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## Lambda Alpha Journal

Volume 35, 2005

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LAMBDA ALPHA JOURNAL
DEPARTMENT OF ANTHROPOLOGY
WICHITA STATE UNIVERSITY
WICHITA, KS 67260

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DEPARTMENT OF ANTHROPOLOGY
SUNY COLLEGE OF GENESEO
GENESEO, NY 14451

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DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY AND
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NEW MEXICO STATE UNIVERSITY
LAS CRUCES, NM 88003-8801

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MEMBER FOR THE SOUTH
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AND ANTHROPOLOGY
UNIVERSITY OF SOUTHERN MISSISSIPPI
HATTIESBURG, MS 39406
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INFORMATION FOR CONTRIBUTORS

The journal will consider manuscripts for publication in any field of Anthropology and are accepted on a continuing basis. All papers submitted to Lambda Alpha Journal become the property of Lambda Alpha. All papers must be in Microsoft Word or ASCII-Text format and should be submitted on a CD or as an e-mail attachment. It must include any tables and list of references cited. Any plates or figures can be submitted separately, but must meet the general journal specifications and format. The e-mail attachment or CD version of the article must be accompanied by one original printed copy complete with any plates, tables, or figures. No page limit is enforced, but it is suggested that manuscripts do not exceed 25-30 pages in length. All literature citations must be correctly documented with the author’s name, date of publication, and the page number, e.g. (Doe, 1969:340). A list of references cited should comprise only citations referenced in the text. To see guidelines for the submission of book, article or film reviews, please see the current issues of the American Anthropologist. Authors are encouraged to adopt the format and style established for Lambda Alpha Journal Vol. 27 onward. Inquiries or manuscripts can be directed to the editor electronically at: pmojan@wichita.edu or via mail at:

The Editor, Lambda Alpha Journal
Wichita State University, Department of Anthropology
1845 Fairmount, Box 52
Wichita, KS 67260-0052

ABOUT THE LAMBDA ALPHA JOURNAL

The Lambda Alpha Journal is a yearly publication of student papers by members of the Lambda Alpha National Honor Society and is published at Wichita State University, Department of Anthropology, 1845 Fairmount, Box 52, Wichita, KS 67260-0052. Professional, avocational, student manuscripts, and book reviews of recent publications are welcome. The journal is made possible through the efforts of the Journal editorial staff residing at the founding chapter, Alpha of Kansas. Funding for the Journal is obtained through subscriptions and continuing sponsorship by the Student Government Association of Wichita State University.
I am pleased to announce the completion of the thirty fifth volume of the Lambda Alpha Journal, a publication of the National Anthropology Honors Society. This year’s volume presents seven papers with topics in biological, archaeological, and cultural anthropology. Volume 35 opens with an article by Eliza Wethey, addressing why there are two different styles of weaving among Latin American communities. In the next article, Keirsten E. Snover provides a cross-cultural comparison addressing the different perceptions of malaria among the Wandamba and the West. While Kimberly Casey, on the other hand, provides an evolutionary perspective addressing sickle cell anemia, malaria, and how malaria parasites play a role ensuring reproductive success in human populations who carry the sickle cell trait.

Immediately following, Matt Dreher reconstructs the environment, in which Neanderthals lived. The next article by Nidhi Jain, discusses dowry and marriage in modern-day India and the impact of modernization. In the next article, Patricia Stepansky addresses the integration of religions between two organizations, and concludes that they are both revitalization movements. The final article presented by Allison Deep, addresses the origins of the Minoan palatial form, and archaeological remains of three palaces. Finally, we conclude this volume with three book reviews on anthropological theory and the Marquesan notion of self.

This year’s journal concludes with an updated list of chapters and advisors, followed by a recognition of past award recipients of the National Graduate Research Grants winners, National Scholarship Award winners, and the National Dean’s List Scholarship winners. The Journal staff welcomes all of the recent chapters and all new members to the society. We also want to congratulate this year’s award winners and wish them success in their future endeavors.

As a chapter sponsor and Journal Editor-in-Chief, I wish to extend my appreciation to all of the advisors and officers of the Lambda Alpha chapters across the nation. I would also like thank the student authors for their contributions, and I offer a very special thank you to Ms. Sandi Harvey, student-editor, who has worked diligently with me to complete this volume.

Sincerely,

Peer H. Moore-Jansen
Editor-In-Chief
CREATIVE COMMODOIFICATION OF HANDICRAFTS, THE ENCOUNTER BETWEEN THE EXPORT MARKET AND THE INDIGENOUS WEAVER: COMPARISONS OF LATIN AMERICAN WEAVING COMMUNITIES

Eliza Wethey
Department of Anthropology
Tulane University-Beta of Louisiana

Introduction

The number of tourists visiting Latin America has increased dramatically over the past thirty years. In order to take advantage of tourists’ desire for “ethnic goods,” weaving communities in the Andes, Central America and Mexico are dedicating themselves to weaving because the sale of textiles to tourists provides them with the opportunity for income and quality of life improvements. While many weavers associated with cooperatives and non-governmental organizations (NGOs) have been able to increase their incomes significantly, the exploitation of other groups continues as merchants and buyers refuse to pay fair prices. Fortunately, as the numbers of NGOs, community aid grants and loans increase, fewer exploitative relationships operate within the weaving market. These monies also promise to help improve marketing and production techniques, advancing sales and quality.

While there are now increasing monies to assist indigenous weaving communities, there continue to be dramatic changes in the structure of the indigenous weaving market. The increasing tourist market has resulted in several significant changes, including: 1) a shift in the type of production, 2) increased capital flow, and 3) an increased sense of identity within the indigenous communities. These effects can be measured by the types of weavings created in indigenous weaving communities and the development of two styles of weavings: a personal textile and a commodified textile.

The development of these weaving styles has evolved from the changes that have occurred in Latin American society. Prior to the development of a cash economy, weavers worked on a barter contract, producing textiles for themselves and others in their community (Franquemont 1997). However, with the development of the tourist industry, weavers have designed specific techniques to increase production and sales. The sale of textiles to consumers began with the entrance of the middleman into indigenous communities in the 1960s and 1970s. Middlemen started entering isolated communities with the
objective of buying traditional textiles from indigenous weavers to sell in tourist markets. As the market for textiles in Latin America grew, the cultural identity of many indigenous groups suffered as their interactions with middlemen increased and became more manipulative. However, the violent civil wars of the 1970s and 1980s delayed the imminent tourist trade until after these conflicts ended in the 1980s and 1990s. During this turbulent time period, NGOs were viewed as subversive, and were not able to operate. However, in recent years NGO and cooperative activity in Latin America has increased particularly due to greater financial support from groups such as the Inter American Foundation (Schevill 1999; Branfman 1987). Thus, the tourist market in Latin America after starting from very exploitative relationships with middlemen during the 1960s and 1970s is now characterized by more supportive relationships fostered by NGOs and weaving cooperatives designed and created to provide aid and assistance to indigenous weaving communities.

The following comparisons of NGOs and weaving cooperatives in the Andes, Central America and Mexico will examine how several communities have succeeded in preserving their cultural identity while still profiting from the tourist and export markets. These specific case studies also indicate how indigenous communities are responding in similar manners across cultures and borders; comparisons indicate that the weaving communities in Central America and Mexico are responding to Western pressures in the same manner as Andean weavers. The evolution of textile markets demonstrates an innate desire among indigenous weavers to generate economic gains while still maintaining a sense of cultural identity. As the encounter between the indigenous groups and the West intensifies, the NGOs and cooperatives working with indigenous communities have been successful in assisting them to create two different styles of weavings: one for the textile market and one for personal use.

**Cloth as Identity**

In order to understand why indigenous communities are creating two styles of weavings, it is essential to understand why weaving is important to indigenous culture. As Andrea Heckman, an anthropologist who studied with a Quechua weaving community in the Andes, stated, “Cloth is the equivalent of the canvas or the blank page through which Quechuas [and other indigenous people], like painters and writers elsewhere, creatively express who they are and what they believe to those who understand them” (Heckman 2003: 107). It is through cloth and textile designs that indigenous people express their identity with an ethnic or local group and represent their beliefs. Many weavers do not
know how to read or write; they instead use textiles to represent their history, identity and belief systems. Weavings are also used to pass on ancestral information about aspects of indigenous life, including cosmological beliefs and agricultural methods (Heckman 2003: 6, 15). Although the meanings of woven patterns have changed over the years, textiles continue to communicate cultural metaphors, myths and beliefs (Heckman 2003: 36).

While woven textiles are not worn on a daily basis as they were in the past, indigenous peoples throughout Latin America continue to wear them during rituals and festivals to celebrate their relationship with nature, animals, and the environment (Heckman 2003: 21, 112). During festivals, cloth demonstrates a community’s resistance to modern encroachments upon indigenous values as they continue to wear traje regardless of discrimination and prejudice (Heckman 1997: 161). Thus, it is through cloth and woven textiles that indigenous peoples continue to express membership within their social group as society identifies individuals through the clothes that are worn (Ackerman 1996: 233, 254; Femenias 1996; Meisch 1996).

**Middlemen**

The importance of identity and woven cloth was foreign to many of the middlemen who began entering indigenous weaving communities in the 1960s and 1970s. Prior to this time weavers did not sell their weavings to people outside of their communities, but instead only exchanged textiles among friends and family members as textiles remained sacred to the indigenous peoples (Franquemont 1997). Prior to the 1960s and 1970s there was little infrastructure or roads that would have allowed indigenous weavers to travel long distances or have middlemen come to their villages to buy textiles. However, with the development of a cash economy, indigenous life changed. This change is indicated by the following quote from a Jalq’a weaver, “Our ancestors wove only to make their own clothing, not to earn money. Each year they probably produced a single axsu [type of indigenous weaving], in an exceptional year, two. Last year I made four. Our needs are different now, we need cash to get by” (Healy 2001: 281). Thus, it is evident that the development of a cash economy for the sale of textiles was foreign to indigenous weavers. However, they needed to increase their economic income and one of the only options for selling one’s wares in craft markets was the development of a relationship with a middleman because they lived in geographically isolated areas and often spoke only indigenous languages, making it difficult for them to communicate with outsiders. A middleman, in the context of the textile market, is defined as a person who buys goods from producers and
sells them to retailers or consumers; through this relationship, the middleman makes a profit by serving as an intermediary between the producer and the consumer (Adapted from Oxford Reference Online). The middlemen’s relationships with indigenous weavers were often extremely manipulative and degenerated the textile tradition in many indigenous communities as there was not sufficient time to weave for community needs; they instead dedicated themselves to weaving only for consumer purchase as they entered the cash economy. Middlemen also caused the modes of textile production to change as it was necessary to adapt techniques to meet the increasing consumer demand for textiles.

Thus, the discussion of the role of the middleman in association with indigenous weaving communities is important to examine because of its lasting influence on indigenous societies. The middleman position arose when tourists began visiting indigenous societies. This new tourist market began taking shape during the 1960s and 1970s and created a demand in external markets for indigenous goods. In its initial years, the market was defined by the sale of inexpensive items that allowed middlemen to sell their wares rapidly. Specifically in Guatemala, the majority of the shops were owned by mestizos who operated patron-client relationships, buying the weavings from indigenous weavers and then selling them directly to tourists at inflated costs. This was often an exploitative relationship because the weavers earned a very minimal profit, selling the textiles at or near the cost of the primary materials of yarn and dye. The majority of the people selling the weavings were not indigenous peoples because the middleman controlled the buying and selling of their textiles (Morris 1996: 407). Thus, the weavers made very small profits during this time and were often seriously exploited, contributing to the loss of their traditional techniques and styles.

When considering the loss of traditional styles and traditions, it is important to denote the distinction between a “tradition” and something “traditional.” A tradition is a set of practices or a style that evolves and is passed on from one generation to the next (Adapted from Oxford Reference Online). On the other hand, something “traditional” is static or unchanging and is often associated with resistance to change in contrast to the modern and urbanized world. The word traditional is often used in a negative connotation (Adapted from Oxford Reference Online), but in the context of textiles it is can be used to distinguish between the weavings produced for consumer and personal use. For example, middlemen and tourists consider traditional textiles as those that are produced in indigenous communities using natural dyes, and ancient techniques and patterns. Thus, the middlemen desire the weavings of the indigenous societies to
remain traditional in the sense that the designs and techniques are unchanged. The tourist and export market prefer a static style that is associated with the traditions of the past instead of a reflection of contemporary culture.

However, the traditions of most indigenous societies are continuously changing as they adapt to their surroundings. In the case of the Sakaka of Bolivia, they developed a new cultural tradition that diverges from the traditional styles middlemen are seeking. On the other hand, the Jalq’a of Bolivia are reverting to traditional textile styles in an effort to find a market for their weavings. These two communities indicate distinct methods to adapt to the increasing Western pressures on indigenous weaving communities, in one case specifically rejecting weaving styles desired for purchase while in the other specifically reverting to earlier styles desired for purchase.

The Sakaka of Bolivia have stopped weaving traditional textiles because they were exploited by tourists, collectors and middlemen. The Sakaka were unaware of the value of their weavings; thus, middlemen traded them objects worth only a fraction of the textiles’ value. The exploitation of their traditional weavings caused the community to reject the idea of selling a Westernized version of their cultural identity because they did not want to cater to the desires of tourists and exporters. They have instead created a style of textile that is “unsaleable” or not marketable because it is woven with synthetic yarns and modern icons that tourists do not view as traditional or desirable (Zorn 1990: 241-2). By rejecting Western desires, the Sakaka are creating a new cultural tradition, and diverging from traditional styles.

Most tourists or exporters desire to buy textiles produced with natural colors, fibers and designs that reflect what they consider the traditional culture of the group. Therefore, Zorn suggests that the Sakaka’s development of a new weaving style that tourists do not buy, is a form of resistance against the commercialization of their ethnic group’s traditional weavings (1990: 248). The rejection of traditional styles in exchange for icons of motorcycles and other contemporary symbols represents a need to maintain a sense of indigenous identity that is not exploited by the encounter between the export market and the traditional weaving societies (Zorn 1990: 246). Zorn’s research supports the idea of resistance against commodification because she indicates that tourists considered their new textiles ugly and inferior because today the Sakaka are weaving with acrylic yarns and modern images (1990: 249). Instead of producing textiles for the market, the Sakaka are ignoring market pressures and diverging from traditional styles, allowing them to create a new cultural tradition and prevent the commodification of their weavings and customs.
This resistance was formed in response to the middlemen who consistently bought and sold their textiles below reasonable prices.

While the Sakaka have been able to manipulate the systematic desire for their textiles through the rejection of traditional styles and the development of a new tradition, other groups are attempting to restore the traditions of the past as they want to increase their economic income. In this context, there is only opportunity in the market to preserve the traditions that are desirable to the tourist and export market. The Jalq’a, a Bolivian indigenous group, have been successful in selling their textiles because they are traditional in both style and design. However, they too formed exploitative relationships with middlemen who tricked Jalq’a weavers into selling their finest textiles because, like the Sakaka, they were unaware of the value (Healy 2001). After ten to fifteen years of selling their textiles to middlemen, the Jalq’a began adopting the patterns and styles of neighboring communities that were much less dramatic and interesting in terms of form and color. One reason for this change was frustration with the middlemen who were selling their cultural identity. Their original style of weavings was marked by designs of exotic animals or subtle color changes that were indicative of their community (Healy 2001: 271). However, the middlemen’s constant pressure for increased production eroded their preservation of personal traditions, causing them to create a new style of textile that was produced specifically for the tourist market in order to adapt to the tourists’ desires.

Therefore, middlemen have had a profound impact on the development of the commercialization of textiles for sale. Both the Sakaka and Jalq’a of Bolivia adapted their textile production in response to the demands of the middlemen and the development of a cash market for textile sale. While the Sakaka rejected the tourists’ demands for a traditional textile, the Jalq’a were willing to adapt their style to create a successful traditional textile that increased the middlemen’s successes. Unfortunately, little of the profits returned to the village as the middlemen took advantage of indigenous societies, but the Jalq’a had few other options as cash was necessary for their survival in the market economy.

**Tourism and the Export Market**

As textiles sales grew with the influx of tourists, there was an expansion of sales into an export market. Indigenous weavings began to be considered “ethnic commodities,” a good that is sold within the market and is produced by “ethnic peoples” (Burtner 1993: 10). The commodification of their textiles
led to increasing numbers of production strategies such as hybridization, simplification, and standardization of designs and styles to augment their sales and economic growth. While these changes encouraged textile production and the wearing of traditional clothes, they also supported cutting corners and producing lower quality pieces to sell to tourists because many tourists desire to purchase inexpensive items, not taking into account the time required for producing each piece (Healy and Zorn 1983: 7). Two common strategies to cope with increasing demands of the weaving market are hybridization and standardization. Hybridization is the combination of different weaving styles to produce a new fashion that is not identifiable to any one community (Adapted from Oxford Reference Online). This strategy enables weavers to differentiate between the weaving created for personal versus consumer use. Standardization is a second technique that contemporary weavers are using as they enter the cash economy. In this context, standardization should be understood as the imposition of uniformity on weavings so that they may be used worldwide, assuming that the behavior of all consumers is similar and that the market requires the same features and buys for the same reasons. Finally, standardization decreases the cost of production, increasing the final profit of the weavers (Adapted from Oxford Reference Online).

Another strategy developed to cope with time constraints is the simplification of designs. In order to simplify the designs, the weavers are choosing to weave supplementary warp designs that are one-sided. This style takes about half the amount of time required to weave complimentary warp designs, which are two-sided and much more detailed. Thus, by choosing to weave simpler designs, the weavers are able to produce more in a shorter amount of time. Tourists are often ignorant about the amount of time or difficulty required to produce a textile; so, weavers are able to simplify styles and use the least expensive raw material available without tourists knowing the difference (Morris 1996: 407; C. Franquemont 1982: 2). While in the past the consumer refused to pay fair prices, exploiting the producer, the indigenous producers are now developing methods to equalize these relationships through the commodification of their textiles.

NGO and Cooperative Assistance to Indigenous Weavers

While the simplification of designs and creation of hybrid and standardized textiles are three strategies that assist indigenous weavers as they enter the textile market, the development of NGOs and weaving cooperatives are other strategies that are often combined with the manipulation of textile production to increase income and quality of life in indigenous weaving communities.
As contemporary NGOs and cooperatives assist weaving communities to enter the cash market, they continue to struggle to ensure that they create a space with which the community is able to identify and trust. Many community members remain wary of the exploitative relationships they have experienced in the past with middlemen (Berkeley and Haddox 1997). This can be problematic because many indigenous weavers do not know how to read or write; thus, they are unable to fulfill some of the duties required of the leaders of an organization. However, as there are increasing numbers of workshops and classes offered by NGOs and cooperatives, indigenous peoples are gaining more of the practical skills needed to assist in the operation of the organization (Healy 2001). The relationships involving NGOs and cooperatives allow the weavers to make direct decisions whereas their previous interactions with middlemen were exploitative. The relationship with the middleman also prevented them from selling directly to the consumer, but the development of NGOs and cooperatives during the recent decades has made this a more viable strategy for increasing profits as they are able to sell their products at higher prices when they are selling directly to the consumers.

NGOs and cooperatives first began appearing in Latin America during the civil wars of the 1970s and 1980s in an attempt to assist the struggling communities with social and economic development. However, many of the military governments that were active during this time, including the Guatemalan government, believed these groups to be subversive, thus they were not allowed to continue their work until later in the 1980s and 1990s (Branfman 1987; Schevill 1996).

In order to understand how NGOs and cooperatives were able to provide assistance to indigenous weaving communities, it is first important to define the differences between the two types of groups. The United Nations defines a non-governmental organization (NGO) as any international organization which is not established by a governmental entity or international agreement. It is often used to refer to various cause groups concerned with issues such as the environment, poverty, women's rights, racism, sexual minorities, and Third World debt (Adapted from Oxford Reference Online). When discussing these groups it is important to keep in mind the ‘insider–outsider’ distinction, which is often associated with NGOs and cooperatives as NGOs are frequently considered to be “outsiders” because the leaders are generally foreigners; on the other hand, cooperatives tend to be formed from within the communities.
Whereas an NGO is an international organization, a cooperative is defined as an organization founded to provide mutual assistance in economic enterprises for the benefit of their members. Their purpose is to ensure fair working and trading conditions rather than the maximization of profit, which is in contrast to capitalist enterprises (Adapted from Oxford Reference Online). Thus, cooperatives are particularly appealing in areas undergoing rapid social and economic change where there are low wages and job insecurity. The indigenous weaving communities in Latin America are experiencing all of these problems as a result of violence, terrorism and middlemen entering their communities. Thus, both NGOs and cooperatives provide opportunities for social and economic advancement to indigenous weavers. These groups must be taken on a case by case basis because there are well and poorly managed forms of both; thus, it is difficult to determine whether one or the other will be more successful in a particular situation.

NGOs and cooperatives in Latin America have realized the potential for profit, as well as the need for financial assistance within indigenous weaving communities. They are aware that it requires careful planning to achieve a balance between the social and economic aspects of a weaving community’s textiles as they are crucial to the weaver’s cultural identity (Healy 2001; Leon 1997; Schevill 1999). As a result, NGOs and cooperatives recognize the need to provide economic gains for the community members participating in the project while also assuring a sense of stability and assistance in the preservation of indigenous community’s cultural values. In many cases they have successfully assisted communities develop strategies designed to preserve their textile traditions such as standardization and commodification.

The case of Antropólogos del Surandino (ASUR) demonstrates how a successful NGO can create a balance of stability and economic prosperity. Two Chilean anthropologists dedicated to cultural preservation, Gabriel Martínez and Verónica Cereceda, visited the Jalq’a, an isolated group of people living in the highlands of Bolivia. After several trips to the community, they formed an NGO to assist in the revitalization of the Jalq’a weaving tradition because middlemen had caused serious damage to the practice through intense buying and selling of Jalq’a weavings. The anthropologists found that middlemen who visited the Jalq’a community bought or traded for textiles at extremely low prices and then sold the weavings for much higher prices in La Paz, Bolivia and other tourist centers, giving few of the profits to the indigenous weavers (Healy 1992: 25, Healy 2001: 271). Through their investigation, Martínez and Cereceda discovered that the Jalq’a people were extremely marginalized within Bolivian society, having a high infant mortality
rate and yearly family income of only $260 per year (Healy 2001: 271). The dire impoverishment of the community made the Jalq’a eager for increased monetary compensation for the sale of their textiles, so they entered into relationships with middlemen and began selling or trading their weavings to generate income and enter the cash economy. However, after several years of selling their wares, Jalq’a cultural values began to disintegrate as the community’s cultural structure was unraveling because prior to the middleman’s entrance into their society, they relied upon a barter system and never sold or traded their textiles outside of the community. Thus, although they were successful in selling their weavings to supplement their income, they realized they were selling their cultural identity to Western consumers. While selling their products, they retained none of their traditional values or rituals associated with textile production in the community because the techniques became commodified through increased production. The marketplace demands generated a type of “cultural amnesia” as the weavers forgot their skills and knowledge of the weaving process because of the volume of production, leading to its destruction. Many of the weavers forgot how to weave traditional designs because they began standardizing, simplifying, and merging designs (Healy 2001: 273; Healy 1992: 28, 32). While the Jalq’a experienced years of manipulative and destructive relationships with middlemen, ASUR assisted them in reestablishing a design repertoire through the collection of photographs documenting the traditional colors and styles (Healy 2001: 271). The Jalq’a were eager to exploit consumer desires for their textiles through the redevelopment of their traditional styles because of their need for economic assistance in a failing economy. They continued to weave particular styles for personal use, but ASUR assisted them in developing traditional styles to sell to the tourist market (Healy 2001).

The case of the Jalq’a demonstrates how years of exploitation and participation in patron-client relationships can disrupt cultural identities. The middlemen unrelentingly bought and sold Jalq’a textiles until their identification with their weavings disappeared. The entrance of ASUR provided them with an opportunity to increase profits and enabled them to differentiate between the weavings for consumer and personal use (Healy 1992: 31). Prior to ASUR’s assistance, the connection with textiles and identity was weakened when the Jalq’a formed relationships with middlemen, but the creation of ASUR enabled them to preserve their textiles traditions as they developed a commodified form of their textiles for sale.

