enormous apes that became increasingly adapted to a specialized mode of feeding” (Simons and Ettl 1970: 85).

Those that did the multivariate analysis research came to many different conclusions about the phylogeny of *Gigantopithecus*. Robinson and Steudel (1973) proposed that the phylogeny of *Gigantopithecus* was somewhere between pongids and hominids, however they feel that *Paranthropus* is probably the closest to it. This conclusion was made because their results in one analysis show that the *Gigantopithecus* tooth row pattern more closely follows that of *Paranthropus*, except the degree of anterior tooth reduction is greater in *Paranthropus* (Robinson and Steudel 1973). What Corruccini (1975) discovered was that “*Gigantopithecus bilaspurensis* is maximally separated from hominids on the second coordinate, and is approached more closely by *Pongo*” (Corruccini 1975: 170). This suggests he feels *Gigantopithecus* is more closely related to the great apes than to humans. Gelvin (1980) used

different tactics to determine the phylogeny of *Gigantopithecus*, by utilizing fossil data, and not data from extant primates. His conclusions suggest that “dentally *Gigantopithecus* is a hominid or is closely related to hominids” (Gelvin 1980: 560).

Discussion

It seems like an incredible task to try and unearth the phylogeny of a primate that we only have four jaws and thousands of teeth. From the collection researchers have the ability to examine both upper and lower teeth (albeit mostly molars). It is true that you can learn a lot about an animal, especially a primate, by its dentition. The dentition of primates by the Pliocene and Pleistocene had become basically what we see today, for Platyrrhines and Prosimians the dentition is normally 2-1-3-3 (of course there are exceptions), but for Catarrhines the dental formula is *always* 2-1-2-3. By looking at the mandibles and especially the alveoli the researcher can count the number of teeth and determine the taxonomic placement of the primate. In the case of *Gigantopithecus* the dental formula is 2-1-2-3. By determining this all anyone can state is that the dental formula tells us it is a Catarrhine. Looking at the occlusal surface of the molars and the incisors can aid researchers in a taxonomic placement. If the teeth were truly bilophodont (or incipient bilophodont) one could make the assumption that this was not a hominoid, but a cercopithecoid. In the molar sample for *Gigantopithecus* the occlusal surface of the teeth are well worn down from grit in their terrestrial diet of bamboo. However, researchers are still able to discern the complex patterns of the teeth and have determined them to be hominoid like. What does this tell us? That we have a hominoid. The next task is to determine which family *Gigantopithecus* belongs to: Hylobatidae, Pongidae, or Hominidae.

We can exclude the hylobates (gibbons and siamangs) because the largest are about 11 kg and they lack any sexual dimorphism (Fleagle 1988). From what researchers can deduce about *Gigantopithecus* is that it was similar or larger to that of modern gorillas which is considerably larger than the hylobates. The morphology of the mandible can be used to rule out hylobates because *Gigantopithecus* has a parabolic arcade whereas the hylobates have a slight flaring posteriorly. The teeth of the are as well different in the hylobates than in *Gigantopithecus*, for the molars of *Gigantopithecus* are very complex, while the molar teeth of the hylobates are rather simple with low rounded cusps and broad basins (Fleagle 1988), not seen in the *Gigantopithecus* sample.

Before trying to place *Gigantopithecus* in either the Pongids or Hominids one must consider what makes them different from each other. However, even by doing this it would still shed little light on where *Gigantopithecus* fits in, because the differences are more associated with the post cranial skeleton than with the teeth and mandible. However, there is one distinguishing feature. Great apes have a simian shelf located as extremely robust transverse inferior and superior tori. This exaggeration of the tori is not seen in hominids and can be considered a pongid characteristic.

As far as dental characteristics of pongids are concerned they differ among the species. Fleagle (1988) describes the dentition of the orangutan as having cheek which teeth are thickly

enameled and have a crenulated occlusal surface with low, flat cusps. The lateral upper incisors are peg-like, whereas the medial incisors are broad. The canines are described as being sexually dimorphic. On the other hand, the gorilla has thinly enameled molar teeth which have high cusps. Their canines, as well, are large and robust and incisors relatively small. The size of the gorilla and orangutan and the similarities in the parabolic arcade of the jaw lend themselves to having *Gigantopithecus* considered a pongid, as opposed to a hominid.

Hominids are truly characterized by their mode of locomotion, bipedalism. If it were possible to show that *Gigantopithecus* was a biped than it would be easier to place it in this family. In some of the multivariate experiments australopithecines were shown to be similar in tooth form to *Gigantopithecus* but all they really were able to say was, noted by Corruccini (1975), that *Gigantopithecus* was closer to one than to the other. This does not imply certain affiliation with the australopithecines or the gorilla. In some cases sexual dimorphism of males and females was ignored thereby altering the results in a way that might give a false impression of a relationship. There are many reasons why some researchers would place *Gigantopithecus* in the hominid line: the non-sectorial anterior premolar, the bicuspid upper and posterior premolars, the non-projecting canines (with little or no dimorphism in shape), and the thick molar enamel. Yet these similarities only show that it possessed some hominid traits.

I am apt to believe that *Gigantopithecus* rightly belongs with the pongids, simply because there is not enough post cranial evidence to sway my opinion. It is also apparent to me that *Gigantopithecus*, dentally, possess a mosaic of traits that indicate an affiliation with both hominids and pongids. This, however, may be attributed to the diet of *Gigantopithecus*. What is clearly evident is that the skeletal collection of *Gigantopithecus* is severely lacking, and although researchers feel they may have discovered a distal portion of the humerus belonging to *Gigantopithecus* it would still be next to impossible to determine its phylogeny from that. There is always the possibility that *Gigantopithecus* could be a branch in the hominid lineage, but not ancestral to us.

It is apparent to me that because of the parabolic arcade and the simian shelf that *Gigantopithecus* is more likely a pongid than a hominid, simply because you don't find any hominids with a simian shelf, and the size of *Gigantopithecus* seems to place it with the pongids (of course the size is speculative as well). The climate in some areas was more accommodating to certain organisms, and some of the genera we see today were located in other areas during different time periods, and specialized to those areas. I would like to suggest the possibility of *Gigantopithecus* as an Asian gorilla and not an Asian hominid.

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Sex Differences and Spatial Proximity on Feeding Behaviors in a Free-ranging Population of Mantled Howler Monkeys (*Alouatta palliata*) in northeastern Costa Rica

In general, primates are long lived and invest more time in the post-natal care of their young than do other mammals (Richard, 1985). This longer period of parental investment increases the females' cost in providing for infants but may play a major role in ensuring offspring survival. Studies on the cost of reproduction indicate that lactating females have higher nutritional requirements than both non-lactating females and adult males (Richard, 1985). Therefore, lactating females face certain feeding challenges in order to meet these metabolic needs. For instance, females may attempt to accommodate their increased nutritional requirements of reproduction by placing themselves in close proximity to the adult males during feeding in order to obtain access to productive feeding sites (Richard, 1985). Females may also space themselves near vigilant adult males in an attempt to avoid infanticide by invading males.

Given these two alternative spacing strategies, three important questions can be addressed: (1) Are there sex differences in feeding behavior, diet, traveling and resting in mantled howler (*Alouatta palliata*) monkeys? (2) Do certain sex classes maintain proximity to other sex classes more frequently than expected by chance and if so, does this change during different activities? (3) If males have priority access to productive feeding sites, do females avoid feeding near adult males due to male aggressiveness or do they maintain proximity to males in order to obtain access to better feeding opportunities and protection for their young? These questions were examined during a field study of a free-ranging population of mantled howlers (*Alouatta palliata*). The study compared the distances that lactating females and non-lactating females/subadult males maintained from adult males during feeding, foraging, traveling and resting.

Methods

The present paper examines the spatial proximity between sex classes of a group of free-ranging mantled howler monkeys (*Alouatta palliata*) at the La Suerte Biological Field Station in Northeastern Costa Rica. The period of investigation extended from January 9, through January 13, 1997. The locality is characterized by an average rainfall is 3800 mm (150 inches) with an altitude of 50 m above sea level. The field station maintains 700 acres (283.4 ha) of advanced secondary forests, swamps and pastures. Most of the

property lies along the Rio Suerte, which is a river that empties into the Caribbean at Tortuguero National Park.

Methods of observation consisted of two minute focal animal sampling using two minute intervals (Altmann, 1974; Dunbar, 1976). Individuals were divided into four sex class categories: adult males, adult females without infants/subadult males, adult females with infants and unknown. Infants and juveniles were not included in the observations. Observations recorded time spent feeding, foraging, traveling and resting within all three sex-classes. When the focal animal was lost from view, the next visible animal became the new focal animal.

A total of 504 2-minute individual activity records or 16.8 hours of observation recorded for *Alouatta palliata*. Quantitative information presented herein was obtained from 6 days of observation during a primate ecology field school. A small group of 8 howler monkeys were followed between the hours of 0500 to 1150 and from 1250 to 1600. A total of 64 hours were spent in the field. Observation hours were limited due to dense canopy and the lack of characteristic dawn calls normally displayed by this species. Feeding activities were defined as handling of food items and ingestion. Time spent resting was defined as a period of inactivity. Travel was defined as movement through the canopy and crossing between gaps. Foraging was defined as movement in the crown of a feeding site and visual scanning in search of food. Proximity to the focal animal was measured using the metric distance of the nearest neighbor according to the following ordinal scale: 1. Touching = 0 meters; 2. > 0 < 1m; 3. 1 - 2m; 4. 2 - 3m; 5. 3 - 5m; 6. 5 - 10m; 7. > 10m

Results

Overall Activity Budgets

Results of activity budgets of *Alouatta palliata* at La Suerte are similar to those found at other study sites. Overall the results indicate that *A. palliata* spent a majority of their daily activity time at rest (64.8%) (Table 1). Although other studies have combined

Table 1. Average time in percent spent on daily activities.

Activity	Male		Female N		Females L		Overall(n)		
	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	
Feeding	9.0	14	20.0	25	18.0	40	16.46	79	
Traveling	19.0	29	10.4	13	18.0	41	15.67	83	
Resting	71.0	111	60.8	76	62.5	140	64.80	327	
Foraging	1.0	1	8.8	11	1.3	3	2.9	15	
Overall Total								504	

*N= non-lactating female, L = lactating female

their feeding and foraging into a single category, in this study these activities were recorded separately. Data were also collected on activity budgets within each sex class. The results indicated that howlers spent an average of 15.67% of their time traveling between feeding and resting sites (Table 1.).

Comparison of Foraging Behaviors Within Sex Classes

Although overall results of within group activity patterns were similar to other studies, marked differences between lactating and non-lactating females/subadult males were observed. Non-lactating females spent an average of 8.8% of their time foraging while lactating females spent 1.3% of their time foraging. Differences in time spent foraging may be explained by the lactating females ability to obtain better access to productive food sites. In contrast, percentages of feeding times between lactating and non-lactating females did no differ (20% vs. 18%).

Proximity Differences Between Sex Classes

Spatial relationships between members of a social group offer insight into social bonds. The results of this study indicate differences in the distance that lactating females spent near to the adult male during various activities. Differences also existed in proximity to the adult male between the lactating and non-lactating females/subadult males. The lactating female maintained a distance of 1 to 3 meters to the male during times of feeding (figure 1).

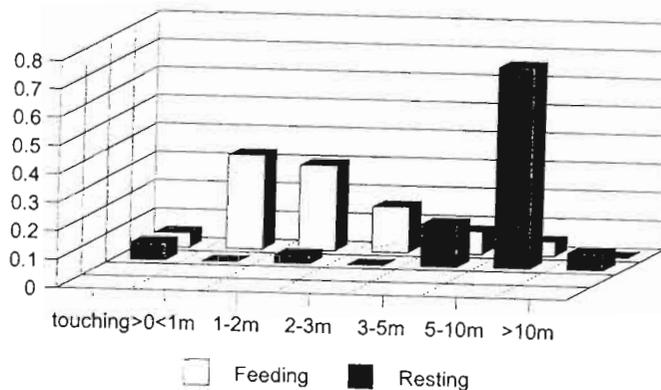


Figure 1. Distribution of nearest neighbor during feeding and rest. Focal animal is female with infant and nearest neighbor is male.

During times of rest, however, this female was a distance of 10 meters 70% of the time. The non-lactating female maintained closer distances to the male during times of rest, (within 1-3 meters) than did the lactating female (Figure 2). Due to the problems of visibility and individual identification, no data was collected when the male was nearest neighbor to the non-lactating female during feeding. Therefore, a comparison of feeding behaviors between the non-lactating females and lactating females could not be examined.

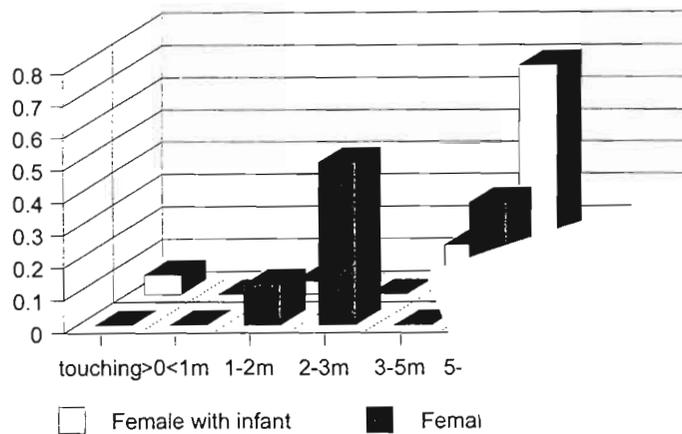


Figure 2. Distribution of nearest neighbor during rest. Focal animal is female without infant and female with infant. Nearest neighbor is male.

Comparison of Feeding Behaviors Between Sex Classes

On the average, males spent less time feeding than lactating females. Males spent 9% of total activity time feeding. Lactating females spent 18% of total time feeding and non-lactating females 20%. Overall, adult females spent more time feeding than adult males, however, it is not possible to determine if this represents increased feeding time or decreased access to productive feeding sites.

Discussion

Data presented in this study indicated marked differences in time spent feeding and foraging between male and female mantled howler monkeys (*Alouatta palliata*) at La Suerte. Males spent 50% less time feeding and foraging than females (Table 1). This is contrary to

the prediction that males would spend more time feeding due to their large body size. In the species *Alouatta palliata*, males weigh 2 kg. more than females and may be expected to need more food to supply their nutritional requirements (Crockett and Eisenberg in Primate Societies, 1985).

In a study on Rhesus macaques (*Macaca mulatta*) (Ciani and Chiarelli, 1988) sharp differences in feeding strategies were reported between age and sex classes. In this particular study, males that fed in town reduced their feeding time more than any other age/sex class, even during the mating season (Ciani and Chiarelli, 1988). These differences were attributed to males preferring to feed in town by begging and stealing from their human neighbors, while females fed exclusively on resources found in the forest (Ciani and Chiarelli, 1988). In this study, reduced feeding time may be indicative of increased feeding rates (Ciani and Chiarelli, 1988). Larger adult male body size and increased aggression may have determined these different strategies of food selection.

From the results of the present study it can be suggested that adult male howlers may spend less time feeding than the time spent by females. This is possibly a result of better access to productive food resources. Recent studies of social behavior in *Alouatta palliata* have reported that based on aggressive interactions, adult males ranked above adult females (Jones, 1980). Therefore, access to food resources may be related to social rank with higher ranking animals having preferential access. In addition, males spent 10% more time resting and traveling than females. The increased time spent resting may have allowed adult males to offset costs associated with additional time spent traveling relative to the females.

This study also indicates that while there were differences in the activity budgets between sex classes, overall this group of mantled howlers exhibited similar activity budgets to other studied groups of *Alouatta palliata* (Milton, 1980, 1981; Glander, 1975) (see table 2). Proximity or distances between two individuals has been used as an index of the strength of the "bond" between individuals (Dunbar, 1976). Furthermore, sex and proximity of the nearest neighbor may have an affect on the focal animals food choice or foraging activities. This study focused on proximal distances of lactating and non-lactating females to the adult male during all activities. The lactating female maintained a proximal distance of 1-3 meters to the adult male during feeding.

Table 2. Percent time spent on principal activities at three study sites.

Activity	Barro Colorado ¹	Guanacoste ²	La Suerte
Feeding	16.24	18.08	19.36
Traveling	10.23	11.00	15.67
Resting	65.54	65.30	64.80

1. Milton 1985; 2. Glander 1975, cited in Milton 1985.

Note: Activity data Barro Colorado and Guanacoste are over an annual cycle. Data from La Suerte are from a six consecutive day period.

Previous studies have focused on relationships between feeding behavior, ranging patterns, inter-group spacing and ecology in primates (Post, 1980; et. al.). In general, these studies

have examined ecological constraints of group size such as the abundance, density and distribution of food sources. These constraints may be most severe during times of food scarcity. For example, in a study on Chacma baboons (*Papio ursinus*) within-group competition over limited resources can result in severe loss of body weight and death for adult females and infants (Hamilton, 1985 in Garber, 1987). This would suggest that adult and sub-adult males prevented females from access to quality food sites (Garber, 1987).

Access to quality food sites may be particularly important for lactating females. For instance, during gestation, nutritional requirements increase by 25%, while lactation may increase needs by 50% (Richard, 1985). Maternal feeding behavior may affect mortality since the production of an ample supply of milk is dependent on the mothers ability to obtain sufficient food to supply herself and her growing offspring (Richard, 1985). According to Altmann (1977 in Richard, 1985), reduced milk production due to maternal nutritional stress is a major factor contributing to infant deaths in *Papio cynocephalus* (Altmann, 1977 in Richard, 1985).

Females may attempt to accommodate their increased nutritional requirements of reproduction by placing themselves in close proximity to the adult male in order to obtain access to productive feeding sites. These data suggest that lactating female howlers may have developed this behavioral feeding strategy in order to meet the increased nutritional requirements experienced during lactation and thus improve the chances of survivorship for their offspring.

Social factors may also influence infant mortality. In species such as *Gorilla gorilla*, Hanuman langurs and Red and Mantled howlers, male-male competition and reproductive strategies may result in infant deaths when extra group males take over a group and usurp the sovereign males breeding position (Richard, 1985). However, if females with infants are susceptible to acts of infanticide, then it would be expected that proximity to males would be consistently close during all activities.

These data suggest that non-lactating females maintained closer proximity (1-3 meters) to the adult male during times of rest than did lactating females (>10 meters) (see figure 1). As a result, these data do not support the idea that lactating females maintain closer proximity to vigilant adult males for protection from infanticide. If females with infants are susceptible to acts of infanticide, then proximity to males would likely have been similar during all activities.

Lactating females have higher costs associated with reproduction, however, non-lactating females are assumed to have the same energetic costs and nutritional needs as sub-adult males due to similarity of body weights. It has been suggested that lactating females should spend more time foraging than non-lactating females due to costs associated with lactation and caring for infants (Richard, 1985). However, these data show that non-lactating females spent 8.8% of daily activity time foraging while lactating females spent 1.3%. Non-lactating females may have to spend more time foraging than lactating females because lactating females may have had better access to productive feeding sites as a result of maintaining closer distances to the adult male during feeding.

