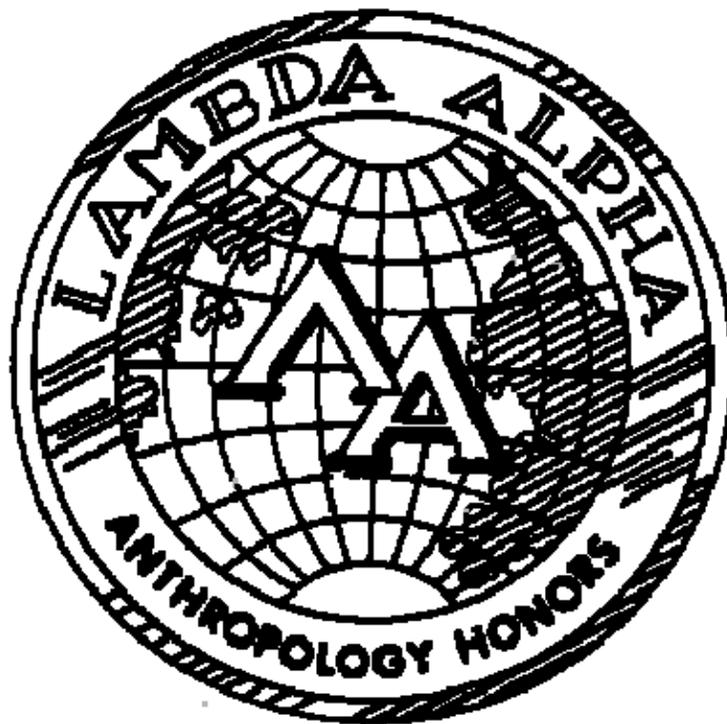


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# Lambda Alpha Journal

Student Journal of the National Anthropology Honor Society



FOUNDED BY LOWELL D. HOLMES

PEER H. MOORE-JANSEN, EDITOR IN CHIEF

# LAMBDA ALPHA JOURNAL

## VOLUME 37, 2007

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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. The use of footnotes or end notes is strongly discouraged. 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. Inquires or manuscripts can be directed to the editor electronically at: [pmojan@wichita.edu](mailto:pmojan@wichita.edu) or vial mail at:

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## ABOUT THE LAMBDA ALPHA JOURNAL

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## LETTER FROM THE EDITOR

I am pleased to announce the completion of the thirty seventh volume of the Lambda Alpha Journal, a publication of the National Anthropology Honors Society. This year's volume presents seven papers with topics in cultural, archaeological and biological anthropology. In addition, we have included both book and article reviews.

In the first paper, Danielle Deemer discusses how local knowledge is used to understand the causes of youth outmigration in rural areas. David Bailey II explores the influence of Buddhism in Sri Lanka's identity making. The concept of identity is also addressed by Gennie Thi Nguyen. In her paper, Vietnamese foodways is the unit of analysis, as it functions to maintain and transform cultural identity. M. Lynne Thompson examines if the religion Psychiana exhibits the primary components of a revitalization movement as defined by Anthony F. C. Wallace. The Katsina Cult, as explained by Ashley Atkins is not only understood in the religious sphere, but it should also be explained within the political sphere. Kristina Countryman analyzes the development of ancient Mesopotamia in terms of Multilinear Evolution Theory. Lastly, Alexia Dovas explores three theories as to why the Aztecs converted to Catholicism.

We have included four book reviews and an article review. A recent added feature to the Journal, I strongly urge readers to submit manuscripts in this category, even anthropological film reviews. I suggest that the reviews provide students with an important alternative for students to apply critical thinking to anthropological literature.

For the first time, we have included abstracts. Ten years ago I worked with a student to organize a student presentation forum at Wichita State University to provide students in all areas of anthropology an opportunity to prepare and present papers researched and written by them. The event quickly grew into a full day conference with attendance from Kansas and neighboring states. This year's symposium is the 9th Annual conference in Wichita and the presenters came from Kansas and Arkansas.

We conclude volume 37 with an updated list of chapters and advisors, followed by a recognition of past award recipients of the National Graduate Research Grant, winners of the National Scholarship Award, and National Dean's List Scholarship. The journal staff and I welcome all recent chapters and new members to the society. We congratulate this year's award winners and wish them success in their future endeavors. I extend my personal appreciation to all advisors and officers of the Lambda Alpha chapters across the nation and to the student authors for their contributions. I offer a very special thank you to Ms. Sandi Harvey, student-editor, for her diligent work to complete this volume.

Peer H. Moore-Jansen  
Editor-In-Chief

## YOUTH OUTMIGRATION AND LOCAL KNOWLEDGE: IMPLICATIONS FOR RURAL CSAS

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### INTRODUCTION

Why do youths choose to leave rural communities in the U.S.? This question is important in the context of Community Supported Agriculture (CSA), because CSA farms could provide many needed benefits to rural communities and because CSA farms are labor-intensive and require able-bodied young workers. This research paper is an effort to understand not only why rural youths are moving to urban centers in such great numbers, but also the prospects for rural CSA farms.

#### *Community Supported Agriculture Farms (CSAs)*

CSAs across the nation have served urban and suburban shareholders for the past two decades (for a history of CSAs in the U.S., see McFadden, 2003; Groh & McFadden, 1997). CSAs have offered a great many benefits to shareholders in the form of fresh, safe, and local food sources. Many, if not most, CSAs are organic farms. CSA's claim to distinction is its unique relationship between farmer and consumer: farmers are far more accessible in this system than compared to grocery market shopping or other mainstream forms of consumption. Shareholders can share a close, friendly bond with the farmer, and may even assist with farm work from time to time (Hendersen and Van En, 1999). This close relationship ensures honest and healthful farming practices. For thousands of urban and suburban shareholders, CSAs have proven to be a superior form of food production, food consumption, and community networking.

#### *CSAs and Rural Communities*

CSAs have yet to take hold among rural citizens, although they are widely popular in urban and suburban locales. There is little research indicating the existence of CSAs that are both run by, and serve, rural people. This might be explained by the fact that rural people most in need of CSAs (the food insecure and the malnourished) cannot afford the high, seasonal cost of shares,

which can range from \$300 to \$1000. There are solutions to high share costs, however, and the real barrier to CSAs may be the social fragmentation and decline caused by recent economic upheaval in numerous rural communities. Many rural people may simply be too socially isolated, or jaded, to muster the community cohesion necessary for establishing a CSA. Nonetheless, rural CSAs should not be discounted, because they have the potential to palliate many social and economic difficulties rural communities currently face.