Not only has ASUR assisted the Jalq’a in establishing a commodified textile, but they have published books and set up museum exhibits to increase public
knowledge of their indigenous heritage (Healy 2001: 270-285). ASUR continues to work towards the goal of giving the Jalq’a people complete autonomy in the production and sale of their textiles, but it is a slow process as many Jalq’a do not read or write, making it difficult for them to run a business or interact with non-Spanish speaking tourists. Each year more and more Jalq’a are entering the office as managers in an attempt to give complete control to them in the future. Not only are they increasing their skills, but the economic prosperity of the Jalq’a community has risen significantly as weavers make three to four times their previous salaries (Healy 2001: 280-5). This enables them to purchase clothes, health care and other luxuries that they were previously denied. As a result, ASUR has been able to revitalize Jalq’a weaving traditions and reduce the exploitative patron-client relationships that were so prevalent during the 1980s and 1990s.

A second example of the importance of NGO cooperation with indigenous communities involves another group of communities in Bolivia in the Santa Cruz region. Bolivians and tourists considered the handicrafts of the Santa Cruz region inferior to those found in other highland regions of Bolivia (Healy 2001: 293). As a result, the Santa Cruz handicrafts seriously declined because there was no appreciation or market for their sale because the weavings of the Santa Cruz region were considered less prestigious; this is in stark contrast to the situation of the Jalq’a people whose weavings were highly desirable because the Jalq’a region was famous for its traditional weavings. Because Santa Cruz handicrafts were unappreciated, Ada Sotomayer de Vaca and Lorgio Vaca, two entrepreneurs, decided to form an organization, Centro de Investigación de Diseño Artesanal y Comercialización Cooperativa (CIDACC) to revitalize the diverse crafts of the region and create a market for their sale. Another goal was to enable the artisans to compete with middlemen who were previously controlling and exploiting the economy. The Vacas began visiting the communities and establishing contacts, gaining the weavers’ trust. In order to ensure that the communities played important roles in the operation of the organization, community coordinators were appointed to monitor textile production. This ensured the artisans that the prices were fair since all costs were assigned in the community. There were also incentive awards given to artisans who created high quality products, making the weavers proud of their pieces (Healy 2001: 297). They considered high quality textiles to be those that were woven using natural dyes, traditional techniques and superior materials, thus enabling the weavers to sell them at higher prices. These strategies enabled CIDACC to compete with middlemen because they increased cultural pride, income and stability within the communities. CIDACC was also able to provide training for the artisans in order to develop
new skills such as accounting and finance education, as well as improving their weaving techniques through the use of traditional dyes (Healy 2001: 305). As a result, increasing economic income and social mobility have improved the quality of life as the Santa Cruz weavers now have the ability to pay for health care, food and clothes; these improvements have also fostered cultural awareness for the region’s declining indigenous culture (Healy 2001: 294, 297). As Ada Sotomayer de Vaca said, “We want to demonstrate to [our customers] that in remote villages, talented producers of indigenous origin remain hidden and ignored” (Healy 2001: 307). Thus, through the Va-cas’ dedication and encouragement of fair pricing, the indigenous communities in the Santa Cruz region have been able to preserve their cultural traditions and practices by using export markets.

These two Bolivian NGOs indicate how foreign projects can have a positive impact on indigenous cultures that were previously exploited by middlemen and other outside influences. Thus, they are unique in their concern for the culture and traditional values of Bolivian indigenous society. In numerous isolated communities, middlemen take advantage of the lack of NGO and cooperative support, exploiting the indigenous societies because they are unable to defend themselves with the increasing dependency upon currency instead of a barter economy. As indigenous communities become increasingly dependent upon the cash economy, they must involve themselves in the buying and selling of their products. As a result, government programs have often taken advantage of these groups, designing plans to benefit the government and not the indigenous communities. One example of this exploitation is the Guatemalan government’s “integration” of indigenous communities into national society to preserve them as a “natural resource for tourism, the nation’s largest industry” (Burtner 1993: 10; Wasserstrom 1985: 2). As Burtner points out, the Guatemalan government’s emphasis on tourism served only the needs and economic gains of the government, taking all of the profits from the community, merely using them as a source of revenue (1993: 10). However, as NGOs and cooperatives become more common, government exploitation will decline as indigenous communities find increasing opportunities for fair and beneficial methods to profit through the sale of their weavings via support from weaving cooperatives and NGOs.

While NGOs and cooperatives are extremely important in supporting the survival of cultural traditions, they are often lacking in funding. One organization that has been crucial to the financial support of many organizations throughout Latin America is the Inter American Foundation (IAF). The IAF has been able to fund numerous projects throughout the region since its in-
ception in 1969 and has functioned as a key resource for many organizations. It enables marginalized people to use their skills and resources in a more effective manner. Instead of promoting modernization or technological change, the communities are provided with the monies to improve their standard of living through the purchase of equipment, establishment of seminars or workshops, and development of other programs that will assist the community as a whole (Wasserstrom 1985: 1, 12). Two examples of IAF funding include the NGOs formed to revitalize the weavings in the Jalq’a and Santa Cruz regions of Bolivia. The IAF funded both Bolivian NGOS because it was noted that they had a concern for community involvement and the goal of cultural survival (Healy 2001). Thus, the IAF is crucial for the future success of indigenous cooperatives and NGOs in the region who are working towards vital causes.

**Organizational Hierarchy**

While funding and community support are very important to the success of the organization, the organizational hierarchy is another key component to the development of these agencies. One important strategy of NGOs is to actively include the indigenous community in the structure and direction of their organization. This strategy provides NGOs with greater respect in the communities and diminishes the fear of exploitation, allowing these groups to maintain a greater sense of cultural identity. NGOs and cooperatives both use an organizational structure that promotes bottom-up leadership in which the people of the community plan their own projects and seek financial and technical support themselves (Stiles 1997: 2). This allows the indigenous groups to separate themselves from the bureaucracy of government and foreign run agencies who often have different goals for the organization. Whereas a foreign investor may be looking to create a store in the capital city to sell the wares, the indigenous community is focused on providing the basic needs for their family. The contrasting goals of indigenous groups and foreign investors cause the bottom-up approach to be more successful since it allows the community to dictate the goals. While NGOs are often foreign-run, the groups studied here always elected a local leader to ensure bottom-up leadership. On the other hand, the top-down approach excludes the local population from the planning and develops the project from above the community hierarchy. These projects are usually failures (Stiles 1997: 1; Tidwell 1997), because they often do not consider the needs or resources of the local community. They are instead directed by bureaucratic agencies located in a different country or city without knowledge of the situation in the community with which they are working.
It is evident that community leadership is crucial to the success of local projects; the weaving cooperative on Isla Taquile in Lake Titicaca is a representative example of this. The Peace Corps set the foundation for the development of a weaving cooperative on the island in 1968, facilitating the growth of their economy from one of the poorest lakeside communities to one of the most prosperous (Healy 2001: 268). One of the reasons for their success was that the inhabitants of the island were able to control all aspects of commerce from food and housing to the sale of their weavings and transportation. This allowed them to monopolize the market and make sales without the use of middlemen, providing them with greater profits (Healy and Zorn 1983: 4-6).

Another group that successfully maintained local leadership is *Sna Jolobil*, a weaving cooperative, in Chiapas, Mexico that was able to reject top-down leadership and retain control within the community. They originally formed with government assistance but later gained independence after earning sufficient capital to function without the government’s help (Morris 1996: 37). One of their initial directives was to refuse any support from outside sources that would give financial control to outsiders; while they continued to accept monetary assistance from NGOs and foreign donors, they prevented foreigners from gaining control of their organization through the election of indigenous leadership, thus maintaining the association’s leadership within the community (Morris 1996: 404). This strategy enabled the weavers to have an important role in decisions affecting the organization. They were originally faced with discrimination as there was little public knowledge of Chiapas textiles. However, because the weavers were directly involved in marketing and promoting their textiles, *Sna Jolobil* was able to publish several books on Chiapas weaving patterns, as well as create a museum exhibit to increase recognition of Chiapas textiles (Morris 1996: 415). These strategies helped reduce the problem of regionalism that is related to Mayan textiles, as many Westerners only associate certain areas of Mexico and Guatemala as being famous for their textile production. Their marketing strategies and independence also allowed them to create their own textile styles as they were given the freedom to invent “new” patterns that were not woven before (Morris 1996: 418). This freedom is one strategy that these Mayan weavers are using to separate the personal from the commodified textile. Not only do the weavers have the independence to define their styles, but they have also retained their autonomy through bottom-up leadership. As a result, in situations where there is a commitment to provide the community with an integral role in the organizational hierarchy, the weavers play important roles in the production and sale of goods without the question of foreign biases or bureaucracies af-
fecting the sales.

This focus on bottom-up leadership has ensured the success of numerous organizations throughout the region as indicated by the examples from Isla Taquile and Sna Jolobil of Chiapas. Another organizational system used to ensure the success and growth of an NGO or cooperative is the Grassroots Development Framework (GDF). IAF developed GDF, which designed to establish project objectives, measure the results and impacts of the project, informing decisions, challenges and achievements to assist both the donor and grantee. The GDF examines the three levels of the impact of grassroots development which include 1) individuals or families, 2) organizations, and 3) finally communities or societies. There are two categories for each level: 1) tangible and 2) intangible developments, which range from standard of living to community norms and organizational culture. Each of these categories must be examined to ensure that the organization is properly addressing the needs of the community, organization and individual. At times one may lose sight of the individual when looking towards a larger goal for the community at large, thus the GDF ensures that there is a system to confirm that all levels of the organization are functioning properly.

Some important categories that are considered are basic needs, attitudes, and values (Grassroots Development Framework 1-3). These classifications are important to the success of the project because they maintain culture and contentment through the assurance that basic needs will be met and values preserved. These ideas are crucial for the survival of a community organization because each structural component needs to be successful in order for it to work effectively and productively toward its ultimate goals. Groups taking advantage of the GDF to ensure the organization’s stability are producing the framework needed for long-term success as they consider the needs of both the individual and the community.

Weaving Strategies

It is evident that the influence of the tourist and export market is becoming increasingly important as indigenous weavers make production decisions regarding the form and style of their weavings. Hybridization is one method through which indigenous communities are preserving their traditional cultural values in an effort to tailor their products towards the desires of the consumer. When producing hybrid textiles, the weavers are combining designs and forms from several communities to create textiles specifically for the tourist and export markets. As Stephens discusses, this interac-
tion enables the indigenous weavers to capitalize on consumer desires as well as retain indigenous identity through cloth by altering certain components of the textiles. They continued to use the same techniques, but adapted the colors and designs in the textiles produced for tourists to be more aesthetically appealing and traditional (1996: 383). Within the discussion of tourists it is important to consider that not all tourists have the same purchasing desires. As Leon defines, there are two types of tourists: those who prefer textiles as “art,” which are woven with vegetal dyes and in traditional settings, as opposed to tourists who have the expectation that crafts are inexpensive souvenir articles (1997: 1). The distinction between the types of tourists creates a need for several different markets as some weavers cater towards the needs of “elite” tourists that are searching for artistic pieces, versus those who prefer inexpensive machine made pieces. While the inexpensive pieces often do not reflect the reality of the weaving tradition, they represent the commodification of “ethnic art” and the indigenous weavers’ distinction between personal and tourist production. These strategies are increasingly common as the encounter between the tourist and the export market continues to influence the production methods of indigenous weavers.

Most weavers working with the export market are geared towards mass-produced weavings that require producing large standardized orders (Burtner 1993: 14). In the past, weavers involved in this type of production were marginalized through patron-client relationships that paid extremely low prices for finished products. However, with increasing numbers of NGOs and cooperatives in the contemporary market, weavers are gaining more opportunities to work with organizations that provide them with increasing equitable economic opportunities. These organizations also provide them with more time to weave personal textiles, whereas in the past this was not an option.

Another strategy weavers have developed in response to the changing needs of consumers is the distinction between the textile produced for sale and the textile produced for personal use. As Walter Morris, an anthropologist studying Chiapas weavers said, “We tend to view natural dyes as an integral part of the weaver’s tradition, while in fact most Chiapas weavers have always purchased the brightest possible yarns for brocading their huipiles” (Morris 1996: 414). This observation indicates that the naturally dyed textiles being sold in the markets are a commodification of the traditional textiles, created for and used by tourists while the indigenous people prefer the most brilliant colors for personal use.

As indigenous weavers make the distinction between commodified weavings and personal textiles, it is evident that there is a division between the manner
of use between personal and consumer weavings. The textiles created for tourist use are designed to appeal to the consumer through their traditional style. In order to achieve a sense of traditionalism, weavers are using natural dyes, traditional patterns and styles when producing weavings for sale. On the other hand, when creating weavings for personal use, they emphasize color and design. To indigenous weavers it is most important to use bright colors so that the designs of one’s shawls and ponchos can be seen from long distances. Therefore, indigenous weavers choose synthetic yarn for its bright colors and low cost, but not efficiency when weaving for personal use. It is evident that, weavers throughout Latin America are making choices based on their personal aesthetics and a changing set of traditions that evolve over time (Heckman 1999: 189). While they continue to use fine workmanship in the pieces that they wear and create for themselves, they often send cheaper, less time consuming items to the markets because the average tourist does not recognize the amount of time and knowledge required to produce a difficult piece. Textiles rarely sell for much more than thirty dollars (Heckman 1999: 191; E. Franquemont 1997). This distinction indicates how the encounter between the tourist market and indigenous societies has created a separate style of textile, distinct from the original form and design, which is in response to the needs and desires of the tourist and export markets. These creative solutions are most commonly addressed by the community as a whole through the support of NGOs and cooperatives as they attempt to find viable solutions to entice the tourists to buy their high quality weavings. Another reason for the creation of two styles of textiles is a means to preserve their indigenous identity and prevent the encounter between the indigenous and western cultures from destroying their values and belief systems.

**Hybridization**

The strategy of producing a consumer and personal use textile involves one of several production techniques, including hybridization, in order to create a new style that is distinct from their community’s traditions. Hybridization enables weavers to distance themselves from the weavings created and differentiate between the weaving created for personal versus consumer use.

One community that has been very successful in the creation of a hybrid textile is San Juan La Laguna Sololá, a highland community in Guatemala. Burtner discusses how the women of this Guatemalan community created a hybrid *huipil* that “no pertenece a ningún pueblo” (belongs to no town). It was instead created for, bought, and worn by international tourists (1993: 189).
The women weavers in this particular community made a clear distinction between weavings produced for personal use versus those produced for tourist and export use. The creation of a hybrid *huipil* enabled them to prevent the commodification of their weaving culture and traditions. They were instead able to create something that had no cultural significance to any of the weavers, but was instead a mixture of designs and styles from communities in the area. This strategy suited both the tourist and the weaver because tourists felt that they were purchasing something that was traditional in style, technique and pattern, while the weavers were able to prevent their ethnic traditions from being sold in the tourist and export market.

While the creation of the hybrid textile without identity was successful in increasing economic gains and preserving cultural identity, weavers in the San Juan La Laguna Sololá community are faced with the dilemma of dependency upon the tourist and export markets for continued income (Burtner 1993). Without continued buying and selling, the weaving economy will crash because it has no other form of support.

External influences reinforce the commodification of traditional weaving styles as indigenous weavers attempt to find a balance between Western desires and their traditional models, often maintaining some of their own traditions out of the market’s view. One such strategy is the development of a hybrid textile to prevent the disintegration of cultural and institutional values through the preservation of certain styles and traditions within the community and not commodified for sale. As a result, it is important that these indigenous communities preserve a portion of their traditional life concealed from view in order to prevent the commodification of their entire cultural system.

**Standardization**

A second technique weavers are using to differentiate between the styles created for sale and those for personal use is increasing standardization of the form and design of their textiles. Standardization should be understood as the imposition of uniformity on weavings so that they may be used and sold throughout the world; thus, the market requires the same features on all textiles produced, decreasing the cost of production and increasing the final profit of the weavers (Adapted from Oxford Reference Online).

While this strategy distinguishes the consumer textile from the personal textile, it also allows indigenous weavers to complete large homogeneous orders. When selling to the export market it is necessary that they use the same col-
ors, designs, and thread quality to produce identical textiles for sale in stores in both the United States and Europe (Burtner 1993: 42). This standardization increasingly commodifies the interaction among production, purchase and export of traditional textiles. The weavers are no longer using the customary techniques for production when they standardize the colors and designs. One aspect that makes textiles unique is that each one is different and indicates the skill of the weaver and her ability to develop a textile through the combination of designs and colors. When the weaver is no longer able to invent each textile through her own ideas about color and space, they are no longer reflections of their ethnic or cultural identity. As a result, while these weavers are able to maintain a sense of cultural identity through the separation of textiles produced for exchange and personal use, in the future it will be important to reconsider the advertisement of standardized pieces as “ethnic art.” In reality they have little connection with the weaver’s true ideas about the form and color of weaving because the majority of the standardized pieces are largely influenced by the buyers and not the weavers or leaders of the organizations that support them. According to Burtner, as weavers continue to rely on the export market for their main source of economic support, they will continue to lose their control over how they themselves are represented since the tourist and export markets are beginning to dictate their production of traditional textiles (1993: 44-45). Thus, it is important that indigenous weavers continue to create two different styles of textiles to allow them to create a bifurcate identity, dividing their textiles into two forms.

Marketing Strategies

The use of standardization and hybridization are both methods employed to market indigenous weavings on a global scale. These techniques are defined as marketing strategies, which are defined as the action or business of promoting and selling products or services (Adapted from Oxford Reference Online). Other marketing techniques are noted as the development of museums and exhibits as a means to educate the public about the amount of time and skill required to produce a high quality textile. Many tourists have no conception of the process involved in production from the shearing of the wool, spinning and dyeing of the yarn, and finally weaving. As Ada Sotomayer de Vaca, the director of CIDACC said, “We are trying to educate our customers about their lives and the work of indigenous peasant women within the region and nation. We want to demonstrate to them that in remote villages, talented producers of indigenous origin remain hidden and ignored. Another goal is to make our customers understand fair pricing and the declining access to raw material that some artisan communities face” (Healy 2001: 307). She touches on sev-
eral important aspects of the marketing of textiles since it is not only impor-
tant to have the consumers understand the pricing, but also to increase visibil-
ity of the unique indigenous traditions that they are attempting to preserve.

As discussed, another marketing strategy that several groups have adopted is
the “remolding” of local crafts into goods made for an outside market (Morris
1996: 410). This strategy involves both standardizing the designs and colors
of the textiles, and hybridizing them to create a new style of textiles particu-
larly for the tourist. This strategy allows indigenous people to retain a portion
of their culture while also profiting from the tourist trade. In essence, via this
method they are able to limit the commodification of their culture through the
selective sale of their weavings. If they decided to sell all of their weavings
through the export market or tourist trade they would be unable to identify a
particular weaving as unique to their village because it would no longer retain
its personal significance within the community, but would instead be a com-
mercialized item. As a result, the decision among certain groups to maintain
specific pieces for exclusive use in the homes is a means to preserve their in-
digenous identity and prevent the encounter between the indigenous and west-
ern cultures from completely destroying their values and belief systems.

Profits

Marketing is a crucial component to successful profit-making. One of the
fundamental reasons that indigenous weavers are increasingly selling their
textiles in the export and tourist markets is the desire for an improved eco-
nomic and social status. Many Latin American countries are experiencing
economic hardships because repercussions from years of civil wars and fail-
ing neoliberal economic plans, which favor free-market capitalism (Schevill
1999). Unfortunately, until recently, NGOs were seen as subversive by cer-
tain governments and were unable to initiate successful programs.

Many of the problems began during the 1980’s when much of Latin America
experienced severe inflation and unemployment as the debt crisis ensued; sev-
eral countries, including Guatemala, also underwent brutal civil wars, causing
widespread terror and contributing to the desperate economic situation of
many (Schevill 1999: 176; Branfman 1987). Throughout this period, external
aid sources attempted numerous times to assist the countries in need through
grants and other sources. In certain cases this funding was readily accepted,
but in Guatemala, the military government was fearful of the emergence of a
literate, economically independent, rural indigenous majority. As a result,
they viewed foreign aid as threatening and subversive, resulting in the de-
struction and elimination of any attempt to let NGOs operate in their country
during this period (Annis 1988: 23). It was not until 1986 with the election
of a civilian government that international development organizations were
permitted to enter the country and begin working. However, NGOs continued
to be cautious as they were afraid of being labeled radical; thus, they be-
gan assisting entrepreneurs instead of the more important social improve-
ment of communities, changing the focus of their plans (Burtner 1993: 24).
Latin America’s tumultuous economies have caused people to look for non-
traditional means of making money as there are few job opportunities. Prior
to the entrance of the cash economy, indigenous communities relied upon
barter and trade. However, this is no longer possible as it is necessary to use
money when purchasing food, clothing and other material goods.

The sale of handicrafts and weavings has become an important component of
the indigenous economies because it is an effective method of earning extra
income to support one’s family in the cash economy. Not only does it pro-
vide supplemental income, but it provides women with more freedom. In the
case of the weavers working with Colibri and Maya Traditions, two Guate-
malan NGOs, many of the women weaving were widowed during the Guate-
malan civil war (Schevill 1999: 177-8); thus, they were searching for a
means to support their families both economically and socially. With the
growth of the NGOs and cooperatives, weavers are earning increasingly
higher wages. Working for these types of organizations they often earn three
or four times what middlemen paid them in the past and are now able to send
their children to better schools, which will allow them economic and social
mobility in the future (Burtner 1993: 59; Farmelo 1995: 38). However, these
new-found opportunities also lead to concern that there will be no weavers to
replace the elders as they gain better opportunities in the professional field.
As weavers increase their earnings, they are also gaining more respect in the
community as men are no longer the dominant source of income in the soci-
ety. Thus, income from the sale of traditional textiles is both a successful
and problematic means to combat the changing social roles of Latin Ameri-
can society. Because there is a need to enter the cash economy, indigenous
weavers are choosing to establish relationships with NGOs and cooperatives
in an attempt to support their families.

Conclusion

As indigenous weaving in Latin America becomes increasingly commodi-
ﬁed, many question the future of traditional weaving and the weaving tradi-
tion. It is debatable whether or not the creative strategies that indigenous
weavers are using, such as hybridization and standardization of their textiles
will be sufﬁcient for the continuation of the weaving tradition in the future.
While the indigenous weavers have been able to create two different styles of weavings, one commodified for the tourist and one reserved for personal use, the encounter between indigenous cultures and the West is putting growing pressures on indigenous communities to produce increasing numbers of traditional weavings. Thus, the role of the NGO and the weaving cooperative becomes crucial to the success of the indigenous weavers as they require assistance in marketing and producing sufficient quantities of the Westernized version of their textiles. NGOs and weaving cooperatives are also supporting their goal to maintain a tradition of personal use textiles that are not commodified for sale, and assist the community as their environment faces modification. These organizations also assist them in increasing profits as weavers are able to eliminate the intermediary and sell directly to the consumer, increasing their profits.

The comparisons of NGOs and weaving cooperatives in Mexico, Central America and the Andes indicate that there is an evident systematic correspondence across cultures and borders as indigenous groups throughout Latin America have developed similar strategies for coping with the commodification of their traditional textiles and indigenous culture. For now, NGOs and weaving cooperatives are ensuring economic benefits for weaving communities in Latin America. However, as traditions evolve with changing societies, it is debatable whether or not NGOs will continue to emphasize the production of traditional textiles for sale as the desire for economic profit continues; on the other hand, weaving cooperatives may provide a balance for indigenous weaving communities as they emphasize the needs of the society. In reality these traditional textiles are not conventional because they are a Westernized version of the static traditions of indigenous cultures. The demand for traditional textiles redefines the traditions of indigenous weaving communities because it prevents them from progressing as society changes and modernizes. No society remains static, thus it is important to realize that the creation of traditional textiles are not reflective of the changing indigenous societies that are creating them. In the future it will be important to continue conducting research on these societies to determine how they are reacting to the continued influence of the tourist and export market. Increasing social mobility and education makes the perpetuation of the weaving tradition slim, but if there continues to be a market for the sale of textiles, their production may continue.