Study Limitations

The sample size and time spent in field observation is relatively small compared to other studies. Problems were encountered in identifying sex of nearest neighbor, especially during times of rest high in the canopy. Future studies should include a group of marked individuals for ease in observations, data collection and identification of individuals. In addition, position within the crown of the focal animal and nearest neighbor, and nutritional analysis of foods selected may allow a better examination of specific differences on feeding behaviors between and within sex classes during all activities.

Conclusions

Non-lactating females spent a larger percentage of their daily activity foraging than non-lactating females. Males spent less time feeding and more time traveling and resting than females. Lactating females were in closer proximity to the male during times of feeding than non-lactating females. Non-lactating females were in closer proximity to the male than lactating females during times of rest. And finally, overall group activity budget results were similar to other studies on *Alouatta palliata*.

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The Illusion of a Classless Society: The Chinese Communist Party (CCP) or China's New Class

In China, about one-quarter of the world's population live in a society which takes Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong thought as its basis. Having undertaken the most far-reaching land reform in human history soon after 1949, the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) leaders disagreed about China's future development. Mao Zedong's Great Leap Forward (1958) and Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution (1966-69) were ideally based upon Marxist philosophy (Benewick and Wingrove 1995:1).

Mao claimed the Chinese Revolution to be bourgeois-democratic since Chinese society was colonial, semi-colonial, and semi-feudal, since its purposes were to overthrow China's enemies, imperialism and feudalism, and since the revolution was basically not directed against capitalism or capitalist property. China's "new-democratic" movement was seen as part of the world proletarian-upheaval, for it attacks imperialist rule. Politically, it was to strive for a joint dictatorship of the proletariat under guidance of the Party; and economically it aimed at the nationalization of all enterprises and capital of the imperialists, and the distribution of land among the peasants, while preserving private capitalist enterprise and not eliminating the rich peasant economy. The Chinese movement ideally cleared the way for capitalism on the one hand, while creating the prerequisites for socialism on the other hand. Its outcome was not the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie but a dictatorship of a united front of all revolutionary classes under the leadership of the CCP and the proletariat (Zedong 1965:326-7).

Maoist China, governed by a Marxist-Leninist party, claims to have eliminated the antagonistic class relations that characterize capitalist-oriented nations. The following discussion illustrates that Maoist China is a class-based society. The country is believed to be built upon the dictatorship of the proletariat which serves the interests of the peasants, yet class relations are antagonistic and the CCP has evolved into a self-centered ruling class. China is said to be communist-oriented, yet the Party has a monopoly control over China's MOP as expressed through its cadre.

Dialectical Framework

According to Hegel's idealistic dialecticism, the world is a totality of interacting social structures. Change is the result of internal contradictions, thus an event (thesis) generates its opposite (antithesis) leading to an impermanent reconciliation of both (synthesis). Whereas Hegel sees reality as being constructed in our minds, Marx highlights the material base of mankind. Body and mind cannot be divorced from one another (normative dualism); what we construct in our minds is a reflection of reality (Kroner 1971:243).

Marx on Social Structure

Societies, being influenced by the material base governing our world, have three components, the *Forces of Production* (FOP), the *Social Relations of Production* (SRP), and the *Superstructure* (SUP). The FOP reflects the degree of technology at any point in time, including material and nonmaterial resources. As technology advances productivity increases proportionally, therefore the FOP changes over time. The SRP reveals the system of social relations that controls production, and involves decisions over who decides what is produced, for what reasons, how products are distributed, etc. The SRP allows the rise of social classes with antagonistic interests, leading to the fundamental contradiction. Both the SRP and the FOP define a society's Mode of Production (MOP; Economic Base). The SUP reflects a society's institutional and ideological elements, such as education, religion, and economics. Its role is to legitimize and reproduce the Economic Base.

Historical Materialism and Mao's Class Designations

According to Marx, whose philosophy was shaped by unilinear evolutionism, history is a consequence of on-going contradictions between the FOP and the SRP. Cultural development and historical change are predicted by changes in the Economic Base. Production is the nexus of society, and production demands cooperation, thus a division of labor is necessary for the survival of society. In the beginnings, work was done for consumption, consequently private property did not evolve into classes. Changes in the FOP created surplus, forcing a decision over whether to produce for mere need or profit (commodity production). The latter was accompanied by a privatization of the MOP and the rise of social classes.

Mao distinguished between six classes: the landlord class and comprador class, the middle bourgeoisie, the petty bourgeoisie, the semi-proletariat, the proletariat, and the lumpen-proletariat. The first two classes, the landlord class and the comprador class, are seen as "appendages of the international bourgeoisie," relying upon imperialism for survival, and "their existence was...incompatible with the [Chinese Revolution]." They side with imperialism, hinder the development of China's productive forces, and hence constitute a counter-revolutionary group. Their political representatives are the Etatistes, a small number of officials who founded the Chinese Etatiste Youth League, and the right-wing of the Guomindang. Mao moreover condemns the official government bureaucracy that supports municipal authority and control, and the financial infrastructure, since they had an identity of interests with the ruling class.

The middle bourgeoisie, representing China's capitalist MOP in town and countryside, is inconsistent in its attitude towards the Chinese Communist Revolution. Mao dichotomized both urban and rural capitalists into those who might in the future support the Chinese Revolution (enlightened gentry) and those who would oppose it (non-enlightened gentry). The operant criterion seemed to be whether the person lived from an income that was dependent upon the employment of others. Although they favor the revolutionary movement against imperialism and foreign dominance, they fear it could threaten the hope of their class

to acquire the status of a large bourgeoisie, hence the middle bourgeoisie supports the establishment of a state that is under their control.

Mao categorized the owner-peasants, master handicraftsmen, and lower intellectuals -- lower government functionaries, primary and secondary school teachers, "small" lawyers, "small" traders, office clerks, and students -- as petty-bourgeoisie. Although all segments of the petty-bourgeoisie have the same socio-economic status, they are further divided into three sub-groups: the first group includes those who have accumulated some surplus money or grain. Mao views them as being timid, being afraid of government agents, and being opposed to the Revolution. The second group, making up one-half of the petty-bourgeoisie, unites individuals who are economically self-supporting. They have internalized bourgeois values, but they feel they cannot survive by putting in as much labor as before. Although they doubt whether the Revolution will succeed, they would hardly oppose it. The third group unites individuals whose socio-economic status is steadily decreasing.

The semi-proletariat consists of five strata: the semi-owner peasants, the poor peasants, the "small" handicraftsmen, the shop assistants, and the pedlars. The semi-owner peasants and the poor peasants are further divided into three categories, upper, middle, and lower, according to their economic condition. Whereas the poor peasants are landless and receive only small compensation for their work, the semi-owner peasants can keep the crop from the land they own. The poor peasants are tenant-peasants who may again be divided into two categories. One group possesses adequate farm implements and some funds, whereas the other group has no resources to draw upon. However, Mao offers only the most imprecise and questionable explanations for his categories, for example:

"Among the poor peasants some own part of their land and have a few odd farm implements, others own no land at all but only a few odd farm implements. As a rule poor peasants have to rent the land they work on and are subjugated to exploitation, having to pay land rent and interest on loans and to hire themselves out to some extent. In general, a middle peasant does not need to sell his labor power, while the poor peasant has to sell part of his labor power" (Zedong 1965:139).

The "small" handicraftsmen, shop assistants, and peddlers are treated as semi-proletarians because of their low income. According to Wortzel, the criterion applied by Mao and the Party for labeling a person a capitalist was the possession of bank assets of 5,000 yuan. The employment of workers outside the immediate family was a factor in determining a class label, but the overwhelming criterion employed by Mao was whether the individual was likely to oppose the Revolution or not.

The proletariat, representing China's new productive forces, united about two million industrial workers in 1927. The workers were mainly employed in five industries: railways, mining, maritime transport, textiles, and ship-building. Furthermore, this class is designed for dockworkers, rickshaw men, and rural, day, month, and annual workers. There was confusion, however, about who constituted the proletariat. "They have been deprived of all MOP, have nothing left but their hands, have no hope of ever becoming rich, and...are subjugated to the most ruthless treatment by the...bourgeoisie" (Zedong 1965:18).

Apart from all these classes, there is the lumpen-proletariat, consisting of peasants who have lost their land, and handicraftsmen who cannot get work. They have joined secret

societies, such as the Triad Society in Fukien and Kwangtung, the Society of Brothers in Hunan, Hupeh, and Shantung, or the Rational Life Society in Chihil, consequently one of China's problems is how to handle them.

Mao is clear neither about what constituted a social class in the Marxian tradition nor about how to differentiate these classes in China. However, he was clear about distinguishing friends from enemies:

“Enemies are all those in league with imperialism. ... The leading force in our revolution is the industrial proletariat. Our closest friends are the entire semi-proletariat and petty-bourgeoisie. As for the vacillating middle bourgeoisie, their right-wing may become our enemy and their left-wing may become our friends...” (Zedong 1965:32).

Mao's class distinctions are by no means definitive; by 1948, when Mao required the support of the landlords and intelligentsia in the push for a Communist victory, he modified his original class structure (Kraus 1981:30-5; Spence 1990:480; Wortzel 1987:24-33; Zedong 1965:13-9).

The Chinese Communist *Weltanschauung* is the Marxist conception of the materialist forces of world history. The resolution of class conflict propels history in a unilinear direction. The proletariat will eventually emerge as the dominant class in all societies and will ultimately destroy capitalism. According to Mao, the Communist Party serves as instrument which forges the resolution of conflicts between the state and society in socialism (Schurmann 1965:40; 111-115).

Economic Ownership

Legal title ensures that an individual or group of individuals own property or specific MOP, yet ownership is not synonymous with control. Persons who possess the power to dispose of commodities, to direct the work process and its outcome, and to assign the MOP for use are “economic owners” (Wortzel 1987:70). China's SRP should be evaluated from the worker's perspective: whether they are allowed to participate in the decision-making process; whether they have an input to the state plan that levies quotas on their work.

In capitalist societies, ownership grants power over the MOP which confers the authority to make production decisions, to hire and fire works, and to distribute resources. The authority of the Communist Party confers similar power on its cadre, hence certain managerial positions in communist-oriented societies offer economic control over the MOP. When the leaders of the economic system and political system also function as Party leaders, then there exist conditions of “economic ownership” and SRP which ultimately lead to class subjugation (Beck 1975:123-146).

China's economy is a mix of state-owned, collectively-owned, and Chinese-foreign-owned joint venture enterprises. The economy is directed by a centralized authority, the State Economic Commission of the State Council, which provides management under the guidance of the CCP (Schurmann 1966:182-6; Wortzel 1987:71ff). China's Five- year plans have featured elements of two Soviet-type economies: one follows a decentralized model, while

the second model resembles the highly centralized Stalinist economy, operated like a "multilevel corporation" (Prybyla 1980:4).

Policy in China is determined by the Communist Party: the CCP provides the administrative organs of government, whereas the state handles the economy. CCP leadership is exercised both centrally, by means of the Politburo and the Central Committee Secretariat on the State Council and its subordinate ministries, and locally through Party committees and Party members. The latter represent only six to seven percent of China's adult population, yet they occupy the most responsible jobs (Darnberger et al. 1991:532). China's system is characterized by strict vertical control, where commands always flow downwards and information upwards. China's Government consists of several administrative levels; the typical arrangement is that of three governmental entities: center, province, and county.

The Five Year-Plan is used to manage the economy, to provide for a balanced development among the sectors of the economy. At the center, preparation of the Five Year-Plans is the responsibility of the State Planning Commission, and implementation is supervised by the State Capital Construction Commission, the State Agriculture Commission, and the State Economic Commission (Darnberger et al. 1991:533; Lippit 1987:110ff). A set of intertwined material balance tables, illustrating resources and applications, serves as core of the Five Year-Plan. Similar plans are prepared in each province and county by the Planning Bureau. Provincial plans are supervised by the State Planning Commission, and county plans are prepared by the provincial planners.

Beneath the planning commissions, responsibility for commodity flow is divided among several agencies. Each agency has counterpart units at the provincial and county stage. Goods are first allocated at the national level among provinces; the provincial agency then distributes these goods among counties, and the counties allocate these allotments among communes. The same mechanism works the other way around: communes submit requisitions for next year to a county agency which prepares a draft allocation. This draft allocation is first discussed at the county level before it is handed over to the provincial conference. For goods of national importance, this long process culminates in national conferences. According to an American economist, "...Chinese enterprises [are] more rigidly controlled than in any other socialist country" (Benewick et al. 1995:41-4; Darnberger et al. 1991:533-8; Schurmann 1966:150-1; Wortzel 1987:72).

China's First Five Year-Plan (1953-57) was seen as a period of select development, a time characterized by the building up of a modern heavy industrial sector. It was modeled heavily on Soviet financial assistance and Soviet technology. During the First Five Year-Plan period output increased strongly, thus by 1957, China's gross industrial output value was 2.3 times the 1952 level. State and joint state-private enterprises continued to grow in importance relative to private ones, which gradually disappeared (Lippit 1987: 100).

Despite these accomplishments, economic planning in China is complicated by institutional and geographic factors. The government conceals information at the central level, hence enterprises have only limited access to data on resources, demand, transport, and marketing. They develop an enterprise plan in response to the state plan, yet their targets are predetermined by the State Council and the State allocates the material. Chinese economists have suggested to allow enterprises more autonomy by combining market economy with

command economy, but the implementation of this model is restricted by China's inadequate transportation infrastructure: China's roads are unsuited for long-distance transport, and there exists neither a centralized system of road transport nor a nationally coordinated highway system. The centralized railway system is relatively well maintained, yet about 40 percent of total train volume is used to transport coal. The consequences would be disastrous if individual enterprises were allowed to handle their own material.

Under the planning economy the factory directors and worker-managers operate under the guidance of CCP committee. Although the workers ideally "have the final say in a socialist enterprise," the CCP regards itself as "the force directing a socialist enterprise" (Wortzel 1987:74-76). The Party secures political control over the planning process by placing communist members on the worker's and management committees. For example, at Inner Mongolia #2 Wool Factory, at Hobot, and Yu Menkou People's Commune, at Chengdu, the enterprise management committees consisted of almost the same number of people as the Party Committee. Moreover, the Party secretaries served as enterprise managers. The Party insists on directing the enterprise, consequently, workers are given only a meager amount of influence.

Chinese Literature on CCP Politics

Worker's dissatisfaction over Party privileges and the lack of self-determination in the production process are in the focal point in Chinese literature. Zhou Yongnian's "Zhuren," published when the Gang of Four was in power, takes place at the East Wind Foodstuffs Factory. There, the Worker's Management Committee holds a meeting to decide whether to stop the production of salt water in favor of producing sweet soda water. A staff economist suggests to switch to salt soda water since salt soda water sells best and makes the best profit. Toa Zhenqing, the Worker's Committee Director, rejects this suggestion because: during the Cultural Revolution this economist never engaged in physical labor, hence he never received a perfect proletarian education; and he only considers profit, and not what is good for the industries supplied by the plant. Tao Zhenqing, the enterprise manager and CCP committee member, determines what policy should be followed, and the factory workers have no opportunity for self determination.

Cadre privileges and influence is the central point in Jiao Zuyao's short story, "The Summons." The secretary of a city's Party committee had used his position to ensure his son's transfer from a rural agricultural commune to a factory position. Party secretary Wang accomplished this by contacting a friend who had also risen to the position of Party secretary. A few weeks later, Party secretary Wang's son got injured in a fight with another factory worker. His son passes away, consequently, people assume that Wang will ensure that the person responsible for his son's death will be adequately punished. Although Wang does not take advantage of his position as Party secretary, the story implies that any high-level cadre can abuse the power to circumvent established laws. "Individual Party members are subordinate to the Party organization, the minority is subordinate to the majority, all the lower Party organizations are subordinate to the higher Party organizations, and all constituent

organizations and members of the party are subordinate to the National Congress and the Central Committee of the Party” (Benewick et al. 1995:40; Kraus 1981:143ff; Weggel 1994:77-85; Wortzel 1987:57-65).

The Socialist “Democracy” Movement

China’s system of appointing cadre and managers in enterprises became the object of condemnation during the Socialist “Democracy” Movement. Chinese dissidents compared the cadre system to a class system without individual ownership; the form of authority given to these cadre makes cadre owners of the MOP. According to Lu Min, one editor of the Beijing zhiqun, a new class of bureaucrats and career cadre was developing, turning “public” ownership back into private ownership. Wei Jingsheng, a former People’s Liberation Army (PLA) officer, argues that true democracy means that workers choose and replace their own representatives according to their will. Next to China’s cadre system, the dissidents condemned the rule of a single party under a single ideology. After suppression of the Socialist “Democracy” Movement, the CCP admitted that abuse of power by the CCP cadre was widespread. Under Deng Xiaoping’s rule, The Party Central Discipline Inspection Commission documented incidences where cadre act as “economic owners” of the MOP (Rittenberg et al. 1993:421; Wortzel 1987:77-81).

CCP Cadre: China’s New Class

Between December 1981 and December 1982 there were 160 reports in Chinese newspapers about power abuse by Party and state cadre; the committee listed 192,000 incidents. The U.S. government’s Foreign Broadcast Information Service (FBIS) has reports of power abuses by Party and state cadres from all but five of 29 provinces, autonomous regions, and municipalities with provincial status in China. Those reports mainly list incidences in: central market areas where there is foreign and domestic commercial activity, financial centers, and the capitol. About 20 percent of the incidents were listed without mentioning the locality. Sixty-eight of the 160 incidents concerned CCP cadres involved in speculation for personal profit, smuggling, and bribery. Forty cadres sought privileges because of their position, ignored responsibilities and made no decisions, and adopted a “poor work style.” In 28 incidences, Party cadre had misused their power to seize the land of peasants or occupy their houses. The last category includes 24 cases of cadre who provided unlawful support for family members.

At a CCP meeting in Qingdao in 1957, Mao announced that both Party cadre and peasants had turned to bourgeois elements, such as individualism, selfishness, immorality, and bureaucracy. During the Great Leap famine of 1961 and 1963, CCP cadre protected themselves and those in their favor, while confiscating grain from the weaker or those not in their favor. In Zhejiang Province, at the Xinsheng Commune in Yonjia County, Party cadre organized and controlled a ring of 23 households that illegally manufactured and sold kitchen

knives from state materials. The same organization compiled primary and middle school textbooks, and, using state funds, published and marketed these materials at private gains. Reports from Guangdong Province accused the Ye Jianying, elder statesmen and marshal of the People's Liberation Army (PLA), and his staff of being involved in a smuggling ring (Spence 1990:576, 591-592, 594-595).

According to the Party, cadre who are accused of such behavior had joined the group of "enemies" since dishonesty was synonymous with bourgeois culture. The argument that this behavior was the byproduct of access to control the MOP was never addressed. The deputy secretary of the Party Committee of Hejin County in Taiyuan Province, Jin Wenbing, used his power to allocate housing and land and built private houses for his family. He rented houses to other persons and thus acted as "cadre landlord." In Fujian Province, CCP cadre built houses with the labor of peasants and sold their houses for profit. Children of CCP cadre conceived themselves as members of a new class, separated from others by dress, eating habits, work place, and education. The children of cadre, like the children of Deng Xiaoping and Zhang Aiping, attended U.S. universities.