For one, many rural economies in the past few decades have moved from community subsistence activities, toward large-scale resource extraction, manufacture, and service sector employment (Weber, 1995). The resources, goods, and services are largely destined for urban consumption. This urban-centric economy has led rural communities to be dominated by a secondary labor market (Summers et. al, 1995), meaning the few jobs available are menial, low-paying, and hold little room for advancement or promotion. The Floras have shown women and minorities are most likely to hold these positions (2004). It is little wonder many young people are prone to reject the sparse and mostly demeaning opportunities available to them in their rural hometowns.

This economic trend has characterized hundreds of rural communities across the U.S. Rural communities are now poorer (USDA ERS, 2004), and as a result, at least 15 percent of rural people are food insecure (Berkes, 2006). A New Mexico food gap report, for example, has shown that rural people must travel *further* to access grocery stores that contain *less* selection of fresh foods at a *higher* price (New Mexico Food and Agriculture Policy Council, 2006). CSAs have the ability to alleviate food insecurity by localizing the community food source. Local fresh foods would provide rural people with limited means access to affordable food and enable them to avoid processed, high calorie foods linked to health problems such as diabetes that are prone to flourish among low-income rural families (New Mexico Food and Agriculture Policy Council, 2006).

In a more indirect way, CSAs can also strengthen faltering local economies. CSAs (and other local agriculture operations) bolster local economies by ensuring capital circulates within the community (Lyson, 2004), by preserving farmland (Brodt et. al, 2006), and by bringing small-scale farmers into a market from which they would otherwise be out-competed by large-scale industrial farms (Feenstra, 2002). Schumann explains local endeavors of this nature are essential to creating stable and sustainable communities (1998).

Thus, it is important to understand how CSAs can be implemented in rural communities. One essential part of this process is to explain why rural youths leave rural communities, not only because their physical labor is required, but also

because outmigration represents a loss of brain power, culture, and future economic prosperity (Gibbs & Cromartie, 1994) that makes any rural endeavor successful. Do youth leave for purely economic reasons, or do their underlying cultural values differ from their counterparts who have chosen to remain in rural communities?

This research paper is an effort to understand the above question by examining whether rural outmigrants value local knowledge more or less than people still living in rural communities.

### *Local Knowledge*

What is local knowledge and how might it figure into rural outmigration? Kloppenberg defines local knowledge as “derived from the direct experience of a labor process which is itself shaped and delimited by the distinctive characteristics of a particular place with a unique social and physical environment” (1991). In other words, local knowledge is gained through interaction at the local level, and is not knowledge that is universally meaningful or applicable. An example of local knowledge is a farmer whose soil varies across his or her farm. The farmer must have an intimate understanding of this variation in order to sow the appropriate crop in each type of soil to maximize crop quality and good stewardship. The farmer’s knowledge of his or her soil variation is not applicable to other farms; it is a specific type of knowledge that is valuable only in context.

Local knowledge is quite different (but not opposite) from Cartesian knowledge. Cartesian knowledge is the reductionist, binary thinking that currently dominates universities, laboratories, economic establishments, and other large-scale social institutions. Cartesian knowledge is concerned with universally applicable generalizations, such as the laws of gravity, economic analyses, or medical science (Kloppenber, 1991). Since advanced research institutions are predominately located in urban areas, and are the places to which many rural outmigrants aspire to work, it is necessary to understand whether rural outmigrants leave rural areas because they value Cartesian knowledge more than local knowledge.

It is also important to understand to what extent outmigrants and rural people value local knowledge, because CSAs are operated according to local, “place-based” knowledge, as Feenstra has labeled it (2002). Many CSAs are organic, and farming without pesticides or other chemical inputs is only possible with an intimate understanding of local biological and climatological conditions. However, many farms in the rural U.S. operate according to Cartesian principles embodied in conventional (chemical) agriculture (Hart, 1995). Do rural people

sufficiently appreciate local knowledge enough to make rural CSAs successful? Or has conventional farming in rural areas been more a matter of course than a moral inclination? Measuring appreciation for local knowledge is both a way to understand the causes of outmigration, as well as the potential for CSAs to succeed in rural areas.

## METHODS

In order to understand the extent to which outmigrating youths value local knowledge, surveys were distributed to 32 urban college students aged 18 to 24 who self-identified as coming to New Mexico State University from rural communities across the nation. This group was targeted because Gibbs and Cromartie have shown 18 to 24 year old rural youths with one year of college education or more exhibit the highest rate (55 percent) of outmigration of any rural demographic (1994).

The 32 students were recruited by flyers, email, and word-of-mouth. Participants had the option of choosing to complete the survey in an hour-long focus group session where they could vocalize answers and discuss their responses in depth (4 students), to complete the survey electronically by email (18 students), or to take the survey home and return it in person (10 students).

Twenty-four rural residents of Torrance County, New Mexico, were also recruited for the study. Torrance is a nonmetro county, lying in the north-central region of the state. This group was recruited through the Torrance County Works Office, in association with the New Mexico State University Agricultural Cooperative Extension Service. The office serves as an employment resource for local residents, and many survey participants were unemployed and had not earned, or were in the process of working toward, a high school diploma.

The survey tested participants' appreciation for local knowledge by probing their awareness of their hometown's social and ecological features, and the usefulness and validity they attribute to this knowledge. Participants were asked to describe their knowledge of farming and/or ranching and then to describe the differences between acquisition of farming/ranching knowledge and acquisition of academic knowledge. Participants were additionally asked to describe their ideal career. A variety of career descriptors were offered that fell into two general categories: one category situated careers in the local economy and encapsulated local values and interests, while the second category described careers that champion globalization, multinational corporations, and a general disregard for local context.

Similarly, participants were asked to choose the three top hypothetical community figures they most closely identify with or admire. These figures were divided into those who would most value institutional knowledge (president of a national corporation, U.S. senator, physicist, international salesman) versus those who would be expected to value local knowledge (stay-at-home parent, town mayor, small business owner, small-scale farmer). It was hypothesized participants would adhere more strongly to one binary or the other, thus exhibiting the system of knowledge (Cartesian or local) the participant values most. The survey issued to rural participants differed only in the omission of questions requiring experience in a college setting.