References


PERCEPTIONS OF MALARIA AMONG WESTERN POPULATIONS AND THE WANDAMBA OF EASTERN AFRICA: A CROSS-CULTURAL COMPARISON

Keirsten E. Snover
Department of Anthropology
Eastern Washington University

INTRODUCTION

People in every culture try to explain disease in ways that make sense to them and that are consistent with their life experiences. As a result, many different perceptions of disease can be found around the world. This paper is aimed at answering the following question: what are the perceptions of malaria among the Wandamba people of Eastern Africa, and how does this perspective contrast with the Western view? The specific objectives include determining the perceptions relating to the cause, transmission, symptomatology, treatment, and prevention of malaria from both the Western and Wandamba view. First a brief history of malaria will be presented, along with its significance in the world today. Next the methods used to collect information will be explained. Then the results will be discussed, comparing the views on malaria held by Western populations with those of the Wandamba. Finally, some of the implications of the differences between these two perspectives will be considered.

HISTORY AND SIGNIFICANCE OF MALARIA

Malaria is a serious, mosquito-borne disease with flu-like symptoms that is thought to have affected ancestral human populations in the mid-Pleistocene (Kiple et al. 1993, 860). Records show that malaria was present throughout several well-known periods of time, including in ancient Greece (Muela 2000, 5) and the U.S. Civil War (Farmer 1999, 41). Although malaria was brought under control in this country in part through DDT eradication programs in the 1940’s and 1950’s, the disease remains a problem for the U.S. and the rest of the world today. More than 100 countries have endemic malaria, which means that the disease is constantly present in these areas. According to the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention (CDC), there are 300-500 million malaria infections in the world each year (CDC 2003). One million people die from malaria annually (CDC 2003).

Even though the United States has not experienced endemic malaria for about 50 years, there are still cases of malaria reported in the U.S. each year. In
2001, there were 1383 cases across the U.S., and only one state, South Dakota, had no malaria infections to report (Filler et al. 2003, 3-4). The two places with the highest number of infections that year were California (173 cases) and New York City (239 cases) (Filler et al. 2003, 3-4). One of the factors involved in the current presence of malaria in the United States is international travel (Gordon et al. 2000). People entering the country from a malarious area, such as immigrants, tourists, and military personnel, can be infected with the disease and spread it to others (Gordon et al. 2000). There is even a potential for malaria to become reestablished in the U.S., since mosquito vectors capable of carrying the disease can be found in 48 of the 50 states (Zucker 1996, 37). This reality has raised concerns with many U.S. Government officials (Gordon et al. 2000). A recently unclassified document from the U.S. Bureau of Intelligence, titled, The Global Infectious Disease Threat and Its Implications for the United States, identifies malaria as one of the top seven killers in the world and a significant threat to American citizens and military personnel, as well as a threat to America’s foreign investments and even national security (Gordon et al. 2000). It can be seen that malaria is not just a problem of the Third World--it is a global health issue with significant consequences for our country and others.

METHODS

In order to compare the views of malaria found in another culture with the views held here in the West, a study population was selected--the Wandamba people, who live in Eastern Africa, in the country of Tanzania. They reside in the Kilombero Valley area in the southern part of the country, surrounded by groups such as the Waporogo, Wasagara, Wakaguru, and Walguru (Planning Commission et al. 1997, 2). Within the Kilombero Valley, the Wandamba are the majority ethnic group in the Kilombero District of the Morogoro Region (Planning Commission et al. 1997, 3). This valley experiences holoendemic malaria, where the transmission is very intense all year round (Muela 2000, 20-21). The area consists of a low altitude flood plain with annual rainfall between 1200 and 1800mm, which encourages mosquito breeding. (Minja et al. 2001, 615; Abdulla 2000, 41) As a result, malaria is very common--it is estimated that a person can have 200-300 infective mosquito bites per year (Abdulla 2000, 43).

The data for this project was collected by consulting journal articles, books, dissertations, and government reports obtained through the Eastern Washington University JFK Library and the Internet. Several key words were used in searching for information, for example: malaria, Wandamba, Tanzania, Kilombero, mosquitoes, perceptions, and views. Information sources were
studied in order to identify any qualitative or quantitative data relating to the research question and objectives. General information relating to malaria was also sought, in order to provide supporting background for the project. The resulting data was then organized into one of three categories, depending on if the information provided background, related to the Western perception, or related to the Wandamba perception.

RESULTS: WESTERN VIEW

According to the Western view, malaria is caused by a single-celled parasite of the genus *Plasmodium* (WHO 2003). Four species of the parasite are involved: *P. malariae*, *P. ovale*, *P. vivax*, and *P. falciparum* (CDC 2003). *Plasmodium falciparum* causes the most serious form of malaria (Nchinda 1998, 398), and is also the most common species found throughout Tanzania (Abdulla 2000, 3). This species is seen in more than 90% of the country’s malaria infections, while *P. ovale* and *P. malariae* are found less often, and *P. vivax* is rare (Abdulla 2000, 3).

The main mode of malaria transmission is through a mosquito vector, specifically by the bite of an infected Anopheles mosquito (Zucker 1996, 37). (In Tanzania, the vector is *Anopheles gambiae*.) (Nchinda 1998, 398) After entering the human host, the parasite replicates in the liver and then infects red blood cells. (WHO 2003) Other ways the disease can be transmitted are through contaminated needles, blood transfusions, and from mother to fetus, but these routes are less common (Kiple et al. 1993, 856).

Malaria affects all ages, but impacts young children the most since they have not had time to develop any immunity (Olliaro et al. 1996, 231). A partial immunity gradually develops after successive exposures to the disease, which makes later infections less severe (Olliaro et al. 1996, 231). The incubation period depends on the species involved, but is generally 8-30 days (WHO 2003), and the actual infection can last for several weeks. *P. vivax* and *P. ovale* can even enter a dormant stage in the liver, causing relapse months or years later (Kiple et al. 1993, 856). Atypical cases are common, and may be due to infection by multiple species of Plasmodium, previous incomplete anti-malarial treatments, or other factors (Muela 2000, 9).

The severity of malaria varies, ranging from a relatively mild infection to life threatening. The classic symptoms of mild malaria include repeated episodes of fever, sweating, and chills (WHO 2003). Other symptoms can include headache, body aches, and vomiting. A severe infection can involve conditions such as anemia, respiratory problems, enlargement of the
spleen, and acute renal failure (Muela 2000, 11). *Plasmodium falciparum* is especially known for causing a potentially fatal form of malaria called cerebral malaria, in which infected red blood cells block the blood vessels leading to the brain, resulting in severe headache, delirium, convulsions, and coma (Muela 2000, 10-11).

Malaria is treated by antimalarial drugs, which are dispensed in syrup form for infants, tablet form for children and adults, or given through IV in severe cases. Some examples of the drugs used include chloroquine, mefloquaine, sulfadoxine-pyrimethamine, doxycycline, and proguanil. (WHO 2003) Widespread drug resistance has made treatment with these drugs more difficult (Nchinda 1998, 399-400). For example, chloroquine was previously the standard first line treatment, but resistance has been reaching high levels in many areas around the world. This drug was recently dropped in favor of a promising new treatment, artemisinin, which is based on the Chinese sweet wormwood plant (McNeil Jr. 2004).

At this time, there is no effective vaccine for malaria although some are in progress (Muela 2000, 18), so prevention consists mainly of vector control. This includes reducing the number of mosquitoes by removing breeding areas or by using larvicides and insecticides (Benenson 1990, 264-265). Another form of prevention is sleeping under insecticide-treated nets (called ITNs) since Anopheles mosquitoes bite late at night (CDC 2003). These ITNs have been found to be fairly effective, reducing malaria cases by almost 50% (Abdulla 2000, 39).

**RESULTS: WANDAMBA VIEW**

The Wandamba interpretation of malaria does not completely correspond with the Western view. Also, exposure to Western ideas has created a lot of variability in beliefs, as many people have combined different aspects of the two perspectives in multiple ways (Muela 2000). The results presented here only represent a small sample of the complexity found in the Wandamba view. In general, symptoms that Western populations lump together under the label “malaria”, are instead separated into four different illnesses in the Wandamba interpretation: “Maleria”, “Homa Kali”, “Bandama”, and “DegeDege” (Abdulla 2000).

The Wandamba definition of Maleria is characterized by fever, chills, shivering, body aches, headache, and vomiting that tend to occur during the wet season (Minja et al. 2001; Muela 2000, 10). It is considered to be a mild illness, and just a part of everyday life that cannot be prevented, and which
does not need to be treated right away. (Minja et al. 2001, 616; Muela 2000)
Frequently mentioned causes include exposure to intensive sun or hard work,
fever, and drinking or wading through dirty water (Muela 2000).

Homa Kali is an illness marked by the main symptoms of high fever and body
weakness that tends to occur during the dry season (Minja et al. 2001, 617;
Muela 2000, 105). Exposure to the sun and hard work are seen as some of the
causes, since these create excess heat in the body, and result in “homa” (fever)
(Muela 2000, 67). Antimalarial and antipyretic drugs are used for treatment.
Prevention consists of taking antimalarial drugs (Minja et al. 2001, 617).

With Bandama, the symptoms include a swollen spleen, anemia, and fever. It
is caused by dirty or contaminated blood that has accumulated in the spleen,
and so treatment consists of draining away this dirty blood (Minja et al. 2001,
617). Two common ways blood may become contaminated include by expo-
sure to dirty soil or from eating fresh mango leaves (Muela 2000, 162). A cer-
tain medicine is sold locally as a preventative for Bandama, called “vidonge
vyà bandama” (tablets for swollen spleen) (Minja et al. 2001, 617). This
medicine has been found to contain the antimalarial drug sulphadoxine-
pyremethamine (Minja et al. 2001, 618).

The symptoms of DegeDege include fever, rolling of the eyes, stiffness, and
convulsions (Muela 2000, 97). There are two main causes: attacks by bad spir-
its and from inhaling the white powder on the wings of a certain type of but-
terfly that is commonly seen around homes at dusk (Minja et al. 2001, 617;
Muela 2000, 87). Treatment for DegeDege involves putting the mother’s
urine on the child, or using herbal remedies (Muela 2000, 89). These treat-
ments are thought to cool the child down, resulting in a lower level of illness
(Muela 2000, 90). This is considered important before taking the child to the
hospital, because otherwise the strong medicine given at the hospital will react
with the illness (Muela 2000, 90). Prevention of DegeDege consists of protec-
tion from the supernatural, by using herbal concoctions called “ngambi” or
amulets called “hirizi” made by traditional healers (Minja et al. 2001, 618).

CONCLUSIONS

In summary, the Wandamba view involves four separate diseases, while the
Western view consists of one disease that comes in a range of forms from mild
to severe. Wandamba Maleria is comparable to the Western mild malaria, and
Homo Kali is comparable to what the West considers to be a more moderate
malaria infection. Bandama and DegeDege are both related to what the West-
ern view defines as severe malaria, with Bandama being similar to the enlargement of the spleen seen in severe malaria, and DegeDege having similarities to cerebral malaria. The Wandamba people do not traditionally make a connection between these diseases, malaria, and mosquitoes, although Western health education campaigns have tried to change this view. The people reason that if mosquitoes were really causing severe diseases like DegeDege and Bandama, then everyone in the village should be dead since they are being bit by mosquitoes all the time (Minja et al. 2001, 616).

These differences in views are also an example of the variation in theories of disease causation. The Western interpretation of disease relies mostly on germ theory, the idea that diseases are caused by microorganisms. Accordingly, malaria is understood to be caused by a protozoan. The Wandamba view focuses more on the lifestyle of a person, such as how being exposed to hot sun or hard work can cause illness.

One reason why understanding how local populations perceive of malaria is important is in creating successful assistance programs. For example, the success of an Insecticide-Treated Net program for the prevention of malaria depends on if the community perceives mosquitoes to be a cause of malaria (Minja et al. 2001, 615). Research into the perceptions of disease will likely become just as important as medical research in dealing with malaria, as we need to understand other people in order to treat them. In doing so, we can help prevent the disease from spreading even more to other countries, including our own.
References


A CO-EVOLUTIONARY LOOK AT A HOST-PARASITE INTERACTION: SICKLE CELL ANEMIA AND MALARIA

Kimberly Casey  
Department of Anthropology  
California State University at Fullerton

Despite major attempts over the last century to control malaria, this disease still claims the lives of over one million African children each year. The malaria parasites are becoming increasingly drug resistant and there is still no vaccine to effectively work against them. However, about half a century ago genetic resistance factors were discovered by Haldane who believed that this was likely to be the evolutionary driving force behind common erythrocyte variants in tropical populations (Kwiatkowski, 2000). The high gene frequency of hemoglobin S in Africa, the protective agent against severe malaria in heterozygotes but causing fatal sickle cell disease in homozygotes, illustrates the powerful selective pressure exerted by malaria on the human genome (Kwiatkowski, 2000). When looking at this interaction from an evolutionary perspective, one could say that due to selective pressures the sickle cell trait became advantageous as a response to disease. Because of this, the sickle cell trait is found in regions where malarial pressures are high or in the descendants of people who came from these types of areas. This paper will discuss sickle cell anemia, malaria, and how the malaria parasites played a role in human evolution by providing protective qualities that insured reproductive success in individuals who carried the sickle cell trait.

Sickle cell anemia is a result of a point mutation caused by the production of abnormal hemoglobin. It is characterized by the abnormally shaped (sickled) red blood cells, which are removed from the blood stream and destroyed at high rates, leading to anemia (Lonergan et al., 2001). The underlying abnormality in the red blood cells of sickle cell anemia is the presence of abnormal sickle cell hemoglobin (Hb S), which when deoxygenated becomes relatively insoluble and forms rod-like polymers that impair the flow through blood vessels (Jones, 1997). More notably than the anemia, the sickling causes vascular occlusion, which leads to tissue ischemia and infraction that are much more clinically troublesome than the anemia (Lonergan et al., 2001).

Sickle cell anemia is the most common single gene disorder in African Americans and affects one in 375 African Americans in the United States.
Approximately 0.15% of this population is afflicted with the homozygous disorder (Hb SS), and just under one in 12 African Americans has the heterozygous sickle cell trait (Hb SA) (Lonergan et al., 2001). However, sickle cell anemia is prevalent in other ethnic groups as well, including Mediterranean area countries, Turkey, the Arabian peninsula, the Indian subcontinent, and a few in the Caribbean (Aluoch, 1996). Within sickle cell anemia populations the estimated survivorship of Hb SS individuals is 20% and the average age at death is 14.3 years. However, in areas with higher medical availability such as the United States significant numbers of individuals with Hb SS are surviving to adulthood. Individuals with the heterozygous form of the trait (Hb SA) are not physically affected by the disorder and live normal lives, most of which do not know they are carriers of the trait (Jones, 1997).

“The malaria parasite is a prevalent human pathogen with at least 300 million acute cases of malaria each year globally and more than a million deaths” (Pouriotis et al., 2004). In many parts of Africa, the average child is infected with malaria several times each year and continuously has parasites in their blood (Kwiatkowski, 2000). The malaria parasite (*Plasmodium falciparum*) has a very complex life cycle that involves the human host and the *Anopheles gambiae* mosquito as the carrier. The human stages develop after an infected female mosquito injects sporozoites (which can be between 10 and 100 during the blood meal) into the human. These migrate to the liver within a half an hour, where they then penetrate the liver and begin dividing within hepatocytes. This replication lasts from 2 to 10 days, and merozoites develop within hepatocytes. These cells then rupture, and merozoites enter the blood and invade erythrocytes. These events comprise the pre-erythrocytic (liver) stage of malaria (Pouriotis, 2004). After merozoites have invaded host erythrocytes, they mature and continue to divide to become schizonts that are released upon lysis of the red blood cell. This entire cycle takes 48 hours to complete and the later two-thirds happen throughout the vascular network of the tissues (Friedman, 1978). The fever that periodically accompanies malaria is then a result of “the synchronous lysis of infected cells upon maturation of the parasite” (Friedman, 1978).

After understanding what is happening within the human body when affected by these two diseases we can then explain how they interact with each other and how an evolutionary advantage has come about through the heterozygous sickle cell trait (Hb SA) to avoid the damaging effects of malaria. Because malaria multiplies and infects the red blood cells it makes it a perfect candidate to be blocked by the effects of the sickle cell trait. Malaria parasites have highly specific needs in order to survive and this is shown in its narrow range of hosts. The only cells known to support the growth of ma-
Lambia are erythrocytes of humans and a few other primates (Friedman, 1978). In the Hb S containing red blood cells, the parasites cannot adapt due to the deoxygenation which forms the paracrystalline needles and distorts their shape and alters the intracellular viscosity. Therefore, any deviation from the normal red blood cells of humans would result in an inhibition of the parasite to infect or grow and would not make it the perfect host that it needs (Friedman 1978).

“The high frequency of the gene for sickle cell hemoglobin (Hb S) in malarial endemic regions, despite the high mortality rate among homozygotes, is thought to be due to the selective advantage conferred by Hb SA against malarial mortality” (Aidoo et al., 2002). In a survival analysis using the sickle cell trait as a risk factor for mortality, Aidoo et al. (2002) found that when compared to Hb AA, the Hb SA was significantly associated with a reduction in all-case mortality. Aidoo et al. (2002) also found that Hb SA but not Hb SS was associated with a reduced risk of severe anemia episodes and both alleles were significantly associated with reduced risk of high density parasitaemia when compared to Hb AA. When looking at the distribution of the Hb AA, Hb SA, and Hb SS traits across populations and regions, Jones (1997), reported that where the distribution of the sickle cell trait, characterized by a mixture of sickling and non-sickling hemoglobin’s, areas with hyperendemic malaria showed prevalence at 10% or more. However, in areas with low epidemic or no malaria the prevalence of the sickle cell trait was less than 10%. In other studies done by Friedman (1978), it was found that 90% of young parasites are killed in a population of Hb SA cells where only 60% are sickled or distorted. This suggests that the parasite contributes to conditions that induce sickling in the host cell. Jones (1997) came up with similar results when he did a study on 30 individuals with the sickle cell trait and when exposed to the malaria parasite only two out of 15 people with the Hb SA trait developed malaria compared to 14 out of 15 people with the Hb AA trait that developed malaria. Jones (1997) suggested that due to the low oxygen levels that the parasite produces when invading the red blood cells this causes the collapse of the cells and shows a physiological basis for the protection in Hb SA and Hb SS people.

Since we are looking at the sickle cell gene in relation to malaria we also need to know what happens to the gene when malarial pressures are alleviated in order to fully understand the evolutionary effect that these two diseases have on one another. When taking an evolutionary perspective, one would argue that if the two evolved together, when malarial pressures are gone the frequency in the Hb S gene would drop unless other factors are keeping it in the populations. In recent studies of this there have been conflicting outcomes in
this debate. First, Hoff et al. (2001) has hypothesized that in African-derived populations in nonmalarial environments the Hb SA individual would lose any malarial fitness advantage and would become equal to that of Hb AA individuals. This lose in fitness would reduce the Hb S gene frequencies over time through directional selection pressures. After performing a study of African American’s in the United States, Hoff et al. (2001) found that Hb SA women maintained higher fertility than Hb AA women therefore continuing to pass the Hb S gene down at high rates and maintaining it in nonmalarial environments. However, Hoff et al. (2001) does explain that there might also be other directional selection agents at work and more studies need to be done in order to know if this is correct. In contrast to this, Jones (1997) hypothesized that in the absence of malaria transmission the Hb S gene advantage would also be absent. He reports that when studying the frequency of the Hb S gene over generations the frequency drops with each generation and Hb AA is increasingly selected for. To support Jones (1997), Feng et al. (2004) found in their studies to show that the frequency of the Hb S gene drops as the selective pressure for the Hb S gene drops and malarial environments disappear.

From these findings we can conclude that the high mortality associated with malaria has led to strong selection for resistance, and hence for single major genes that give resistance in heterozygotes (Hb SA), despite the associated burden of possible death borne by both homozygotes (Hb AA and Hb SS) (Feng et al., 2004). Due to this protection individuals who are carriers of the Hb S gene have a reproductive advantage over the rest because they are able to survive the malarial effects and are able to reproduce which allows them to pass on the protective trait. However, due to the conflicting findings on whether or not the Hb S gene stays in a nonmalarial population, it is very important that more studies are done to understand what happens to the Hb S gene in such environments. This will help us to understand the evolution of these two diseases and if they are significantly related to one another in an evolutionary perspective. Due to the huge prevalence of malaria in Africa and other tropical regions where the co-evolution of the two diseases is thought to have originated, it is possible to collect a large number of families that would be needed when looking at the Hb S gene heritability. By looking at these families, one could perform longitudinal studies on the family members and their descendants to look at the Hb S gene frequency in the family members who stay in the malarial environment, compared to the Hb S gene frequency in the family members who leave the malarial environment. This would give us a better understanding of how this particular gene is passed and its relative affect from environmental pressures.
References


There have been summary accounts of the landscapes and environments of Europe during the last glacial cycle (Mellars 1996; Davies, Stewart and van Andel 2000). There is a consistency among them all in their basic reconstructions. The general framework has been established by geologists, climatologists, biologists, botanists, etc., and the science employed in the gathering and interpreting of the wide variety of data stands up to logic and is generally unquestioned from within and without the disciplines and subfields that process this data.

Evidence from polar ice caps and ocean basin cores, soil stratigraphies which include pollen analysis, flora and faunal collections, erosion and deposition from glacial action, increases and decreases in polar ice caps and sea-level, as well as any general tectonic activity, all correlate rather exceptionally in telling a similar story about the climatic history of the last 130 ky.

My purpose here though is not to question the correlations of the evidence. I do not pretend to be able to critically question or evaluate the methods and processes of how the evidence is collected and interpreted. As a non-specialist in the areas of research that have accumulated and interpreted this evidence, I am limited in some ways to accepting the science of the day; in essence I am granting legitimacy to the consensus that appears to exist. A specific example of this is the Marine Oxygen Isotope Record. There is a general acceptance of the isotope record, and its implications for very superficial and generalized climate patterns in Europe. I have no ability to question the nature of the isotope record; I can however question its application, and can come to my own conclusions as to whether the variations and fluctuations expressed in the isotope record are significant or not. But this is also not my focus. Rather it is how all of this information is used to formulate a picture of the natural environment, and how that picture is used in understanding the people who lived in that environment.

It is the Neanderthals as people that we are most interested in. Peculiar as they may appear to us, they still speak to us humans. They may have looked
and behaved much differently than we moderns, but they are some kind of variation that we feel compelled to either humbly admit as our ancestors or to vehemently deny them place in our heritage as we would strange uncle Chester who wakes up in an alley, wanders up Main Street in the morning to the local tavern and stumbles back down Main late at night.

Among both the cable television educated general population and the institutionalized intellectuals, there is an overriding impression of Neanderthals as a hulking, stubby man-beast, living in a cave, grunting and pulling his female (not a woman mind you) behind him. And while we may laugh and generally amuse ourselves with the species-centric characterizations of Neanderthals by our learned and unlearned fathers and grandfathers, we laugh partly because we ourselves believe this as a half truth. For we cannot really believe that Neanderthals are people like us; even in our most liberal interpretations there is just too much Neanderthal in Neanderthals.

This historic and still prevalent conception of Neanderthals and all “prehumans” in general has, I believe, distorted our ability to interpret the Neanderthal life and left us with concepts that are wholly in conflict with how we would understand and interpret modern peoples. In particular it has caused us to see Neanderthals as primitive peoples with crude and ugly tools who, in both their greatest accomplishments and their ultimate failures, were helplessly bound to and determined by the environment that existed in Europe between ca. 130 and 30 kya. Ecological determinist and reductionist explanations of people, while still used and championed, especially within mainstream outlets, are rarely seen as reliable and justifiable explanations of human activity. In fact, studying a natural environment of a people tells us little to nothing about those people, it leaves us with only the background and the props of humanity, and we know that a drama is about the human interaction not the coffee table at center stage or the curtains in the window at stage left.

The unfortunate part for Neanderthals is that all we have left of them is a small sample of their robust skeletons, some sampling of stones they manipulated, and an inferred geologic history of the environment and landscape they existed within. This is not a particularly encouraging situation for the student of culture who wishes to understand who the Neanderthals were, where they came from and where they went. To continue my analogy, it is like trying to evaluate a play by only seeing the stage and the props and the cast list.