Even border regions were not excluded from corruption, as seen by one county deputy secretary in Yunnan Province who was charged with the appropriation and private sale of military equipment. The system of bonuses in enterprises was also abused: cadres overpaid themselves and accepted furniture and other goods as bonuses.

Wang Zhengping, commentator of the People's Daily, denied that classes could emerge from a political party because "determinations of class are made according to the standards of relations [between FOP and SRP]." Lin Boye and Shen Zhe argues that cadres enjoy only a slightly better standard of living than the average person, yet the average Chinese, without the proper position backed by the CCP membership, administer or allocate large amounts of publicly owned property. Access to power comes from an official position, and the ultimate authority to enforce laws comes from CCP membership. Only officials and cadre have access to commodity allocation, housing allocation, and the allocation of employment. Policy is controlled by the CCP; oversight is CCP responsibility; and China's officials are CCP members, consequently the Party Committee control's China's economic base. Corruption exists in every society, yet the issue is whether authority, control over the economic base, and control over the SUP should be derived from a single source – particularly in a society whose leaders claimed to follow Marxism-Leninism, apart from the fact that Marx barely addresses "communism" in his major work *Das Kapital* (Kraus 1981:54-58; Lippit 1987:237-240; Shurmann 1966:319-322; Wortzel 1986:85-90).

Conclusion

As illustrated, the CCP possesses a monopoly of control over the production means through its authority to create policies and through Party influence over enterprise managers. Party officials and CCP cadre are economic owners of the production means because the CCP has the last say in enterprise management and directs the planning process. Marx's traditional

definition of “class” cannot be applied to China, thus it was necessary to use Wight’s concept of “economic ownership.”

The CCP recruits its members from workers, peasants, and also from intellectuals. Regarding social upward mobility, there seem to be parallels between access to the Part and access to the central bureaucracy in traditional China. The combined factors of adherence to Marxist-Leninists-Mao Zedong though and access to higher through Party membership, have created an elite with antagonistic class interests. CCP membership provides a key to access to better living conditions, as illustrated by the CCP cadre. CCP cadre, the “server of the proletariat” represent a new class. Although they do not possess the means of production, they are economic owners and equipped with authorities that allow access to China’s production means.

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The Hadza and Kaguru of Tanzania: Gender Roles and Privileges at Two subsistence levels

Following the pivotal work of Julian Steward in the 1960's, cultural ecology emerged as a distinct theoretical orientation within the discipline of anthropology. In "The Concept and Method of Cultural Ecology", one of Steward's few summary explanations of the approach, he defines it as "the study of the processes by which a society adapts to its environment...to determine whether these adaptations initiate internal social transformations" (Steward 1977: 43). Central to this study is the identification and consideration of both the physical and social environments of a group and how these translate into the particular subsistence strategy of the society. With this information, a researcher seeks to determine how the evolution of other cultural traits in a society is influenced and even directed by these adaptations (Steward 1977: 44-45). Using this strategy, I intend to provide a cultural-ecological interpretation of the roles and place of women in two societies of Tanzania possessing two different subsistence techniques. With a comparison/contrast of the two, this paper will demonstrate that the particular subsistence adaptation of a group towards a given environment can be shown to have definite links to the ways in which women function within that society.

The paper is divided into three main sections. The first discusses the ecology of the Hadza, a hunter-gatherer society of northern Tanzania. Included in the section are a description of the physical characteristics of the Hadza environment, an overview of their significant social interactions past and present, and a discussion of the particular subsistence techniques which the Hadza have adopted. The second section provides a parallel account of the ecology of the Kaguru agriculturalists of east central Tanzania. The third and final section uses the ecological information presented in the previous two studies to analyze several aspects of women and women's roles in these two societies. With the information provided by these examples, I expect to show the centrality of a group's subsistence mode to the formation of its cultural attitudes and practices in regards to women.

The Ecology of the Hadza

In the northern area of Tanzania, near Lake Eyasi, live a group of people generally referred to as the Hadza. This particular society has been the subject of extensive studies by anthropologists (e.g. Woodburn, Blurton Jones, Hawkes, et al.), and their observations have been central to the understanding of hunter-gatherer life ways today. Though the continuation of Nyerere's post-independence "nation-building" strategies has pressured many Hadza to

adopt more sedentary agricultural lifestyles, Kaare (1994) points out that the majority still follow traditional patterns of hunter-gatherer subsistence. Indeed, he notes a definite intention among the Hadza to insure "the reproduction of the hunting-gathering way of life" (Kaare 1994: 330). For this reason, I use earlier yet still relevant ethnographic examples of Hadza life in addition to more recent overviews in order to give a picture of those Hadza still living according to their hunting and gathering strategies.

The physical habitat of the Hadza seems to present a very inhospitable environment to the outside observer. Woodburn (1968a: 50) describes it as a "dry, rocky savanna, dominated by thorn scrub and acacia trees and infested with tsetse flies." However, this general description does not convey the diversity which exists within Hadza country. The area varies greatly from region to region, encompassing wide spaces of open grasses, rivers, areas of trees such as acacias and baobabs, and patches of rocky terrain (Woodburn 1968b). Moreover, the Hadza themselves do not necessarily mark these differences. Instead, they refer to four named "regions": *Mangola* (the Mangola River), *Sipunga* (Sipunga mountains), *Tli'ika* (the west), and *Han!abi* (the rocks). None of these areas have defined boundaries, however, and the distinction between regions can even change based on the location of the speaker (Woodburn 1968b: 104). It seems that the Hadza by far prefer the tree and rock covered areas for settlement (Woodburn 1968a).

Despite the initial semblance of barrenness the terrain gives, it actually holds a rich diversity of both plant and animal resources. Probably the most well known aspect of the region is its capability to support large and varied herds of animals. The range of biological groups in the area includes everything from elephant, antelope, giraffe, and lion to hare, tortoise, and hyrax (Campbell 1995). More centrally related to Hadza life, however, are the plant materials which, despite appearances otherwise, flourish in this area. Among those plants that the Hadza recognize and use are a variety of berries, several kinds of roots, and baobob fruit (Woodburn 1968a). Perhaps the most important quality of the Hadza's physical environment, however, is the relative constancy of their resources. Though the region does revolve around a seasonal cycle of wet and dry periods, each about six months in duration (Campbell 1995), the animals and plants important to the Hadza are almost always in abundant supply and, as will be seen, lead to a relatively stable subsistence strategy.

Hadza social organization shares many of the characteristics associated with other contemporary African foragers (e.g. !Kung, Mbuti). The focal unit appears to be the band of about eighteen adults in which they dwell throughout much of the year (Campbell 1995). However, once into the dry season between June and November, the Hadza begin to aggregate into much larger groups. While Woodburn (1968b) debates the assertion that this aggregation is linked to environmental changes, most authors argue for the lessening of water resources as an important factor in this group transition (Campbell 1995). Whatever the causal factors, however, these changes in size and composition are recognized by the Hadza and they consider it a very important part of their society (Woodburn 1968a).

As far as the influence of other groups on Hadza social life, several important points are stressed in the literature. Ndagala (1988) states that, though very well known in academic circles, the Hadza remain relatively unrecognized by Tanzanians other than those agriculturalists and pastoralists in their immediate vicinity. With these neighboring groups,

the Hadza have rather significant contact, ranging from occasional trade to working as wage laborers in their gardens (Ndagala 1988; Kaare 1994). Moreover, because the Hadza do not traditionally recognize land rights and ownership, they allow other peoples to enter their land area and use it, a process which has led to a serious marginalization of the subsistence activity of the Hadza over many years (Woodburn 1968a; Kaare 1994). This sudden proximity to other groups and the accompanying competition for brides has also had an effect on Hadza marriage practices (Ndagala 1988). As a result, many Hadza now try to keep their outside contact relatively minimized and thus "continue an essentially independent socio-economic system" (Campbell 1995: 61).

Perhaps the most influential external factor on Hadza society, however, has been the Tanzanian government. Because the Tanzanian administration regards the traditional life ways of the Hadza as "archaic or primitive and as disgusting to the nation" (Ndagala 1988: 65), much pressure has been put on the education and settlement of the Hadza. Many researchers cite specific instances of government programs in which Hadza were moved into housing areas and furnished with water and supplies with the intention of helping them adopt agriculture (see Ndagala 1988; Blurton Jones, et al. 1994; Kaare 1994). Though a limited number of Hadza did go on to higher education and more agricultural lifestyles, however, the projects as a whole eventually failed and most Hadza returned to open land and their easier and more stable hunting and gathering lifestyle (Blurton Jones et al. 1994). Indeed, the majority of the literature indicates an overall failure of such "villagization" schemes to work. Nevertheless, these pressures from the Tanzanian government continue to impinge upon Hadza life today.

Given these environmental and social factors, the traditional hunting and gathering subsistence strategy of the Hadza makes very good sense. With the large number of resources at hand, the "ease of subsistence" that Woodburn (1968a) originally described remains true. Though the Hadza who continue to follow traditional hunting and gathering are by no means ignorant of agricultural cultivation and the possibilities it entails, the relative ease of living off the land makes it unnecessary to do so (Ndagala 1988). In fact, so great is the variety to be found that the Hadza neither have nor recognize any need for conservation of or preservation of food resources (Woodburn 1968a). (A trait observed in other hunter-gatherer cultures such as in the famous quote of a !Kung hunter by Lee (1968:33): "Why should we plant, when there are so many mongongo nuts in the world?") Both older and more recent studies show us that the Hadza spend little more than two hours a day collecting what they eat. Nevertheless, the Hadza remain nutritionally well based, even taking in four times the minimum in daily protein requirements (Ndagala 1988: 66).

As to the actual subsistence of the Hadza, gathering is a very important aspect of their life in nutritional terms. Well over 80% of their diet consists of plant materials taken from the forest (Campbell 1995: 59). The task of gathering for overall group use falls upon women and children. They go out each day, no more than an hour or two from camp, and collect plant products at a leisurely pace, satisfying their own hunger first and bringing back the remainder to camp. The plants brought in consist of four types of roots, five different berries, and a fruit pulp and kernel (Woodburn 1968a). Included in this gathering are such treats as honey and bee grubs as well. Of course, some of this intake may be supplemented with

agricultural products from neighboring peoples, but one study of the Hadza in the Tli'ika region showed that only five percent of the food came from these sources (Blurton Jones et al. 1994: 192). Though the percentage probably does vary according to the area and contact with neighboring peoples, the authors indicate that this data does seem generally applicable for those Hadza which have not actively adopted agricultural practices. As for water, camps are usually located in close range of the water sources that are distributed throughout the region. It is also important to note that Hadza men gather as well; they regularly go into the forest when hungry to find plant food to eat. However, this gathering is strictly related to their own personal satisfaction and they never gather for the group as do women and children (Woodburn 1968a).

Hunting is the other important aspect of Hadza subsistence, and it benefits greatly from the large number of animals available. The Hadza hunt virtually every possible food animal in the area except the elephant (Campbell 1995). Their methods consist almost exclusively of bow and arrow hunting, often with poisoned tips. This role in their subsistence belongs exclusively to men. Leaving from the camp individually or in small groups, the hunters go into nearby areas stalking and shooting animals upon sight. Much like women out foraging, men prepare their kill on the spot, satisfying their own hunger first (Woodburn 1968a). Anything remaining is brought to camp to be eaten by all. Campbell (1995: 61) also identifies scavenging as an important part of acquiring meat, perhaps providing up to 20% of that which is taken. However the meat is procured, it is always considered the fundamental part of the Hadza diet. Though quantitatively subsisting on vegetables above all, the Hadza consider themselves as hunters and claim to be going hungry if they do not have meat available (Woodburn 1968a).

The Ecology of the Kaguru

The Kaguru agriculturalists of east central Tanzania present a very strong contrast to the hunter-gatherer Hadza. Residing in a totally different physical and social environment, the Kaguru have adopted altogether different subsistence and social practices. Also, because the Kaguru follow a relatively settled lifestyle, especially since colonization, they have undergone less governmental pressure to change than the mobile Hadza. Of course, such governmental pressures do exist, including the pressure to produce cash crops as well as to adjust to various Tanzanian educational reforms (Beidelman 1986; Meeker and Meekers 1995). However, because of their agricultural status, the overall Kaguru population has not become divided at various stages of "modernization" like many of the Hadza. Among the anthropologists who have studied the Kaguru are Beidelman, Meekers, Franklin, and Meeker. What follows is an overview of the Kaguru environment and associated subsistence patterns based on these researchers' observations.

Though they live within the same national political boundaries, the Kaguru habitat contrasts markedly to that of the Hadza. Calling the 3600 square miles which they occupy Ukaguru, this population lives in an area of substantial ecological variation. Towards the east lies an area of lowlands filled with both rivers and stretches of dry plain. It only accounts for

one-fifth of Ukaguru's total area and, since it frequently floods and is far too open, remained sparsely populated for most of Kaguru history (Beidelman 1986: 13). Further westward are the Itumba mountains. This range extends across Tanzania and, while providing an area of abundant rainfall, is also very cold and varies as to whether it offers vegetation and arable land or only rocky terrain (Beidelman 1971). This area contains some iron deposits and forest for wood as well, so it served somewhat as a resource base in addition to its uses for growing crops such as maize, tobacco, and some fruits and vegetables (Beidelman 1986). Finally, one comes across the plateau highlands of Ukaguru in the west. These plains contain richly fertilized river valleys as well as areas of scrub bush and woodland. Though not all areas of this zone are fit for agricultural production, it makes up over half of the total Kaguru territory and most cultivation takes place here (Beidelman 1986).

The Kaguru live in villages of usually six or seven families, connected by paths and gardens in somewhat of a network pattern. As in many African communities, positive social relations within the local residence are central to daily life. Indeed, "the main strategy for social advancement is to secure followers or dependents, rather than gaining access to land" (Meekers and Franklin 1995: 318). With outside groups, however, the Kaguru have had a much less peaceful history. Because the Kaguru traditionally gave warfare low value, they were often susceptible to raids and attacks by their larger neighbors such as the Masai, Baraguyu, and Kamba (Beidelman 1971). For this reason, much of Ukaguru's lowlands and to some extent plateaus were left sparsely settled because of their lack of defensibility. Moreover, these raids acted as important social influences on the development of an agricultural tradition among the Kaguru because cattle raising lost its productivity with the constant theft of the animals (Beidelman 1971).

The artificial boundaries created by conflict soon gave way to new ones, however. Unlike the Hadza, who were relatively ignored by colonialists in their time, the Kaguru experienced several changes in the time that Tanzania was occupied. Colonial governments became especially interested in their area upon finding that the Kaguru lowlands responded well to the cultivation of sisal (*agave sisalana*), a valuable cash crop. Little time passed before the area became full of large sisal plantations (Beidelman 1971). The Kaguru felt these influences in several ways. Few were actually displaced in this change. In fact, the protection of a powerful colonial government was probably one of the bigger influences in the growth of Kaguru production and settlement. Though often for its own questionable reasons, the government opened up and protected large areas of land for settlement and clearing which were once indefensible, and therefore inaccessible, for the Kaguru. Even Kaguru political leadership changed as many began to seek the favor (and arms) of the German and British colonizers (Beidelman 1986).

As far as interaction with the modern Tanzanian government, the Kaguru have been part of several nationwide development programs since independence as well as in recent years. These improvement schemes have included an emphasis on enhancing the cash economy as well as increasing primary and secondary educational opportunities (Beidelman 1971; Meeker and Meekers 1995). Among those implementations most seriously affecting the Kaguru population as a whole, however, are the attempts to encourage "large-scale farming, which is dependent on land, modern technology, and capital for fertilizers and wage-labor" (Meeker

and Meekers 1995: 1). Such goals significantly impact many of the fundamental aspects of Kaguru life which, as will be seen, often center around the group's agricultural practices.

With the open lands, relatively heavy rains, and particular history of their region, one can understand how the Kaguru have come to rely upon hoe agriculture as their primary means of subsistence. So central is domestic plant production to their lives, in fact, that the Kaguru recognize four types of farm land according to the production and resources connected to it: individual house garden land (*malulu*), fertile valley gardens (*malolo*), fields of regular use and fallow (*migunda*), and short-term/long fallowing bush lands (*miteme*) (Beidelman 1971: 16-17). Because of these many varieties of soils and the varying rates of both rainfall and soil exhaustion, the land holdings of Kaguru are necessarily widespread and often dispersed. Moreover, these differences in land distribution also lead to a slight variation in agricultural practices. Whereas the Kaguru in the river valley regions find the area more suited to continuous cultivation, those people living in the higher, drier regions often practice a more slash-and-burn type of agricultural production (Meeker and Meekers 1995).

The crops of the Kaguru represent a diversity of types and species, often depending upon the area in which they are growing. By far the most popular crop is maize (*zea mays*), both because of its resistance to heavy rain and its short growing season. Sorghum and millet can either act as fillers or, as is the case in the more westerly areas, hold more of a central place in the diet of the people (Beidelman 1971; Meekers and Franklin 1995). Regardless of the basic crop structure, however, government pressure constantly pushes the Kaguru to produce more cash crops such as castor (*ricinus communis*), tobacco (*nicotiana tabacum*), cotton (*gossypium hirsutum*), and sunflowers (*helianthus annuus*) for sale on the market. In fact, despite the dangers of fluctuation in this market, many Kaguru enter into such arrangements because they must pay taxes to the government in cash (Beidelman 1971). Though small amounts of livestock such as chickens, sheep, and goats may be kept in a settlement, their importance is negligible if not non-existent in relation to the economic structure of the group (Meekers and Franklin 1995).

Given the centrality of cultivation to Kaguru life, what are the productive processes that are involved in this subsistence strategy? Long before the entrance of the colonial government, the Kaguru had access to iron in the mountains which they smelted to form hoes. Few if any other tools were used---a fact which often remains true even with the possibility of more advanced technology (Beidelman 1971). At the end of the dry season, the Kaguru rather leisurely clear and burn their fields, making fire another valuable tool (Beidelman 1986). Though men are traditionally identified with this stage of the work, women can and do take part. However, "Kaguru family resources are controlled by the husband" (Meekers and Franklin 1995: 318).

Once they have finished with the clearing, the work for a Kaguru family becomes much more pressing and immediate. Because the cycle of growing depends so much upon accurate timing with the first rains of the season, all planting, weeding, and cultivation must occur quickly and intensely within a certain time frame (Beidelman 1971). Success in agricultural ventures varies in accordance with the labor that can be provided at this time. Indeed, maximization of crop yield can only be accomplished through the intensification and increase of workers rather than by more elaborate technology or different usage (Meekers and Franklin

1995). Though such practices do increase the yield at harvest, however, food shortages can and do occur in the otherwise fertile regions of Ukaguru because of droughts, flooding, or rodent infestations (Meekers and Meeker 1995).