Crosstabulation and chi-square analysis was then applied to the data to elicit dependent variables, using a probability value of 0.05. After crosstabulation, if the resulting significance value was less than 0.05, the null hypothesis was rejected and the variables in question were considered dependent. In other words, the participant's respective cultural background could be said to play a role in his or her value for local knowledge if the variables were shown to be statistically dependent (having significance of less than 0.05).

## RESULTS

Of the student participants, 62.5 percent were female. 21.9 percent identified as Hispanic, while 65.6 percent identified as White, and 12.5 percent as "Other." Similarly, 70.8 percent of rural participants were female, though fully 37.5 percent identified as Hispanic, the same percentage as Whites. One quarter of the rural participants identified as "Other." Despite these differences between groups and within groups, college students and rural people did not differ in their appreciation for local knowledge in most ways. There was no significant difference regarding participants' admiration for community figures, the extent to which they found farm work enjoyable, and their willingness to participate in community social life and volunteer activities.

However, there were two points at which rural people differed markedly from college students. For one, people living in rural areas perceived there to be more Cartesian knowledge-oriented jobs in their community than local knowledge-oriented jobs, while college students perceived there were fewer Cartesian jobs ( $n=51$ ). The null hypothesis was rejected that the two variables were independent ( $p=0.009$ ).

The most significant variable in the study evaluated whether participants thought a potential CSA would succeed in their community ( $n=45$ ). (None of the participants identified an active CSA in their community at this time.) The null

hypothesis was rejected that the two variables were independent ( $p=0.007$ ). In this case, only 41.7 percent of college students thought a CSA would succeed in their rural hometown while almost twice that proportion (80.9 percent) of rural people believed a CSA would succeed in the same circumstances. Rural people indicated they believed a CSA would succeed in their community due to the presence of interested local farmers, available farmland, and sufficient community interest. The college students believed a CSA would fail because these factors do not exist in their hometowns.

A final revealing outcome is that, of the college students who reported farming experience ( $n=23$ ), 70 percent indicated they valued the knowledge they gained through farming (local knowledge) more than the knowledge they were in the process of gaining in college (Cartesian knowledge).

## DISCUSSION

Rural residents and college students formerly from rural communities do not generally appear to differ in their appreciation for local knowledge. When the two groups do differ, however, they do so significantly. The marked difference in response regarding availability of Cartesian knowledge-oriented jobs, for example, indicates that college students and rural residents hold different views on the nature of the rural labor market. Rural people believe Cartesian knowledge-oriented jobs dominate rural employment opportunities, while students believe local knowledge-oriented jobs are more available. In this regard, rural people may have a greater awareness of their hometown's socioeconomic conditions than students, since Weber concurs that Cartesian jobs dominate the rural job market (1995). This perception on the part of rural people may have to do with the fact that the survey was conducted at a county office that helps area residents locate jobs and complete their GEDs, meaning that all rural participants in this survey either worked in an office (Cartesian) setting, or were unemployed.

This result may indicate rural people have an acuter sense of local conditions, and therefore, a greater appreciation for local knowledge. It could also indicate that college students romanticize, or generally misperceive, the rural places they leave behind. The fact that an overwhelming number of rural people believed CSAs would succeed in their community, while most college students did not, seems to reinforce this conclusion. None of the rural people surveyed had ever heard of CSAs before, much less belonged to one. Yet, when defined, rural people expressed both in the survey and vocally that they believed CSAs were a great idea, and could do much to alleviate the hunger and food shortages they themselves often face. In this case, rural people see the potential benefits of local knowledge in action, more so than students who have migrated out of rural areas.

Students' belief that a CSA would fail in their hometown may be attributable to the fact that, in enrolling in college, students must internalize institutional value for Cartesian knowledge. CSAs, on the other hand, operate according to local knowledge. Rural people at least see the possibility of CSAs succeeding in their community, and this could be due partly to their distance from the institutional/university mindset and a willingness to be open to any new possibilities that may improve local conditions.

On the other hand, 70 percent of students who had a background in farming and/or ranching found the knowledge they gained through those activities to be more useful than the Cartesian knowledge they were in the process of gaining through their college education. This may mean that some students retain conflicting feelings about the usefulness of local knowledge: they may appreciate it, but have little or no opportunity to apply this knowledge in their institutional setting. Nonetheless, college students from rural communities generally appear to value local knowledge and its potential for solving rural social and economic setbacks less than their counterparts still living in rural areas.

Interestingly, many rural people and college students chose not to answer all of the survey questions. None of the 56 surveys was returned fully completed. Several participants voiced comments to the effect that they were "unable to choose" between given options, and many even wrote on the survey itself that they favored both options of a given question, or none at all. While this is a drawback for statistical analysis, it could also be an indication that participants of both backgrounds mentally reject the binary oppositions and the reductionist, standardizing mentality of Cartesian knowledge.

These results point to two important conclusions. First, it appears youth may leave their rural hometowns due to a low level of appreciation for local knowledge. They may find urban institutions share their same Cartesian-oriented values, and choose to leave rural areas to join these urban occupations and mindset. However, I find that, while students differ dramatically on a few points, their appreciation for local knowledge appears to be generally the same as rural people when the survey data is interpreted as a whole. This means the high level of rural outmigration is probably motivated by limited employment opportunities for rural youth. Rural youth may move to urban areas because they rightly find the narrow range of menial, low-paying jobs available to them in rural areas to be demeaning and stifling. The 'respectability' of rural jobs is an important factor to consider in the context of outmigration, because, as Peden has shown, rural people's gender ideals and self-worth are measured through one's career choice (2005). Low-paying service or manufacture sector

jobs generally lack dignity due to their dead-end nature, and rural youth may seek respectable employment in urban centers.

Whatever the reason, there does not seem to be major underlying cultural differences between rural outmigrants and rural citizens that instigate the behavior and lifestyle choices of each.

Secondly, the survey results offer some clues to the potential success of rural CSAs. From the data, it is apparent that rural CSAs must be established by people still living in rural areas – and particularly by low-income or food insecure citizens who most sense the need and potential benefits of a rural CSA. It does not appear that students from rural areas could lead a CSA movement in their hometown as effectively as people who have continued to live in rural areas, as there seems to be vast difference in the community potential both groups see. It could be that students (who are financially secure enough to spend four years of their working lives in college) are removed from the food insecurity and other pressing needs that make the idea of a CSA immediately desirable.