This is not to say that we can know nothing. These bits of information can tell us quite a bit about Neanderthals. Through our ability to interpret cultural symbols, stage props can tell us if the action is to take place in a house or out-
doors, in ancient Greece or the pre-civil war south, if the room is a living room or a little girl’s bedroom, if it is the 1930’s or the Middle Ages. Even the slightest bit of information about the characters such as their names or titles, or a static picture of them in costume and make-up, can present strong clues as to the nature of the drama. With all of this information in hand we can draw on our experiences, not just with other plays but life and our understanding of it, to construct ideas about what the play may be all about. Since genres and types exist within drama, we can make basic assumptions, such as those we may make about a play set in ancient Greece based on the works of Sophocles.

So too this type of analogizing can be employed when dealing with ancient peoples. Of course this entails acknowledging some fundamental assumptions we must make when dealing with the Neanderthals. The first of these is to see Neanderthals as in some way fundamentally human in nature. They must be seen to possess even a small amount of the essence that separates humans from apes, monkeys, birds, trees and rocks, and all the other known things in this world. Another assumed principle is that the processes of the earth operate now as they have in the past. While this is fairly straightforward and uncontested, using this concept in terms of people is not nearly as common and should be used more generally than specifically, since humans possess the ability to do strange and unlikely things which seem to have no rationality or consistency to them.

What these assumptions provide us with is a general picture of Neanderthals as distinguished human beings existing in a specific time and place, within a cultural system that they created and shared, and that their basic existence, their expansion and growth, and their subsequent disappearance, are as dependant on social and cultural settings as they are on the physical setting.

While we assume the basic humanity of Neanderthals, we know from our own world that within that humanity is the existence and possibility of extreme diversity. So our analogies taken from more modern times must not be allowed to penetrate beyond the outermost layers, and can only be safely used in general ways. For example we can use what we know of the repopulating of the Americas and the subsequent extermination of the group of people categorized as Native Americans to create an extermination model based on conflict born out of the confrontation between two culturally different people. This model can then be applied very conservatively when attempting to understand the interactions that may have taken place among modern humans and Neanderthals.

The limit of this analogy is, as seen in the American colonial period, that when different people come into contact a variety of things can and will take place.
As we know Native Americans are not gone, although the archaeological record of the future may appear as though they are. Remnants of Native American cultures exist all around us, and their genetics have carried forward and become one of many ingredients of the modern American. The process that took the previous inhabitants of North America from abundant on the landscape to barely noticeable is one of many social phenomena which can include technological superiority. There is no single attributable cause to the extinction of the Native Americans.

It should be noted here that I am using extinction in a way that I assume the archaeological record will look in the distant future. Archaeologists of that day will surely recognize an abrupt morphological and materialistic shift at about this time in their stratigraphies, if we can recognize physical and material differences, surely they will focus on this and the sudden replacement of one type with another, thus seeing an extinction of Native American types.

The outcome of applying the analogy is to see Neanderthal expansion and contraction as being a process of at least some minimal variety of cultural factors, and cannot be explained by a solitary cause. Environmental and biological explanations cannot be seen as primary causes, but rather as effects of cultural processes or at most motivation or stimuli for human activity.

So, since we showed up late to the theater and the cast and crew have gone to the after party and we are left to examine the set and the props and compare them with the information in the program (in the case of our long extended metaphor, the program can be the skeletal record and material culture remains) and speculate on the nature of the drama.

The Cast

When we talk about the Neanderthals as a whole population, we are speaking about those people living throughout Europe and the eastern Mediterranean during the middle to late Pleistocene, associated with middle Paleolithic Mousterian tool technology (Wolpoff 1999). Known Neanderthal sites date throughout Europe and the Near East as early as 130 kya and as late as 30 kya (Swartz and Tattersall 2002, vs. 1 and 2). The European populations are typified by skeletal remains throughout France, Italy, Germany, Croatia, and parts of Eurasia dating between 130-35 kya (Swartz and Tattersall 2002, vs. 1 and 2). In the near East around the Mediterranean, Neanderthals are found as early as 122 kya at Tabun (Swartz and Tattersall 2002, vs. 1 and 2), 60 kya at Kebrara Cave (Arensburg 1985) and Amud Cave (Suzuki, H. 1970). Amud Cave represents, according to Rak (1994, 313), the transition between the middle
and upper Paleolithic.

Neanderthals are defined not only by location and time, there is a distinct morphology of what we are defining here as Neanderthal that separates it from the later European modern sapiens. Generally characterized as still robust compared to moderns, with prominent muscle markings on the bones (Johanson 1996, 228), a long low vault with the characteristic Neanderthal occipital bun (Wolpoff 1999, 623), a somewhat robust face with large nasal openings (Johanson 1996, 216), and reduced and more prominently curved orbital ridges (Johanson 1996, 228). All of this builds a picture of the Neanderthals as stocky muscular humans with a generally robust appearance. A more detailed list is offered in figure 9, and will be addressed later.

The Props

The material record associated with Neanderthals is thin and highly subjective to individual interpretations, furthering the need for better analogies in the place of direct evidence. The following is far from complete, and is used not as a comprehensive summary of Neanderthal material culture, but as a brief overview of the props associated with Neanderthals.

Neanderthals have been associated with Mousterian and Aurignacian tool technologies (Wolpoff 1999), but are mostly associated with the former. Mousterian industry covers a span of over 160,000 years, beginning 200 kya (Johanson 1996, 258). The industry is characterized by two main production techniques. Both are referred to as Levallois techniques, meaning that a selected core is shaped on one side according to the tool desired and the tool is created by flaking the shaped side and discarding the core.

Scrapers were formed by flaking around the circumference of a disk shaped stone to create a rounded shape. The effect was a tortoise shell shaped core, and a flake that could be retouched along all sides (Johanson 1996, 256). Simek and Smith document that at Krapina over half of the Mousterian tools found were side scrapers, referring to it as a “scraper-rich site” (1997, 566). The “scraper” was clearly the most useful and abundant tool of the Mousterian.

Flake points were created in the same way as the scrapers, except the core was shaped in a triangle in order to produce a pointed flake. Again the core is not used, causing the Levallois techniques to seem wasteful. It has also been questioned if these points were simply converging side scrapers.
(Holdaway 1989), instead of hafted projectile points. Boëda et al. (1998) suggest, however, that bitumen was a hafting adhesive associated with at least late Mousterian. Solecki, when examining the projectiles found at two Zagros Mousterian sites concluded that based on retouching patterns, the overall shape of the points, and the lack of more complex hunting equipment like replacement fore shafts, these Mousterian points were not converging side scrapers, especially since the rounded scraper is so abundant and versatile.

Material evidence beyond stone tools is sketchy at best. I refer here to the example of the “bone flute” as a representation of the unreliability of Neanderthal material remains. The bone flute found at Divje Babe has been widely interpreted since its discovery, while being defended as an instrument capable of producing “music based on regularly valued notes suggested by the methodical placement of the holes” (Wolpoff 1999, 700), it has also been explained away as the product of animal scavenging (D’Errico 1998). Wolpoff further defends the flute by a reconstruction of the instrument that created a scale very similar to the modern blues scale (1999, 701). It seems more prudent to see things such as the “bone flute” as anomalies in the record rather than meaningful artifacts, until the archaeological record reveals less questionable and greater volume of evidence.

As for material record in general, it is almost tempting to write it off as inconsequential, since it provides little context for which to understand for what purpose items were produced. Of course stone tools do provide insight through inference of what general purposes the tools may have served, but they do not tell us who the Neanderthals were, or how human like they may have been. For we know better as trained students of culture than to infer a social/cultural environment, or lack of, from the perceived hierarchy of technological advancement. In other words, people are not the things they produce, especially in terms of their cognitive environment and their ability to sense, ponder upon, and react or adapt to any form of stimuli.

So far then, we know nothing about Neanderthal life or the course of events that make up their history. The cast and characters with their props have given us only a vague superficial image of the Neanderthals as a specific morphological and technological variety of people, who as we will see, occupied a niche that was substantially different from any yet occupied by humans and our ancestors.
Fig. 1  Long term oxygen isotope record. Top: From mid Atlantic
Bottom: Tyrrhenian Basin (from Hublin 1998)

Fig. 2  Oxygen isotope record from deep sea sediments last 300 ky
(Mellars 1996)

Fig. 3  Temperature variations estimated from Vostok ice core
(Mellars 1996)
The Setting

The 100 ky period in which Neanderthals existed corresponds quite nicely with the last glacial cycle dating from its onset 130 kya during the Eemian and its terminal period between 30-20 kya leading up to the modern Holocene. The primary accepted theory for ice age processes was put forth by Milankovitch (1941), associating glacial cycles with the earth’s orbital patterns. Aitken and Stokes (1997) provide a brief summary of the history of climatic reconstructions based on Milankovitch and the correspondence to the oxygen isotope record as seen in deep sea sediments and polar ice cores. The oxygen isotope record (fig. 1) as seen in both terrestrial and ocean floor sediments, shows a long history of extreme climatic fluctuations. The history of the earth’s climate is clearly not one of constants. Of primary interest here are the isotope stages (MIS) 6-3 (figs. 2 and 3), the periods in which Neanderthals populated Europe and Asia.

The isotope record for this period shows an extreme cold period that lasted for 60 ky, from 190 kya to 130 kya. At 130 kya a warming began and lasted at its peak for 10 ky (MIS 5e). This is a significant period in Neanderthal history because it is during this period that we first see the full Neanderthal form existing on the landscape. The general climate patterns of MIS 5e can be characterized as similar to modern conditions, with the climate world wide being slightly warmer at first and then leveling out similar to the last 10 kya (Kukla et al. 2002).

A sudden drop off in global temperature happens at 115 kya (MIS 5d). During this period solar radiation was reduced, ice sheets expanded and a generally cool and dry glacial climate existed (Mellars 1996; Davies, Stewart and van Andel 2000). The broad leaf forests that grew up in the previous stage (MIS 5e) throughout France were replaced by coniferous types (Kukla et al. 2002), as tundra covered much of northern Europe and steppe with some hardy pine and birch covered southern and eastern Europe (Mellars 1996; Davies, Stewart and van Andel 2000). Rioul et al. (2001) summarize this period, based on time lag correlations between pollen, diatom and the oxygen isotope record, as being warm and stable during MIS 5e and similarly stable yet cooler during MIS 5d.

A pattern of general cooling and re-warming begins with MIS 5d and continues for 30 ky until the onset of full glacial conditions in MIS 4 at 75 kya. MIS 5c and 5a correspond to generalized warming periods in relation to the cooler periods that preceded (MIS 5d and 5b). The climate fluctuations
Fig 4 Loess and silt stratigraphy correlated with isotope record 
(Wintle et al. 1984)

Fig 7 Partial isotopic record (Aitken & Stokes 1997)

Fig 8 Reconstruction of climate zones for Europe
□ Hengelo 43-40 kya
□ Pre-Hengelo 45 kva
would have followed the pattern of ice expansion accompanied by deforestation and return to tundra in northern Europe and steppe in the south and east during the colder times, followed by the reemergence of pine and birch in the north and deciduous forests in the south and east during the warmer periods (Mellars 1996; Davies, Stewart and van Andel 2000).

A major shift in climate patterns takes place at 75 kya (MIS 4). The isotope record shows a considerable drop off in global temperatures until the onset of MIS 3 at 58 kya. This was a time of full glacial climatic conditions. Ice sheet expansion was at its maximum level since the previous full glacial (MIS 6). Northern Europe consisted of tundra and polar desert at the margins of the ice sheet, while to the south steppe environments existed with some remnants of hardy forests (Mellars 1996; Davies, Stewart and van Andel 2000). During colder periods, when ice sheets were extended, thus lowering absolute sea level, the plains of Eastern Europe can be generally categorized as more continental, with greater seasonal extremes. Much of Eastern Europe would have been abandoned during MIS 4 due to these extremes (Hoffecker 2002).

The isotope record is not the only evidence used for reconstructing climate of the last glacial cycle. Loess deposits, wind blown sediments that are characteristic of cold dry environments, correspond throughout Europe with MIS 4 (NW Europe-Hatté et.al. 1998; Central Ukraine-Rousseau et.al. 2001; Germany-Boenigk and Frechen 2001; Normandy-Wintle, Shackleton and Lautridou 1984; Czech Republic-Cilek 2001). All the above cited show a loess layer being laid down early in MIS 4 and another near the end of MIS 2 corresponding to the glacial maximum leading into the Holocene (fig. 4).

Pollen analysis points toward similar conclusions. Using modern environments as analogies, Guiot et al. (1989) reconstruct continental climate from pollen stratigraphies from Les Echets and Le Grande Pile in Eastern France. Their pollen records show a severe drop in arboreal pollen at approximately 74 kya at both locations (fig. 5). They also show similar activity in the early stages of both MIS 5d and 5b, also cold stages. In their climate reconstructions temperature and precipitation decrease and increase in patterns that match the warming and cooling phases identified in the isotope record. In their reconstructions they identify three periods that operate as unique transition periods between warm and cold events. In the early stages of MIS 5d, 5b, and 4, they identify a period where pollen percentages and temperatures are decreasing rapidly, ice is then forming, but precipitation is momentarily spiked (fig. 6). They consider these brief periods to be transitions in which
Fig 5  Paleobioclimatic operator and arboreal pollen sum compared with isotope record
   Les Echets and La Grande Pile  (Guiot et al. 1989)

Fig 6  Temperature and precipitation reconstructions based on pollen sums (fig 5)
   (Guiot et al. 1989)
ice is forming and the climate is shifting rapidly, but forestation is yet to decrease. These periods they refer to as “post-temperate” (Guiot et al. 1989, 313).

Immediately after these transition periods pollen percentages remain low, temperatures continue to decrease and precipitation drops rapidly (figs. 5 and 6). It is this type of environment in which loess deposition would be most likely take place (figs. 4-6) (NW Europe-Hatté et al. 1998; Central Ukraine-Rousseau et al. 2001; Germany-Boenigk and Frechen 2001; Normandy-Wintle, Shackleton and Lautridou 1984).

The cold dry climate of MIS 4 bottomed out about 64 kya and then began to warm slowly leading into MIS 3. Temperature reconstructions by Mellars (1996) (fig. 3) show four significant climatic peaks at 58, 51, 40 and 32 kya followed by four corresponding valleys at 54, 46, 36 kya and the last valley being the last glacial maximum MIS 2, which bottoms out at 20 kya. By comparing the MIS 3 with MIS 4 and 5, it can be seen that even in the warmest years of MIS 3, this was still significantly colder, more arid, and marked by generally more open rather than forested vegetation (figs. 2, 5, 6).

Closer analysis shows that within this generally cold period, a great amount of instability existed. Using Aitken and Stokes (1997) (fig. 7) we can see regular and rapid fluctuations in the isotopic record that match up with similar fluctuations in the pollen stratigraphies from Grande Pile (fig. 5), demonstrating the general climatic instability within a severe cold stage (MIS 3). Fig. 8 shows likely vegetative states that would have existed during cold and warm events of MIS 3. The contrast is striking. During cold events most of Europe was covered by tundra and steppe grasslands, as it warmed up deciduous and coniferous forests emerged.

This scenario represents the most extreme transitions of MIS 3, but as fig. 7 shows, many minor fluctuations were happening throughout MIS 3 within hundreds to a thousand years of each other, with a significant cold spell between 29 and 26 kya. These minor fluctuations also show up in the pollen sequence from Grande Pile and Les Echets (fig. 5). This 3 ky cold spell is significant because it follows the last appearances of Neanderthals in the archaeological record.

The Story

These general climate models tell little of local and regional variations in climate patterns. Longitudinal and latitudinal variations, as well as altitudinal
variations all affect the nature of the local environment. From the macro level analysis of climate set forth above, we can assume that these differences would provide even greater diversity upon the Neanderthal landscape. So what does all the above tell us about Neanderthals? Quite little actually, but what it does tell us is that Neanderthals existed within a period in geologic history that was significantly colder and dryer than modern times, and within this generally cold environment there was high degree of variability, and rapid and severe fluctuations. The significance then is that Neanderthals somehow managed to thrive during these very chaotic and unstable times. What then was it about the Neanderthals that enabled them to survive where no man had done so before with such an apparently deficient technological environment? To answer this question and pursue the story line we must back up to the time before the Neanderthals and work our way forward through time.

Hublin (1998) is very helpful in understanding who the Neanderthals are. The key, he believes, is in the accumulation of a series of morphological traits that are used to define Neanderthals (fig. 9). These traits he states were slowly converging throughout the glacial cycles and through an “accretion process” eventually settled in the Neanderthal form (Hublin 1998, 307). The primary point here is that the Neanderthal form was slowly being developed and due to extreme pressures on populations during the coldest times, these traits, some cold adaptations, others not, accumulated and in the warm stages, most importantly MIS 5e, this small population possessing the final accumulation of these traits, spread throughout Europe establishing the Neanderthal type.

What this provides to our understanding of Neanderthal existence is that their history was one of a series of population contractions and expansions, the last corresponding to the transition between MIS 6 and 5. The fact that this form emerged from a long and cold glacial period does speak to the likely cold adapted advantages the Neanderthal form possessed. When this is seen against the backdrop of the climatic setting presented above, Neanderthals appear to be more than simply cold adapted, they appear to be flexible enough to adapt to a wide variety of environments.

Through reconstructions of the local environments around the Rock of Gibraltar area of the Southern Iberian Peninsula, Finlayson and Pacheco (2000) were able to show that Neanderthals existed and exploited multiple ecosystems during cold and warm times. They also present Neanderthals as “seasonal resource specialists” based on altitudinal migrations, who would have been more dependant on long term adaptations to generationally unrec-
Fig. 9

Neandertal craniomandibular derived features, unique or most frequent in the group

Upper face and mandible:
- Rounded supraorbital torus without distinct elements
- High orbits
- Mid-facial prognathism resulting in low subspinal angle, low nasiofrontal angle, large difference between M1 alveolus and zygomaxillare radii
- Infraorbital area horizontally flat or convex, obliquely receding in alignment with the antero-lateral surface of the zygomatic
- Posterior rooting of the facial crest
- Bucco-lingually expanded anterior dentition
- Extended taurodontism
- Laterally expanded mandibular condyle
- Mental foramina posteriorly set relatively to the dental arcade
- Retromolar space
- Oval horizontal shape of the mandibular foramen
- Large medial pterygoid tubercle

Cranial vault:
- Secondarily increased relative platycephaly
- “En bombe” cranial shape
- Low symmetrically arched temporal squama
- Meatus acusticus externus at the level of the posterior zygomatic arch with a strong inclination of the basal groove of this process
- Highly convex upper scale of the occipital

Basicranium:
- Flat articular eminence
- Mediolaterally developed postglenoid process
- Elongated foramen magnum
- Root of the stylomastoidian process medial to the anterior end of the digastric groove and stylomastoidian foramen
- Small and inferiorly situated posterior semicircular canal

Occipito-mastoid area:
- Laterally flattened mastoid process, medially oriented inferiorly
- Tuberculum mastoideum anterius
- Fully developed suprainiac fossa associated with a bilaterally protruding occipital torus
ognizable resource changes due to the fluctuating climate presented above. They conclude that the southernmost European Neanderthals were dwellers of open, probably higher seasonal, savanna-type and wetland environments which would be expected to be those with the highest resource yield, combining a large mammal fauna in structurally accessible conditions with a range of alternative potential resources (fruit, seeds, smaller animals and lithic raw materials). (Finlayson and Pacheco 2000, 148)

It was not until the onset of MIS 2 when extreme cold when the “open wooded savannah...was replaced by less-productive montane pines,” and the Mediterranean vegetation of the higher grounds gave way to an arid steppe (Finlayson and Pacheco 2000, 148). Finlayson and Pacheco state then that the fate of the Neanderthals of Gibraltar can be attributed to severe alterations to their resource environment that coincide with the arrival of modern peoples from the north. The combination of the environmental and social stresses “may have exacerbated an already final panorama” (Finlayson and Pacheco 2000, 148).

Using these two models, one seeing Neanderthals as a collection of morphological traits that emerged successfully from the last significant ice age (MIS 6), the other seeing Neanderthals as highly adaptable to a variety of seasonal resource variations and long term climate changes, it becomes easier to see Neanderthal expansion and contraction as dependant upon processes other than ecological and material ones. Having shown that Neanderthals were highly skilled at living through severe periods in history, having successfully emerged from a glacial period (MIS 6) much longer in duration and equally as intense as the glacial period (MIS 2) often given credit for extinguishing them, we are left with finding other alternatives for understanding what happened to Neanderthals, or more importantly, what they were unable to adapt to 30 kya.

I reiterate here that this is not the point to explain away the natural environment as inconsequential in human processes, rather it is here emphasized that the environment can and will provide opportunities as well as impose limitations on human processes, and that these opportunities and limitations can be the motivation for human activity, leading human populations such as the Neanderthals into environmental and social/cultural situations they are unable to emerge from successfully.

Mellars (2000) proposes an acculturation model for understanding the demise of the Neanderthals. Working under the “confirmation” (Krings et al.
1997) that Neanderthals left no descendants, he presents a scenario where contact between the two populations resulted in the absorption of Neanderthals. Due to the long overlapping period of Châtelperronian and Aurignacian industries throughout France and Northern Spain during MIS 3, Mellars assumes that Neanderthals and Moderns also would have overlapped and had contact with each other. The alternative he states, is to believe that Neanderthals after 200,000 ky of Middle Paleolithic technology and behavior…independently, coincidentally and almost miraculously ‘invented’ these distinctive features of upper Palaeolithic technology at almost exactly the same time as anatomically and behaviorally modern populations are known to have been expanding across Europe (2000, 38).

While Mellars insists that there were distinctly different cognitive and intellectual capacities between Neanderthals and moderns, he does acknowledge that an acculturation process such as this requires “a high degree of adaptation of the Neanderthal groups to the specific environments of western Europe” (2000, 38). One issue worth questioning is Mellars conclusion that the differing cognitive and behavioral differences that remained even after contact is consistent with the idea that Neanderthals were a different species than moderns, and therefore incapable of full assimilation. This is in stark contrast to our theory, because I do not assume that failure to assimilate culturally is directly or even indirectly related to biological differences. As I have put forth, the events surrounding the terminal period of Neanderthal existence are not biological, or ecological in nature, instead they are based firmly on social and cultural environments that create unique situations for individuals and groups to respond and adapt to.

Zilhão (2000) presents a slightly different take on the nature of Neanderthal extinction as related to the physical and cultural environment of the southern Iberian Peninsula. He prefers to think that “the replacement of Neanderthals by moderns had not been the outcome of a gradual geographic progression of the latter but a punctuated process during which stable biocultural frontiers might have lasted for significant amounts of time.” (2000, 111). In this case he is referring to the Ebro Frontier of the Iberian Peninsula.

Fundamental to Zilhão’s argument is the emergence of the Châtelperronian is prior to the emergence of moderns, and that most features of the “upper-palaeolithic package” are present in Neanderthals since the last interglacial (MIS 5e) (2000, 117). Zilhão is also keen to point out that while Neanderthals in Europe were undergoing a ‘symbolic revolution” at the time of contact with moderns from western Asia (2000, 118), Neanderthals of Iberia were still, and
continued to be “middle Palaeolithic” up until their disappearance (119). What this suggest according to Zilhão is “that the replacement of Neanderthals by modern humans should be looked at simply as another instance of contact between isolated populations with different, albeit largely parallel, cultural trajectories” (2000, 119).

Further reinforcing our hypothesis, Zilhão denies Neanderthals as ‘cold-adapted species’ and points, as I have above, to their ability to occupy a diversity of ranges, especially and particularly in Iberia (see Finlayson and Pacheco 2000), where he attributes sparse occupation of woodlands as allowing “the survival of less stressed, non-ritualized, ‘Middle-Palaeolithic’ life ways (Zilhão 2000, 119) allowing a more classical type of Neanderthals to exist longer than Neanderthals of Europe and Asia. It should be noted that if Zilhão is wrong about the “cold-adaptation” of Neanderthals it does not change the basis of his argument. Rather than deny Neanderthals as “cold-adapted” form it may be more prudent to de-emphasize the cold-adaptability of Neanderthals in favor of a more generalized adaptability to a variety of environments which include extreme cold.

The significance of Zilhão’s presentation for our purposes is that it again shows not only adaptive ability, but that Neanderthals themselves were not a universal type, and that amongst their populations there were differing influences, stresses, and confrontations exerting pressure or offering opportunities to Neanderthal groups.