The actual agricultural cycle can best be described according to terms which the Kaguru use for a growing season or *miaka*. Again, this season is described and centered around the rains (*mfula*) which are "the central determinant of their labor" (Beidelman 1986: 88). First, several light sweeping November rains (*ng'hokola some*) occur. These first indications of the beginning of the wet season precede a few more weeks of dry weather. Soon into December, however, the trembling rain (*ifulu ididime*), with all of its thunder and lightening, begins to take place and the hoeing of fields begins. Before the end of the month, the *mhinga* or unexpected rains, so-named because of their unpredictability, signal the time for planting of staple cereals throughout the time of the *mhili* (second phase) to February. The hot and humid time of weeding (called *chifuka* or weeds) follows until the time of reddish hue (*luhungu*) when trees begin getting their new leaves.

By April, the heaviest rains (*sangila*) arrive and the Kaguru plant a second set of crops including "beans, peas, tomatoes, potatoes, and groundnuts" (Beidelman 1986: 89). The time of *masika* or monsoons begins in May but ends relatively quickly in June with the winds (*inyota* or coolness) that come. Even more importantly, this time marks the beginning of harvest during which many marriages and social gatherings occur. This focus on social ties lasts through dry season (*chibahu*) which hits suddenly in late July and continues with little or no rainfall until late November. At this point, the cycle recommences and the Kaguru ready themselves to begin anew once again (Beidelman 1986: 90). As the large number of terms existing in the language shows, these seasonal divisions and related agricultural practices represent an essential part of Kaguru life.

The Roles of Women Among the Hadza and Kaguru

Using the information on subsistence and ecology given above, I now turn to an examination of these practices in relation to women among the Hadza and Kaguru. This study consists of the identification of four core aspects of females' roles in these societies: sexual stratification, marriage practices, child rearing, and the ideological perceptions of women. In showing the connections between the previously demonstrated environmental adaptations and these four cultural traits, I hope to support the cultural-ecological interpretation of women's roles as being linked to the subsistence patterns of a particular society. I also hope to emphasize the nature of such interpretations by highlighting the contrasts among Hadza and Kaguru women which can be attributed to their differing means of existence.

One of the most evident depictions of women's roles from an outside perspective is the division of sexes which occur within a society. Most often, these divisions are not only linked to subsistence practices but are central to them. In the two ethnographic examples, these divisions are manifested in very different ways. Among the Hadza, the standard axiom that "women gather and men hunt" holds true in the general sense. Yet, though each sex has a specific role to fulfill for the group, the specific subsistence strategies of the Hadza reveals

subtle variations on this theme. For example, the previous study also demonstrates that each individual (regardless of sex) can and does satisfy his/her own hunger first and foremost. This fact seems to stem from the abundance and constancy of resources in the environment which allows each person to rely less upon others for sustenance than in many societies. As a result, both men and women gain a certain amount of independence in respect to each other. Indeed, Woodburn (1972) points out that many Hadza can and do live on their own for quite some time. Of course, he notes that this holds less true of women because they lack the weapons of defense against both non-human and human attackers in the forest. This distinction stems from the fact that hunting and the associated tools are considered linked to males.

Another example of sexual division among the Hadza occurs at the time of large aggregations in the camp during which males gather to talk and gamble. Even this can be linked to the subsistence of the Hadza, however, in that such games are used to distribute weapons and tools made from rarely available materials which the general population would not otherwise have the opportunity to use (Barnard and Woodburn 1988). The division would seem to relate to the fact that such goods are only accessible by the men. Nevertheless, Blurton Jones, Hawkes, and Draper (1994) cite several references, based on the observation of such divisions, to a supposed "sexism" that is pervasive in Hadza society. There does seem some question, however, as to whether this value judgment can be applied to the actual attitudes of the Hadza simply because of these divisions. Actually, in looking at the subsistence patterns given above, the overall equality of the two sexes, especially in comparison to societies with less easily accessible and low maintenance sources of food, seems central to Hadza society. As Kessler (1976: 39) points out in her anthropological survey of women (based largely upon Woodburn's descriptions), "the lack of stress involved in subsistence is extended to other subsystems of the culture, and therefore a generally relaxed and tolerant relationship between the sexes prevails."

In looking at Kaguru views on the sexes, it would seem that the Kaguru place a much greater emphasis on the differences between men and women. Indeed, a later overview of their ideologies concerning the two will emphasize this point. However, in actual practice, their social divisions are not always so distinct. For example, it was already noted that, within the agricultural production of the Kaguru, men and women generally perform the same tasks despite the fact that some may be considered "men's work". In fact, very few actions are considered absolutely off limits to women except herding, roof thatching, and several ritual activities (Beidelman 1980). Undoubtedly, this willingness to let the sexes share similar responsibilities derives from the fact that the Kaguru horticultural production requires so much labor that one cannot afford to exclude any potential worker (see Boserup 1970 for further discussion of sex roles and their relation to agriculture). Nevertheless, practices such as the land tenure system, which keeps women from owning large tracts of land, serve to heighten other aspects of sexual stratification (Meeker and Meekers 1995).

Marriage practices also reflect much of what women mean to a society. Here too, one can see important links between the ecology of the Hadza and Kaguru and the patterns of marriage which their societies follow. With the amount of work required within the Kaguru subsistence techniques, especially since the influx of cash cropping, labor is at a premium. In

fact, the wealth and relative success of a man can depend upon the availability of wives and children to work. Because of this fact, polygyny is, not surprisingly, a common practice. In their study on the subject, Meekers and Franklin (1995: 317) note that, though "economically advantageous" for men, such arrangements actually take away resources from women since the matrilineal society of the Kaguru does not encourage sharing among co-wives. Yet, because Kaguru women must look to their husbands as providers (despite the fact that the majority of work will rest upon their shoulders), they are forced to marry much earlier than men while their fertility is still a desirable "commodity" (Beidelman 1986). Moreover, though many women use the threat of divorce as a lobbying factor, it occurs infrequently because there are few other opportunities for them and because their families are under strong obligations created by bride wealth payment (Meekers and Franklin 1995). In the end, working with the resources available becomes the only viable option. Though other factors may exert an influence in the marriage process, subsistence labor plays a large, usually central, role.

Among the Hadza, we find a very different outcome related to marriage. Woodburn (1968b) notes that, though ceremony is considered important, only the public recognition of cohabitation is truly needed to signify a union between a man and woman. The relative independence in the acquisition of food by Hadza men and women has already been described. As a result of this "subsistence egalitarianism", both men and women feel much freer and risk less in opting for changes in partners, a fact evidenced in the relatively high "divorce" rate of 49 per 1000 years of marriage (Woodburn 1968b: 107). This is not to say that marriage does not constitute obligations within Hadza society. There exists an expectation for men to fulfill a rather long if not continuous set of obligations to their mothers-in-law (Kessler 1976). The mobile nature of the Hadza hunter-gatherer system, however, requires that residence patterns show a great deal of flexibility, so these requirements cannot be too binding. The central factor is that a man must continuously make a choice to stay with his wife. If he leaves for any extended period of time, "his house has died"...and he has no further rights over her and her children" (Woodburn 1972: 205). Obviously, the fact of social and economic mobility of the Hadza has given women an active and influential role in regard to marriage.

Another subject consistently linked to women's roles and place within a society is child care. Like the other aspects of women's lives, the types of strategies for child care and the associated attitudes of mothers and children seem rooted in the ways people attain food and other resources. Among the Hadza, we find children who begin foraging in the forest from a very early age, many times independently. This development can be linked both to the relatively large amounts of food and water available as well as the fact that Hadza country is open and easily navigable (Blurton Jones et al. 1994). Because the children stand little chance of getting lost, their mothers do not worry if they go for a short time into the surrounding area to forage and even encourage them to do so (in contrast to the !Kung and other groups; see Blurton Jones et al. 1994).

This involvement of children in the Hadza subsistence strategy affects the mother-child relationship significantly. Above all, Hadza women apparently have more children than women in some societies because the cost of bearing and raising children is effectively lowered by these practices (Blurton Jones, et al. 1994). However, Blurton Jones, Hawkes,

and Draper (1994) point out that according to the dependent: producer argument, this also means that, though less attention must be given to an individual child, Hadza women must work harder to support the overall larger number of children. This fact explains why Hadza child care also obliges women to take the children to more distant patches of land for berries and other plant foods. In such areas, the work of the children is maximized, increasing the return for the group despite a personal loss for the mother (Hawkes, et al. 1995).

I have already demonstrated how the child care of women in Kaguru society is affected by subsistence. Women must nurture their children on the limited resources which they and their co-wives share, so most women jealously guard what they and their children receive. Agriculture requires more labor, and while more wives might mean more land and profit for the family, new wives and new children also represent threats to a woman's own offspring since "each co-wife is ultimately responsible for providing for her own children" (Meekers and Franklin 1995: 320). Thus, the subsistence system negatively affects Kaguru women in relation to their children by forcing them to provide but not allowing the access to resources to do so. Also, the relatively unstable production of the Kaguru makes reliance on kin a necessity (Beidelman 1986: 15). Therefore, the husband's need to keep ties secure within the matrilineal descent system of the Kaguru means that he will often devote more concern to his sister's children than those of his wife. Though most women would have a brother doing the same for them, Meekers and Franklin (1995) note that these women nevertheless feel resentful about their husband's lack of concern towards his own children. Therefore, many Kaguru women feel that they possess a great burden in child care and focus daily on the needs of their children.

In looking at the status of women, it is also necessary to examine the attitudes towards women which exist among these groups. Whether within social practices, statements made by the members of the group, or common myths among the peoples, one can find a variety of ideologies in regards to women and their roles in society. The most interesting revelation from such an examination of these views seems to be how far removed a group's perception of women's contributions can be from the roles these women actually play. For example, if the statement "Kaguru men need women more than women need men" is true based upon the labor requirements of their agriculture (Beidelman 1980: 150), then the ideological constructs of this society, which emphasize the lesser and polluting nature of women in relation to men, seem to be total inversions of their subsistence practices. Nevertheless, social views are arguably as much a part of the daily life of women among the Hadza and Kaguru as the more concrete manifestations which have been examined. Moreover, just as the other aspects of women's lives, such perceptions do show some important links to subsistence and ecological factors.

Interestingly enough, the symbols of the sexual divisions in Kaguru society are subsistence tools which serve little actual use in production among the Kaguru—the bow of the male and the oil jar of the woman (Beidelman 1980). This fact again seems to emphasize the gulf between subsistence ideology and subsistence reality among the Kaguru. Beidelman (1986), however, examines several myths relating to men and women which indicate a polarization between the sexes, one being rational and strong the other uncontrollable yet weak. He links this dichotimization to the small, and therefore extremely important, material culture of the

Kaguru, as well as to the alternating cycle of dry and wet seasons which have been shown to have such a focal place within the agricultural Kaguru life (Beidleman 1986: 210-211). Moreover, he demonstrates that the routine nature of daily cooking and cleaning which has become a part of Kaguru women's lives in addition to agricultural duties actually serves to reinforce the divisions in the society by providing a sharp contrast to the seasonally based work of men (Beidelman 1980). Though these perceptions of the Kaguru female nature often seem rather ephemeral in relation to actual practice (see the example of ignoring social divisions so as to increase the labor pool), it appears that the ideological conceptions of women's roles among the Kaguru do have their roots in more concrete subsistence practices and environmental variables. Indeed, because the Kaguru agriculture requires the daily combined efforts of both sexes, such ideological divisions may substitute for the physical division available to groups like the Hadza with their hunter-gatherer systems.

Among the Hadza, the views of women and their roles in society are similarly affected by cultural perceptions of subsistence. For example, though the bulk of their diet consists of plant materials, the Hadza refer to themselves as hunters, a common trait among many hunter-gatherer groups. In fact, meat is considered the central part of their existence, one which they cannot imagine lacking (Woodburn 1968a). Hawkes (1991) suggests that this fact stems from the high visibility of hunting and the accompanying return to the camp with a large kill. This leads to a need to "show-off" absent from gathering. Because the acquisition of meat by hunting is a function wholly attributed to males, the relative worth of work performed by women becomes ideologically less important. This theory also explains why Hadza men will consistently hunt large game despite the fact that such goals necessitate many days without success (Hawkes 1991). The distribution of meat often is used to highlight differences as well. Particular portions of the animals belong solely to initiated males in group rituals and women who go near the meat will be punished; "mass rape is even said to be a possibility" (Gibson 1988: 177). This fact stands out strongly in light of the otherwise egalitarian distribution of meat which the system otherwise encourages. Apparently, however, it reinforces the nature of Hadza subsistence as based upon the male dominated hunt. Obviously, this factor in Hadza life plays a very large part in fashioning the society's attitudes towards women.

Conclusion

With the examples of these Tanzanian groups, we find two societies in which the methods of subsistence possess strong ties to the places women occupy and how other members of the society view them. Among the Hadza, it seems that the hunter-gatherer adaptation of the society gives women a generally less restrictive role in many areas, especially in light of the abundance of food resources available to them. It also leaves room for separation among the sexes which, depending on one's outlook, can hold either negative or positive outcomes for women. Among the Kaguru, we see that their intensive agricultural practices have led to more controlled and structured placement for women in the society. Moreover, ideological and practical concerns affect these roles at different levels.

Expanding these findings, it appears that subsistence does indeed influence much of what women do and mean within any given society. Of course, it is important to note that these examples are not intended and cannot be taken as predictive models of any kind. It had already been shown that the hunter-gather Hadza differ in many respects from the hunter-gather !Kung. Similarly, Kaguru agricultural practice is only one of many different agriculturalist forms of subsistence. Just as these generalized terms for subsistence strategies often mask important differences from group to group, then, so too would a generalization about the effects of any particular subsistence pattern from these limited examples hide the variations in women's roles in different societies. For this reason, I conclude by simply stating that this comparison of the Hadza and Kaguru provides examples of how different environments and subsistence practices can produce differing roles and attitudes for and towards women. Now that these links of subsistence to women's lives can be clearly seen, the next step would include a broader yet detailed analysis of these links. This examination would allow the discovery of possible generalizations as well as explanations of where and why variations develop. In the end, such studies may offer a clearer and more accurate understanding of women and their roles in society.

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Impacts of an American Anthropology Field School on the Host Communities in Barbados

Although a significant amount of research has been done recently on the effects studying abroad has on students, very little research has examined the effects students and terms abroad programs have on host families and communities. To help address this gap in the literature, this thesis examines the impact American students in an anthropology field school in Barbados have on the families and communities they live among. This field school in question has been running since 1983 and has enrolled 68 students. Every other year approximately ten students participate. During their eleven week stay, students live with families in the northern part of the island, each student in a different village. The students spend the majority of their time interacting with their host families and members of the community while learning about the specific village they live in and Barbadian culture in general.

The Effects of Studying Abroad on Students

Before discussing the field program in detail and my own research, it is useful to review the literature on the effects of studying abroad on students. Most research has found that study abroad fosters intellectual growth and broadens students' views of education. The Study Abroad Evaluation Project, started in 1982 to examine the contributions study abroad makes to students' educational experience (Carlson et al., 1990), found that students' educational goals often change after studying abroad. After a study abroad experience students are more likely to place importance on "systematic thinking, familiarity with different schools of thought, developing one's own point of view, obtaining knowledge from different disciplines, and independent work" (Carlson et al. 1990:68). Much less importance is placed on learning facts and trying to get good grades (1990:68). A student from the Barbados term agrees remarking that her term in Barbados "made me subjects and techniques of learning broadens students' view of education. An art student studying in China, for example, was initially very critical of the Chinese method of teaching art and found it extremely stifling: "For example, when you do a bird you take step one, you do the head first and then you end with the legs" (Kauffman et al. 1992:43). The student eventually gained appreciation for their system once he accepted that Chinese artists view the creative process differently. "It made me angry that the artists were so controlled in the creative aspect," he noted. "But then I started to realize that it's a whole different perspective. I had to leave behind the concept of art to be able to understand theirs" (1992:43).

One important benefit of studying abroad is the increased international perspective students acquire. By living in another culture, they gain a better understanding and appreciation of differences between cultures. Developing personal contacts with people from

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different cultures allows students to directly experience the values and customs of these cultures while realizing the cultural specificity and limitations of the values of their own society. This acknowledgment and acceptance of cultural differences is what Norman Kauffman, Judith Martin and Henry Weaver refer to as “world-mindedness.” “Implicit in world-mindedness is the understanding that the values of one’s own society are not universal and that values of other societies are just as valid. An understanding of cultural relativity is one of the most important aspects of world-mindedness” (1992:82). An expanded international perspective results in a greater appreciation and acceptance of people’s differences. George Gmelch, a co-founder and director of the anthropology field school in Barbados, conducted research on the experiences of his students while they were on the program and found that “[t]hey became more respectful of other cultures, having learned that their own culture doesn’t have all the answers and that other values and perspectives are equally worthy and in fact sometimes make more sense” (1992:250).

Research in psychology and education have found that study abroad also stimulates personal growth. Personal growth occurs most often when people encounter new situations and are challenged. Studying abroad places students in situations where they question values and way of life that are familiar to them. They are challenged both to adapt to the new situation and to understand their personal values. According to Kauffman et al., “confrontation with the values of other cultures helps students to reexamine their own values, fostering a reshaping of the principles that guide behavior” (1992:110). Many students who have studied on terms abroad return with a better understanding of themselves and their native culture. Craig Storti, in his book The Art of Crossing Cultures, explains this process:

“When we notice the unusual behavior of a foreigner, we are at that moment noticing our own behavior as well. We only notice a difference (something unusual) in reference to a norm or standard (the usual) and that norm we refer to is invariably our own behavior. Thus it is that through daily contact with the customs and habits of people from a foreign culture, our attention is repeatedly focused on our own customs and habits; that is encountering another culture, we simultaneously and for the first time encounter our own.(1990:94)”

Another area of research has examined culture shock, a term originally coined by anthropologist Kalvero Oberg who defined it as the set of feelings “precipitated by the anxiety that results from losing all our familiar signs and symbols of social intercourse” (cited in Ladd 1989:17). Further research on culture shock revealed that there are distinct phases. The first phase, according to James Preston, occurs in the very beginning of the journey and includes the sojourner’s initial reactions to the new culture. “Generally the first stage of culture shock is characterized by positive feelings, as the individual anticipates, often with great excitement, a series of happy future encounters with the new culture” (Preston, 19–:29). Many people travel to new cultures with preconceived notions about what they will find. It is during this first stage that people encounter conflicts between the stereotypes they came with and how the culture actually is.

During the second phase the sojourner is likely to experience depression due to being in an unfamiliar environment.

“The exhilaration of stage one typically gives way to unpleasant, even painful feelings of frustration due to the awkwardness associated with language deficiencies, unfamiliar social roles, different time sequences, and a sense of confused identity. All the customary reinforcements derived from friends, colleagues, and family members are gone. (Preston 19--:29)”

At this point people often attribute their feelings of depression to homesickness. Craig Storti writes that:

“Homesickness is not so much a longing to see certain old friends and family members again as it is a longing to experience once again the support and comfort of friendship itself. It is not so much a desire to be back home as a desire to feel at home in the new surroundings. (1990:70)”

People deal with their depression in different ways. Some may withdraw from the culture and long to return home, while others become frustrated with the cultural differences and consequently lash out at the host culture. A foreigner’s frustration, for example, with understanding a foreign language can quickly turn to anger - he may feel that his trouble understanding is the fault of the speaker not speaking clearly or slowly rather than a deficiency in his own skills.