These implications are a hopeful sign for rural communities. That rural people at least find rural CSAs to be a good and feasible idea means the first step toward establishing rural CSAs (community interest) is fulfilled. It will take a more complex solution to remedy the high levels of outmigration, and to keep needed young people at home. Though, rural CSAs could create more (and dignified) job opportunities for 18 to 24 year olds in rural communities. Of course, whether young people *want* to work on farms is a matter of personal choice, but the safer working conditions of organic farms, and the good company of fellow workers and shareholders can create an enjoyable working environment. Indeed, some rural youth, if given the opportunity, may find CSAs preferable to the daily grind of college or life behind a desk and computer.

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## RAMPANT LIONS: THE BUDDHIST RESPONSE TO VIOLENCE IN SRI LANKA

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### Introduction

One of the primary driving forces influencing armed conflict in the period following World War Two is the call for recognition and rights among competing national ethnic groups amidst the disintegration of colonial and supra-state rule. The state of conflict present in Sri Lanka following independence in 1948 exemplifies this division along lines of ethnic, religious, and linguistic distinctions between local Sinhala and Tamil populations. However, while such distinctions are present in a number of regional conflicts, what makes the situation in Sri Lanka so unique is the active role that Buddhism has played in the creation and maintenance of state-sponsored violence against the sizeable minority of Tamils living on the island. From a macroscopic, global perspective the advocacy of violence may be seen as equally lamentable and understandable within the context of national identity and its affirmation on the state level.

However, the traditional importance attached to *ahimsa* (nonviolence) supplies an additional level of complexity to the series of events that have taken place within Sri Lanka over the past century. When viewed through the context of protecting the *Sangha* (sacred assembly of Buddhists) on the island the use of violence may, in part, be explained, but the process leading up to this shift in values is worth considering for the impact it has played in transforming the perceived duties of monks within Sri Lanka. Couched in the Sinhalese national myth, the Mahavamsa, this change in social behavior has had a profound influence on how the Sinhalese have interacted with other communities from the colonial era into the present. Additionally, the use of public spaces has generated a physical dimension in which identity has been symbolically constructed and defined through the presence of sacred sites, educational centers, and ethnic homelands belonging to the communities participating in this exchange.

### Historical Context

Histories describing the origins and shared characteristics of a particular population can be found virtually anywhere in the world, ranging from the highly

mythical or religious to the purely secular and with histories both ancient and relatively modern. Typically, ownership of the land is a key component to this history – as seen in the American case of “Manifest Destiny” and the later proclamation of the Monroe Doctrine in relation to regional politics – and operates as a justification or *raison d’être* for the community’s behaviors and social systems. The sixth-century Mahavamsa exists as a national myth chronicling the arrival of the first Sinhalese to Sri Lanka (Smith 1979:83), and prescribes the mission of future generations through the actions of Kings Vijaya and Dutthagamani. By incorporating a text viewed as an ethnic historical record into the body of literature used within local strains of Buddhism, the Sinhalese national identity transcended genealogical lines and became established as the accumulation of Sinhalese Aryan ethnicity, the Indo-Aryan Sinhala language, and local Theravada Buddhism. Accompanying this transition came the idea of a Buddhist *Sangha* incorporating the island of Sri Lanka in its entirety.

If any one figure can be considered the “father” of the Sinhalese identity it is King Vijaya, who is credited with establishing an Aryan community in Sri Lanka on the day of the Buddha’s death (ibid). While the exact process through which this community was formed is open to a varied interpretation – Gunawardena (Tambiah 1992:132) claims Vijaya’s role was that of an aggregator of settlements rather than a true founder – the figures invested with the responsibility of protecting this community following Vijaya’s death share one important aspect in common: defense of the Sinhala community against foreign invaders, primary Tamils. Despite the appeal this concept in relation to the contemporary politics of national self-determination and preserving ethnic identities, it should be noted that the Sinhalese themselves are outsiders within the geographic space of Dravidian South Asia and that Tamil claims to the land stretch back just as far as those of the Sinhalese (Wickramasinghe 2006:259).

This conflict over control of the land also receives attention in the Mahavamsa through the imposition of Hindu rule by the Tamil king Elara and his eventual defeat by the Buddhist Dutthagamani (Smith 1979:84). While Elara has been described as a “virtuous and just” king (Tambiah 1992:130), the increased presence of Tamil culture on the island presented a threat to the Buddhist legacy established by Vijaya, met by Dutthagamani’s advance from the south to capture the central, core region of Sri Lanka. This push, from the periphery inward, has come to represent the move toward consolidation and political unity that preserved the Sinhala state (ibid.150), yet also frames equal fears of fragmentation. The actions of Dutthagamani in the second century were later echoed by those of the British in the eighteenth century and Parakramabahu’s Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE) at the end of the twentieth – presenting a new view of how the Sinhalese Buddhist majority may feel like a culture under threat despite constituting 70% of the population (Ludden 2005:283).

## Social Context

An interesting contrast can be observed in the social reaction to the remorse suffered by the Buddhist king Ashoka of India and Dutthagamani of Sri Lanka. Ashoka used the rewards of his early conquests to support the Buddhist community within his kingdom and offered his patronage to temples and other sacred sites (Ludden 2005:24). Additionally, he refrained from conquering territories to the south of Kalinga, preferring instead to offer spiritual tutelage in an effort to illustrate the moral righteousness and superiority of Buddhism. However, when Dutthagamani expressed his anxiety over the karmic consequences of his war against the Tamils he was assured that his violent reconquest of the island would not hinder his entry into heaven (Tambiah 1992:130). In an opposite reaction to that experienced by Ashoka, Dutthagamani was consoled by a group of *arahants* that he “need not worry because the thousands killed in war were nonbelievers who were therefore nonhuman” (Seneviratne 1992:21). From this justification of Dutthagamani’s actions comes a perceived mandate that the Sinhalese king – a representative figurehead for the entire community – has an ordained duty to uphold the integrity of the *Sangha*. While this influence Sinhalese-Tamil relations for several centuries until the collapse of the Buddhist kingship, it takes on an added measure of importance during the colonial period through the representational power allowed monks in the creation of a Sinhalese national and political identity.