Mellars (1998) provides us with a final model for understanding the demise of the Neanderthals. He supposes that despite Neanderthal ability to survive through severe climate variations, the final cold spell beginning 33 kya was much more severe than any previous. Adding to this is the presence of increased numbers of modern humans with superior technology and social organization, further stressing what would have been an already taxing period for Neanderthal populations. Neanderthals were able to co-exist with moderns prior to this cold spell, according to Mellars, based on three complimenting models. The first is based on low population densities, simply put, there were not enough people, moderns and Neanderthals, to directly affect one another.

Where this is not the case there is the model based on the use of different resources. Neanderthals were highly adaptive, and under this model they and moderns could have been dependent upon wholly different niches, therefore limiting contact and competition. The last model allows for ex-
Ploitation of similar resources but in successive rather than simultaneous periods. All three of these models offer a significant insight into how Neanderthals and moderns coexisted for over 10 ky in parts of Europe and Asia. These models become less useful during the last glacial maximum (end of MIS 3 and MIS 2) when populations were dense, resources minimal, and territories were being exploited to a much higher degree, thus increasing competition and creating situations of stressful contact between any human populations.

One likely scenario rarely touched on is that competition would not have been strictly between Neanderthals and moderns, but within the two populations, therefore exerting cultural and social situations internally. This forces us to look beyond the narrow scope of technological superiority, as important factors in Neanderthal contraction. Competition between Neanderthals would not have been determined by technological superiority, but rather depended on the specific cultural mechanism Neanderthals had at their disposal for dealing with their own kind (we are assuming here that Neanderthals would have recognized other Neanderthals as similar to themselves, and moderns as something different, and this may not be true).

Conclusion

The unfortunate admission I must make is that there is nothing that can be said at this point about the nature of Neanderthal social life. The events that led to their “extinction” are yet to be uncovered; all we have is inference and assumption based on the material evidence at hand. However, the unavailability of the types of information necessary for understanding cultural and social systems should not encourage us to settle for reductionist and deterministic interpretations of Neanderthal life.

Our understanding of cultural systems and the processes of human life should lead us to see Neanderthals as more than a single group of people adapted to and determined by a specific environment and limited by the crude nature of their material world. Instead we should see them as a specific variation of human kind, which may have inherently possessed certain pre-adaptations to specific environments, but were not limited by these adaptations, and instead were capable of adapting to a variety of ecological as well as social conditions.
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Introduction

At a New Delhi, India wedding in May 2003, a young computer engineer named Nisha Sharma used her cell phone to report her would-be husband to the police just moments before her wedding was to begin. His crime—as delineated by India’s anti-dowry legislation—was demanding an even higher dowry than had been negotiated before. Observing her stressed father, who would have had to face the shame of not being able to marry off his daughter because of a dowry disagreement, Nisha decided to suppress the unjust dowry demand. She did not know it at the time, but this simple act not only would save her from a marriage that she was afraid could threaten her own well-being, but it would also transform her into an instant feminist celebrity, glorified by mainstream news reports both in India and around the world (“Till Death Do Us Part” 2003 and Brooke 2003). It is important to note, however, that despite the glorification of this action, dowry practices did not stop. The Indian public’s outpour of praise and relief for Nisha’s action, then, is indicative that Nisha’s justifiable boldness is an extreme aberration from the norm; the fact that Nisha’s action was newsworthy tapped into a collective cultural anxiety of dowry as a cultural flaw. Dowry as this “cultural flaw” has been the hinge of feminist critiques of Indian society as it has been linked to trends in female infanticide, bride-burning, unequal sex ratios in census statistics, and female subversion overall.

Despite the visibility of these correlations between dowry and female subversion, dowry remains so well-entrenched into marriage ideology, a recent survey revealed that 75 percent of Indian women do not believe that marriage is possible without the payment of a dowry (“Till Death Do Us Part” 2003). Such a statistic taken in combination with Nisha’s case reveals some complex conundrums. First, dowry is often associated with terms such as “conservative” and “repressed”, yet Sharma—with her cell phone and highly-demanding career path—resembled the western image of the modernized woman and her family was still posed to pay a hefty dowry. Additionally, the
media reports, the popular response to the media, and anti-dowry legislation all indicate an outward condemnation of dowry, but at the same time, the practice of dowry exchange continues to flourish. It seems ironic and confounding, then, that at the same time India is becoming increasingly modernized, the seemingly “outdated,” prosaic tradition of dowry has gripped marriage ideology so that such a large percentage of modern-day women believe it is necessary. An examination of dowry’s history, however, reveals that this paradox is neither unusual nor only a recent social phenomenon. Modernizing forces—namely colonialism, commercialism, and women’s movement—have been at work in India for years, and they would seem to suppress such primitive-appearing dowry practices. Contrary to popular wisdom, however, close examination of these modernizing forces does not support modern dowry practice as an outgrowth of tradition that modernization simply failed to remedy. Rather, dowry has evolved into a tradition—a tradition that has been all cultivated, entrenched into marriage ideology, and exacerbated by modernization.

A Note on Modernity and Cultural-religious Infusion

Throughout this discussion of modernizing forces as the propagating forces of dowry, it is important to keep in mind the meaning of the term “modern.” On one level, it is used in a contemporary sense, describing the practice of dowry “today” and the state of Indian culture “today.” Yet there is also an underlying context of cultural relativity as the term “modern” also originates from a western context and carries the implication of advancement and progressiveness. Indeed, the making of so-called “modern India” could not have been complete without the infusion of western forces.

It should also be noted that even though dowry has its origins in Hindu ideologies, and the evolution of dowry practice—as will be argued—has been partially dependent upon the Hindu notion of caste, the interlocking nature of culture within India has allowed dowry ideology to permeate even other the other prominent religious groups—Muslims and Christians—in India (Samuel 2002:202-203). This cultural permeability lends even greater magnitude to the dowry phenomenon as it makes dowry an Indian phenomenon and not just an isolated Hindu phenomenon.

Almost Dowry, But Not Quite: Marriage Ideologies and the Roots of Dowry

The term “dowry” is recognized as and applied to what a woman brings into a marriage, whether it is money, the prospect of financial gain through her pro-
fession, material objects, or even the amount spent by the bride’s family on the wedding celebrations (Menski 1998:16). This assortment of possessions and wealth transferred to the groom’s family has attracted much attention in the past few decades because of the dramatic increase in newly married women being killed by their in-laws, husbands, or a co-conspiring combination of the two, over botched dowry transfers or negotiations. Characteristics of the ill-arrived reasoning on behalf of the groom’s side include perceptions that the bride and her family still owed more to the husband’s family, or that the pre-wedding dowry negotiations had not been met. Even if those negotiations have been met, the groom’s family can still make further demands even after the wedding—or right before the wedding, as was done in Nisha Sharma’s case—placing a lot of strain on the bride’s family to meet the demand both in order to protect both the family honor and the bride’s marriage.

Such explicit demands and negotiations are the central concern of what is called the “new” dowry problem (Sheel 1999:2). The practice of making outright material demands during a wedding is a recent social phenomenon, increasing in magnitude only in the past two centuries as compared to thousands of years of Hindu marriages. In Hindu tradition—Hinduism being the predominant religion in India—marriage is specified as one of twelve life sacraments (Paul 1985:1). Instead of being up to individual choice, marriage is an essential religious rite for an individual to be considered a proper Hindu. Dowry and bride-price practices, in contrast, are not prescribed or even mentioned by Hindu scriptures, which condemn the notion of a father becoming a “seller of his offspring” by engaging in monetary exchanges for his daughter’s wedding (Paul 1985:3).

Rather, dowry in its earliest roots rested within a more informal context of gift exchange during a wedding. “Dowry” in this context had not yet been coined as a term or identified as a problem. It instead existed as a voluntary custom (Sheel 1999:18), one with spiritual and symbolic weight. This symbolism derived from the defining foundation of a marriage: the kanyadan, or the giving-away of a heavily-ornamented and elaborately-dressed bride by her natal family to that of the groom (Diwan 1995:20). In this manner, the bride herself represented a gift. In addition, the father of the bride would also give varadakshina, additional cash or gifts, to the groom as a sign of affection and honor. Friends and relatives of the bride also often sent her into her new life as a married woman with a stridhan, a gift given to the bride that, like varadakshina, was intended to serve as a gift rendered out of love and affection. It also served in the capacity of an economic security...
blanket for the bride in case she and her husband went through financial difficulties, or, in the worst case, their marriage dissolved (Paul 1986:6).

Such gift-giving at the time of a wedding does not seem unusual; rather, these traditions seem to be well-meaning rituals that, if anything, would lend the bride some economic power within the marriage. After all, her parents and relatives bestowed these gifts on a voluntary basis, so it would appear that the groom, if anyone, would be under pressure as his in-laws were gauging how much they liked him and how much they wanted to give him. It would also appear that the bride, entering marriage with her *stridhan*, would wield a definite amount of power, especially because in Hindu mythology and the Laws of Manu, a Sanskrit code of law formulated c. 200 C.E. (“Laws of Manu” 2004), mandated that a woman’s property belonged solely to her and that not even in death could a man take over her property. The Laws of Manu in this context granted women complete economic independence.

Yet paradoxically, the same provision for a woman’s sexual independence was hardly made. The Laws of Manu also stated that women are “never fit for independence,” and to delineate the extent of this helplessness, the code specifies that over the course of a woman’s life, “her father protects [her] in childhood, her husband protects [her] in youth, and her [sons] protect her in old age” (Oldenburg 2002:20). It is not difficult to imagine how the force of this particular code would have superseded any economic independence the Laws of Manu may have granted women. Given that under this codified law, a woman could be seen strictly as an object passed from father to husband, the other objects—her *stridhan*—that accompanied her could be assumed to pass from father to husband as well. This code also established a notion of women as mobile units, who were passed along a series of men, who were immobile and thus in the better position to obtain and maintain property (Oldenburg 2002:20). If the husband was to be the protector, then a woman’s *stridhan* could only have so much power in doing any protecting, and any property she brought into the marriage would automatically be absorbed by her husband’s power.

But why would brides’ families continue subscribing to these customs if they inevitably favor only the groom? To further explain both how the varnadakshina and *stridhan* became entangled into a practice of dowry, and why a girls’ parents would succumb to any obligation to present these gifts—especially in the modern context of dowry—the concept of marriage as a “market” exchange must also be considered. For example, in rural areas, which covered much of India prior to the advent of modernizing forces, a great deal of value was placed on women’s work because in agriculturally-
based societies, women were recognized for being able to contribute to the maintenance of that agriculture; women’s domestic capabilities were as—if not more—essential to the survival of agriculture as were men’s capabilities. In these regions, dowries were superseded by bride-price—in which the groom’s family compensated the bride’s family for taking away an important economic unit (Banerjee 1999:659-660).

The converse would be true in more urbanized, less agrarian regions. In more conventional patriarchal marriage—the type exemplified by the limitations on women put forth by the Laws of Manu and the type more popularly imagined as characteristic of Indian tradition—the husband is the protector and the one with market-specific human capital, which requires special skill and carries earning potential. By contrast, a bride only has what is called household-specific market capital, which requires only minimal skill and carries no earning potential for the household (Sen 1998:82). In this model, women’s work is devalued and women become economically dependent upon their husbands; the value of a woman’s contributions to a household is comparatively less than the cost “imposed” upon the husband to sustain her in that household.

This economic model of marriage in place, stridhan and varnadakshina became entwined into serving as dowry, functioning as a form of compensation paid by the bride’s family for the groom’s assumption of economic responsibility for the daughter (Banerjee 1999:662). It is important to recognize that as such, the transfer of dowry also reflects a perception on the bride’s family’s behalf of the groom as a valuable and scarce material “good” or commodity.

This discussion of dowry roots and marriage ideology should make several points clear. First, and most importantly, dowry was not an ancient or religiously-sanctioned tradition; for much of Indian history, it only weakly existed where the parameters of stridhan and varnadikshan became blurred. Additionally, these customs of stridhan and varnadikshan were not practiced by all strata of society; only in non-agrarian dwellings in which a high value would have been placed upon a groom were these customs practiced. And to further define who practiced these “groom-price” customs, because the gifts of stridhan and varnadakshina carried such high costs, they were practiced primarily by upper-class and royal families for a number of years (Sheel 1999:20).

Given these ideologies, and knowing that dowry was limited in scope and practice, one must wonder how dowry practices came to manifest themselves in such a frenzied proportion in modern times. In thinking of dowry practices as backwards and prosaic, it may also seem odd that dowry in its incipient
form was at first an upper-class phenomenon; conventional thinking makes it easier to assign such a supposedly outdated, seemingly anachronistic practice to lower classes. The question then becomes one of how dowry practices diffused across regions and classes to all parts of Indian society, and also how dowry became so well-entrenched into modern marriage ideology and tradition.

The Transformation Begins: Colonialism

Among its myriad effects on Indian society, British rule would be the original impetus for this transformation of dowry ideology. British colonization of India began as early as 1600 with the establishment of the British East India Company, which existed then solely for trading purposes (Oldenburg 2002:11). Over the decades, however, trading officers’ interests in India changed from being concentrated on trade to focusing upon conquest (Oldenburg 2002:11); in this manner, they could collect revenue not only from the trade of Indian products but also from taxing and exploiting the labor and existence of the Indian people themselves. By the 1800’s, British officials had succeeded in placing several regions of India—such as Bengal and Punjab—under imperial control. This imperialism, also known as colonialism, was—and still is—the subject of criticism for its inherent ethnocentrism towards and exploitation of the “host” countries. Even though Britain in the nineteenth century was very clearly becoming an imperial power as its list of colonies grew, a still-significant population existed in the British Parliament and the public that was skeptical and critical of imperialism (Oldenburg 2002:11). In order to maintain both colonial presence in and control over India, British imperialists had to justify their stake there. Simple economic and power interests, however, would not be enough as they would only resonate the arguments of those who decried imperialist ethnocentrism and exploitation; a solid ideological reason for British forces to remain in India was necessary.

For the imperial state, legitimizing colonialism on this ideological level was most convincing only if there was a proclaimed aim to “improve the country and to bring the fruits of progress and modernity to the subject peoples” (Mann 2004:5). As British occupation in India persisted, officials had ample opportunity to observe the predominantly Hindu culture through a western lens and incorporate facets of the culture into its reasoning for why this progress was necessary. The notion of introducing this progress became known as the “civilizing mission,” one that Britain could characterize as a duty of discipline and education and not simply an economic exploit (Mann 2004:6). To rationalize the civilizing mission, the British found evidence of
“backwardness” in Indian culture in places such as British-occupied Punjab, a region that had a uniquely well-established practice of dowry, which already had visibly spawned the practice of female infanticide (Oldenburg 2002:47). Dowry practices had started earlier in northern Indian provinces like Punjab because north Indian agricultural practices did not value women’s contributions as much; thus they were devalued in the marriage market (Banerjee 1999:660). Like this dowry practice and female infanticide, the Hindu tradition of sati or suttee, in which a widow could be made to burn on her husband’s funeral pyre as part of an ancient rite to protect the husband’s honor (Tschurenev 2004:71), also attracted attention from British officials who were quick both to implement it into their criticisms of Indian culture and to pass a prohibition law against it in 1829 (Tschurenev 2004:80). The most significant impact British occupation had with respect to spreading dowry practices, however, actually had more to do with the caste system. British ideals of class and societal hierarchy transformed Indian structures of hierarchy, making class not only a more visible institution but also conceptualizing it as a goal. In doing so, the British would create the proper marriage market conditions described before—ones in which the groom is seen as a commodity so that dowry would pervade marriage ideology.

The caste system is an ancient part of Hindu culture and a highly intricate form of social organization. The simplest form of explaining this system—which could otherwise require books to fully outline—is that caste is based upon the principle of “social honor, attained through personal lifestyle, in which the domestic arena is crucial” (Joshi and Liddle 1986:70). Caste was intended in Hinduism as a form of reminding one to live a virtuous life so that upon death he or she could, in the Hindu perception of reincarnation, be reborn into a higher caste and live an even more virtuous life (Srinivas 2002c:169). The hierarchy of the system actually is not very well-defined, especially in the “upper” castes, allowing local cultural interpretations, ideologies, and practices to influence the local caste hierarchy (Srinivas 2002:169).

It was likely the caste system’s combination of both incomplete codification and cultural complexity that allowed the British to critique and manipulate it. As with sati and infanticide, the British sent ethnographers to examine caste closely for evidence of how it could be incorporated into the civilizing mission (Waligora 2004:145). To the British, the fact that a social codification set in ancient times was still being followed was in itself a sign of backwardness. The tiered nature of the caste system, although not intended by scripture to be all-encompassing and fixed, went against the enlightened western notion of egalitarianism (Srinivas 2002d:174). At the same time the British out-
wardly condemned the caste system and spread the notion of a “caste-ridden society” (Waligora 2004:141), however, the “divide and conquer” ideology made the divisions created by the caste system beneficial to British occupation, as it helped stave off collective uprising (Waligora 2004:143).

As British officials’ critiques of the caste system helped justify their presence, their manipulation of the system helped strengthen their rule. This manipulation occurred on several levels. On the most primary level, the British, as the wielders of power in colonial India, represented themselves and were perceived by colonized Indians as being a sort of new upper “caste” (Mann 2004:2-3). But how could non-Hindus engage in this caste system? The British accomplished this by merging the Hindu notion of caste with the western notion of class. Class, as opposed to caste, is not determined by lifestyle conditions—though they may be indicative of class—but, according to the British definition, is defined primarily by property and land ownership (Joshi and Liddle 1986:70). The British, by virtue of their imperial power, were able to manipulate the parameters of Indian land and property ownership such that the nature of land ownership changed from collective to individual, and also so that they were the ones receiving revenue from taxes (Joshi and Liddle 1986:70-71). The key to the British maintenance of this structure was the “divide and conquer” strategy; to gain the support of Indians and give the illusion of goodwill, British officials incorporated upper-caste, English-educated Indians into government and public positions (Joshi and Liddle 1986:71). By doing this, the British effectively birthed a whole class of Indians administering the will of the British empire, feeding an illusion that British imperialism was not as pervasive as critics could argue it to be.

The creation of this “administrative” class of Indians, derived primarily from the upper castes, not only sparked a pivotal collision of caste and class ideology, but also made the institutions of caste and class—now married to each other in practice—more highly visible in society. This visibility evoked the trends of what noted Indian social anthropologist M. N. Srinivas called “Sanskritization” and “westernization.” Sanskritization refers to the emulation and adoption of upper-caste lifestyles by lower castes (Srinivas 2002e:200), and westernization refers to the emulation of western—and in the colonial period, British—ideologies by non-westerners. The combination of these two social forces in response to British occupation would be very powerful, as westernization fed a need to be like the “modern,” powerful British, and Sanskritization fed the desire to be like the upper castes, now the upper classes.

How do these forces relate to marriage ideology? The western notion of class is crucial to the evolution overall marriage ideologies because class stresses
the individual and family unit, whereas caste stresses an entire group. Individuals can change class status through acquisition of property, whereas the status mobility of a caste occurs only slowly over time (Joshi and Liddle 1986:70). The shift towards class over caste, and the great emphasis of class in the public sphere, manifested itself in marriage ideology because marriage revolves around the transfer of an individual—the bride—from one family unit to another. And because men were perceived to be the “immobile” holders of property and status, the shift towards class emphasis would heighten their value as commodities in a marriage market, as they could confer their status to their bride (Samuel 2002:199). Marriage, then, would represent a means of upward mobility, and hypergamy—the practice of marrying into a higher social strata (Sheel 1999:23)—in this context would become a strived-for ideal since it would allow for that upward mobility. This mobility, however, carries a price; when the groom’s status is so highly valued, dowry pressure escalates (Sheel 1999:24). It now becomes clear how British attempts at modernization of Indian social organization—or the façade of this attempt—bolstered dowry into marriage ideology; by making class and caste almost synonymous and placing a higher social value on the two, the groom’s status in a marriage also appreciated in value, creating more pressure for the payment of dowry.

**Post-Colonial Commercialization and Modernization: Post-Independence to Present**

After its 1947 release from colonial rule, India was not unique in needing to reconstruct its infrastructure and government; many countries faced this challenge in a post-colonial and post-World-War-II world. Major movements in India during this era—from its independence to the present—have included industrialization, commercialization, and also a women’s movement emphasizing women’s education and decrying injustices such as dowry demands and female infanticide. Whereas British colonialism became exposed as being exploitative and culminated in its 1947 ejection, these post-colonial modernizing forces—particularly women’s education—would appear to be beneficial to India in bringing it out of its “third-world” status. Indeed, many statistics show that these forces have helped the country’s economic prosperity and colonial recovery. Yet at the same time, the notions of social stratification cemented by British colonialism have silently impeded any diminishing effect these new forms of modernization would presumably have on the “backwards” tradition of dowry.

The foundations of Indian industry and commerce, were, perhaps as expected, laid by the British. During World War II, the British utilized India as an arse-
nal and production center for war goods and materials, which began central-
izing parts of the country around production hubs (Srinivas 2002b:399).
Since independence, India has both worked on developing its infrastructure
and also developing its economy; in recent years India’s growing promi-
nence in the capitalist world has grown clear. Gross domestic product
(GDP) gains—which are often implemented as an indicator of a nation’s
economy—before 1990 were less than 1 percent per year; since then, with
the advent of multiple global corporations and also a number of Indian en-
trepreneurial efforts, that figure has risen and stabilized at 5 percent annu-
ally (Mukherji 2002:33). Trade reforms since the 1980’s have allowed for a
foreign investment of over 2.5 billion dollars (U.S.) into India’s economy,
twenty times more than before those reforms (Mukherji 2002:50). As evi-
dence of the growing market sector and availability of jobs, poverty in In-
dia—while still existent—has dropped to 26 percent in the 21st century,
down from 36 percent in 1993 (Mukherji 2002:34)

This vast economic boom and investment of capital into India’s economy
has certainly been beneficial to the nation, which only half a century ago
was constructing itself from the remnants of an imperial world. Yet the
same progressive effect of a booming economy, however paradoxical it is to
say, does not apply to dowry practice. If anything, economic progression
has even more deeply saturated into dowry practices the notions of greed
and materialism, which are so readily identified by critics as the hinges of
backwardness in modern-day dowry.

Evidence of the new obsession with material goods and projection of status
through those materials is perhaps best illustrated by the Nisha Sharma case,
a story which likely became popular for its ability both to connect with
dowry-practicing society and also to illustrate effectively so many facets of
dowry practice. Nisha’s groom approached her father before the wedding
ceremony with a demand for $25,000 (U.S.), a large sum of money regard-
less of whether it is viewed in terms of American dollars or Indian rupees.
This demand came after Nisha’s father had already bought for the groom’s
family a luxury sports car, two flat-screened televisions, two refrigerators,
two air conditioners, two ovens, and two home-theatre sets, among more
(“Till Death Do Us Part” 2003; Brooke 2003). Clearly an emphasis was
placed on very technological, modern material goods; the $25,000 that the
groom would have received had Sharma’s father succumbed to the demand
presumably would have gone towards the purchase of other commercial
goods. To further illustrate the significance of money and materialism to
the modern dowry demand, a 1979 news report estimated that in the Indian
state of Bihar, the total sum of dowry exchanges exceeded 40 billion Rupees (Rs.) per year, a volume of money surpassing even the Bihar state government’s total budget (Ghosh 1989:77).

The focus on, if not obsession with, obtaining these modern material goods has everything to do with projecting both a high status and modern image. Items such as televisions, cars, and appliances are expensive, and thus having these items can confer to their owner the image of having a high socioeconomic status (Paul 1986:24). Possession of these goods, by virtue of their very “technologically advanced” nature, also lends the owner an image of modernity. Yet, when India’s biggest and fastest-growing socioeconomic class is the middle class—a class with some, but not extensive, economic power—obtaining high-priced commercial goods may be a high economic priority in terms of projecting an even higher status, but actually having the means to buy all of those goods may not be a reality. This conundrum reflects the very basis of economic theory: unlimited desires in the face of limited resources.