“Because of the steady diet of embarrassing, frustrating, or otherwise unpleasant situations that are part of the experiences of living overseas, what begins innocently enough as a reflex action toward self-protection quickly hardens into a pattern of systematic evasion and withdrawal. (Storti, 1990:32).”

The more people withdraw from the host culture, the more they begin to blame the host culture for the problems they are having.

The more intense our disappointment in ourselves (for withdrawing from the culture we are supposed to be adapting to), the more desperate the effort to blame and, in time, to indict the culture. The more we withdraw from the people, the more fault we find with them. (Storti 1990:34)

The third stage of culture shock, according to Preston, is a period of time when the foreigner withdraws from the culture and surround himself, as much as possible, with friends and comforts of home. Preston refers to this process as “cultural insulation.”

Cultural insulation can be both positive and negative, it can regenerate a person who is exhausted from culture contact, and allow him to meet the host culture with new vigor, or it may blind him to the invisible walls which cause his frustration. (Preston 19--:31).

The final phase is known as the adaptation or reorientation phase, when sojourners shift their perspective from that of a foreigner to someone who is beginning to recognize and better understand the norms of the new culture.

“The reorientation stage may emerge slowly, or quite suddenly and unexpectedly. It involves a major shift in values, attitudes, and responses to the host culture. Stereotypes about the host culture begin to disappear. In the previous three stages the individual evaluates and perceives the host culture from the framework of his own culture; in stage four he begins to shift points of reference, evaluating

things according to the norms of his host culture. The person may experience a sense of calm, of belonging, and of acceptance (Preston 19--:32).”

The length and degree of these phases vary greatly depending on the individual person and degree of culture contact. People who immerse themselves in a new culture for long periods of time will experience extreme culture shock compared to a person who visits a country for a short period of time and does not immerse themselves in it.

Researchers interested in cross-cultural study have also investigated re-entry. Adjusting to a foreign culture is something that most people take for granted. Many, however, fail to realize that it can be just as difficult readjusting to one’s own culture. Researchers have found that the people who have been the most immersed in a foreign culture have the most difficult time readjusting to their native society. According to Kauffman et al., “those who became immersed to any degree found that they had changed more, and as a result, re-entry was more difficult. Some experienced alienation from family and close friends because they had become different people while abroad” (1992:115).

While all of this research is extremely important and has demonstrated the dramatic impact of study abroad programs on students - particularly their increased international awareness, personal growth, and intellectual growth - it is also important to examine the impact of such programs on host societies. One host, Joyce Bender, writes that having an international student is very profitable for a family.

“In addition to learning about a new culture, they may discover some things about themselves. Host families must discuss questions arising from different traditions. Families often discover that by taking the time for family discussion with international students, they have learned to share more as a family. Conversations about difficult customs, places and beliefs fosters humanitarian attitudes and produce world citizens more receptive and tolerant of other people’s beliefs. (1993:17)”

The above quotation suggests some of the ways host families are affected. The purpose of this thesis is to systematically investigate the impact of one study abroad program on host families and communities.

The Barbados Anthropology Term Abroad

In 1983 two Union College anthropologists, George Gmelch and Sharon Gmelch, developed a cultural anthropology field school in Barbados, in the eastern Caribbean. The field school was modeled after field schools run for graduate students in anthropology, although this one was for undergraduates. Every other year between eight and twelve Union College students have gone to Barbados for eleven weeks to do field work. Students have lived in six parishes in the northern part of the island. Most students have lived in St. Lucy, the most rural parish, each student living with a Barbadian family in a different village - although there have been a few cases of two students living in the same community. Each student’s course work consists primarily of participant observation. They are required to keep daily field notes, maintain a field journal, do weekly assignments, write an ethnography of the village and complete an independent study focusing on some aspect of Barbadian life.

Students rely heavily on their host families and other members of the community to provide them with the information they need for their projects. While living in the village, students must get to know members of the community and become involved in community life. They are responsible for conducting household surveys and carrying out numerous informal and formal interviews with people to learn more about specific issues such as local history, economy, family life, education, life cycle, and religion.

A serious concern of a program like this is its impact on Barbadians. Do the American students infringe on people's privacy by asking them questions about their way of life and their past? Do students unknowingly ask sensitive questions which make their hosts uncomfortable? Does having undergraduate students carry out research in any way hinder future research by graduate professional anthropologists? Do Barbadians enjoy acting as tutors for American students? Does hosting an American student in any way enhance Barbadians' appreciation for cultural differences? These are some of the questions this research will explore.

Impact of the Barbados Anthropology Program on the Students

The Barbados anthropology term abroad is different from most traditional terms abroad programs for undergraduates. Instead of spending most of their time in a classroom at a local university studying language or history, the students on the Barbados term abroad become completely immersed in the culture. The village they live in becomes their classroom. It is through conversations and participation in the community that the students are able to learn about Barbadian culture. In Barbados, for example, a student may learn about local agriculture while helping weed a garden with a neighbor. While stocking shelves in a local shop a student learns the history and function of the local "mini-marts." An elderly woman might share her memories of the "way things used to be" as she sits on her porch watching the sun set with a student. As a result of becoming so involved in a culture other than their own, the students on this program have learned many things about themselves, and life in general.

Like many students on a term abroad, the students on the Barbados anthropology term abroad develop a greater appreciation for education. Since the students are learning about Barbadian culture while living in a Barbadian village they find that they are constantly acquiring new information and insights. "You can't help but learn because you are immersed in Bajan culture," remarked a student who had been on the program in 1996. This kind of learning differs from the education students are accustomed at home, where they attend class, do homework or study for exams, and then are left with leisure time. In Barbados many students find that they are unable to separate work and leisure. George Gmelch discusses the new perspectives on education that many students in Barbados develop:

"As the term wears on, most students become deeply involved in their own research, so much so that it becomes the focus of their existence. They are surprised at how much satisfaction they get from doing something that they previously regarded as 'work.' A number of the students from the past terms said they really didn't see education as an end in itself until their Barbados experience. (1992:250)"

Many students learn, through their relationships with their host families and people in their communities, that while there are differences between cultures there are many fundamental similarities. A student on the 1994 program said, "I noticed that the people and setting are different, but societies in general, are similar - people raise families and work to put food on the table." One of my home stay sisters was very close to my age and during my stay we developed a very close friendship. Many nights we would sit on the porch discussing our aspirations, beliefs, and concerns. I think we were always surprised to find out how many feelings and ideas we shared. More than one conversation ended with the comment, "I can't believe how much we have in common!" "My students," explains Gmelch, "in the course of becoming part of village life, invariably arrive at the notion that, beneath differences in race and culture, Barbadians and Americans are one. In the words of a male student:

"If I had to sum up my whole trip in one experience, it would be this: It was late at night, a full moon, and I sat in a pasture with a local Rastafarian. After hours of talking, about everything from love to politics, the two of us came to an interesting conclusion. Although we lived a thousand miles away from each other, and that our skin color, hair style, and many personal practices were quite different, at heart we were the same people (1993:55)"

Students also learn to appreciate differences in people. By spending time with people from their community they come to understand and respect lifestyles and beliefs that differ from their own. Reflecting on her experiences with her host family one student said:

I learned what it was like to live with an extremely religious family in Barbados. And this was not a lesson I thought I was going to get. It gave me a really deep respect for people's beliefs, even if they're not my own. And I have a really deep respect for people who are absolutely committed to something.

Students learn the most about culture and develop the greatest understanding and appreciation for cultural differences when they form meaningful relationships with people from the host culture. According to Kauffman et al., "it is the daily activities and interactions with the [host] family that develop a bond, a rapport that can ultimately lead to insights about the people and culture of the host country" (1992:65). "It [the Barbados term abroad] was the first real opportunity I had to develop close relationships with people of another ethnicity," said a female student four years after she spent a term in Barbados.

These relationships were very special to me - they were genuine friendships - involving trust, sharing feelings, comparing experiences, and learning from each other. Before went to Barbados I never felt compelled to be friends with people of diverse backgrounds, and pretty much hung around with people like myself, but Barbados made me realize how much you can gain from meeting and socializing with more diverse people. Exposure to another culture really opens your eyes and makes you realize how much is out there.

All but one of the 68 students who have participated in the Barbados Anthropology program have been white. Living in communities that are virtually 100 percent black, many students find themselves to be a minority for the first time in their lives. "Probably one of the most important things I learned was what it felt like to be a minority," said one female student.

"I learned at one point to resent the color of my skin; at other times I forgot that I was different (white) until someone pointed it out to me. It really gave me the desire to learn about other cultures - not just on the surface." As a result of the students' experiences as minorities some return to the United States with a keener sense of racism. "I feel that while I didn't experience a lot of racism while I was in Barbados, I am much more sensitive to it since I have returned," said a female student four years after she was on the program. While on the program in 1996 a female student remarked, "I have continued to learn how amazing the diversity of the world is, and how important it is to befriend as many people as possible, because it broadens everyone's world."

Students inevitably experience personal growth while on the term abroad to Barbados. "Understanding and transcending culture," according to Kauffman et al,

"...cannot be accomplished without some degree of self-awareness. Living abroad provides potent new experiences that give ample opportunity to see oneself in a new light. We suspect that changes in awareness are inevitable for students who have quality contact with another culture. (1992:100)"

Many students feel that their interpersonal and communication skills have greatly improved as a result of spending ten weeks conducting interviews, and having lengthy conversations with people in order to learn about Barbadian culture. At first many students are timid to approach a stranger and initiate a conversation. However, by the end of the term, most are comfortable with this situation and don't think twice about asking questions and making conversation. "I think that my social skills have improved," said a female senior. "I can go up to any stranger and start a conversation."

Living in new communities without the presence of their own families and friends to provide emotional support and encouragement, many students are forced to become more independent and self-confident. "I learned a lot about myself and how to deal with loneliness and problems on my own - working through them myself," said a student while she was in the program. While in Barbados, the students encounter many situations that help them develop their independence and confidence. "It is difficult to find words to describe the tremendous impact that my experience in Barbados had on me," explained one female student reflecting on her term in Barbados:

Each morning I left my doorstep was like beginning a new chapter in a textbook. I was an active participant in my studies. There were new challenges I had to face, like being the only white face in my village. To some, I was like an alien from outer space. Despite the fact that Barbadians speak English, their heavy dialect posed a language barrier. Although these kinds of things created problems for me at times, they are what made my experience in Barbados so profitable. By the end of those three months, not only did I gain a deep understanding of a fascinating culture, but I also became a more open-minded and self-confident individual.

Visiting and finding new places, is another example of a situation that challenges students. The public bus system is the main form of transportation for students. In the beginning of the term it is often intimidating to climb on a bus full of unfamiliar faces. Since few tourists ride the buses in the northern part of the island many students are met with quizzical stares and

occasionally someone asks them if they are lost. Until students learn their way around, they must rely on the bus drivers and other passengers to help them get off at the right stop. I vividly remember my first bus ride on my own. I was on my way back to my house in Pie Corner. The bus was extremely crowded with people returning home from work and school. I got on the bus and found myself awkwardly standing in the aisle, squished between several people. Despite my tight grip on the bar (provided for stability) I lost my balance with each stop and start of the bus. I looked around and everyone else seemed so relaxed, having no trouble as the bus whipped around curves and came to quick halts. I felt like everyone was staring at me. Eventually I acquired a seat and looked out the window to unfamiliar scenery. As the bus neared Pie Corner I was relieved to finally see familiar landmarks. Soon we would be at my stop. I had spent the last five minutes planning when and how I would ring the bell to inform the driver to stop for me. With a touch of nervousness I stood up and rang the bell. The bus stopped and I got off feeling a sense of relief and accomplishment. Another student, reflecting on her experience four years after she had participated in the program, said, "It was without question one of my best life experiences. It fostered an incredible sense of independence in me and gave me a perspective as a white person that I still draw on this day."

Methodology

I used several different techniques to gather data. As a student I participated in the Barbados anthropology program and therefore became a participant observer. I stayed with a family who had hosted two other students in the same program and was often able to casually discuss what it was like to host a student. As I met people in my community, I asked them about past students in order to get a sense of how well they had known the students, how well they had understood what the student had been doing, and how much they liked or disliked having students study and live in their village. I also directly experienced people's reactions to me; in church, on the street, on the bus, in the local mini mart, or visits to their homes.

Before leaving for Barbados, I sent a questionnaire (Appendix I) to 47 past student participants in the program. There was a 54 percent return rate. The questionnaire asked them to write about the impacts they felt they had on either their host families or particular members of their communities. It also asked for the names of people they had interacted with frequently so that I might contact them while I was in Barbados. I also conducted formal interviews with five past students in order to talk with them in depth about their experiences, particularly concerning their relationships with their host families and members of the community.

Once in Barbados, I contacted past home stay families and conducted formal, taped interviews with members of ten different families in nine different communities. All of the families had hosted students at least twice. Four of the families were hosting a student at the time I interviewed them. In the interviews I asked about their reasons for first hosting a student, their concerns before hosting for the first time, problems they encountered, and how they felt about the program in general. All of the families I contacted to interview were more

than willing to talk with me. The consistent openness and cordiality the females greeted me with is evidence of the positive feelings they have for their own students and the program in general. I contacted one elderly woman who lives on the rugged east coast and has hosted four male students over the years. On the phone she sounded very eager to meet me and talk about her experiences with her students. The next morning, as I walked up the hill to the house I saw her waiting for me on the porch of her small, tidy house. She quickly invited me into her living room and served me cake and cherry juice - which she has made "just for me." We spent the morning together as she relayed her favorite stories and experiences with her students.

Host families willingly take student into their homes, while community members don't necessarily have a say in who visits their community. Therefore, it was important to gain their perspective. To determine how individuals in the communities felt about having a student live in and study their village I visited three communities and did a random household survey. In total I spoke with 32 different people. Two of the communities did not have students staying in them at the time, but each had three different students stay in them over the years. The third community had a student staying in it at the time of the survey and had also hosted five other students over the years. I asked each person I met a set of questions (Appendix II) to determine how well they remembered the American, how much interaction they had with them, and what their understanding of the purpose of the program was.

My fellow participants on the program also contributed to my research by completing a questionnaire (Appendix III) during the seventh week. The questionnaire asked them to describe their home stay family and environment, reflect on casual conversations and situations they had encountered which indicated that a person had either enjoyed or not enjoyed their company, and to write about what impact they thought the program had both on their lives as well as their host or "home stay" families.

Where Students Live

Almost all of the communities students have stayed in have been rural areas in the northern part of the island, primarily in the parishes of St. Lucy, St. Peter, St. Andrew and a few in St. James and St. Joseph. Some communities, like Speightstown and Belleplaine are relatively large and have many businesses within them - grocery store, video store, snack bar, police station. Most communities are smaller and quiet and may have only a rum shop or a "minimart." Some villages have large numbers of retired residents; others have a large, active youth population. Communities like Round Rock, are spread out along one main road; others like Crab Hill and Josey Hill, are compact and have many side roads and "gaps" (rocky, unpaved laneways). Villages like Pie Corner and Cave Hill have been settled for a long time and have a considerable village history. Other villages, such as Maynards, have developed more recently. Some villages have reputations. Bathsheba, for example, is located on the east of Atlantic coast and is known for its surfing. While talking with a host mother who lives in Bathsheba I watched car after car go by her house, almost everyone with a surf board tied to the roof. The village of Six Men's is well known for fishing and each evening the traffic backs

up as people stop to buy fresh fish from the vendors' stands lining the road. A few of the villages attract tourists: Bathsheba for its spectacular views of the rugged east coast and its surfing, Speightstown - a quaint town with numerous "rum shops" and stores, and Holetown, a now very developed area with hotels, restaurants, and shops galore. Most villages, however receive few visits from tourists.

The types of housing students live in also varies greatly. Traditional "chattel" houses become the homes for some students. Chattel houses, sometimes called "board" houses, are small wooden houses, usually without fixed foundations. At one time people did not own their land, so they made their houses moveable in case they ever needed to relocate. Chattel houses initially seem very cramped to students. It is not unusual for chattel houses to have only one common room which serves as the living room, dining room, study, and television room simultaneously. The interior walls usually do not go all the way up to the high peaked, corrugated tin roof, but are only about six feet high. Most rooms have curtains in the doorways instead of doors. The partial rooms and the curtains help keep air flowing through the house to cool it. Some students live in large houses referred to as "wall" houses because the walls are made from cinder blocks, rather than boards. These houses are usually quite spacious with three or four bedrooms and at least two or three common rooms. Four students on the program have also lived in plantation houses, which as would be expected, are very spacious wall houses. With the exception of the plantation houses which are surrounded by pastures and fields, houses are generally built very close to one another. Neighbors are within easy shouting distance. All host houses, with the exception of two, have had indoor plumbing and electricity, although most are not equipped with hot water. Some students have access to a washing machine, but most wash their clothing by hand. One host mother has insisted on washing for the three male students who have stayed with her over the years. "I did all their washing, they're boys you know. So when I saw that they had laundry, I washed it." Most students have their own bedroom, but some do share a room and one or two have also shared a bed. One student on the 1992 program shared a bed with his six year old homestay brother.

"[The first night] I go in my room and Michael [six-year old homestay brother] just runs in and flops himself down on the bed. I kind of look at him, and then his parents pull me aside and say, 'Well, actually this is usually his bed and he is used to sleeping in here with his sister, who just moved to New York. We think he kind of likes you. So do you mind?' I was so tired at this point and I didn't want to seem like this big American stinker on the first day. I wanted to seem like I was adaptable and willing to accommodate them in any way possible. I'd way with the exception of five or six nights, we shared the same bed every night."

As can be expected, the atmosphere of the homes are very different from one another. One student described his house as "stuffed with people;" another as "warm" and "welcoming," a place "where visitors and friends are always welcome." "There is never a time during the day when the house is empty. It is always noisy--radio, TV, talking, yelling,

crying,” said one student about her home. Two other students, in contrast, found their homes to be quiet and often empty. “My home is rather spacious considering there are usually only two of us in the house,” explained one female student. “It is very quiet and not a lot goes on here. There are hardly any visitors and little distraction. It is good for studying, but hard for socializing.” Another female student described her house as “very quiet because people are going in and out and no one is usually here.”

The families students stay with are a diverse group, ranging in size, composition, and living styles. Some students, for example, have lived with a single elderly person, while others have stayed with extended families with up to ten people living under one roof. Some students have lived with young married couples. The people who host students maintain different life styles. Some students find themselves living with families whose religious beliefs play a large part in their life, with gospel music playing throughout the day and family members attending several church functions throughout the week. A few students who have a single elderly person, have to adjust to a slow, quiet daily routine. Some students may spend a good deal of time by themselves because everyone in the household either works or goes off to school in the morning, while other students almost always have someone home with them. Some of the Barbadian families students live with are middle class and live comfortably; other families are on very tight working-class budgets.

One thing, that several of the families have in common is that they are accustomed to having guests in their homes or to working with people from other countries. When I talked to host families I often asked them how they felt about having an extra person stay with them. I was surprised to discover that five of the ten host families I spoke to were accustomed to having guests stay with them. One host mother, the wife of a Pentecostal pastor commented:

“It wasn’t hard for me because I am involved with the church. We always have people in our home staying one or two weeks. Come early February, I will have five staying with me for twelve days. I have had people come from Tulsa, Oklahoma, Trinidad, all over. I have people stay here from all over the world. Since my husband is a pastor, we are used to always having people at the house. My house doesn’t ever go empty for too long.”