The historical relationship between Buddhism and the Sinhalese kingship created strong ties of state identity at the macro level, while the prevalence of monasteries across the countryside resulted in equally strong associations at the micro level (ibid. 16-17). The permeation of Buddhism into all levels of society was aided by the educational opportunities available at monasteries and the traditional bonds between monks and the laity. However, the Portuguese assumption of control over Kotte following King Dharmapala’s death in 1597 (Wickramasinghe 2006:10) opened the area to Catholic influence as indigenous South Asian religions increasingly came under attack. While a Kandyan kingdom in the central highlands remained independent throughout the Portuguese and Dutch periods of colonial control, Buddhist monasteries and Hindu temples in lowland regions were attached by Jesuits (ibid. 21) in a physical attempt to remove local cultural monuments prior to the construction of European equivalents. Less overt methods were also employed, with tax exemptions, ensured placement in mission schools, and preferential treatment given to those who converted to Catholicism. Confronted by colonial violence against religious institutions, many Buddhists fled to safety of the Kandyan highlands (ibid.), and this inward migration resulted in an increased division between the cultures of the Kandyans and Low-County Sinhalese. Although the British successfully conquered this final

preserve of Sinhalese independence in 1815, the formulation of a divergent identity would later shape the interaction between religion and politics in relation to the role of monks within the Sinhalese national identity.

### **Religious Revival**

Initially shaped by Angarika Dharmapala's modernization of Buddhism in the nineteenth century, the role of monks within society was later shaped by two pivotal decisions by the Vidyalandara group of the 1940s. Educated at Christian College in Kotte, Dharmapala used Christian missionaries as a model for his vision of a revitalized monkhood (Seneviratne 1999:27) and administered a series of reforms that made Buddhism more accessible to the general public. Viewing his work as a "revival of the true traditional religion" (ibid. 28), Dharmapala's efforts melded Christian concern for a flock of believers with the widespread presence of monks at the village level to create a modernized conceptualization of the monk as a social worker dedicated to the community. As Seneviratne explains (ibid. 27), "the monk came to think of himself as an empowered political activist and an entrepreneur, in addition to being a caretaker of the flock". Under British colonial rule, the welfare of the Buddhist flock would necessitate an exchange between Sinhalese monks and the Christian community of Sri Lanka to ensure the protection of the *Sangha*.

Continuing Dharmapala's theme of the monk as a social worker, the Vidyalandara group went a step further in their expression of a monk's duties. Named for a monastic college in Colombo where many members associated, the Vidyalandara group instituted two practices that would play an important role in shaping post-colonial politics and ethnic relations between the Sinhalese and Tamil communities. The first of these expanded on the notion of social work to state that it was, "the right and responsibility of monks to participate in politics, in matters to do with the public weal, and in the nationalist movement and decolonization process" (Tambiah 1992:17). This marked a departure from the belief that detachment from the world was a key element in the cessation of suffering (Gerber 2006:2), but reaffirmed Buddhism's place as a primary marker of Sinhalese identity. The influence of Dharmapala upon the Vidyalandaras can clearly be seen, and although it is not discussed in contemporary literature concerning the modernization of Buddhism under the colonial system, one wonders whether dissatisfied monks saw the role that Christians played in the generation of colonial policy – particularly within the field of education – as an image worthy of emulation through further modernization efforts. The second activity attributed to the Vidyalandara monks was a large-scale involvement in activist politics, particularly in support of left-wing candidates, with the aim of influencing secular affairs through the aura religious morality and

righteousness (Tambiah 1992:17). This marked the transition from theory into practice, providing a movement supportive of political figures and supported by those very same officials. The appropriation of Sri Lanka as a Buddhist *Sangha*, based on events in the Mahavamsa, provided the Vidyalkara group with a justification behind their political involvement – namely, the protection of the *Sangha* against foreign communities. While this may come across as a radical progression away from traditional Buddhist values, the interest given these monks by the Sinhalese population paved the way for the future involvement of monks in the political sphere, providing a valuable base of support for the developing Janatha Vimukthi Peramuna (JVP) and other leftist nationalist groups operating within Sri Lanka.

### **The Kotahena Confrontation**

While the enduring image of conflict in Sri Lanka centers on the present divide between a Sinhalese Buddhist majority and Tamil Hindu minority on the island, the main participants involved in public displays of mass violence and agitation during the colonial period were, in fact, Sinhalese Buddhists and members of the Catholic Church. These groups engaged in protests during the late nineteenth century over the use of public space focusing on the colonial response to religious expression, the role and influence of education, and the construction of identities tied to a specific homeland that were phrased in relation to the British government and its related bodies rather than other South Asian communities present within Sri Lanka at the time. The event which best defines this opposition is the 1883 Kotahena Confrontation, initially staged as a “content over sacred space” (Wickramasinghe 2006:115). Supported by the emergence of Buddhist institutions such as the Buddhist Theosophical Society, Young Men’s Buddhist Association, and Maha Bodhi Society (Seneviratne 1999), an upsurge in anti-Catholic sentiments was expressed in response to the colonial appropriation of sacred spaces.

The British colonial empire had at its foundation a commitment to law and order (Wickramasinghe 2006:120) supported by both a colonial military presence and the entrapments of symbolic practices. A leading method through which the British colonial state was able to regulate the congregation of communities and enactment of religious activities within the indigenous population was through the issuance of permits that restricted religious processions to those times approved by the local constabulary. While such a system of state control was at first used as a simple formality, the increasing popularity in Buddhism generated by these new religious associations and the modernizing reforms through the work of Anagarika Dharmapala gave the colonial government an added impetus to control the public spaces used by this segment of society. The British regulation of public spaces was not restricted to the large-scale gathering

of community members as commonly happened during religious processions, but had deeper roots going back to the Police Ordinance of 1865 (ibid.). This ordinance was enacted as a way for the colonial government to control the use of time within Sri Lanka, and in particular served as a means to curtail night-time Buddhist healing rites involving drumming ceremonies that went against British notions of how the day should be divided between monk and leisure activities.