Dowry seals this breach between desire and resources, at least for the family of a male, offering perhaps the best explanation for why dowry anxieties have consumed the middle classes especially. If a man and his natal family know that commercial goods and money can be demanded as dowry, then, if their desire for these objects is deep enough, they presumably will make that demand. And lest he be betrothed to another Nisha Sharma, the bride’s family will likely meet his demands. Thus, as India becomes increasingly commercially and industrially modernized, more visibility is conferred to material goods. Those material goods then are associated with notions of modernity and upper-class status, and the culturally ingrained need to look—and feel—both modern and high-class cultivates a desire for these objects. This desire in turn feeds the necessity of dowry as a means of obtaining those objects, and obtaining those objects only reaffirms the notions of material wealth as a signifier of status. Thus, economic modernization and dowry are caught in a repeating cycle with each other, with modernization feeding dowry practices and dowry reaffirming the need to be modern.

In addition to propagating a cycle of material desire, the perceived need to be “modern” has fed a strong women’s movement in India. This women’s movement, spearheaded by several independent women’s groups, has dedicated itself to pushing for gender equality and remedying the issues of dowry, female infanticide, bride burning, domestic violence, and other forms of female subversion (Joshi and Liddle 1986:17-18). A primary mechanism for
these goals since the 1960’s has been increasing the availability and quality of women’s employment opportunities. Employment translates to earning potential, and earning potential would then transfer market-based human capital value to women. Employment thus has been favorably viewed as a means of enhancing women’s status (Desai 1996:98). To bolster the movement for women’s employment, making quality education on all levels—from primary school to graduate school—more accessible to females has also been a top priority.

These initiatives for education and employment have been successful insofar more women have attended school and gained employment. In 1946, only 37 females attended primary school for every 100 males, and only 10 females attended university for every 31 males. As of 1974, those figures had risen to 62 females for every 100 males in primary school and 31 females for every 100 males at the university level (Ghosh 1989:191). As far as employment, Indian government has instituted laws to help ensure equal treatment of women in the workplace, such as the Equal Remuneration Act of 1975 (Ghosh 1989:215). In correlation with these trends of increasing education and employment, dowry scholars cite evidence of dowry demands decreasing when women have earning potential through their employment (Sen 1998:81-2).

But is this really indicative of a reversal of dowry demands? This trend on its face seems to suggest that the modern values of women’s education and employment will erode at the dowry problem; the assumption lying underneath is that women would be more independent, have more input on whom they marry, and be able to provide their own financial protection in married life as they work. Yet education and employment are not truly mutually exclusive with susceptibility to dowry demands or dowry endangerment. If this were so, then statistics released by India’s Ministry of Human Resources Development would not have found that of dowry victims, 91 percent had received some form of education, and 20 percent were working women who contributed to family income (Ghosh 1989:76). Also consider that Nisha Sharma is a computer engineer, yet her family had been ready to dole out thousands of American dollars’ worth of goods (Brooke 2003). Finally, a study conducted in the 1990’s found that 89 percent of non-working women surveyed viewed dowry as necessary for marriage and 87 percent of working women surveyed agreed with that viewpoint. The mere 2 percent difference hardly suggests that economic or educational empowerment of women has had any radical remedial effect on the dowry problem (Banerjee 1999:671).
Given that educated, employed women are still subject to dowry, the question that is raised is why it appears otherwise. The best explanation for this phenomenon is that incorporating women into educational and professional spheres may have given women more visibility and power in those spheres, but it has not actually shaken overall social hierarchies, especially not those inherent in marriage and dowry customs. The ideal of hypergamy is still very much in place, and a woman’s level of education or her earning potential are like checkpoints on a resume. This pre-marital resume determines how high up on the social ladder a bride can marry, just as a business resume determines how high on the corporate ladder a businessperson can climb. It is important to remember in this context that even though so-called “love” marriages—marriages in which the bride and groom both meet and consent to marry without any outside assistance—are increasing in India, many marriages are still to some degree arranged, going through some level of engineering by eager matchmaking parents and relatives. In this process, the potential bride’s and groom’s sides each sift through each other’s “biodata,” or a collection of biological data including factors such as, but not limited to, age, height, appearance, values, religion, caste, educational level and profession. The best “matches” are prioritized for the bride or groom-to-be to meet; if a couple meets and consents to be married, then a wedding will eventually take place. This matchmaking screening can take place through matrimonial ads placed in newspapers or magazines, word of mouth through relatives and friends, or nowadays—in the most modern fashion—by computer through online matrimonial services, an option which has become most popular with young adults seeking to engineer their own marriages (Thotham 2001).

Having examined a popular mechanism through which modern marriages are arranged, an explanation can be offered for why the perception that dowry demands decrease with women’s initiatives is a false correlation. If potential brides and grooms are screened against each other, presumably each side is screening against the types of bride or groom that would not be desirable. For the bride-to-be, the most desirable groom will preferably be the one of higher social status and potential as a good provider. For the groom-to-be, the most preferable bride will be of the same social status or at least a slightly lower social status, since a heavy stigma is attached to grooms marrying “up” social strata. The consideration of a potential bride’s education and career, however, is most interesting in this whole process. If a potential bride is well-educated, not only does she gain earning potential and the image of modernity, but the groom and his family could also make
the claim to being modern by incorporating such a “Renaissance woman” into their family.

The face of this perception by the groom’s family, it is no wonder that dowry demands of educated and employed women would appear to be decreasing. Because a woman’s higher educational and professional level is an advantage to the prospective groom both in terms of contribution to household earnings and also the image of modernity, the bride compensates for some of the incidental costs of her being incorporated into her husband’s life. A woman’s educational and professional level, then, serve as a dowry “discount”; the amount of money or material goods her family invests into a dowry may be lessened or entirely diminished, but at the same time, a woman’s more qualitative attributes compensate for any perceived loss from the dowry, or “price-tag” for the groom (Paul 1986:25). The pressure that women receive to achieve high professional levels so that they might be able to get a higher-status groom for a lower tangible dowry payment, then, is a latent part of the dowry problem.

Additionally, for the cases in which dowry is still paid, the perception that the payment is somehow lesser than what it would normally be is fed by the matchmaking process itself. Because the groom’s and the bride’s families are “screening” prospective brides and grooms, respectively, and because each side carries a notion of the ideal bride or groom in this screening process, the eventual match should not pose any major surprises to either side. In other words, if a prospective bride’s family “aims” to marry her to a certain type of man and screens specifically for this man, then the dowry he and his family demand in most cases should not be a major shock; it is logical that when the bride’s family sets a standard for what type of husband they are seeking, they make a provision for what kind of dowry payment could be commanded as a result. This diminished shock factor is also fed by the fact that even though there could be some differential in class status between the bride and the groom, that differential is likely to be small by virtue of the increasing inability to pay dowry if there were a large difference in class status. The small differential in class status, interestingly, is also accompanied by a small differential in educational and professional status as well. As Indian social anthropologist M.N. Srinivas noted, “there is an implicit rule which only very rarely broken that the boy ought to be at least as highly educated as [the bride] is. . . . A male doctor prefers to marry a female doctor, a male academic his female counterpart.” (Srinivas 2002a:295-6).
Thus, as necessary and noble as education and employment are for women, they are employed in the marriage market in a manner which propagates dowry pressures. Ironically, it is by virtue of their “modernizing” effect that they are so integrated into matchmaking and dowry considerations. Because of the mechanism through which marriage matchmaking proceeds—marital screening—and the surface perception of high educational status as a desirable trait, the unseemly correlation between heightened dowry expectations and women’s personal achievement is not so readily detected.

Conclusion

Dowry is an institution laden with mismatch between ideology and practice, between expectations and realities. It is decried publicly in response to news media, yet its practice continues. State law—the Anti-Dowry Prohibition Act of 1961—forbids it, but it is a de facto cultural law. This was certainly evidenced when Nisha Sharma utilized that law in the arrest of her would-be groom; she gained the public spotlight because it was so unusual for anyone to actually implement that “modern” state intervention. Finally, dowry appears to be a relic of backwards tradition, unmollified by modernization; instead, modernization has only transformed it from a less virulent form and exacerbated it into a cultural epidemic. If nothing else, the evolution of dowry practice over time serves as a reminder that observing the world through western eyes can prove to be extremely hazardous to our understanding of history and culture. A tradition may appear to be an inherent and inextricable quality of an entire culture, but as witnessed with dowry—culture, tradition, and ideology are very malleable institutions. When global forces are in motion, an assessment of culture and tradition must not be made from a modern, popularized glance.
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A Comparative Study Between Two Organizations that Integrate Religions

Patricia Stepanek
Department of Anthropology
Wichita State University

I conducted a comparative study that took place over a two-month period for the purpose of observing similarities and differences between a rural and an urban religious organization that integrate multiple religions. Sunset Spiritualist Church and Camp is located in north central Kansas in the town of Wells. The particular Inter-Faith Ministries organization studied is located in south central Kansas in the city of Wichita. Sunset Spiritualist Church and Camp is a religious organization. Inter-Faith Ministries is a community service organization with a religious foundation. Both religious organizations have members from multiple religions that work together for the same common goal, and both organizations share a common goal and are Revitalization Movements.

Sunset Spiritualist Church and Camp Organization

Sunset Spiritualist Church and Camp began in Ottawa County Kansas in 1876. Most founding members were previously Quakers. Meetings were monthly in a home rotation fashion throughout Ottawa County. They later became annual meetings when the moon was in first quarter. Camp took place twice a year, at spring planting and at fall harvest in a wooded area alongside a river. Many people came by train from quite a long distance to attend the Camps, which had a carnival type atmosphere with the many tents and various activities. In the 1930’s the growing membership organized and secured a permanent structure in Wells, Kansas. They continued to hold meetings along with moon and agriculture cycles, and limited Camp to once a year for two weeks ending around the summer solstice. Spiritualism as a religion was accepted in the county as long as it was in its original structure. After the organization settled into permanent dwelling with more structure, the majority of the people in the county no longer accepted them. In the 1970’s, Sunset Church began to have weekly church services and they continue to hold Camp once a year for two weeks still today. In the 1990’s they conjoined the church which is primarily made up of their membership, and Camp which is primarily made up of guests, together as one unit rather than two separate entities within one organization.
The original purpose of this organization was to promote knowledge in both religion and science. Within their principles, it says that all their teachings are fact proven by the teachings of Jesus Christ, the Christian Bible, and all other tenets of religion. They say that the teachings of Jesus Christ and the teachings of the Bible are two separate entities. As for all tenets of religion, it is dependant on who is giving the service. Anyone can give a service, and anyone can be a minister. They usually have 25-30 ministers available at most times. The program they had for ministerial training was discarded in mid-1970. They say no one but spirit can decide who is or is not a minister and it is not their place to refuse anyone for any reason. The 1970’s through the 1990’s was a transition period where Sunset members began to move away from traditional Spiritualism and more towards a combination of multiple religions. Although the church does include some Christianity, it does not claim that Christianity is the only true or right religion, but by consensus of members, it is a helpful focal point for unified understanding. Many of the members have at one time been a Christian although they may be following another religion currently and most practice more than one religion.

They believe in life after death, spirit communication, and in numerous major and minor deities from the multiple religions of the world. In the past, they believed they originated from Adam and Eve. Today many members believe they are the descendants of Adam and Eve who were created through experimentation by alien light beings with a higher vibration than that of a human being. Sermons tend to be a combined mixture of the many diverse religions of the world that they have adopted or are studying, only in a relaxed form. Some of the religions practiced are Hindu, Buddhism, Wicca, Native American Spirituality, Dogon (mathematics) and others. They practice the portions of the particular religion that they like and omit the portions that they do not care for and intermingle the religions as to what works best for them individually and as an organized group.

Most of the members take pride in being a part of the New Age Movement and they say they work hand-in-hand via the internet with multiple religious organizations that all unite together in prayer for the world and in aiding spirit. They feel that the world is in such a negative condition that the deities and ancestors are unable to do their jobs without the assistance of humanity. The term spirit encompasses any or all major or minor deities and ancestors from all religions within their realm of exposure.

Sunset members come from every social and ethnic background but are primarily white and almost all have been through horrendous life experiences. Ninety percent of the active members are women with some college or for-
mal training. Seventy-five percent of the members are unemployed due to either a physical or a mental handicap that they freely discuss, or they say spirit needs their undivided attention as a light-worker. Those who work for a living tend to hold professional or prestigious positions. Many of the unemployed tend to collect funds from any government program available to them, barter, plead, and dumpster dive for subsistence. Most whether employed or unemployed have a supplemental income as a healer, medium, or shaman. It would be fair to say that most are each other’s clients during the year and they trade services back and forth. Camp is the time of year that gives them the opportunity to work and receive pay. Camp varies year to year on attendance from 2000 to 5000 visitors who usually are not Spiritualist’s. The Sunset Spiritualist’s goal is to have peace on earth, extend good will to all of humankind, to end suffering, so that all of humanity can live as one, and they as an organization can achieve this best through meditation and prayer vigils.

**Inter-Faith Ministries Organization**

Inter-Faith Ministries began in Wichita in 1885 and went through several name changes and alliances in the 1930’s before settling on their current name in 1978. They capitalize and stress the capital F in their name to stress that faith is recognized in the divine force of each self and to distinguish their group as being different from other interfaith organizations. They do not mix the teachings, beliefs, or traditions of their individual religious belief systems in their organization.

At their Wichita office, they have two special places for individual religious worship. Indoors is the reflection and renewal room and outdoors is the multi-faith garden with a peace pole written in twelve languages of religious experience. In the corner of the reflection and renewal room is a shelf with statues, incense, candles, and various items from all of the organizations religions. On the wall hangs two artistic woven textiles and lying on the floor in the corner is a single prayer rug. The room is designed to be used by individuals from any of the religions in their organization. They say Hindu’s and Buddhist’s do not want to stimulate the mind, so the room can be used in such a way that the walls and room appear to be void of all material things so that those practicing these religions can empty their minds to leave room for spirit. The Christians want the wall hangings and other religious items to stimulate their minds and they are free to move the items from the shelf anywhere around the room to stimulate their thinking. In their building, they also have a small gift shop to help generate income, and they have
a large conference or meeting room called the Café Gallery with artistic pieces encompassing the circumference of the room. The artwork is created by individuals from poverty-stricken nations and can be purchased at around $200.00 to $700.00. Hanging in one hall is a multi-religion quilt, and on another wall around a corner are pictures of starving Haitians. No one was able to give direct answers concerning the Haitian people pictured other than they help them.

The majority of people on the premises were female and they were unable to respond to most inquiries. Most questions were referred to the male director of the organization, and he failed to give direct answers and tended to share what seemed like a standard script-like dialog of information. He had a tendency to disallow questions or to ignore questions. When he did respond to a question, usually it was to repeat one of the lines from the scripted dialog. General members of the organization were not present, there was no avenue presented in order to contact any of them, and only employees of the organization were available on the premises.

They do not ever use the term church they prefer to use the word congregation and they refer to priests, shaman, and ministers as religious leaders. They focus on reverence of each other and on seeing the image of God in each living individual. Although they use the word God, they add that they cannot use the word God, but do so anyway. They say because they are an organization with multi-faiths that they must be very careful with word usage. Dialog is a central issue; they do not debate, they dialog, and the opinion of one person is the same as another person’s opinion. No one can kill, hurt, or harass another. They say tolerance is important and we as people must each tolerate each other. They believe the basic tenet of all religion is to stretch faith in order to make it work, and to put a spin on things. Much of the information received was ambiguous. They say that religion is present in the world and this is where religion is going in the future.

Within their organization are members of the following religions: Baha’i, Eastern Orthodox, Jewish, Native American Spirituality, Roman Catholic, Buddhist, Hindu, Muslim, Protestant Christian, Unitarian Universalists, and more. The organization is not a religion. It is a community service organization whose members consist of a variety of religions united together for a common goal. They say they are not integrated and they are not interrelated, they are inter-religion or interfaith. They provide food and housing for the needy and they have programs such as Operation Holiday, Mother to Mother and Ti’Wiconi. Their goal is to have peace on earth and to provide
good will to all of human-kind, to end suffering, so that all of humankind can live as one, and they as an organization can achieve this best through community service programs.

The Language and Goals of Both Organizations

Both the Sunset Spiritualist’s and Inter-Faith Ministries share a common goal that they express through a similar use of language. Both groups see their organization as an influential and integral component towards the creation of a future utopian world. They see the way to this utopia future as being through the unification of religion and through love, light, peace, and harmony, so all of humanity can live as one. This shared belief system is both written and verbal, and is present in the principles or mission statements of both groups. Both organizations believe that all living things are related and interdependent, in individual responsibility, and that each person should treat another the way they want to be treated. They believe that all of humanity is family and should make a united commitment to end all violence and injustice, and that for the world to become better that we must all be as one, so first change individual consciousness in order to change the consciousness of the world.

Power is an issue with both groups; the Sunset Spiritualist’s repetitiously say a person has to grab their power, or get their power back, or the underprivileged people or groups of the world have to grab their power. Inter-Faith Ministries left a portion of a board meeting discussion lying out in the open in the boardroom, which referred to power. On the large pad of newsprint on an easel was written the words race + power + power of systems + institution. In their mission statement they say they have “a desire to understand and empower the person behind the face… we call people of all faiths together to build inter-religious understanding, promoting justice, relieve misery, and reconcile the estranged… today is the time to offer hope, healing, and understanding as we face the challenges of our community” (Inter 2004). The Sunset Spiritualist’s verbally made the same statement and adds that all of humanity should forgive and forget and move towards a peace that can envelop the entire world. They refer to world peace as ascension of humankind and believe that when this time comes, humanity will be enlightened and live in Heaven on Earth. Both organizations tend to share the same viewpoint concerning society presented in the article Signs of the Times: Are We Becoming Ik? (Henslin 2003:77) This article refers to the disintegration of a society. The Ik society broke down to the point of extinction. Both organizations feel that the unification of religions and individuals
in common goals, who are all sharing the same desire for love and peace will bring a balanced and harmonious future for all of humanity preventing our extinction. They do understand that each society has its own culture or belief system. They believe that within every culture there is also a desire for a common goal of balance, harmony, peace, and love between all peoples on Earth. The Sunset Spiritualist’s are proud to be a part of the New Age Movement. Although Inter-Faith Ministries use New Age language and they make the same points as persons in these groups. The last line in their script-like dialog was they are not New Agers. The shared language used by both organizations consists of New Age terminology that closely resembles the lyrics used in many of the old songs of the musical group the Beatles.

The 1960’s on into the 1970’s was an emotionally turbulent time for many people in the United States with the Vietnam War, the Cuban Missile Crisis, and the 1963 assassination of President John F. Kennedy. The Beatles were featured and introduced to the United States in the first world televised program. The program aired in 1967 in multiple languages featuring the song \textit{All You Need is Love} (Marck 2004). In their song \textit{Imagine}, they stressed the concept of being as one, “Imagine…Living for today…nothing to kill or die for… living life in peace. You may say that I’m a dreamer. But I’m not the only one. I hope that someday you’ll join us. And the world will be as one…brotherhood of man. Imagine all the people. Sharing all the world… live as one” (Marck 2004). Stressed in many Beatles songs and the single focus of one particular song \textit{Give Peace a Chance}, introduces multiple religions and beliefs systems all with the goal of world peace. The harmonious coming together of humanity is also the focus in the songs \textit{Instant Karma} and \textit{Mind Games} as well as some of their other songs.

The young Beatles band members expressed in their songs a search for individuality, identity, an understanding of the world’s conditions, and they shared beliefs from the various religions that they were studying. All of this reflects in the following song titles and more (Marck 2004): The Inner Light, Give Me Some Truth, Crippled Inside, Isolation, Intuition, Across the Universe, The Word, Hello Goodbye, Nowhere Man, Revolution, Taxman, Working Class Hero, Power to the People, Think for Yourself, and Hey Jude.

The lyrics discussed change, their word was love, includes binary opposition and many other elements of spirituality and the need for change in consciousness. In addition to war and poverty around the world, in the United States illegal drug use and divorce was on the rise in the 1960’s and the
Beatles managed to touch people world wide in whatever the plight may be. Many people took the Beatles very serious and this showed when the Paul McCartney is dead rumor traveled worldwide causing a great stir around the technological world. However, this stir was miniscule compared to the stir that arose when Beatles albums sales outnumbered Bible sales. Young John Lennon (Schultz 2004) said:

Christianity will go. It will vanish and shrink. I needn’t argue that; I’m right and I will be proved right. We are more popular than Jesus now; I don’t know which will go first- rock ‘n’ roll or Christianity. Jesus was all right but his disciples were thick and ordinary. It’s them twisting it that ruins it for me.

Back then he expressed the viewpoint of many young people towards the Christianity movement within the lyrics of his and the Beatles songs. He later apologized for his statement, but this did not prevent his assassination in 1980 for the words he spoke in 1966. His assassination had a tremendous impact on many people possibly raising him up to martyr status for some people. Beatles and Lennon albums have not gone down in price, demand, or availability today. Many people, especially those young then who are middle aged today, looked to the Beatles, especially John Lennon as idols or guiding lights, a type of intermediary. Both the Sunset Spiritualist’s and Inter-Faith Ministries use language presented in many of these Beatles lyrics, and of the 40-50 people interviewed between both organizations, all were within the average age of 45-65. They would have been teenagers and young adults during Beatle Mania. The common goal presented and stressed in the 1960’s concerning world peace is still prevalent today and reflects in the common goals of both the Sunset Spiritualist’s and Inter-Faith Ministries.

After the sermon, the healing service, and the messages given by the healers, mediums and shaman, the Sunset Spiritualist’s members close each of their services by joining hands in a circle and together everyone sings a Peace Song. They raise their clasped hands high when they get to the line referring to let there be peace on Earth and let it begin with me. They say the song was introduced many years ago, traveled world wide, and just after the United States 911 Crisis they began to close each service with it. Inter-Faith Ministries has a sculpture they refer to as Ascending of Joy as a focal point in the center of their Wichita office. The sculpture is in a circu-
lar fashion, with wood slats that are representative of octaves or vibrations, like the notes played on a piano. The wood slats in their entirety are intended to represent all individuals of the world and the harmonious circle of peace and love that is possible for humanity to achieve together when united as one.

Shared Origins of Both Organizations

Metaphysics began in the 19th century and with it came the Transcendentalists. Spiritualist’s has acquired many of their ideas from the Transcendentalists, and Spiritualism gained popularity during the Civil War. The National Spiritualists Association formed in 1893 and since the time of their organization have always debated whether or not they should or should not be Christians; they have tended to practice multiple religions simultaneously and also Darwinism. Back then, “the Spiritualists regarded the world as one” (Kyle 1993:70). Spiritualism had a decline in popularity in the 1870’s, “with the end of the crusade against slavery, the force of the social reform movement diminished” (Kyle 1993:71). They lost their credibility as a reform movement when they were unable to present themselves as a rational movement and failed to gain the scientific credentials they were seeking (Kyle 1993:258-59).

Theosophy grew out of Spiritualism in the 19th century as well as many other offshoots of various other religions whose focus was on metaphysical thinking, positive thinking and on inner reality. Religious explosions had peaks in the 1880-1890’s, in the 1930-1940’s, and again in the 1970’s (Kyle 1993:258-59). It was in the 1940’s when the Sunset Spiritualist’s felt they were no longer accepted in the county. The World Parliament of 1893 took place during one of the religious explosion peaks and multiple religions were represented and present. “The World’s Parliament of Religions of 1893 was organized by Unitarians and Universalists of the Free Religious Association,” and “the first Parliament was a result of religious leaders desiring peace and harmony among the world’s religions, which would in turn foster peace and harmony among nations” (Parliament 1999). The second Parliament, which took place one hundred years later, and religious leaders “saw a dramatic change in people’s awareness of the universal truth embodied in all religions,” (Parliament 1999) and they switched their focus to include not only harmony and peace, but also individuality. “The World’s Parliament of Religions that took place in Chicago in 1893 in conjunction with the World’s Columbian Exposition represents an historical event
symbolic of the approaching post Christendom era in America…reflects the growing pluralization of religious life in America” (Needleman 1978:40-41). The Inter-Faith Ministries originated at the 1893 World’s Parliament of Religion, and Spiritualists were present. The Parliaments currently takes place every year and is still supported by both the Sunset Spiritualist’s and Inter-Faith Ministries.