“I find that it’s not only students from America that we have stay here,” said another host father, whose adult children have--with one exception--grown up and moved out, leaving he and his wife living in a large wall house: “We have Bajans here for weekends--people on vacation who went to the same school as my children.” Another host family, who enjoys spending time with people from other countries, hopes to rent out a second house they own to people visiting Barbados. A retired woman who had hosted three male students over the years said, “I used to work in hotel work with guests from all over, so I got to know everybody. I like friends and I like to talk to people from different places.” A host mother to four students throughout the years, previously worked for many years as a nurse in England. As a result of her years abroad, she has acquired many friends from all over the world and is accustomed to their visits. “I always have people from England, America, and Africa stay with me.”

The diverse environments that students live in results in each student having a unique experience while learning many similar lessons about Barbadian life and culture. While the

families, homes, and communities may seem very different from each other, they all share one important thing--Barbadian culture.

Host Communities' Feelings Toward the Program

Students on the program form many meaningful relationships with their host families and members of their communities. It is through these relationships that students have an impact on other people's lives. Most people I spoke with had only positive things to say about the students they knew and about the program in general. Most felt that the program provides a great opportunity for cultural exchange, for both the students and their hosts. Host families and friends that students had made shared my fond memories of the times they had spent with their students.

This program provides both host families and communities with the opportunity to learn about a culture other than their own through contact with another person. Students serve as cultural resources for their host families and communities. They can answer many questions people have about the United States and simply by forming relationships and friendships with people in their communities, information about American culture is transmitted. By talking with people in several communities and with host families, I found that many people took advantage of this opportunity to learn more about a different culture.

Some people saw having a student as a way to learn about the United States specifically, while others saw it as a way to learn about another culture or people of a different "race." By getting to know people in their communities, students find that they are able to break some of the stereotypes of Americans which Barbadians have and which are often reinforced by television and the tourism industry. After living in a village for seven weeks a senior anthropology major said:

"I think I've shattered the TV image [of Americans] for some people, but for others I've enhanced it. My host family and friends know that I don't live on Melrose Place [American TV series], but other acquaintances who ask me if I have my driver's license and a car, get my answer, but they don't listen to why. They get a fairy tale image of the United States. Overall, I believe I've opened many people up to the idea that white people are 'people,' not just rich tourists."

One host father who had two students stay with him had this to say:

"What I got out of it is that I had the opportunity to work with people of different nationalities and I tried to study that. I always form opinions about people in the back of my head. I always have my opinions about Americans. By having a student here I have an opportunity to see if my opinions are right or wrong. I think it was very educational because I had a lot of time and I really asked a lot of questions. When their friends came over I asked them a lot of questions, too. I got to know what I wanted to know. I learned about attitudes and behaviors of Americans. I think I got to learn about their culture."

Hosting a student sometimes opens up opportunities for future encounters with a different culture. A 24-year old homestay sister is happy that she is able to make "long distance friends" through the program. After hosting three students, she now has three new contacts

in Washington, D. C., New York City, and upstate New York, with whom she is welcomed to visit. She is currently planning a four-month trip to the United States and hopes to visit at least one of her "sisters." The host parents of another student who have been invited to her wedding, see it as a chance to learn more about their student and her life in the United States. "When I go to Annie's wedding I will be moving into her environment and that will be more educational for me--more enlightening for me," commented her host mother.

The program is also beneficial to some Barbadians because by exposing them to different ways of life, it teaches them to look past the obvious differences to search for the similarities in people. When asked her opinion of the program, a host mother commented:

"I think it's a very good program. I think it helps the students and I think it helps the families and community that they live in. Because if you live in a community where everybody is the same, you think that anybody that is not like you is very different. But then when you live with somebody that's not from your same ethnic group, you find that fundamentally and basically [both] are the same, and I think that's a good thing."

A female student who worked with a Brownie troop at the local primary school during her stay believe that her interaction with the students helped them learn that people are "people" everywhere: "I know that the little kids in St. Clements Primary School got the sense that the United States is not so far away and that people from the America are just like them. For example, they have to go to school, too."

Not only do local people about the student's culture, they also find that by talking with students, they learn something about their own society and culture. I found this to be true while doing my own fieldwork in Pie Corner, St. Lucy. One afternoon, for example, I was sitting talking with a man on his porch about Barbadian history. After about an hour and a half he said, "It is interesting to talk to you because it stimulates me." He then went on to explain that by talking with me about local history he was beginning to see how historical events had fallen together--how one thing had influenced another. A host mother told me that it was through one of her students that she learned a lot about her own family background. While working on a genealogy project, the student spent time in the archives and discovered a lot of information about his host mother's family. Each year the students spend a morning cutting sugar cane at a plantation. In 1994, one homestay brother joined the students, cutting cane for the first time. He discovered that he was quite good at it and now, two years later and unable to find sufficient work as a mason, he cuts cane for wages.

One host father I spoke to has enjoyed spending time talking with students on the program, both those he hosted and their friends. He finds that by talking to them he learns about himself and Barbadian culture:

"I think that students coming here has been a good help to a lot of people. Not only knowing about America, but there are things that we normally do not think about. The minute you ask me a question somehow it taps my intellect and then it helps me to remember a lot of things that I normally am not thinking about. There are times that you don't think about things that you know - you automatically forget them. Then somebody asks you a question, and you remember, 'Yes, I remember it's so and so'. And then you are even able to correct certain mistakes that you have made; because there are times that we all make mistakes. We forget. But when you are asked a question, you are tapping the brain and then you remember how to tackle the situation. "

Similarly, a student on the program in 1992 felt that asking people questions made them realize what it meant to be Barbadian and also that their culture is unique and interesting.

"I think a lot of the time they don't think about their culture - they just think of it as their 'life'. Things like the life cycle are things you rarely talk about. For example, how births used to be handled. Or you are talking with a man who spent most of his life working in the sugar cane field and you ask him what changes he has seen. It's tough to get people to articulate that, but I would say they enjoyed remembering these things. They usually laughed a lot as they were talking [to me]. They have a hard time - I think this is true of most people - looking at their life as a distinctive way of life, as a culture, as Barbadian. The more you interview people, the more they start to realize, 'Yes, this is a distinct culture. There is something Barbadian about the way I live.'"

As the above comment suggests, the topics (history, religion, economics, life cycle, etc.) students discuss with people are often subjects that people have spent little time thinking about in an analytical way. When students ask them why something is done a certain way, they come to a better understanding themselves as they work to explain customs that are normally seen simply as a part of everyday life.

Several students told me that some people in their communities seem to have gained a sense of pride as a result of the conversations they had with students. Through these conversations they realized how much they had accomplished in their lives and that their lives were interesting enough for someone to make it the focus of study. A student on the 1992 program wrote:

"I think an affect I may have had on the people in Josey Hill is that I made them talk about their culture and their history, which may have resulted in them feeling some sense of pride and accomplishment. As hard working and relentless (tireless) as they are - baking bread, working in the fields, bringing up their children, running shops and businesses, attending church, etc - they seem to take little time for themselves, and reflect on the accomplishments they have made. I think by asking them so many questions about their culture I gave them that."

When I asked people in my random household survey how they felt about the program a common response was that it was nice that people wanted to learn about "little Barbados" because so many people don't even know where Barbados is.

Companionship

Many host families and community members also enjoy having students around because of the companionship they provide. Some of the student's best "informants" or teachers are the elderly people in their communities. While many people in the community have at least one job and have little spare time during the weekdays, those who are retired generally have time to spend with students and are also very knowledgeable about local history and the village they live in. Students often provide the elderly, especially those who live alone, with someone to talk with and an eager listener. I spent a lot of time with one

elderly man in my village. He lives by himself and runs a small variety shop selling everything from drinks to cold medicine to bicycle parts. His shop is actually a large room off of his chattel house. When I would visit with him we would sit in his living room with door that joined the shop to his house opened so that he could tend to his stop as we talked. The living room always had the feeling that it had not been used in a long time. A couch and some chairs (all with vinyl cushions) lined the walls and a small table in the middle of the room held a vase of silk flowers, still wrapped in cellophane. During one visit, it became apparent to me that he really enjoyed my company and that I was not the only person gaining something from our time together. I was getting information for my ethnography, but he was getting companionship and someone to talk to. The following is an extract from my field notes:

“Today talking with Mr. O., I realized how much he liked talking to people. I felt like he gave me the first hour [of our conversation] and gave me all kinds of information that I needed, and I gave him the second hour while he talked about his family (they all live in the United States). While he was talking, he would sometimes get up and act something out or start laughing. The emotions seemed very intense as he remembered things that made him laugh or made him angry or mad. Sometimes he would be yelling as he told me something his wife had done which had made him angry. Other times he would be very quiet and his eyes would drift to somewhere far away. This happened when he talked about his children who he now feels very distant from both physically and emotionally. When he remembered a funny story he would almost bounce around the couch laughing. When I left he gave me his phone number and told me to feel free to call him anytime.”

While doing research for this project, I found that my own experiences were far from unique. One day I visited Seaview, a village which had hosted three students over the years, and I stopped in to talk to an elderly woman who I knew had spent some time with one of the students. I walked up the steps to her bright pink wall bungalow and called ‘hello’, which is customary in Barbados rather than knocking on the door. She slowly came to the door and opened up the window slats on the side of the door, but only enough to see me. Feeling a little intimidated, I explained that I was an American student living in St. Lucy and that I was doing a project on past American students who had lived in Barbados. I also said that Ester (the former host mother) had sent me to talk to her. I then asked if she remembered any of the American students who had stayed in Seaview. She made no response but instead, continued to coldly (or so I thought) stare at me through the slatted windows. I went on, somewhat nervously, to name the students who I knew had stayed with Ester -- Margaret, Peter... Before I could finish Peter’s name she said, “You know Peter? Peter my friend.” I explained that I was on the same program as Peter had been. At this point, her face beamed and she quickly opened the door and invited me in to her house. She told me how Peter used to stop by her house every time he walked up to the rum shop for a soda. They used to sit on the verandah and talk for hours. She told me repeatedly, “Peter my friend,” always with a big smile on her face. She said that Peter used to come and tell her jokes and make her laugh. “I enjoyed the company,” she said.

It is not only members of the community who enjoy the company of the students, host families, too, find pleasure in the students’ companionship. For example, three past students, in different years, have lived with an elderly woman and her granddaughter. The

granddaughter was attending college and therefore was away from the house for most of the day. One of the students, reflecting on her experiences with her host family, had this to say:

“I keep my host mother busy and entertained. We spend afternoons chatting openly about many things in life. Without me here, she would be pretty much alone. Whenever I am leaving to go somewhere, she tells me that she will miss me. And upon my return she is always very excited to see me. It makes me feel as though she enjoys my company. Having a different person around the house is fun for some families. Both of my homestay sisters have said at various times that after I leave, the house will be too quiet; there won't be any more excitement. One day I returned from a shopping trip with one of my homestay sisters and was sitting in the kitchen eating dinner while my host mother kept me company.”

In the middle of conversation she said “The next time they do this program, they should have the families pay the students for all the enjoyment we get from it.” She went on to explain that her daughters usually go off to their rooms or stay on the phone with their friends. So that on her days off she just does her housework and then she takes a nap or reads a book. But now when she is off she often sits and chats with me.

While living in their villages for close to three months, many students form meaningful relationships with people, both old and young. One student went out every afternoon to play with the children in her village. Her host mother told me with a chuckle:

“She's like the Pied Piper - she's got all these children running behind her. She told me the other day that they asked her when she was leaving. And she said, ' Why, do you want to get rid of me?' But they don't want her to go. They will miss her.”

Several host families told me stories that made it evident that their relationships with their students meant a lot to them. I went to visit a ninety-year old woman who lives by herself in a modest chattel house with a view of the east coast. She greeted me at the door and invited me in. The interior of her house did not have a lot of things in it, but everything was tidy and in its place. On her walls were several pictures - one of the Queen of England, one of Errol Barrow (the Prime Minister who brought independence to Barbados), and two framed 8" X 10" pictures of her with past students. In our conversation she told me this story:

“The day before Andy left I was going to give him a little surprise - my granddaughter was going to have dinner with him. My granddaughter was a bit late. So when it came time for dinner he began to feel anxious and asked what was happening. The n I couldn't hide it any longer so I told him. But the he said, ' I have a surprise for you too.' He had it in there [pointing to the room he stayed in]. I saw the cave Shepherd [duty free department store] parcel under his bed, but I thought it was something he was taking back to the States. Then he surprised me with a toaster when he was leaving. Dan gave me a kettle and the water boiled out. He didn't tell me anything. He bought a whistling kettle. I still have the toaster working good and the kettle is still good, because I take care of my things you know. They were very nice boys.”

It meant a lot to her that her students thought to give her gifts before they went home. The kettle and the toaster now seem to serve as daily reminders of the time she spent with Andy and Dan.

It was not until I was preparing to leave Barbados at the end of the term that I realized how much my visits meant to some of the people in Pie Corner. On one of my last days in Barbados I went to say good-bye to one of my favorite informants, Mrs. Phillips. Mrs. Phillips is a 93 year old retired nurse. We spent many mornings together on her porch while she told me stories about the way things "used to be." Upon my arrival on this particular day she brought some glasses and wine out from the kitchen and prepared to make a toast to our friendship. Before she could finish the toast, tears streamed down her cheeks and her voice trembled. After one last chat on her porch I finally got up to leave. We shared a long hug and neither of us had dry eyes as I walked away.

Some host families feel that the students become so much a part of everyday life that they are part of the family. One host father commented, "To be truthful, when a student comes here by the second or third week they automatically become a member of the family." A homestay sister said, "I don't have any sisters my age and having a student gives me another sister." A host mother told me that she treated her four students as if they were part of the family. "To me, they were my children," she said. She felt that the one male student she hosted was most like one of her own children. "He was most like a son to me. He told his mother that I fuss over him too much. He thought that he would get away from his mother when he came to Barbados, but he came to another mother." Comments like these reveal how close the relationships between the students and the families often become. An elderly woman, referred to as "Gran" by the students who have stayed with her over the years said, "I am sure that if they came back to see me they would come back with one word: 'I love Gran because she loves me.'"

Keeping in Touch

Many students keep in contact with their host families through letters, phone calls, and sometimes, visits after the program is over. All the families I talked with said that they had received letters for a least a year, from the students who had stayed with them. One woman has hosted three male students and still hears form them at least every Christmas. Four years after her participation in the program a student said:

"After [the program] I kept in contact with Valenza [host mother] through the use of the phone and letters. I sent her an invitation to my wedding in August 1992. Before I left Barbados, it was agreed she would come and stay with my family during her trip. When I called her she declined the invitation due to the illness of her father. I did send her a wedding picture. The last time I spoke to her was a year ago. She is always in my thoughts. I try to call her around Christmas time of each year."

Many students have returned to Barbados to visit their families and friends in their communities. One student returned to visit her host family after only nine months. Her host mother remarked:

"she left in March and came back in December. She called me and I said 'Are you sure this is what you want?' and she said, 'I'm coming back. You don't really want me to come back?' I said, 'Of course I want you to come back.' Really I was surprised to tell you the truth."

A student who recently visited her family after eight years away said that after just a half hour visit she felt that the relationship between she and her host mother was as strong as it had been when she was staying with her. A host father to four students over the years said that his students used to write to him and his wife: "They knew our birthdays and would send a card or write a birthday greeting." One student visit his host mother while in Barbados on his honeymoon. His host mother said:

"They came here on their honeymoon and he and his wife came up here to spend a day. They sent me pictures of the wedding, but my daughter likes them and took them to show her friends. She hasn't brought them back. I asked her please to bring them back.."

The attempts to stay in contact after several years show how meaningful the relationships formed on this program are. One piece of evidence that shows that people have truly enjoyed hosting students is that all but two families have wanted to host again after having their first student.

The Host Communities' Concerns with the Program

Although most host families and members of host communities have had positive experiences with the students on the program, problems do sometimes arise. A few people shared legitimate concerns and problems they encountered as a result of hosting students. Some had problems with confidentiality or feeling that students were too inquisitive; others discussed the adjustments they had to make to students' personal habits and life styles which were sometimes disruptive.

Confidentiality

As would be expected, confidentiality can become an issue whenever conversations between people are recorded either in the form of field notes or on tape. Before going into the field, students are made very aware of the importance of keeping information confidential. They are told to secure their field notes and their tapes to insure that confidentiality is maintained. Students take this responsibility seriously and as a result, few problems have occurred. I was also made aware of the potential problems while talking with a man in my village. I asked him if I could tape record our conversation, and he said that he would rather I didn't. He had spent a lot of time he explained, talking with other students from the program in past years. During one of those interviews he had made some negative remarks about the student's host father. When that student returned to the United States at the conclusion of the program she realized that the tape containing his interview had been replaced in its case with one of gospel music. She was sure her host father had taken the interview tape, so she wrote a letter to her friend to let him know what she believed had happened. He told me that he did not doubt that the student had been careful with her tapes. What made him angry was that he felt the host father had snooped around her things and taken the tape.

Mrs. G., a host mother to four students over the years, also experienced a problem with confidentiality. One year both Mrs. G. and one of her neighbors were each hosting a student. Mrs. G. believed that her neighbor was not well liked in the area and tried to help the student staying with her. "I had known that the neighbor wasn't very popular in this area, so I explained to the student that when she went around the district she could say she was living with me. And she got through pretty well that way." Then one evening, Mrs. G. went to deliver a message to her neighbor and the student overheard the two of them discussing her.

"Mary and Beth¹ were discussing me. I heard that with my own ears. I had told Beth, in confidence, prior to that, 'Mary is not popular around here. Be very careful.' Beth went back to Mary and put it in her own way and told Mary different."

¹The names used in this discussion have been changed to protect the individual's identities.

Mrs. G. Was extremely hurt and offended by the student's actions. She was trying to help the student and in return the student breached in confidentiality between them..

Invasion of Privacy and Sensitive Topics

Another concern anytime anthropological field work is carried out is that informants may feel that their privacy is being invaded when researchers ask questions on sensitive topics. Most people I talked to, however, felt that the questions students asked were general enough that people did not mind answering the. When I asked a host mother if she ever thought the questions had been too invasive, she said:

"I know generally speaking Bajans do not like to answer questions, though they may be getting accustomed to it because we are always having some sort of government survey. I am sure if I asked some of the questions the students ask that I wouldn't get any answer. They would just say 'Why does she want to know?' Since I am living here, they would figure that I'm being nosy. The point is that they know the students are here for a purpose. So in that respect I think they would give them special privileges."