Conflict between Buddhists and Catholics developed in the spring of 1883 as a series of Buddhist processions near St. Lucia's Cathedral provoked outrage among Catholics due to the belief, "that Buddhists were infringing on their sacred space and even insulting their faith" (ibid. 117). Wickramasinghe (2006:115-120) provides a good account of events leading up to the Easter Sunday confrontation, so it is only worth noting here that the Catholics are described as the primary assailants against the Kotahena procession. Subsequent violence in the city saw Catholic chapels burned down in other regions of Colombo after the military had been called to disperse Buddhist gatherings. The perception that Catholicism was closely tied to the colonial administration (despite the probability that Protestantism was by and large the main version of Christianity practiced by the British) influenced Buddhist actions in the later riots of Kalutara (1896) and Anuradhapura (1903), in which pieces of the landscape were claimed as integral parts of the Sri Lankan Buddhist heritage in the face of colonial attempts at using the same public spaces for their own benefit (Wickramasinghe 2006:117-118). Directed by the Maha Bodhi Society (ibid.), Sinhalese pilgrims and residents in Anuradhapura specifically targeted Catholic spaces in the colonial center after the Public Works Department used stones from a ruined Buddhist city to construct a new road. Wickramasinghe provides an interesting commentary to this scene in her observation that, "Interestingly, Protestant and Muslim religious buildings were untouched." At this point, violence was directed on purely religious grounds and had little to do with the ethnic demographics of South Asian populations within Sri Lanka. The 1915 Sinhala-Muslim riots were a step in this direction, but economic priorities can also be given precedence in describing the causes of violence, as Muslim shopkeepers were labeled exploiters of the Sinhalese community in their commercial and financial dealings (Tambiah 1992:7). However, this issue would eventually arise in regard to education, and have an important role in the later conflict over homelands and the notion of who 'belonged' to and 'owned' the geographic spaces of Sri Lanka.

### **State Institutions and Identity**

Education has frequently been used as an effective control in exerting cultural hegemony over communities, and in the case of Sri Lanka this meant dominance over language and the later prospect of employment within the British

colony. Earlier Portuguese mission schools included a curriculum taught in Sinhala and Tamil (Wickramasinghe 2006: 21), while British schools emphasized the role of English as the primary method of communication and served as an important foundation through which positions in professional and higher administrative offices became available (Tambiah 1992:126). This unofficial acknowledgement of English as the national language served the interests of the colonial administrators and further advanced their attempts at homogenizing society and removing the complications of diversity (Wickramasinghe 2006: 40) while at the same time removing this issue from the foreground of Sinhalese-Tamil exchange. However, in terms of employment – which would later influence the particulars surrounding enfranchisement – the division between these communities led to suspicions that gradually transformed into hostility.

Two main areas of dispute emerged within this climate; the first against Tamils employed as plantation labor, and the second in relation to the non-Sinhalese population working within an urban setting. Following the British colonial decision to concentrate on tea, rubber, and coconuts as the primary goods of export (Ludden 2005:283), a massive amount of new labor was deemed necessary to fulfill production goals. Tamil migrant workers were brought to Sri Lanka in such large numbers that “the census of 1911 reported the number of Indian laborers [sic] in Sri Lanka at about 500,000 – 12 percent of the island’s total population” (Wickramasinghe 2006:36). However, these plantation workers did not come alone; the arrival of families and whole village communities that accompanied male migrant workers provided an important preserve of Tamil culture – especially given that plantation enclaves often limited interaction between migrants and the local Sinhalese community (ibid.) The absence of a shared community between the Tamil and Sinhalese populations in areas neighboring plantations led to a reduced ability to conduct religious and linguistic exchanges, removing any chance of syncretism between the two that may have dampened animosity in later decades. The introduction of a sizeable Tamil minority into Sri Lanka – unable to interact with the majority Sinhalese community due to colonial land distribution and housing systems – raised concerns among the Sinhalese over the sudden arrival of ‘foreign invaders’ from outside the *Sangha*. While it may be argued that their work provided economic prosperity to the island through increased trade and global integration, the question of who enjoyed those benefits within society must surely be raised.

Within urban areas, the presence of a commercial class of shopkeepers, businessmen, and money-lenders formed a transitional layer connecting both the colonial government with indigenous entrepreneurs and elites to the masses. The Sinhalese opinion of banking and pawn broking, more than likely influenced by the traditional restrictions with Buddhism, resulted in contempt and hostility toward those occupations involved in the exchange of money and interest; in their

place a number of South Asian communities took up these forms of economic activity (ibid. 133). Through the void generated by Sinhalese occupational preferences, a new stratum of financially successful Tamils emerged within society, creating a new economic competitor that spoke an alien language, practiced a different religion, and participated in cultural communities outside those of Sinhalese society. Furthermore, the policy of British banks prohibiting money lending directly to indigenous populations (ibid. 139) solidified the position of communities such as the Nattukottai Chettiars of South India, and it was not until 1939 that a state-aided bank, the Bank of Ceylon, was established.

Not only did urban Indian communities monopolize financial activities and institutions, the large migration of rural, plantation laborers into Sri Lanka caused many within the Sinhalese community to question the future of their national identity. When viewed in relation to the Mahavamsa history of Tamil invasion in the second century, the continued arrival of Tamils under British colonial rule must have been seen by some as a violation of the holy Buddhist *Sangha*. Directed by monks who had fled Portuguese persecution into the central highlands of Kandy, an alternative to the prospective of an Indian franchise was proposed by the Sinhalese community to restrict the franchise requirements extended to Tamil workers (ibid. 125). Sinhalese leaders disagreed that a five year residency requirement was sufficient to justify voting rights to non-indigenous communities and instead proposed that a document of intention to settle accompany the residency requirement. From this it becomes clear that the Sinhalese community was not focused on the outright denial of franchise rights to Tamils, but instead supported greater restrictions on the franchising process (ibid.).

A key issue at stake in terms of extending the franchise to migrant workers following independence was the future of land ownership and control of resources within the state. Although the Sinhalese constitute a majority of Sri Lanka's population, the concentration of non-Sinhalese citizens in the Northern Province and Eastern Province has created an important constituency that was seen as having the ability to influence local politics. The Buddhist response to government initiatives toward greater linguistic equality in the 1950s was less than enthusiastic, as "[a] group of Buddhist *bhikkus* connected with the Eksath Bhikku Peramuna protested against the inclusion of a clause permitting individuals who had been educated in English or Tamil to take public examinations in that language until 1967 and urged the government to press ahead more rapidly with language changes. Their rally on the steps of the house of representatives culminated in a fast by a prominent university lecturer" (Wriggins 1960:260, quoted in Tambiah 1992:46). With language operating as an outward indicator of culture, this debate over the role of language within government offices served as a substitution for the general discourse concerning the place of the non-Sinhalese minority within society.