Both the Sunset Spiritualist’s and Inter-Faith Ministries went through reorganization, name changes, and restructuring around these same religious explosion peak times, 1890’s, 1930’s, and 1970’s. The peaks occurred around times of war, social strife, and technological growth. Additionally, peaks occurred at a time when many new religions were coming to life with the progression of ideas on evolution and science. It is interesting to note that some of the New Age groups that began to rise in popularity in the 1970’s and even today on the internet have begun to refer to themselves as NAM, New Age Movement. Politics play some part in the belief systems of organizations catering to multiple religions. Many feel that political systems are corrupt and unjust, catering to the wealthy and excluding people who are not. Many people think wars are occurring without valid reason. The Sunset Spiritualist’s share these beliefs with many New Age groups. Concerning the New Age Movement belief system, author Richard Kyle (Kyle1993:297) states this observation, “New Age politics is essentially transformation. Such Transformation requires not merely a change of political structure but a new consciousness. Traditional political ideologies must be transcended so that a new political worldview can be developed.” Both the Sunset Spiritualist’s and Inter-Faith Ministries say world consciousness needs changed. Wallace discusses stress as a factor in revitalization movements and he says, “If the group action program in nonritual spheres is effective in reducing stress-generating situations, it becomes established as normal in various economic, social, and political institutions and customs. Rarely does the movement organization assert or maintain a totalitarian control over all aspects of the transformed culture” (Hicks 2002: 464).

The belief system that Inter-Faith Ministries and the Sunset Spiritualist’s have in common with New Age Movements and Internet religious groups is also shared by some United States politicians. Just after the 911 Crisis, Ohio Congressman Dennis J. Kucinich presented a prayer to United States citizens filled with New Age language. He said, “the union of our country is the union of all people…all people are essentially one…the world is interconnected not only on the material level of economics, trade, communication, and transportation, but interconnected through human consciousness” (Kucinich
The language within the 1960’s Beatles lyrics, and the common goals and beliefs of Sunset Spiritualist’s and Inter-Faith Ministries since the 1890’s, including New Age groups today, is heard regularly on television programs, on the radio, is seen in written publications, and does not stand out in the way that it did prior to the 1970’s. The language, common goals, and beliefs are generally accepted, but as Wallace says, it is rare for any movement to gain total control over a culture.

**Liminality and Revitalization Movement**

The Sunset Spiritualist’s differ greatly from Inter-Faith Ministries in how leadership roles are handled. Inter-Faith Ministries conducts affairs in a formal business-like manner and in a democratic structure. At Sunset Spiritualist Church-Camp, the leaders are those who are able to achieve what Van Gennep (Hicks 2002:129) refers to as liminality; a stage of transition and this is their goal. They feel that when they are in this state of being that they are closest to spirit. To reach this stage they reinvent themselves by changing their thought processes and patterns in an attempt to discard basic assumptions acquired throughout their lives. Wallace (Hicks 2002: 460-61), used the terminology “mazeway reformulation.” They believe that people like Jesus, Buddha, or Mohammed existed in this state of being, with one foot in the spirit world and one foot in the material world. It is their goal to exist in a stage of not living and not dead, where they can best work for spirit.

The individuals able to maintain a state of liminality handle the leadership roles, and assist the rest of the membership towards reaching and staying in liminality as well. The leadership style does not include any choices or decisions that they say they make individually or as a group; they follow spirits wishes received through messages while in an altered state of consciousness. They will not acquire a new role or status at any time; to do so would be egotistical. They attempt to stay in a frame of mind that they say is nothing and everything at the same time, and prayer vigils are important because to them thoughts are living organisms that manifest into reality. “The vision of the transformed individual is imposed on the world…When a sufficient number of individuals become enlightened…they are expected to transform society by means of a decentralized system of networks” (Kyle 1993:294). They believe everything outside of liminality is an illusion and this illusion includes a hateful world where people are starving, diseased, at war and are in pain. To eliminate this illusion they must first change their own consciousness, and then change the world con-
sciousness. It is their belief that liminality is enlightenment, the state of mind that all people in the world need to achieve for humankind to become one, for Heaven to exist on Earth, and to create Utopia.

Many of the Sunset Spiritualist’s express their unhappiness with themselves and their lives prior to their membership with the organization. Most of the active members were no longer a part of mainstream society before their membership, felt alienated, and were in isolation. The organization provided them a controlled safe atmosphere filled with like-minded individuals. Those with past horrendous experiences begin to learn how to trust and cope with living life in mainstream society again. Needleman and Baker say, “A search for identity that has its roots in the conscious and unconscious strivings of the human soul… Many have come to the new movements as a part of an inner search for happiness, for friendship, communal living, authority, a personal sense of integration and intimate contact with a higher power. The new religious movements promise to be, for many, an alternate way of life, a more acceptable way of living in this society…Individualism or personal transformation is a pervasive theme in the new modern religious movements” (Needleman 1978: 213).

The Sunset Spiritualist’s members provide each other emotional support. Many of the members and especially the visitors attending Camp have or are in severe states of grief. The rituals and messages provide comfort. People attending Camp have various religious backgrounds and the multi-religion atmosphere provides most guests with some familiarity and comfort. Some members have a history of mental illness. They do not want to be a burden to family members and they desire independence. The patience, encouragement, and support of fellow Sunset members assists them with achieving some their goals. For most members praying and helping others assists them in focusing their attention on areas outside of their own personal misery, providing a sense of direction, purpose, and meaning within their lives. Many of them are trying to heal themselves; they saw themselves as broken people or failures. They have experienced the adverse affects of making poor decisions and choices. Membership does not require making choices or decisions. Personal responsibility is not an issue, everything is turned over to spirit, and this provides an opportunity for the reorganization of negative or skewed thought processes or a period of regrouping. Many of them seem to be in a process of building a new identity in a safe environment with the support of others who seem to understand them and
accept them the way they are. Most of them do not stay a Sunset Spiritualist member more than two to ten years.

Many move on to be productive and responsible people in mainstream society. Inter-Faith Ministries beliefs are similar to the Sunset Spiritualist’s. Although they were unable to say how they helped the Haitian people, they people spoken to at Inter-Faith Ministries were able to say how helping the Haitians helped individuals within the group and the group through giving. Inter-Faith Ministries says (Inter 2004), “if we know how each of us feels we couldn’t do the things we do.” Both organizations attempt to provide others with a sense of well being, instill hope, help people cope, and offer encouragement, and in return boost their own self-esteem. Both organizations are Revitalization Movements. Wallace says (Hicks 2002:458, “all organized religions are relics of old revitalization movements, surviving in routinized form in stabilized cultures, and that religious phenomena per se originated… in the revitalization process — i.e., in visions of a new way of life by individuals under extreme stress.” Both organizations hope to change the way that humanity thinks and behaves. Although Inter-Faith ministries is not a religion, its membership is made up of individuals from multiple religions all seeking the same common goals as the Sunset Spiritualist’s and other New Age Movement groups.

**Conclusion**

Sunset Spiritualist Church-Camp and Inter-Faith Ministries are more similar than different. They differ in their methods towards creating the utopia future that they both desire. They are both similar in their common goals, use of language, in having a relationship with multiple religions, and as religious organizations trying to improve the conditions of the world. Although Inter-Faith Ministries is not a religion, like Sunset Spiritualist Church-Camp, they are both revitalization movements.
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INTRODUCTION

The Greek island of Crete, located southeast of the mainland in the eastern Mediterranean Sea (Branigan 1988), has long been the setting for fantastic legends and spellbinding myths. Archaeology, the study of material remains of the past (Palmer 1965), has been the tool used in uncovering the mysteries of this island and its ancient civilizations. Perhaps one of the most widely recognized civilizations that flourished on this island is that of the Minoans during Crete’s bronze age from about 3000 BC to 1100 BC (Castleden 1993). The term “Minoan” is derived from the name of King Minos, and was first proposed by Sir Arthur Evans in the early 1900s (Evans 1964). The Minoans are famous for their distinctive craft industries and metalworking, but perhaps more than anything else they are renowned for their magnificent palaces. Thus, the focus of this research is the archaeological evidence of Minoan palaces in Crete: the origins of the Minoan palatial form, common features of palaces, when specific palaces were constructed, and where these palaces were constructed.

ORIGINS OF THE MINOAN PALATIAL FORM

As with any form of monumental architecture for which there is archaeological evidence there is the question of where it came from or how it originated. Like henges constructed in prehistoric temperate Europe, there are numerous hypotheses about how the Minoan palatial form came about. According to J.W. Graham (1962), there are at least three possible explanations for the rise of the Minoan palatial form. The first explanation is that a palace plan developed from earlier structures such as the “House on the Hilltop” at Visiliki (2600 BC) or from the settlement complex at Fournou Koripihi (Graham 1962). Like the later palaces, the House on the Hilltop at Visiliki had a central court with apartments surrounding it (Castleden 1990). Also, it seems the house was constructed outwards from the courtyard, also a feature of later palaces (Castleden 1990). Another similarity is found in the building materials of both the House at Visiliki and the palaces. Both
had mud-brick components: the house at Visiliki was mainly mud-brick and the upper floors of palaces were made of mud-brick, but had first floors built of stone (Castleden 1990). The complex at Fournou Koriphi also shares similarities with the house at Visiliki. At Fournou Koriphi, the complex had plastered ceilings similar to those at Visiliki and was also constructed mainly of mud-brick (Branigan 1988). Features common to the house at Visiliki, the complex at Fournou Koriphi, and the palaces include painted walls, narrow corridors, light-wells, wall timbers, wall benches, offset doorways, paved staircases, western and central courts, and inter-mural wells (Branigan 1988). Although these features do not indicate a direct connection between these earlier buildings and the later palaces, it does suggest the concept of palace construction already existed within the Minoan civilization (Branigan 1988).

A second explanation for the origins of the Minoan palatial form is that the palace plans were imported from other regions (Graham 1962). Graham (1962) suggests the palatial form may have been introduced from the region of Anatolia or Syria. Buildings found at Beycesultan in Anatolia and at Mari and Alalakh in Syria are very similar in complexity and construction to the Minoan palaces and the houses found at Visiliki and Fournou Koriphi (Graham 1962). These buildings also predate Minoan palaces (Graham 1962). Religious shrines excavated at Beycesultan were comparable to religious shrines found in Minoan palaces and showed evidence of the bull horn motif common of Minoan architecture (Palmer 1965). Other evidence of the importation of the palatial form from other areas is the discovery of art found at both Alalakh in Syria and at the Palace of Knossos in Crete (Palmer 1965). A design found on vessels from Alalakh is very similar to art found on vases at the Palace of Knossos in Crete (Palmer 1965). Although this points out a possible connection between Alalakh and Crete, it is not very strong evidence for the importation of the palatial form.

The third explanation for the development of the Minoan palatial form is that it was the creation of a Cretan architectural mastermind (Graham 1962). This hypothesis equates this architectural genius with Imhotep, the architect responsible for the great Step Pyramid at Saqqara (Graham 1962). This third explanation is the one Graham chose to account for the origins of the palatial form (Graham 1962). Part of the reasoning behind Graham’s agreement with this hypothesis is the discovery of several features that seem to be exclusive to the Minoan palaces that are not found in the architecture of other places current with the Minoan civilization (Graham 1962). Features that seemed distinctive of the Minoan architectural form included: the pier
and door partition, the lightwell, the use of alabaster veneering, the
“Lustral Basin” or sunken bathroom, downward tapering columns, col-
umns with oval cross-sections, porticoed central courts, porticoes with
alternating piers and columns, monumental stairways, major public rooms
on upper floors, and the door or gateway with a central column (Graham
1962).

THREE EXAMPLES OF THE MINOAN PALATIAL FORM

In discussing the Minoan palatial form, it is helpful to mention three of the
most famous palaces in Crete in order to get an idea of where palaces
were constructed and what features were common to most palaces. These
three examples include the Palace at Knossos, the Palace at Phaistos, and
the Palace at Mallia.

Of these three examples the Palace at Knossos in northern Crete is the
most famous. The Palace at Knossos is also the largest, covering nearly
19,000 square meters (Warren 1975). Also known as the Palace of King
Minos, Knossos was excavated by Sir Arthur Evans in the early 1900s
(Evans 1964). Evans was first led to Crete in 1894 through his curiosity
about small sealstones he had found in Athens from and antique dealer
(Castleden 1990). Curious about the origin of these small three- and four-
sided stones with engraved symbols, Evans asked the dealer where they
had originally been found (Castleden 1990). Evans discovered that the
stones had come from Crete, and this is what finally led him to the Palace
at Knossos (Castleden 1990). It wasn’t until 1900 that Evans finally be-
gan excavations at Knossos (Castleden 1990). Excavations at Knossos
revealed that it was built around 1700 BC (Evans 1964). The palace, built
upon a tel, or a hill made of accumulated habitation debris, was sur-
rounded by a “well-planned system of paved stone roads, the oldest in
Europe” (Warren 1975: 84). The palace was constructed of both smoothly
dressed stone block and of rougher stone blocks (Warren 1975). Walls
were plastered and reinforced with wooden beams to protect against earth-
quakes (Warren 1975). Knossos is also known for its magnificent fres-
coes and its wealth of artifacts such as figurines and vases (Pendlebury
1939). The Grand Staircase at Knossos has been called the “greatest mar-
vel of Minoan architectural engineering” (Warren 1975: 86).

A second example of the Minoan palatial form is the Palace at Phaistos
(Pendlebury 1939). This palace was constructed around 2000 BC
It is situated on Kastri Hill, overlooking the Mesara plain in south-central Crete (Pendlebury 1939). Phaistos was excavated between 1900 and 1909 under the direction of Luigi Pernier (Fitton 1996). The palace at Phaistos is important because of the evidence it provides for Minoan religion. At Phaistos, just inside the west wall, a shrine room was excavated measuring 3.62 by 2.57 meters (Warren 1975). The room had “low, plastered benches around the walls, while set in the floor lay a large clay offering table with a central hollow” (Warren 1975:74). The table had images of cattle impressed on it, which may be symbolic of sacrificial cattle blood (Warren 1975). Also inside the shrine was an inlaid stone offering table along with a triton shell used as ritual trumpet, as evidenced by an engraved seal depicting the use of triton shell trumpets (Warren 1975). The Kamares cave near the palace at Phaistos also gives important clues to Minoan culture (Pendlebury 1939). A distinctive style of pottery, the Kamares style, was discovered in this cave and it was inferred that this style was used by the elites who occupied the palace (Pendlebury 1939). Another famous find from Phaistos is the Ayia Triadha Sarcophagus (Fitton 1996). Evidence for Minoan religion was found on the expertly painted scenes on this sarcophagus depicting funerary rituals (Fitton 1996). Another important find from Phaistos is the Phaistos Disc dating from around 1700 BC (Castleden 1993). This disc depicts a double spiral statement of pictograms imprinted on clay with 45 wooden or metal stamps (Castleden 1993). The script on this disc has yet to be deciphered, thus leading some experts to believe the script was developed especially for a religious purpose because no other examples have been found (Warren 1975 Castleden 1993).

A third specific example of the Minoan palatial form is the Palace at Mallia. This palace was built sometime during the period from 1700 BC to 1450 BC (Warren 1975). Excavated in 1915, Mallia has provided a wealth of important Minoan artifacts. These important findings include a circular libation table “probably for offerings of seeds and fruits” (Warren 1975:101) and many pithos or large storage jars (Branigan 1988). Probably the most striking feature of the palace at Mallia is the amount of space devoted to storage (Graham 1962).

**COMMON FEATURES OF MINOAN PALACES**

The common features of Minoan palaces are extensive and support the idea of a definitive Minoan style. These features are repeated in at least four of the excavated palaces on Crete (devlab.dartmouth.edu). The first,
and perhaps most important, feature is the central court. The central court tends to be a very large area of palaces and it has been argued that the central court was used for the sport of bull-leaping (Graham 1962). A second feature common to Minoan palaces is the west court (Graham 1962). This extensive paved area is characterized by crisscrossed cut limestone causeways (Graham 1962).

Another feature of the Minoan palatial form is magazines (Castleden 1990). Magazines in most cases were large areas on the ground floors reserved for storage (Graham 1962). They were used to store items such as wine, oil, and cereals (Warren 1975). Of the three palace examples discussed, the palace at Mallia has the most space devoted to magazines (Graham 1962). In the west wings of the palaces at Knossos and Mallia, the magazines open to the west off of a north-south oriented passageway (Graham 1962). At Phaistos the magazines are located on either side of a large east-west corridor in the west wing (Graham 1962).

Residential quarters are also a common feature among Minoan palaces (Graham 1962). At the palaces of Knossos, Phaistos, and Mallia, groups of rooms that contain certain features constitute residential quarters (Graham 1962). Features of these residential quarters seem to fit a modern day description of an apartment, or living space that includes necessary spaces such as bathrooms or toilet areas. The components of residential quarters include a hall-forehall-lightwell combination, private room, a lustral basin, and a toilet (Graham 1962). Residential quarters are found in the southeast portion of the palace at the foot of the Grand Staircase at Knossos and at Phaistos and Mallia, are found in the northwest area of the building (Graham 1962).

The next major feature of Minoan palaces as noted by Graham is the banquet hall (1962). Banquet hall areas are isolated on the second floors of palaces and are accessed easily from kitchens and pantries on the ground floor (Graham 1962). At the palaces of Mallia and Phaistos, the banquet hall is located at the north end of the central court (Graham 1962). At Knossos, the banquet hall is situated at the north end of the palace building (Graham 1962). Graham has argued that these banquet areas are isolated from other more public areas of the palaces because the Minoans felt eating was an important social activity (1962). Graham also proposes the banquet hall was separated from the kitchen areas to keep the cooking odors confined to a specific area (1962). In the palaces at Knossos, Phaistos, and
Mallia, the banquet halls have two separate staircases: one leads from the kitchen for easy access, and the other leads from a more public space for guests (Graham 1962). The idea of two separate staircases for one area is an interesting piece of evidence that illustrates the importance of aesthetics in Minoan culture.

*Piano Nobile*, or public apartments, is another common feature of the Minoan palatial form (Graham 1962). These areas were used as reception halls and were located on the second floor of the west wing (Graham 1962). At Knossos, Phaistos, and Mallia, evidence for these second floor apartments includes fallen fragments of decorated plaster, fallen doorjambs and pillar bases into the first floor area (Graham 1962).

Cult rooms are also identified as a common feature of Minoan palaces (Graham 1962). These rooms are found on the west side of the central court in palaces and are called “cult” rooms because of the presence of the double axe, trident, and star symbols incised on pillars (Graham 1962). Some archaeologists have interpreted these symbols as a belief in a divinity responsible for earthquakes (Graham 1962). A common interpretation of these rooms is that they were used for ritual activities designed to appease the destructive divinity (devlab.darmouth.edu).

Also common to Minoan palaces is guest room suites (Graham 1962). At Knossos these suites are found at the most southeast corner of the palace, south of the residential quarters (Graham 1962). Guest room suites at Mallia are located in the southwest corner of the palace near the main south entrance (Graham 1962). At Phaistos, these rooms also appear in the southwest corner (Graham 1962). As indicated by the name, Graham proposes these rooms were used for housing guests (1962).

The theatrical area is also a common feature in the Minoan palatial form (Graham 1962). The location of the theatrical area varies in each of the three palace examples. At Knossos, it is found in the northwest corner (Graham 1962). The theatrical area at the palace at Phaistos is located at the north end of the west court (Graham 1962). There is no direct evidence existing at Mallia for the theatrical area, but there are sets of three or four broad steps that have been interpreted as the steps that would have surrounded the theatrical area (Graham 1962). Possible functions for the theatrical area at these palaces include: political gatherings, religious ceremonies, sacred dancing, bull-leaping, and maybe boxing and wrestling (Graham 1962).
The final component common to the Minoan palaces of Crete is the grain silos or *kouloures* (Graham 1962). These silos were large cylindrical structures that were built partly underground and were constructed of debris (Graham 1962). There are three preserved *kouloures* at the palace at Knossos and they are located in the southern part of the west court (Graham 1962). At Mallia, eight shallow *kouloures* are arranged in two rows of four, with an indication of a raised platform floor, presumably built to keep grain dry (Graham 1962). The *kouloures* at Mallia are located in a walled area between the west court and the west façade of the palace at the southern end (Graham 1962). Graham notes an interesting interpretation of the placement of these grain silos. He suggests that in addition to their practical uses, they probably had a symbolic significance also (Graham 1962). This seems very probably given the fact that at each palace, the silos are located in front of the main façade (Graham 1962).

**CONCLUSION**

As illustrated by the magnificent examples of Minoan palaces, the ancient island of Crete has provided archaeologists and historians a plethora of evidence. These ancient palaces were truly immense feats for the architects who designed them. Given the complexity of the Minoan palatial form, it seems most likely that it was imported from Anatolia or Syria. Not only do the palaces provide clues to architectural styles and methods of the period, but also they give us hints to the life ways of the people of this great civilization. The Minoan palaces of Crete are an important archaeological resource for this reason. They provide a powerful example of advancement from ancient times.
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No Author
Minoan Architecture: The Palaces.
To call this book conservative would be a misnomer. This book was written as a response to what the author sees as an attack on “traditionally based” historiography by “a relatively new array of literary and social theories” (x.). As such the book is technically challenging to the reader who does not have much background in social science theory. The author (thankfully) does not take it for granted that the reader knows what semiotics, postmodernism, hermeneutics or historical poetics are.

The criticisms made by the author are based upon his own observations of Australian universities (where he is a lecturer) as they have come to adopt new theoretical aspects of “cultural studies”, a branch of multidisciplinary social sciences that have become very popular in Britain and Australia. The book is arranged into chapters that deal with individual theories (structuralism, postmodernism, Marxism, discourse theory, etc.) as they have been applied to the discipline of history.

While the author is not objecting to these theoretical paradigms themselves he does object to their application to history as a science. The exception is the chapter on Michel Foucault in which Windschuttle demonstrates, in my opinion, the contradictory nature of Foucault’s writings as well as the futility of his “obscurantism”. What the author presents through the individual arguments against these theoretical applications to history is that they often are more about pet theories of the historian than the actual events.
Many of Windschuttle’s criticisms (39-70) are aimed at the application of moral indignation onto colonial figures such as Columbus and Cortez. While it is true that these explorers were spearheading the eventual genocide of the America’s aboriginal population they were far from the villains (or heroes) that historical myth has made them out to be.

The construction of these historical myths is captivating and often carried out without having any reality. These great men (or monsters) are not the facts which led to the eventually colonization of the America’s or downfall of the Aztec, respectively. These are cases where multiple factors were involved that caused events to happen, not the Hegelian “great men” found in the biographic presentation of historical events. Such simplifications of historical events are central to Windschuttle’s critique.

Windschuttle uses the various interpretations of the mutiny of the Bounty (71-80) to show how historians will interpret an already popular subject, sensationalized in the public conscious, and use it to further a theoretical position. In the critique of Robert Dening’s book “Mr. Bligh’s Bad Language: Passion, Power and Theatre on the Bounty”. He takes Dening’s central thesis that Bligh’s “misunderstanding and misuse of the rituals and theatrics of authority” (74) is an explanation which uses historical events in order to present “a treatise on historical method and theory…in the form of a parable about the mutiny on the Bounty” (ibid.).

The use of historical events in order to illustrate social theory in not itself a bad thing, but I believe it can result in some bad history. This is well illustrated by Windschuttle’s examination of the Marshall Sahlins and Gananath Obeyesekere debate about the fate of Captain Cook in the Hawaiian Islands (80-94). Windschuttle uses Obeyesekere’s criticism of Sahlins in order to demonstrate how the structuralist applications of theory can turn Cook being greeted as an equal to the chief (Obeyesekere) into Cook being greeted as the god Lono (Sahlins). In this section he is making an important point about how history should remain a materialist discipline and the danger that can be found in applying interpretation into events without processing all available historical resources. The Obeyesekere interpretations of Captain Cook’s fate are more in line with both the culture of the Hawaiian Islands and the primary historical sources, which are quoted extensively in Obeyesekere’s book “The Apotheosis of Captain Cook: European Mythmaking in the Pacific” published in 1997.
Windschuttle is also interested in the presentation of history and how it can become problematic, especially in regards to the “poetics of history”. Windschuttle is very critical of the use of literary novelization and other aspects of creative writing as it has found its way into historiography. While one can respect authors such as Gore Vidal for presenting historically accurate narratives about real people, Vidal does not present his books as works of historiography. The problem of presenting assembled narratives as researched history is known to American anthropologists by the embarrassing example of Carlos Castenada. By the very nature of “poetics” one allows gaps in historical resources to be filled with the authors own images and dialogue.