One student found herself in a predicament at the end of the program. During the term she had written field notes, including observations about the everyday life of her family, and saved them on her computer. One particular night she wrote notes about a serious argument that occurred between two of her homestay brothers. While she was out of the house, her homestay sister turned on her computer and happened to come across these notes. She showed them to her mother who felt that such a record of her personal family life was definitely an invasion of her privacy. A member of the community who was familiar with the situation said, "[The host mother] felt that the students was diving into her privacy, not only diving into it but taking it away. She said she would never want a student again. She feels that you all [students] come to look into our privacy and then take it overseas." This sort of situation can create suspicion of the program's intentions. The host family cited above knew the student was learning about Barbadian culture, but to them what went on in their family was not part of the project. A former host father who, despite such reservations, still wants to host another student explained what can happen this way:

"People can feel that besides that paper [the ethnography] there is a hidden agenda. For instance, a lot of information is being gathered, but I don't know if it's private or for the students [to talk about] when they get together. Besides the paper that you are giving your professors, you have another paper with this hidden agenda on it. This paper is the one that may invade the privacy of the home - things you all see but don't understand."

I discovered that sometimes students ask questions which they consider to be harmless, but because they do not understand the culture they do not realize that what they are asking can bring up bad memories. One host father told me that some people are embarrassed by their history of slavery and don't even tell their children out of shame. When a student

innocently asks a question about local history, he or she probably doesn't realize that their question can make some people remember a part of their past they have tried hard to forget.

“When a student asks a question about what our country was like 50 years ago, I would be glad to tell them. But some people feel degraded because they went to school barefoot or had to depend on one set of clothes or had to walk miles with water on their head.”

Another host mother said that generally the questions students ask do not invade people's privacy: “As students, you are all doing history and survey of the area - that is not really private.” However, she did feel that students need to be sensitive to what topics people feel comfortable talking about. Some questions may unintentionally make people feel uncomfortable:

“When some people's life was not as straight as others, they will feel embarrassed. I would feel embarrassed to say that I have four kids and then have to say the name of the fathers: ‘Well, Mary's father is John, Tony's is so and so.’ It is so complicated.”

Because students are studying a culture that is different from their own, they may not know what issues are sensitive. It is important, therefore, for them to be aware of their informants' reactions. Since students generally gather information from people they have become friends with, most can tell when topics are intrusive - but not always. The only time students gather information from people they don't already know is when they do a random household survey (See Appendix IV) of ten households in their village. This survey helps them gather basic information on the population, such as emigration patterns, religious affiliations, education levels, and economics as well as introduce them to ten new families. Over the years, this survey has been revised to omit questions which could be construed as too personal.

Association with the “Wrong” People

Students' actions often reflect on the families they are staying with. The communities the students stay in are small and, unlike the anonymity that exist in most students' home towns, people in their villages are usually aware of what everyone else is doing. If a student does something that is not considered socially acceptable, word travels quickly. One situation that has caused problems is when female students spend time with the “wrong” kind of men. Many women students find that when they first move in with a host family they are told what people in the community to avoid. A student from the 1988 program, reflecting back on her experience in Barbados said: “My host mother made it really clear that I shouldn't spend time with a Rastafarian because it would bring shame on her.” One student, in another community and another year, did spend a considerable amount of time with a group of Orthodox Rastafarians who lived in caves in the hills not far from her community. They grew their own food, did not wear clothes (except in her presence), did not hold jobs, and were known to smoke marijuana frequently. Rastafarians have a bad reputation with most villagers as a result

of their use of marijuana and the knowledge that they sometimes steal vegetables from people's gardens. The student's association with them was not approved of by her community and automatically involved her host family in gossip. The student wrote the following about her experience:

"I have discovered the power of a societal norm: nice girls don't talk to Rastas. When girls who were formally nice talk to Rastas, they cease to be known as nice. Exceptions none. [quoted in Gmelch 1992:247]

When her host mother discovered the situation, she told the student that this was not an acceptable relationship and that she should stop seeing the Rastafarians. The student did so and everything worked out with her host family. Despite the problem, her host mother today remembers her fondly, keeps in contact with her eight years later, and even bought presents for another student in this year's program to take back to her. She has also since had two more anthropology students stay with her. A few problems with female students dating lower-class men occurred in the early years of the program. Once the problem was identified, however, students were informed explicitly at the beginning of each program that they needed to be careful about who they spent their time with and that dating or having sexual relationships with local men and women was not appropriate when doing fieldwork.

Worry and Responsibility

Host families take their responsibilities very seriously, and generally feel that they are responsible for the student's welfare while they are in Barbados. One host mother told me that she had one student who liked to stay out late at night. This often caused her and her husband to stay up worrying about her. Eventually they worked out a curfew and from then on things went smoothly and she no longer worried.

Women students often cause more concern than men. This is not necessarily due to anything the women do, but rather to social norms in Barbados. Bajan mothers are very protective of their daughters and while it may be acceptable for men to hang out on the street in the rum shops, it is not acceptable for women to do so. One host mother told me that she had a female student stay with her, and that sometimes her girlfriends would come visit and they would all hang out outside together. The host mother found this unusual since Bajan girls usually stay inside the house. She never said anything to the student about it, however.

Students' Personal Habits

Sometimes students' personal habits create a disturbance in their host families. One of the few complaints families had concerned the messiness of some students. One host mother who has had both male and female students stay with her, commented:

“I find that Bajans are kind of poor, but they like to have things neat and tidy. When we take off our things, we put them neatly away. I found one or two [students] would just drop it down. Most boys mess up things - they don't keep their rooms tidy.”

A host father, also of male and female students, felt the same way:

“When a boy is finished with a glass he will put it here [pointing to the floor beside the chair he is sitting in]. When he wants another glass of water he will get another glass and put another glass here [pointing to the table on the other side of him]. In the course of one day, if you check him out carefully, he has a half a dozen glasses dirty and he doesn't wash one.”

It is inevitable that a program such as this one would create some problems. What is important to note, however, is how few problems there have been. The directors of this program have learned from past problems and attempted to prevent them from happening again.

Summary

I think it is obvious that a program like the Barbados anthropology term has lasting affects on host families and other members of the society. It appears that the deeper the relationships between students and hosts the deeper the impact not only on the student but also for the Barbadians they become friends with. "People are more likely to feel favorable toward another group if they interact with members of the other group in a supportive environment and if there is opportunity to go beyond superficial interaction" (Kauffman et al. 1992:58). It is through meaningful conversations and shared time and experiences that members of the host society gain insight into the students' culture. And it is during these shared times that both host and student are able to look past the obvious differences in their cultures and lives to find common ground. Just as students gain new perspectives on their native culture by going on a term abroad, host families and community members also learn about their own culture by answering students' questions and discussing their own culture. The friendships and companionship are enjoyed and valued by both.

It is inevitable that some problems will arise, as they do in all human interaction. But with careful selection of students, good planning and guidance throughout the term they can be minimized. Students need to be well informed of the situations that are likely to result in problems and to be reminded often of the need to be sensitive and respectful of people's privacy, routines and homes. In a program like this, it is important to examine what causes problems and then take measures to prevent similar problems in the future.

Much of the existing literature examines how students' travel to another culture contributes to their personal and educational development as well as helps to expand their international perspective. I think that this thesis shows that it is not traveling to another culture that results in the development; it is the exposure to another culture. The host families in Barbados have not all traveled to the United States, but they have all experience with American culture through their relationships with their students. As a result of this exposure to American culture the host families, much like students on a term abroad, learn more about America as well as more about their own culture.

APPENDIX I
Questionnaire administered to past student participants

Name:

Year you went to Barbados:

Village you lived in:

Host family:

Did you remain in contact with people from your community after you left Barbados?

If so, who did you stay in contact with and how (letters, phone calls, etc.)?

Have you returned to Barbados since the field program?

If so, how many times?

People in your village who might serve as good informants for my project (clergy, shopkeepers, friends you had etc. Please be as specific as possible.)

What long or short term impacts did spending a term in Barbados as a student have on your life?

What impact do you think you had on either the community you lived in or on specific people in your community?

Please write a brief description of what you are currently doing so that I can pass this information on to the people in your community.

APPENDIX II
Random household survey conducted in three communities

Do you remember any students who have lived in your community?

Did they ever come talk to you? About what?

Do you remember what they were studying? What?

What do you think about them having lived and studied in your community?

APPENDIX III

Questionnaire administered to students during the seventh week

Your answers to the following questions will be very helpful to me in writing my thesis. I appreciate you taking the time to think about and answer these questions as fully as possible.

Who lives in your house (number of people, ages, relations)?

What kind of house do you live in (wall, board, wall and board)?

What are your accommodations like (share a room, own room, share a bed)?

Describe the atmosphere of your home?

What things in your house did you have the hardest time adjusting to (e.g. lack of privacy, no hot water)?

Has anyone in your homestay family or community made any remarks that made it evident to you that someone enjoyed or appreciated your company? Please describe.

Has anyone in your homestay family or community made any remarks that showed that a person really didn't like having a foreigner in their village? Please describe.

What impacts do you think this term abroad had on you so far (e.g. things you may have learned about yourself, social skills you may have developed, new awareness of culture)?

What impact do you feel you have had on individuals in your homestay family or community? Please describe.

How many other households in the community are you related to? _____

OCCUPATION(S) of household members:

Name	Occupation
1. _____	_____
2. _____	_____
3. _____	_____
4. _____	_____
5. _____	_____
6. _____	_____
7. _____	_____

RESOURCES

1. Do you grow sugar cane? _____

2. Do you have a kitchen garden? _____

3. Do you grow crops for sale? _____

4. Do you raise animals for home use? _____

5. Do you raise animals for sale? _____

6. Do you own:
 TV Radio VCR Sewing Machine Refrigerator Washing Machine Dryer

7. What is your main form of transportation?
 Car bus walk bicycle

8. Do you own a:
 car motorbike bicycle

9. Do you own or rent land? _____

10. Do you own or rent home? _____

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Book Reviews

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Adams, Vincanne. *Tigers of the Snow and Other Virtual Sherpas; an ethnography of Himalayan encounters*. 1996, Princeton University Press, Princeton, New Jersey. Pp. 304, \$17.95; ISBN 0-691-00111-1.

Vincanne Adams has been studying a group of Sherpas that are somewhat geographically isolated from their fellow Sherpas due to their location high in the Himalayas, near Everest. Due to this location, however, they do have contact with numerous Westerners who come to climb Everest and use the Sherpas as guides, for their track up the mountain. Because of this isolation from other Nepalian people and more than casual contact with certain types of Westerners, the Sherpas have developed a bond with the Westerners. This bond is actually an important aspect of Adams' research for he has never seen or read about a bond being this strong and extensive anywhere else. This particular group of Sherpas seem to have a high sponsor rate from Westerners. It is so high that it has raised some of the individuals yearly income through direct cash gifts, as well as paid-in-full trips to the sponsors home, and the paying for medical operations.

Adams' starts his ethnography with an example of his own bonds with some Sherpas. It is from this bond he writes this book. He starts by explaining about the tragic passing of a Sherpa friend named Pasang Lhamu. Since his last visit, she became very famous throughout the entire nation of Nepal, because she became the first Nepalese woman to climb Everest to the summit. Consequently, it would be this very action that is the cause for her sudden and tragic passing as well. On April 22, 1993, Pasang Lhamu and her climbing team of five younger men reached the summit. This was her fourth attempt to trek to the summit. The group started down, two climbers descending faster than Pasang Lhamu and the other three, taking them an entire day to reach the camp below the summit. Sonam Tshiring, one of the three young men who descended slowly, was coughing up blood and had been for the entire day. Pasang Lhamu sent the other two climbers down the mountain for oxygen, while she waited with Sonam Tshiring for help to arrive. During their wait, bad weather set in and climbers from below could not find Pasang Lhamu or Sonam Tshiring in time.

Pasang Lhamu was thirty-two years old, a wife and a mother of three. Her husband made enough money that they lived a comfortable life. Meaning that economics was not the reason why she would start a high-risk job of climbing mountains. Adams asked her husband, why she started climbing and he replied simply, "She wanted too." Adams did not expect this answer, nor could he accept it at face value. What would make a woman who in 1986 had no desire at all in climbing make four attempts to track up one of the most dangerous mountains in the world. Thus risking everything, her life, her children and her husband, everything that was important to her.

It is this tragic loss of a close friend that causes Adams to search for a deep understanding and purpose of the Sherpas desire to be more like Westerners. He states the purpose of the book is to explore the Sherpa "identity in the Western imagination and the persistent anthropological and Western desire to find a site of authenticity beyond the Western gaze,

what led Pasang Lhamu to get involved in the high-risk, high-profit, image-making, and body-breaking business of mountaineering because 'she wanted to.'" Adams approach to this question starts by examining the role Westerners have had in "creating" the Sherpas he knew.

Adams believes, "that becoming what Westerners desire is built into the way in which Sherpas are expected to be similar to Westerners, who have brought them modernity," (i.e., climbing for sport). The Sherpa prior to Western influence did not climb the mountains because they were considered sacred. He states his argument for this as: "the logic of mimesis governs this interaction, in which surface appearances in such things as representations of difference. . . become the location of authenticity." Adams shows this interaction by demonstrating the impact the Sherpa have on Westerners. At the same time "to show that by accommodating Western interests for a particular sort of Sherpa is part of who Sherpas are."

Adams depicts a complex culture that has developed within this particular group of Sherpas. According to Adams, they have achieved a balance of traditional culture that actually seeks out and invites in Western culture, and in doing so they achieve a cultural exchange. Adams suggest that this type of activity came from a cultural exchange from the West, the fascination of exotic and different cultures. By inviting in and accommodating people from around the world they are able to see and experience the different and exotic cultures of the West, without ever leaving the comfort of their living rooms. He further suggests that one of the reasons they are able to achieve this level of cultural exchange is attributed to their Buddhist belief. He has dedicated chapter three entitled Buddhist Sherpas as Others to this development. In this chapter he does not make all the Sherpas out to be monks, on the contrary he points out that the actual education level is low and the monks educate via example, rather than formal training or education. With so much cultural exchange and interaction between the Sherpas and the West, the Sherpas might lose their cultural heritage and meaning. This has been addressed not only by the Sherpas, but the entire international community. There are schools and foundations that have been established by Westerners to preserve the traditional Sherpa way of life. At the same time these foundations are bringing in modern conveyances in the medical world and through computers for educational use. There are other various foundations all working with the Nepalese government and the Sherpas directly. Adams does suggest that part of the reason why a connection is made between the Sherpas and the Westerners has to do with their Buddhist belief of inner peace. It is this inner peace that Westerners are seeking to find themselves and in doing so they are finding and connecting with the Sherpas culture. The Sherpas, at the same time, are able to achieve their inner peace by finding themselves by interacting with Westerners.

Overall, this is a good read. Adams research is extensive including the translation of old Buddhist transcripts and other documents, which was provided by one of the foundations who purpose it is to translate this information. Other sources come from his personal fieldwork as well as other books and articles written on the Sherpas. His writing style and stories keep your attention. His writing method is quite clear and to the point. I really enjoyed his book and I only wish it could have been written under happier circumstance.

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Sargent, Carolyn F. and Caroline B. Brettell (Eds.). *Gender and Health, An International Perspective*. 1996, Prentice-Hall, Upper Saddle River, New Jersey. ISBN 0-13-079427-9.

Gender and Health, published in 1996, is a collection of essays gathered by Carolyn F. Sargent and Caroline B. Brettell. Sargent, currently Professor of Anthropology and Director of Women's Studies at Southern Methodist University, received her Ph.D. from Michigan State University and a Master's degree from the University of Manchester, England. Focusing on health, child survival, and medical ethics, she has conducted fieldwork in Africa and the Caribbean.

Brettell, who is author and co-editor of several books and articles, currently is Professor and Chair of Anthropology at Southern Methodist University. Her most recent works include, *We Have Already Cried Many Tears: The Stories of Three Portuguese Migrant Women*; *Men Who Migrate, Women Who Wait: Population and History in a Portuguese Parish*; *International Migration: The Female Experience and Gender in Cross-Cultural Perspective*, and *When They Read What We Write: The Politics of Ethnography*.

The papers included in Sargent's and Brettell's Reader are by professionals from the Social Sciences, Health Sciences, and the field of Law. Most contributors have conducted or participated in primary cross-cultural studies, using both qualitative and quantitative data. The underlying premise of all authors is that 1) medical patients should be conceptualized as gendered individuals functioning in a given socio-economic environment, and 2) class, gender, and ethnicity as social constructs control the Health Care System and the production of health. According to Sargent and Brettell, this Reader appeals to students in the fields of women's studies, anthropology, and the health sciences, and to a general scholarly audience.

"The enslavement of the female to the species and the limitations of her various powers are extremely important facts; the body of the woman is one of the essential elements in her situation in the world. There is no true living reality except as manifested by the conscious individual through activities and in the bosom of a society. Why [and in what ways] is Woman the Other"²

Sargent's and Brettell's Reader, using the lines of inquiry in medial anthropology, looks at the relationships between gender role, ideology, and 1) the language of science and medicine; 2) the cultural construction of health and the life cycle; 3) the impact of new reproductive technology upon the family; 4) medical ethics and personhood; 5) healing and the socio-cultural production of health; and, 6) health policy.

In traditional Marxian terms, language, a sub-element of society's Superstructure, colors and reproduces our perceptions of reality. Respectively, both Emily Martin and Helena Michie analyze the epistemology and language of biomedicine as it pertains to women's status.

²de Beauvoir, Simone. *The Second Sex* (1974), p.41 (trans.)

The biomedical literature, so Martin, portrays menstruation as failed production but, describes the process of male spermatogenesis with great enthusiasm. “[The egg] is a *sleeping* beauty patiently *awaiting* the arrival of her charming prince/ hero [the sperm] who must endure a perilous journey to achieve *his mission*” (italics added).³ Michie focuses on the Cesarean as a mechanism by which mind and body are divorced. In equating cesarean birth with failure, language denied women agency in reproduction. Consequently, nature and culture are juxtaposed, setting limits in what it means to be female.

Following the comparative approach, Dona Davis explores the literature on premenstrual and menopausal syndromes to tackle two commonly held assumptions, that 1) biomedical constructions of either syndrome are universal; and that 2) they are a-cultural, purely scientific facts. Menstruation and menopause, as pointed out by Davis, are cultural constructs -- they are experienced differently in a range of societies around the world. In Western industrialized societies they are defined as source of stigma, depression, and emotional stress; other cultures either do not emphasize them biologically or socially, or associate them with women’s creative spirituality, freedom, and youth (i.e. The Maya, traditional Samoans, and the Lusi of Papua New Guinea).

Age, like gender, is an artificially, culturally constructed phenomenon, as illustrated by Maria Cattell’s contribution to this Reader. Cross-culturally, women face health threatening discrimination, ranging from religious practices to intentional malnutrition of undesirable infant daughters. Aging adds additional burdens to gender discrimination. “Inequalities between the sexes in old age are not unique to that life stage but are continuous, with patterned inequalities throughout the life course.”⁴

Worldwide, women are likely to have poorer access to education, lower status, and less power than men. They have lower participation in the labor force, and face severe economic hardships that continue into old age. In developing nations, the elderly are at higher risk of poverty than young adults; women, as a group, are worse off than men, and elderly women, worldwide, are the fastest growing segment.

In the 1960’s the natural childbirth movement encouraged women to give birth consciously, awake and aware, and to reject technocratic intervention. Cross-culturally, the cesarean rate is now at 24 percent, the epidural rate at 80 percent, the episiotomy rate at 90 percent, and use of electronic fetal monitoring is near-universal. In the United States, 98 percent of all women give birth in hospitals, most with medical intervention.