A further aspect around which the national identities of Sinhalese and Tamil communities were formed involves the perception of ethnic 'homelands' within Sri Lanka. Based on the presence of salient cultural populations, these communities have become associated with specific core areas that give an additional level of support to communal leaders and embody the process of national reaffirmation within each group. While contemporary media focuses on the exchange between the Sinhalese government and the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE, or Tamil Tigers), the Kotahena Confrontation illustrates how other religious communities have been involved in the formation of communal identities. This process of identity formation has also occurred recently in relation to the Tamil communities of Sri Lanka, with the LTTE attacking Muslims in the Northern Province between 1984 and 1990, causing "the expulsion *en masse* of the entire population of Muslims in the Northern Province" (Wickramasinghe 2006:288) in 1990. A result of this inward migration is that Muslims now constitute an even higher percentage of the population in Eastern Province (33%), while the LTTE has turned its attention toward eliminating other, competing Tamil groups (ibid. 289). By removing other organizations that offer support for increasing Tamil autonomy, the LTTE can subsequently claim to be the sole legitimate representative of Tamil rights vis-à-vis creating a defending a homeland in which to preserve Tamil culture from the majority Sinhalese population. Similarly, the purported defense of Tamil communities by the LTTE against not only the Sinhalese government, but also Muslim 'foreigners' and the Indian Peace Keeping Force validates the Tamil Tigers' actions through presenting the current conflict as one of national identity and self-determination – the very same features used by the Sinhalese to justify their acts. Although situated on opposite sides of the nationalist issue, the parallels between Sinhalese attempts to 'keep' Sri Lanka as an ethnic homeland free of foreign 'invaders' and Tamil measures toward achieving similar aims within regions with strong Tamil ethnic enclaves has fashioned a situation in which opposing interests – particularly between the LTTE and JVP – have come to define the context on their own terms, making conciliation an unlikely prospect for the immediate future.

### **Peasant Resettlement Programs**

One arena through which the expansion of the franchise has been linked to the establishment and maintenance of ethnic homelands is in relation to peasant resettlement programs instituted to develop land within Sri Lanka's Dry Zone (Tambiah 1992:68). The spread of culture through the advance of agriculture is commonly acknowledged within the history of pre-modern India (Class lecture, 29 August 2006), and a further example of this process can be observed within modern Sri Lanka. Designed as a method to place more land under cultivation, the peasant resettlement programs have raised important questions concerning the

composition of ethnic homelands and the powers these regions hold in relation to the central government. Attached to these 'colonization' schemes was the assumption that relocated peasants be awarded an equal voice within local institutions such as government offices and educational seats. However, as the primary movement associated with these programs saw lower-income Sinhalese migrate to predominantly Tamil areas in the north and east, concerns were soon voiced from among these communities regarding the growth of transplanted Sinhalese Buddhist communities in these regions (Tambiah 1992:68-69).

In particular, Weli Oya and Madura Oya received such a large influx of migrant families that new constituencies were established in 1976 to ensure Sinhalese Buddhist representation in the Eastern Province (Wickramasinghe 2006:269). Government allocations of land to Sinhalese peasants under the governments of the United National Party (UNP) and Sri Lanka Freedom Party (SLFP) further strengthened the Sinhalese national myth of national 'reconquest' and land reclamation by providing state-level support to peasants. The peasant vote was sought to such a degree that majoritarian governments from both parties "virtually occupied themselves with catering to the needs of the Sinhalese peasantry, while either discriminating against or being less caring about the interests and needs of the minorities who are the major native populations of the northern and eastern provinces" (Tambiah 1992:68). Added to this was the populist agitation of socially-active, leftist monks, who claimed a moral justification for resettlement programs through the story of the Mahavamsa and the precedent set by past Sinhala kings, who built an egalitarian rural society based on a combination of temple construction and irrigated rice agriculture (Tambiah 1992:60).

### **Contemporary Conflict**

When viewed as a reiteration of Sinhalese ownership of the land and a continuation of the Mahavamsa, it is perhaps little surprise that the Sinhalese laity, government, and members of the various Buddhist schools would see the peasant resettlement programs as beneficial – even vital – to the preservation of Buddhism and Sinhalese culture within Sri Lanka. Tamil and Muslim groups, however, see the issue as one of maintaining their own ethnic identity amid increasing Sinhalese pressure since before independence. In response to Sinhalese claims of a traditional homeland forming a Buddhist *Sangha*, the Tamil community made a similar assertion in relation to the northern peninsula through the historical presence of the Jaffna Kingdom and one the basis of their own ethnic myths (Wickramasinghe 2006: 269). While the British attempted to appease the Hindu and Muslim populations of India through partition, no such overtures were made in Sri Lanka between Buddhists, Tamils, and Muslims; it was not until the 1987 Indo-Sri Lanka Peace Accord that acknowledgement was given to

Sri Lanka's position as a multicultural and multilingual society, with the northern and eastern provinces recognized as historically Tamil settlements (Tambiah 1992:76).

The ongoing peasant resettlement programs were considered to be equivalent to Sinhalese imperialism by members of the Tamil community; the government's policy of offering assistance to Sinhalese peasants while ignoring concerns of the local majority created an untenable position for the Federal Party – founded to represent Tamil interests in Sri Lanka – and eventually resulted in calls for a separate state (Wickramasinghe 2006:269). Further complicating matters, the security forces of Sri Lanka had traditionally been comprised of members from the country's Christian population (ibid. 280), but following an abortive all Christian military coup the police and army were purged and replaced with individuals that transformed these units into Sinhalese-Buddhist forces. Restructuring the multicultural security forces into a homogenized representation of Sinhalese Buddhist identity led to increased fears among the Tamil and Muslim communities, and it is from this environment that the LTTE was formed in 1970 (ibid. 282). Amid slogans declaring Tamil rights to self-determination, the LTTE initially attacked only Tamil politicians seen as collaborators with the Sinhalese government. After Jayawardene's UNP government passed the 1979 Prevention of Terrorism Act, Sri Lankan security forces were allowed greater flexibility in their dealings with suspected insurgents – targeting the Tamil community and holding citizens incommunicado for up to eighteen months without trial (Tambiah 1992:71). These developments did little to assuage Tamil suspicions, and have led to increasingly public attacks by the LTTE aimed at Tamil politicians, freedom fighters associated with other organizations (ibid. 2006: 289), and Sinhalese politicians, security forces, and civilians. As the conflict progresses through the twenty-first century, the Tamil Tigers and predominantly-Buddhist JVP have formed two opposing poles concerning the integration of non-Sinhalese communities within greater Sri Lankan politics and society.