In considering the aspect of history as it pertains to anthropology one should use this book for examples of what not to do. While I disagree with some of the authors attacks on theoretical paradigms he does a great service in using some very good examples of how theory can move from paradigm into cult. The theoretical growth of anthropology (as well as other social sciences) is important but there is a need to make sure that our theories remain tools and not flags of allegiance. For students it is an important book, which can help on remember the importance of empirical data, historical facts and constructive research as the foundation of proper, long lasting social science writing.
A History of Anthropological Theory is a textbook for teaching anthropological theory at a senior-level undergraduate level course. This book was created by Professor Paul A. Erickson and his student Liam D. Murphy. They began collaborating on this book in 1997 at St. Mary’s University. Paul A. Erickson has been teaching at St. Mary’s University for the past 20 years. Liam D. Murphy is now a teaching professor himself and helped to put this book together. The first edition came out in 1998 along with a companion volume called Readings for a History of Anthropological Theory, published in 2001.

The purpose of this book was to come up with text that introduced “anthropological theory in a more straightforward and jargon-free prose (pg.13).” Erickson sought to deal with students’ complaints of complicated essays and readings and he yearned to make learning anthropological theory easier and more thorough for the student. He desired to give the student a more rounded and complete view of how anthropological theory began and has evolved throughout time. He wanted them to gain insight and learn from the early theories, as well as the current ones. He wished to accomplish this by not drowning the student in endless essays that for the most part, were written in a complicated and jargon-full text and which contained explanations and definitions in the way of endnotes and footnotes.

This text also includes a glossary of terms and sets of review questions to aid the students with the challenging vocabulary commonly used in anthropology. This volume also, introduces a new aspect of anthropology called applied anthropology. Erickson and Murphy then introduce the basic theories that make up the framework of anthropology. The next section is then divided up into different areas, the first being the early history of anthropology, which finds its roots in the Greco-Roman established framework of humanistic, religious, scientific, and intellectual outlooks that persevere even today. This text then moves into the Middle Ages, the Renaissance period, the Scientific Revolution, and the Enlightenment period. These periods in time will show the world wide spread of religion,
the explosion of the arts, religious based wars, establishment of trade routes, beginnings of colonialism and imperialism, advances in technology and further discoveries into the social sciences which gave anthropology a strong foundation. By the Enlightenment period many people tried to define human nature and attempted to pursue the “common ideals of reason, progress, and perfectibility, which declined with the French Revolution.” Throughout this section of the book it introduces us to early history and the key figures included in this section are diffusion, heliocentrism, evolutionism, creationism, Charles Darwin, Hebert Spencer, Adolf Bastian, Clark Wissler, G. Elliot Smith, William Perry, and William H. R. Rivers.

The next part of this book introduces many subfields, key people, and paramount techniques and paradigms that also shaped the future of anthropology. Many techniques or paradigms included in this text are archaeology, psychological anthropology, historical particularism, functionalism, and materialistic anthropology, (to name a few). Some key peoples described are Franz Boas, Robert Lowie, Alfred Kroeber, Ruth Benedict, Margaret Mead, Emile Durkheim, Claude Levi-Strauss, and A. R. Radcliffe-Brown. The next section deals with the 20th Century and beyond. It shows how anthropology has grown in many different directions. The 20th Century will prove that anthropology can indeed go beyond the work of its forefathers. The 20th Century will show us new avenues in which to explore anthropology, through cognitive anthropology, cultural neo-evolution, cultural ecology, processual archaeology, biologized anthropology, behavioral genetics, symbolic anthropology and feminist anthropology. The 20th Century would give birth to such great anthropologist as Leslie White, Julian Steward, Marvin Harris, Sherwood Washburn, Edward Wilson, Michel Foucault, and Sherry Ortner. The 20th Century and beyond will only begin as a turning point for anthropology that has the strength of the past and the potential of the future to lead to unlimited possibilities.

This book successfully introduced many aspects and divisions of anthropology from the past to the present. It did make learning anthropological theory a little easier by dealing just with the key figures and paradigms that make up the heart of anthropology. Erickson and Murphy still encourage that students follow-up in reading the specific works of these key figures as they are very informative in laying the foundation of early anthropological theory. Despite a few criticisms on the content, Erickson’s and Murphy’s book is informative and worth reading. It accomplishes its purpose of introducing the history of anthropological theory in a more straightforward and easily read way.
John Kirkpatrick authored this book copyrighted in 1983 based on his research that was done over a 25-month period between 1975 and 1977 in French Polynesia. His stated goal is to learn how Marquesans construe and organize their social world and communities.

Kirkpatrick’s first chapter lays out a primary, and some would think critical, concern of the investigation “that the problematic relation between observables physical bodies and the complex of intention, communication and biography that makes human action regular but not rule bound, understandable but not fully predictable” (Kirkpatrick, 2). It is this “observable” is all that can ever be documented and Kirkpatrick is very aware that the observable actions of the people he studied are what need to be fleshed out by his interpretations based on the detailed information gathered from the Marquesans and their indigenous perceptions. The great detail in which Kirkpatrick lays out the organizational and perceptual systems while using and defining terms in the vernacular are not supported with information about the specific informants and source locations within the small area studied. The information he has gathered is considerable but at times hard to interpret exactly where it is coming from without the specifics of his sources. When he does quote local informants the quotations are poignant and support his suppositions extremely well. This lack of information on his sources does not detract from the coherence of the overall text or from the goal of presenting the Marquesan view of person.

The author in great detail throughout covers all aspects of the social and familial organization, socio-political interaction with the local governmental agencies, age group divisions and responsibilities of the Marquesans being studied to a degree that it is sometimes hard to link these with what is the common perception by the locals of what is ideologically called self.

The work is intentionally limited in temporal scope and does not include history prior to European contact. This is acceptable to Kirkpatrick’s
study, as the Marquesans view that period prior to European contact as a sort of dark time and were not prone to speak of it. This helps Kirkpatrick’s development and definition by condensing the amount of both indigenous and his own externally perceived notion of the Marquesan self.

Marquesan families are organized bilaterally and are predominately Catholic due to the influences of the French though there are a significant number; approximately 20% of the total populace are Protestants. It is significant to note that this is the primary means of identifying and organizing one group from another as bloodlines differentiate people but that it is accepted that no one is totally unrelated to another so religion seems to be a simple way of identifying others from oneself. This religious distinction also is the apparent basis for political orientation and division.

The text is written with a continuing theme that carries the entire work that is of Marquesan self-sufficient independence of the individual, the familial group or communal or factional organizations. This self-sufficiency is pervasive throughout Marquesan society and with the supportive mutuality of shared responsibilities within the conjugal family contrasting strongly with the intentional rejection of any form reciprocal relationships being developed outside of the close kin group and even these tending to be avoided when possible. Relationships that require mutual long-term obligations tend to be restricted amongst close kin only. This tendency is supported by the lack of viable cash crop economies and the predominance of subsistence farming techniques supporting individual conjugal families. This self-sufficiency limits the need to develop a labor pool and the relational ties that are created when crops for sale replace the crops required to sustain a single-family group.

Kirkpatrick shows that the Marquesans are mutually supportive within the conjugal unit, with division of labor not clearly defined within that group and also shared with close kin. Some mutual responsibilities are shared within age groups and these are clearly defined but the causes of this overriding cultural necessity to retain self-sufficiency and independence from group affiliation or organization is either being overlooked by this reviewer or inadequately supported in the text.

Why Kirkpatrick does not delve into this relatively unique pattern of independence based social organization and character of individuals is a mystery that leaves the curious trying to understand. Without any apparent re-
strictive ethnicity, divisive geography, socio-cultural economic constraints or religious and historical animosity we have been exposed to a social system that so inordinately stresses self-sufficiency and independence, without the characteristic development patterns of social organization.

That this study of the perception of self confines itself to the period after colonial contact with the French (Catholic) but the reviewer can not help but wonder if this characteristic of self-sufficiency and independence is not a result of the French church perceiving a threat to strong indigenous lineages and clans. Without the background of a pre-French history it is impossible to know from this text if this is a Marquesan tradition or a reaction to an intentional colonial policy. Seeing, in this instance, that the policies of France and the Catholic Church were at that time are indivisible or at the very least mutually beneficial.

This may be a misperception by reviewer but after completing the text I did not feel that an answer to the question of why this analysis of Marquesan ideology and its in-depth review of the comprehension of ideal behaviors is the predominate perception of persons in the Marquesas and not elsewhere in the region was given to the reader.

Though the reviewer would emphatically recommend this book as a detailed source of demographics, individual and social organization material on the Marquesas but it must be said that the internal psychological mechanisms, as well as external influences, i.e. systems, must be included in any well-rounded ethnography to be complete.
We are currently seeking book reviews in all four fields of anthropology (cultural, biological, archeology, and linguistics) for future volumes. Please note that book reviews are accepted on a continuing basis. All book reviews submitted to Lambda Alpha Journal become the property of Lambda Alpha. To see guidelines for the submission of book, article or film reviews, please see the current issues of the American Anthropologist.

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The Editor, Lambda Alpha Journal
Wichita State University
Department of Anthropology
1845 Fairmount, Box 52
Wichita, KS 67260-0052
Lambda Alpha Chapters

ALABAMA
Dr. Mark A. Moberg
Alpha of Alabama
Dept. of Sociology and Anthropology
University of South Alabama
Mobile, AL 36688

ARIZONA
Dr. Charles Lockwood
Alpha of Arizona
Dept. of Anthropology
Arizona State University
Tempe, AZ 85287-2402
hjonsson@asu.edu

ARKANSAS
Dr. Mark J. Hartmann
Alpha of Arkansas
Dept. of Sociology and Anthropology
University of Arkansas at Little Rock
Little Rock, AR 72204-1099

Dr. Karen K. Gaul
Beta of Arkansas
Dept. of Sociology and Anthropology
Hendrix College
Conway, AR 72032
gaul@mercury.hendrix.edu

CALIFORNIA
Dr. Frank E. Bayham
Alpha of California
Dept. of Anthropology
California State University
Chico, CA 95929

Dr. Lorraine Heidecker
Beta of California
Dept. of Anthropology
California State University
Sacramento, CA 95819-2694

Dr. Alana Cordy-Collins
Gamma of California
Anthropology Program
University of San Diego
San Diego, CA 92110-2492

Dr. Kofi Akwabi-Ameyaw
Epsilon of California
Dept. of Anthropology and Geography
California State University-Stanislaus
Turlock, CA 95380-3953

Dr. Mary Weismantel
Zeta of California
Dept of Sociology and Anthropology
Occidental College
Los Angeles, CA 90041-3392

Dr. Hilarie Kelly
Eta of California
Dept. of Anthropology
California State University at Fullerton
Fullerton, CA 92834-6846

Dr. Lawrence Cohen
Theta of California
Dept. of Anthropology
University of California
Berkeley, CA 94720-3710

Dr. Paola A. Sensi Isolani
Iota of California
Dept. of Anthropology and Sociology
St. Mary’s College
Moraga, CA 94575-4613
Dr. Robert Garfias  
Kappa of California  
Dept. of Anthropology  
University of California at Irvine  
Irvine, CA 92697-5100

Dr. Craig Rusch  
Lambda of California  
Dept. of Anthropology  
Vanguard University  
Costa Mesa, CA 92626  
crusch@vanguard.edu

Dr. Phillip L. Walker  
Mu of California  
Dept. of Anthropology  
University of California at Santa Barbara  
Santa Barbara, CA 93106  
pwalker@anth.ucsb.edu

Dr. Jerry Moore  
Nu of California  
California State University at Dominguez Hills  
Carson, CA 90747  
jmoore@dhvx20.csudh.edu

Dr. George Westermark  
Xi of California  
Dept. of Anthropology/Sociology  
Santa Clara University  
Santa Clara, CA 95053-0261  
gwestermark@scu.edu

Dr. Kimberly P. Martin  
Omicron of California  
Dept. of Sociology and Anthropology  
University of La Verne  
La Verne, CA 91750  
martink@ulv.edu

Dr. David Kozak  
Beta of Colorado  
Dept. of Anthropology  
For Lewis College  
Durango, CO 81301-3999  
kozak_d@fortlewis.edu

FLORIDA

Dr. Michael S. Harris  
Beta of Florida  
Dept. of Anthropology  
Florida Atlantic University  
Boca Raton, FL 33431-0991  
mharris@fau.edu

Dr. Diane Z. Chase  
Gamma of Florida  
Dept. of Anthropology and Sociology  
University of Central Florida  
Orlando, FL 32816-0990  
chase@ucf.edu

Dr. Susan deFrance  
Delta of Florida  
Dept. of Anthropology  
University of Florida  
Gainesville, FL 32611-7305  
sdef@anthro.ufl.edu

GEORGIA

Dr. John Kantner  
Alpha of Georgia  
Dept. of Anthropology and Geography  
Georgia State University  
Atlanta, GA 30303-3083  
kantner@gsu.edu

Dr. Sally Gouzoules  
Beta of Georgia  
Dept. of Anthropology  
Emory University  
Atlanta, GA 30322  
sgouzou@emory.edu

COLORADO

Alpha of Colorado  
Dept of Anthropology  
Colorado State University  
Fort Collins, CO 80523  
Dr. David Kozak
GUAM

Dr. Rebecca A. Stephenson  
Alpha of Guam  
Dept. of Anthropology  
University of Guam  
UOG Station  
Mangilao, GU 96923  
stephera@uog9.uog.edu

Dr. Karen Richman  
Beta of Indiana  
Dept. of Anthropology  
University of Notre Dame  
Notre Dame, IN 46556-5611  
diane.m.pribernow.1@nd.edu

Dr. Kathleen Heath  
Delta of Indiana  
Dept. of Geography, Geology, and Anthropology  
Indiana State University  
Terre Haute, IN 47809

Dr. Catherine Shoupe  
Epsilon of Indiana  
Dept. of Sociology, Anthropology, and Social Work  
St. Mary’s College  
Notre Dame, IN 46556-5001  
cshoupe@jade.saintmarys.edu

ILLINOIS

Dr. Carolyn Epplle  
Alpha of Illinois  
Dept. of Anthropology  
Southern Illinois University at Edwardsville  
Edwardsville, IL 62026-1451  
cepple@siue.edu

Dr. Dean E. Arnold  
Beta of Illinois  
Dept. of Sociology and Anthropology  
Wheaton College  
Wheaton, IL 60187-5593  
Dean.E.Arnold@wheaton.edu

Dr. Charles F. Springwood  
Gamma of Illinois  
Dept. of Sociology and Anthropology  
Illinois Wesleyan University  
Bloomington, IL 61702-2900  
cspring@titan.iwu.edu

Dr. Brenda R. Benefit  
Delta of Illinois  
Dept. of Anthropology  
Southern Illinois University at Carbondale  
Carbondale, IL 62901-4502

Dr. Scott Schnell  
Beta of Iowa  
Dept. of Anthropology  
University of Iowa  
Iowa City, IA 52242-1322  
scott-schnell@uiowa.edu

Dr. C. Richard King  
Gamma of Iowa  
Dept. for the Study of Culture  
Drake University  
Des Moines, IA 50311-4505

Dr. Caroline Banks  
Delta of Iowa  
Dept. of Anthropology  
Luther College  
Decorah, IA 52101-1045  
bankscar@luther.edu

INDIANA

Dr. Paul Wohlt  
Alpha of Indiana  
Dept. of Anthropology  
Ball State University  
Muncie, IN 47306-0435  
pwohlt@bsu.edu
**KANSAS**

Dr. Peer Moore-Jansen  
Alpha of Kansas  
Dept. of Anthropology  
Wichita State University  
Wichita, KS 67260-0052  
pmojan@wichita.edu

**MARYLAND**

Dr. Douglas S. Snyder  
Alpha of Maryland  
Behavioral Sciences and Human Service  
Bowie State University  
Bowie, MD 20715-9465

Dr. Patricia San Antonio  
Beta of Maryland  
Dept. of Sociology and Anthropology  
University of Maryland, Baltimore Co.  
Baltimore, MD 21250  
sananton@umbc.edu

Dr. Jeanette E. Sherbondy  
Gamma of Maryland  
Dept. of Sociology and Anthropology  
Washington College  
Chestertown, MD 21620-1197  
jeanette.sherbondy@washcoll.edu

**KENTUCKY**

Dr. Darlene Applegate  
Alpha of Kentucky  
Modern Languages and Intercultural Studies  
Western Kentucky University  
Bowling Green, KY 42101-3576

Dr. Kenneth C. Carstens  
Beta of Kentucky  
Dept. of Geosciences  
Murray State University  
Murray, KY 42071

Dr. MaryCarol Hopkins  
Gamma of Kentucky  
Dept. of Sociology, Anthropology, and Philosophy  
Northern Kentucky University  
Highland Heights, KY 41099  
hopkins@nku.edu

Dr. Donald W. Linebaugh  
Delta of Kentucky  
Dept. of Anthropology  
University of Kentucky  
Lexington, KY 40506-9854  
dwline@pop.uky.edu

**MICHIGAN**

Dr. Judy Rosenthal  
Alpha of Michigan  
Dept. of Sociology, Anthropology, and Social Work  
University of Michigan at Flint  
Flint, MI 48502-2186  
rosenthal_j@crofb.flint.umich.edu

Dr. Cindy Hull  
Beta of Michigan  
Dept. of Anthropology and Sociology  
Grand Valley State University  
Allendale, MI 49401-9403  
hullc@gvsu.edu

**LOUISIANA**

Dr. Mary H. Manheim  
Alpha of Louisiana  
Dept. of Geography and Anthropology  
Louisiana State University  
Baton Rouge, LA 70803-4105

**MISSISSIPPI**

Dr. Janet E. Rafferty  
Alpha of Mississippi  
Dept. of Sociology and Anthropology  
Mississippi State University  
Mississippi State, MS 39762  
rafferty@anthro.msstate.edu
NEW HAMPSHIRE

Dr. Debra Picchi  
Alpha of New Hampshire  
Dept. of Anthropology  
Franklin Pierce College  
Rindge, NH 03461-0060  
picchids@fpc.edu

MISSOURI

Dr. Timothy E. Baumann  
Alpha of Missouri  
Dept. of Anthropology  
University of Missouri at St. Louis  
St. Louis, MO 63121-4499  
tbaumann@umsl.edu

Dr. H. Kathleen Cook  
Beta of Missouri  
Dept. of Anthropology, Box 1114  
Washington University  
St. Louis, MO 63130

Dr. Mark Flinn  
Gamma of Missouri  
Dept. of Anthropology  
University of Missouri  
Columbia, MO 65211  
anthmf@showme.missouri.edu

NEW JERSEY

Dr. Richard F. Viet  
Alpha of New Jersey  
Dept. of History and Anthropology  
Monmouth University  
West Long Branch, NJ 07764-1898  
rviet@mondee.monmouth.edu

Dr. Maurie Sacks  
Beta of New Jersey  
Dept. of Anthropology  
Montclair State University  
Upper Montclair, NJ 07043

Dr. Tom Gundling  
Gamma of New Jersey  
Dept. of Anthropology  
William Paterson University  
Wayne, NJ 07470-2103  
gundlingt@upunj.edu

MONTANA

Dr. Laurence Carucci  
Alpha of Montana  
Dept. of Sociology and Anthropology  
Montana State University  
Bozeman, MT 59717-0238

NEVADA

Dr. Martha C. Knack  
Alpha of Nevada  
Dept. of Anthropology and Ethnic Studies  
University of Nevada at Las Vegas  
Las Vegas, NV 89154-5012

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Dr. Wenda R. Trevathan  
Alpha of New Mexico  
Dept. of Sociology and Anthropology  
New Mexico State University  
Las Cruces, NM 88003-8001  
wtrevath@unmsu.edu
NEW YORK

Dr. John T. Omohundro
Alpha of New York
Dept. of Anthropology
State University of New York College
at Potsdam
Potsdam, NY 13676-2294
omohunjt@potsdam.edu

Dr. John Barthelme
Iota of New York
Dept. of Anthropology
St. Lawrence University
Canton, NY 13617
jbarthelme@mail.stlawu.edu

Dr. Mary H. Moran
Beta of New York
Dept. of Sociology and Anthropology
Colgate University
Hamilton, NY 13346-1398

dr.moran@colgate.edu

Dr. DeWight R. Middleton, Chair
Kappa of New York
Dept of Anthropology
SUNY at Oswego
Oswego, NY 13126
middleto@oswego.edu

Dr. Donald Pollock
Lambda of New York
Dept. of Anthropology
SUNY at Buffalo
Buffalo, NY 14261-0026
dpollock@acsu.buffalo.edu

Dr. Robin O’Brian
Mu of New York
Dept. of Anthropology and Sociology
Elmira College
Elmira, NY 14901
ROBryan@elmira.edu

Dr. Sharon Gmelch
Zeta of New York
Dept. of Sociology and Anthropology
Union College
Schenectady, NY 12308-2365
gmelchs@union.edu

Dr. Christopher N. Matthews
Eta of New York
Dept. of Sociology and Anthropology
Hofstra University
Hempstead, NY 11549-1090
christopher.matthews@mail.hofstra.edu

Dr. Connie M. Anderson
Theta of New York
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Hartwich College
Oneonta, NY 13820

NORTH CAROLINA

Dr. Robert L. Bunger
Beta of North Carolina
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East Carolina University
Greenville, NC 27834-4353
anwolfe@ecuvm.cis.ecu.edu

Gamma of North Carolina
Dept. of Anthropology
University of North Carolina
Chapel Hill, NC 27414
Dr. Susan Andreatta
Delta of North Carolina
Department of Anthropology
University of North Carolina at Greensboro
Greensboro, NC 27402-5001
s_andrea@uncg.edu

Ms. Diane P. Mines
Epsilon of North Carolina
Dept. of Anthropology
Appalachian State University
Boone, NC 28608-2016
minesdp@appstate.edu

Dr. Janet E. Levy
Zeta of North Carolina
Dept. of Sociology, Anthropology, and Social Work
University of North Carolina at Charlotte
Charlotte, NC 28223-0001
jelevy@email.uncc.edu

**OHIO**

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Alpha of Ohio
Dept. of Sociology and Anthropology
Wright State University
Dayton, OH 45435-0001
robert_riordan@wright.edu

Dr. David M. Stothers
Beta of Ohio
Dept of Sociology, Anthropology, and Social Work
University of Toledo
Toledo, OH 43606-3390

Dr. P. Nick Kardulias
Gamma of Ohio
Dept. of Sociology and Anthropology
College of Wooster
Wooster, OH 44691-2363
pkardulias@acs.wooster.edu

Dr. Elliot M. Abrams
Delta of Ohio
Dept. of Sociology and Anthropology
Ohio University
Athens, OH 45701-2979
abrams@oak.cats.ohiou.edu

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Alpha of Oregon
Dept. of Anthropology
Oregon State University
Corvallis, OR 97331-6403

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Erie, PA 16501

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California, PA 15419-1394
nass@cup.edu

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Pittsburgh, PA 15260

Dr. Miriam S. Chaiken
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Dept of Anthropology
Indiana University of Pennsylvania
Indiana, PA 15705
UTAH
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Alpha of Utah
Dept. of Social Work, Sociology, and Anthropology
Utah State University
Logan, UT 84322-0730
dlancy@cc.usu.edu

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Alpha of West Virginia
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VERMONT
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Alpha of Vermont
University of Vermont
Burlington, VT 05405-0168

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Alpha of Wisconsin
Dept. of Philosophy
University of Wisconsin at Stevens Point
Stevens Point, WI 54481
tjohnson@uwsp.edu

VIRGINIA
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Alpha of Virginia
Dept. of Sociology and Anthropology
Radford University
Radford, VA 24142

WASHINGTON
Dr. Elwyn C. Lapoint
Alpha of Washington
Dept. of Geography and Anthropology
Eastern Washington University
Cheney, WA 99004-2499
elapoint@mail.ewu.edu

Dr. Linda Seligmann
Beta of Virginia
Dept. of Sociology and Anthropology
George Mason University
Fairfax, VA 22030-1444
l_seligm2@gmu.edu

Dr. William Washabaugh
Beta of Wisconsin
Dept. of Anthropology
University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee
Milwaukee, WI 53201

Dr. Danielle Moretti-Langholtz
Gamma of Virginia
Dept. of Anthropology
The College of William and Mary
Williamsburg, VA 23187-8795
dmoret@wm.edu

Mr. Daniel Stroutdes
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