Robbie E. Davis-Floyd’s micro-level oriented research compares and contrasts “technobirth,” practiced by a majority of women, and organic birth, favored by a minority of homebirthers. Her study focuses upon the correlations between self- and body images and the world view of 40 women. The first data set includes 32 professional, career-oriented technobirthers; the second data set consists of eight homebirthers (four professionals and four stay-at-home mothers).

Based upon her non-representative, a-scientific study, Davis-Floyd argues that technobirthers subscribe to Descartes’ concept of science: the world is orderly and

³ p.2

⁴ Hess cited by Cattell, p.92

understandable; truth can be both codified and manipulated. "The self should control the body" thus, technology and medical knowledge are important. Homebirthers, in contrast, believe in normative dualism: mind and body are inseparable; they constitute one entity. The body is uncontrollable thus, scientific intervention is unnatural and not valued.

Technology and biomedicine have been misused to create fear; and fear makes profit. Patricia A. Kaufert explores the mammography campaign in North America. The Canadian National Breast Screening Study (CNBSS) in November 1992 showed that among women aged 40-49 when they entered the study, the death ration of those with an annual mammogram to those without one is 38:28; among women aged 50-59, the death ration of women randomly assigned to an annual mammogram plus physical examination to women with physical examination alone is 38:39 (values non-significant; N equals 90,000). But, blind confidence in technology and its profitability, so Kaufert, are central to the success of the mammography campaign in North America. In creating more and more fear, efforts to routinize mammography screening have made breast cancer a social issue.

Thomas J. Csordas, Patricia A. Marshall, and Susan Sherwin illustrate that biomedical ethicists have mostly ignored the roles of health-care practices, class, power, and gender issues in perpetuating oppressive political systems. Thus, medical education has used male experiences as the norm; clinical studies have focused on White males, and studies on reproduction, so Sherwin, sought to manipulate and control women's fertility.

The concept of self, and the moral debates surrounding it, are shaped within the domains of culture -- they are created, controlled, and manipulated by us. One point in case is Csordas' essay on abortion, comparing the definition of fetal personhood held by American Catholic Charismatics and Japanese Buddhists. Likewise, health and health policy are socio-cultural products. Gender ideology and the class-based control to access of health care sways a patient's experience of sickness, sense of empowerment, and relationship with family, physician, and other health care providers. In both the industrialized and less industrialized world "[socio-political] systems place a low value on health care needs of [socially disadvantaged groups]."⁵

Sargent's and Brettell's Reader, clearly written and well-understood, sheds some light upon the world's inequality-stricken socio-political systems. Both primary and secondary, qualitative and quantitative data, and historical records were used to unravel women's oppression and exploitation in Western societies. As presented, the health system is one socio-cultural institution shaped by economic forces -- forces seeking to manipulate and reproduce a society's social structure.

Although Sargent's and Brettell's Reader successfully delineates women's inferior status and its consequences in "developed" countries, it hardly is of superior scholarly scientific quality. Theory, operationalization, and observation are the wheels of science. This book lists an immense amount of data yet, it lacks a deep-reaching theoretical basis. Theory is the systematic explanation of data -- data which are meaningless otherwise.

Like Feminist theory, the contributors to this Reader recognize that, 1) gender penetrates and manipulates society; 2) society splits its material and non-material resources based upon gender; and 3) women, from a nomothetic perspective, are a subordinate group. Unlike Feminist theory, however, Sargent's and Brettell's Reader neither looks behind the

⁵ Gish cited by Sargent and Brettell, p. 15

appearance of things, to offer an explanation for social phenomena, nor makes any reasonable proposals for change.⁶

The world, so Hegel's idealized dialecticism, is a totality of inter-acting social elements, that are in constant opposition to one another. An event (thesis) creates its opposite (antithesis) leading to a temporary reconciliation of both (synthesis). Hegel, unlike Kant, analyzes the world from a dynamic rational point of view.

Marx's dialectical materialism rejects Hegel's focus on the ideal realm, and emphasizes the material conditions of humans. Whereas Hegel argues that the social construction of reality is based upon our consciousness, Marx reasons that mind and body cannot be divorced (normative dualism). Mind cannot exist without body; what is in our mind is a reflection of the real, material world.

A society's social system has three components, the 1) Forces of Production (FOP); 2) Social Relations of Production (SRP); and 3) Superstructure (SUP). The FOP and SRP combined make up the Economic Base, which determines the Mode of Production (MOP).

The FOP are defined as the available degree of technology; including both material and non-material aspects of labor. The FOP seeks to increase productivity and creates *Kapital* (surplus). The SRP are the system of social relations that govern production, and involves decisions over who decides what is produced, for what reasons, how it is organized etc. It implies social differentiation and classes with antagonistic interests. The SRP changes over time but, less slowly than the FOP (fundamental contradiction).

The SUP, a reflection of the Economic Base, includes a society's institutional and ideological elements, such as the educational, political, religious, and health unit. The state, so James O'Connor, fosters conditions leading to the rapid accumulation of *Kapital* ("capital expenses"), legitimizes the Economic Base, and maintains social stability among conflicting groups ("social expenses"). Ideology, so Antonio Gramsci, strengthens people's belief in hegemony and meritocracy.

Production is the nexus of society. Production requires cooperation and organization thus, the division of labor is inevitable. Changes in the FOP creates *Kapital*, forcing the decision over whether to have production for social needs or production for profit. In the [Western] capitalist MOP, the latter results in the privatization of communal property.

According to Erik Olin Wright, capitalism divided [Western] societies into three classes whose bases of antagonism are exploitation and oppression. [Western] capitalist societies are demarcated between those who have 1) control over *Kapital*; 2) control over the physical means of production; and 3) control over labor power. Thus, Capitalists are those who have control over *Kapital*, the physical means of production, and labor power; the Proletariat includes those who have no control at all; and the Petty bourgeoisie includes those who have control over *Kapital* and the physical means of production but, no control over labor power in general.

"The social and political struggles over health and health care have become major social issues [in Western capitalist societies]."⁷ Marxist thought provides one rational

⁶ Tong, Rosemarie. Feminist Thought (1989), pp.1-9

⁷ Conrad and Kern IN From The Left Bank To The Mainstream: Historical Debates and Contemporary Research in Marxist Sociology (1994), p.207

explanation for Sargent's and Brettell's data collection manual -- a theory which should have at least been mentioned.

Sargent's and Brettell's Reader fails to realize that inequality is a social fact -- "manners of acting, thinking, and feeling, external to the individual, which are invested with a coercive power by virtue of which they exercise control over [us]."⁸ Sargent's and Brettell's Reader rightfully makes historical references yet, it discusses the Health System in isolation to society, and does not project it onto the screen of society.

In the late 19th century US, the concentration of wealth and power triggered social conflicts that extended to public health. US industrialists sought to secure their status by means of repression and reform. Medical research, theories, and literature, supporting upper class interests were glorified; dissenting views were filtered out. The Flexner Report (1912), proposed by Frederick T. Gates and funded by John D. Rockefeller, attests for the interplay between class, ideology, medicine, and public health.

The Flexner Report illustrates how socio-cultural elements in Western societies are shaped by economic and political forces. Gates' Flexner Report is but one example showing that the SUP is a reflection of the Economic Base -- production is the nexus of society.

Inequality helps to perpetuate the social structure -- a system which, by looking at the US, is composed of Capitalists (1 percent), Upper Middle Class (14 percent), Middle and Working Class (60 percent), and Working Poor and Underclass (25 percent).⁹ Sargent's and Brettell's Reader, either sub- consciously or not, claims inequality a women's issue. Is the US system oppressive and exploitive only towards women?

Comparing income mobility from 1979 and 1989, the top 20 percent increased from 55.2 to 58.8 percent; the bottom 20 percent decreased from 61.5 to 60.0 percent.¹⁰ For 1992, the US Bureau of Census recorded that 22.4 percent of low-income families (\$19,999 or less) have children attending college; less than four percent graduate. Sixty percent of high-income families (\$50,000 or more) have children attending college; over 90 percent graduate. Coincidence?

Of the bottom 25 percent, only 28.1 percent of children are enrolled in preschool; of the top 25 percent, 75.7 percent of children are enrolled in preschool. On average, children of the bottom 25 percent achieve a grade level of 2.6 (on a four pt. scale) and a standardized math-reading test score of 44.8 percent in secondary school; children of the top 25 percent achieve a grade level of 3.2 (on a four pt. scale) and a math-reading test score of 56.4. Circa 44.3 percent of children of low-socio-economic groups and 9.3 percent of children of high socio-economic groups have math scores ranging in the lower 25 percent; the reverse is true for the top 25 percent of math scores. Circa 32.6 percent of students of the bottom 25 percent and only 16.9 percent of students of the top 25 percent perform below their capacity. Coincidence?

In 1980, the top fifth quintile held 74.7 percent of all US capital; by 1990, the numbers had increased to 77.5 percent. In 1980, the lowest fifth quintile held 1.5 percent of all US capital, by 1990, the numbers had decreased to 0.9 percent. Five years ago, the top 10 percent

⁸ Durkheim, Emile. Rules of Sociological Method (1964), p.52

⁹ Gilbert and Kahl (1993), p.311

¹⁰ Mishel, Bernstein, Schmitt (1996), p.97

claimed 88.0 percent of all US assets, and the remaining 90 percent had a meager 12.0 percent. Between 1962 and 1992, the top 20 percent had 82.7 percent of all US wealth (increasing) whereas, the other 80 percent only had 17.3 percent (decreasing).¹¹ Coincidence?

From 1980 to 1990, the percent change in income (1990 dollar) was minus 4.9 percent for the bottom 80 percent, plus 45.2 percent for the next 19 percent, and plus 62.9 percent for the top one percent. Controlling for ethnicity, the percent change of total family income, earnings, property, and transfer income, 1980-1995 (1995 dollar), increased for both White and Black non-Hispanics, and decreased for Hispanics. Moreover, White non-Hispanics were better off than Black non-Hispanics. In 1973, 34.3 percent of Hispanics, 36.6 percent of African Americans, and 21.3 percent of Whites claimed poverty-level wages; by 1995, the figures had increased to 48.1 percent for Hispanics, 39.0 percent for African Americans, and 26.0 percent for Whites.¹² Coincidence?

Available data are abundant, all suggesting that socio-cultural elements, such as education and the Health System, function to preserve the myths of egalitarianism, equal opportunity, and free will -- illusions created and manipulated by those in power. As Marxism puts it, "[they] are the puppets of the industry." All forms of inequality are interwoven; they have to be discussed in relation to society as a whole. This is not about the discrepancies between men and women, this is about power. When do we start realizing that a social fact cannot be discussed in isolation to others -- over-specialization cannot give us any meaningful answer to our inquiries. As expected, the contributors to this Reader, except for Linda M. Whiteford's outstanding essay on, "Political Economy, Gender, and the Social Production of Health and Illness, have failed to create a sound analysis.

"Everywhere, women suffer from inequities such as low status, devaluation of women's work, lesser opportunities to acquire valued resources, and other socio-economic disadvantages" (italics added).¹³ Sargent's and Brettell's Reader apparently regards women's low socio-economic status a worldwide phenomenon.

Sargent's and Brettell's Reader either is ignorant of or intentionally withheld the fact that 84 (15 percent) of 564 known cultures are matrilineally organized. The Iroquois tribes in the American northeast consisted of five culturally related tribes, the Cayuga, Mohawk, Oneida, Onondaga, and Seneca. The pre-European Iroquois lived in 12 or 13 villages of between 300 and 600.

The household, a cluster of matrilineally-related nuclear families living in a long house, made up the core of Iroquois kin groupings. The men engaged in hunting and fishing whereas, the women collectively owned tools and garden plots, and cultivated the fields. A cluster of households comprised a matrilineage, which in turn were grouped into exogamous matriclans. Matrilineages were strongly corporate; membership in the same matriclan entailed kinship ties and obligations.

Matrilineages were localized in a village section, and each village counted Matrilineages from several clans. The matriclans of the Western Iroquois were further divided

¹¹ Ibid, 278+281 and EPI (1993), p.62

¹² Ibid, p.48 and Current Population Surveys, 1980, 1995 AND Mishel, Bernstein, Schmitt (1996), pp.148-52

¹³ p.92

into tribal moieties. Each moiety was represented in each village, and both moieties had important and complementary roles in ritual contexts.

The Iroquois Confederacy had a council of 50 sachems -- male chiefs, who sought to maintain order and peace. They assumed titles that belonged hereditarily to particular tribes, and within tribes to particular matrilineal clans. Senior women held the chiefs' names in their clans; they had the power to appoint or depose chiefs. Women were responsible for death feasts and mourning. Women kept the wapum belts which signified the chiefly names. Women could hinder and disapprove of any decisions the council had made. Women could hinder and prevent a war by withholding the necessary material resources. At last, women decided over the fate of captives in times of warfare.¹⁴

Should women's oppression nevertheless be universal? In Hawaii, women's ritual inferiority is juxtaposed to their active, independent ethos in society. Even if women, traditionally, were excluded from male rites; even if women were prohibited from eating the ceremonial foods -- pork, turtle, and certain varieties of fish, banana, and coconut, -- they did participate in political affairs, and they did engage in the manufacture of esteemed commodities for use and exchange.

Perhaps nowhere else in Polynesia were women as politically active as in Hawaii. Because rank was bilaterally determined, chiefly women became important to men's dynastic aspirations. Through affinal ties, they were the means of alliance between male ruling chiefs. Thus, for Hawaii, there is not necessarily an isomorphic relationship between ritual status and socio-economic status.¹⁵

In Samoa, women are subsistence producers: they cultivate the fields, raise pigs, manufacture *siapo* (barkcloth), and weave pandanus mats. Finely woven mats, which take months or even years to finish, are considered more prestigious than cash or trade store goods, and are used in ceremonial exchanges. Besides their active contribution to subsistence; besides their active role in the production of status markers, Samoan women regulate the exchange of wealth in public distributions.¹⁶

"Women in developing countries tend to hold low-wage, low status occupations..."¹⁷ Cash and trade goods are associated with power and prestige in our society -- it is ethnocentric and a-relativistic to assume that all cultures follow our capitalist values. At least, traditional Hawaii and Samoa do not seem to follow us.

Sargent's and Brettell's Reader complaints about women's work and health in non-Western societies. MacCormack, after "studying" Sierra Leone, concludes that "seldom, especially in societies with an ideology of patrilineal descent, is infertility attributed to the

¹⁴ Keesing, Roger M. Kin Groups and Social Structure (1975), pp.66-8

¹⁵ Linnekin, Jocelyn. Sacred Queens and Women of Consequence: Rank, Gender, and Colonialism in the Hawaiian Islands, 1990.

¹⁶ Holmes, Lowell D. Samoa Village, 1974.

¹⁷ p.262

husband.”¹⁸ “Forced” marriages and polygyny, eating customs, and food taboos are also being viciously attacked.

In general, non-Western cultures had been in a state of equilibrium and harmony until we, the Westerners, arrived with “the hands in our pockets, and told them what to do.” Their societies have effectively worked for centuries; it is ours that does not function. Do we have the right to manipulate another culture? Do we have the right to tell others how to behave? Do we have the right to play the role of “world police”?

Customs and traditions have their particular meaning in their particular context. Among the Tiwi of north-coast Australia, the father has the right to bestow his infant daughter to whomever he chooses. The choice is usually based upon economic factors: the father chooses his son-in-law; thus, he secures his own economic interests. The husband-to-be is often older than the wife-to-be but, they only get married when he reaches the late 20's or 30's -- a custom which serves as indirect population control mechanism.

In Vasilika, rural Greece, kinship groups are exogamous and patrilineally organized. Marriage is arranged by the father, and often takes place between two commercial partners. According to the dowry custom, money and land are transferred to the man's family to ensure the daughter's and her children's well-being. Henceforth, the dowry is indirectly given to the daughter. Once an agreement is made the couple is considered engaged, and expected to get acquainted before marriage.

Sargent's and Brettell's narrow-minded Reader complains about women's role in society; what are the solutions? Forming more organizations, or more parties, cannot be a reasonable, long-term solution. Humans are individualistic in nature; they are greedy and selfish, so Ferdinand Tonnis. “If [we] want organizations, then we conjure up oligarchy.”¹⁹ We cannot speak for ourselves: Once we form parties, we are controlled and blinded by a minority of delegates and bureaucrats. Organizations are, and would be, misused as power base, as gateway to the Top, and as opportunity for a minority to make a living through state and federal grants. Kasinitz' study of Caribbean New York, although it deals with ethnicity, serves as example.²⁰

Are the contributors to this Reader looking for utopia? All utopian communities have or are doomed to fail. On December 17, 1917, the former USSR started its assault on kinship. The family code, as of October 22, 1918, restrained the church from its power. Formal wedding ceremonies were abolished, marriage was made insignificant, and divorce could be filed without reason. Family laws disappeared, and inheritance was abolished. Children were separated from their parents at birth, and kinship terms were taboo.

The family code of 1926 substituted the institution of registered marriages with the institution of non-registered marriages. Coupling was forbidden, and intragenerational ties were further cut off through age segregation. Abortion was legalized, and emotionality was suppressed. But, in 1934, the program failed because of negative population growth, juvenile delinquency, and dissatisfaction. The division of labor, thus, seems quintessential for the working of society. The USSR is but one example;

¹⁸ p.327

¹⁹ Michels cited by Dahrendorf IN Der Moderne Soziale Konflikt (1994), p.118 (trans.)

²⁰ Kasinitz, Philip. Caribbean New York, 1992.

the Oneida commune (US; 1969-79), China (1958-67/8), and Twin Oaks (US; 1980's) are another three cases in point.

Are there any solutions? Marx's theory uses Hegel's idealized dialecticism – a thesis (A) cannot exist without its antithesis (B). Our system will always bear a fundamental contradiction; our system will always consist of groups, competing with one another. Thus, it is a utopian idea to have a utopian society. But, what about socialism and communism? First, socialism has failed; second, to-date this world has never seen a true communist society. Marx never clearly analyzed the utopian-communist model either.²¹ Marx's Proletariat does not even want to radically change the system, as illustrated by Dahrendorf. Why should they strive for a society, an artificial world, which they, themselves, cannot describe? As Dahrendorf claims, utopias are paternalistic illusions created by intellectuals to direct the attention away from reality.²²

Despite my criticism, Sargent's and Brettell's Reader is thought-provoking, informative, and worth reading. At least it keeps us awake; equality in our society is an illusion -- most people do know this yet, who has the courage to speak up? If there are solutions, as unlikely as it may sound, then we should act and not just talk. "Philosophers have only interpreted the world differently; it is necessary to change it" (Marx; trans). But, we should also ask ourselves: would our system be any different if women were in power? Would our system not stay the same -- just reversed? A cannot exist without B -- how could our system ever be truly egalitarian?

²¹ See: Marx, Karl. Die Frühschriften: Von 1837 bis zum Manifest der kommunistischen Partei (1971), pp.150-4+233-6+361-4+539ff. AND Marx, Karl. Das Kapital (1957), p.500

²² Dahrendorf, Ralf. Der Moderne Soziale Konflikt. (1994), p.116-8

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