## **Conclusion**

While public opinions must surely vary, it is hard to escape Seneviratne's judgment (1999:7) that Sri Lankan society has suffered as a result of twentieth century efforts to modernize Theravada Buddhism. Dharmapala's reforms were designed as a means to generate social work projects within the community and reaffirm Buddhist identity on a similar scale to that observed within Sri Lankan Christianity under British rule, yet the expansion of those ideas by the Vidyalankara group has led to the intersection of religion and nationalist politics that gave birth to the JVP.

Both Seneviratne (1999:17) and Wickramasinghe (2006:324) touch upon the effects of this transformation and the political consequences of social activism within Buddhism, claiming that the resurrection of a conceptualized national *Sangha* in the postcolonial era has forced successive governments to recognize a small segment of the population as having an extensive range of control over the administrative process. This transfer of power – from the national government to representative figures from the *Sangha* – harkens back to the Sinhalese national myth of Vijaya's arrival to Sri Lanka and the divine mandate to maintain a nationwide Buddhist homeland through reconquest and the protection of peripheral zones from non-Sinhalese Buddhist settlement.

The idea of national reconquest has shaped the Sinhalese national consciousness into the present and plays an important role in defining the politics instituted by the Sinhalese-majority government. Additionally, the colonial experience of religious favoritism used by the British has provided not only an example for the Sinhalese government to follow in the post-independence period, but has also created a perception of Buddhism as a religion under threat from outside forces. Although Buddhism is the majority religion in Sri Lanka, the colonial legacy still influences how the population views their position within society. While the initial transition from British rule to independence was not marked by the same level of violence found in neighboring India, Wickramasinghe's observation (2006:333) that, "the Sri Lankan postcolony seems to have failed, in many spheres, to address its past without reproducing it" seems an accurate assessment of the dilemma facing the Sinhalese-majority government today. The act of solidifying religious codes and incorporating Buddhism into the national identity served as a way to rally support during colonial rule, but in the context of a multicultural, multilingual society it only serves to divide and compartmentalize members of the population.

Recent governments have proposed a federal system with provincial councils similar to those organized in India (Tambiah 1992:77) as a means of appeasing the LTTE while preserving the unity of the Sri Lankan state; the main opposition to this program coming from the UNP and socially-active monks rather than Tamil separatists. An important obstacle that prevents progress within the national government is the divisionary tactics employed by the two main political parties (the UNP and JVC) representing Sinhalese interests – each party typically uses a platform of conservative nationalism to gain support from the Sinhalese majority before shifting to a more moderate stance once in office. Attempts to satisfy both sides in the discussion can be undermined by a variety of factors, particularly given the violent methods employed by militant organizations representing the Tamil and Sinhalese communities.

Democracy may have opened up leadership positions to a greater number of individuals, yet at the same time it has also created rifts within society that have been exploited by those best able to harness the expectations and fears of the general population. Underlined by competing national myths, conflicting views over the use of public space, and different experiences under colonialism, the distinctions between Tamils and the Sinhalese in Sri Lanka have been reinforced to such a degree that the situation regarding the devolution of central authority may be seen as irreconcilable given the history of events that has transpired since independence.

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## HOME IS WHERE RICE IS: MAINTAINING AND TRANSFORMING CULTURAL IDENTITY BEYOND THE BORDERS OF VIETNAM

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### Introduction

*I once asked my grandmother where she thought Vietnamese cuisine came from. After thinking about it for a few seconds she started laughing, her hands waving in the air, 'where else but from our "ong ba" (our ancestors)!?' (Mai Pham, Pleasures of the Vietnamese Table, 2001)*

Vietnamese in America have created their own ethnic imprint. Many scholars have written about Vietnamese refugees in America often focusing on family and community (Haines et al 1981; Fry 1985; Rutledge 1992; Wood 1997; Shelley 2001). Others have focused on Vietnamese gender roles (Jeffords 1987; Kibria 1990; Goodkind 1997; Marino 1998). Many studies however, whether focusing on family, community, or gender roles, discuss the importance of the transition of Vietnamese culture outside of Vietnam (Roberts and Starr 1982).

This paper will discuss how persisting Vietnamese foodways are critical to sustaining cultural identity for Vietnamese refugees. For any immigrant group, traditional foods represent a connection to the past, function to maintain ethnic identity, and assist in reducing the effects of acculturation (Kilcik 1984). Vietnamese food is not only important for the maintenance of identity for refugees who fled Vietnam in search of asylum, but also for their descendents. Vietnamese food acts as a shared symbol that helps hold Vietnamese communities together. Persisting Vietnamese foodways is an important way for descendents of displaced Vietnamese to form their ethnic cultural identity, since they were not acculturated in Vietnam. Andrea Nguyen, born in Vietnam, was six years old when she left, she states, "[Food] was a way my parents made sure we held on to our ethnic heritage" (Haughton 2006).

Because many refugees left in haste, they were only able to gather a few possessions with them (Marino 1998). One important piece of property often saved was recipe books. Nguyen notes, "'My mother is an excellent cook," who escaped with few possessions, "except a small orange notebook of recipes that she brought to this country in case she opened a restaurant" (Haughton 2006).

Even after losing everything following Hurricane Katrina in 2005, displaced Vietnamese who were living at shelters and stranger's homes stressed the need for Vietnamese food to be served to Vietnamese evacuees. Vietnamese restaurants in Texas helped raise spirits after Hurricane Katrina by serving evacuees Vietnamese food (Tang 2005:2).

### **History**

To understand the cultural significance of food for Vietnamese identity, origins of Vietnamese food must first be examined. The rich and extensive history of the Vietnamese people began many millennia ago, when people first started migrating to Southeast Asia. Then about four centuries ago mass migration occurred from present-day Southern China. This migration consisted of a mix of indigenous tribes that shared many characteristics (Salemink 2003:23-26, Jamieson 1993:6-8). These people were the first Vietnamese, and because of the close geographical proximity and historical connections to Thailand, Laos, Cambodia, and India, Vietnamese food share similar qualities.

### **Chinese Influence**

In 111 B.C.E., Vietnam fell under China's control, which strengthened Chinese influence on Vietnamese culture. Under China's one thousand year rule, Vietnamese Confucian and Buddhist values took shape among other elements of Chinese culture. Vietnamese cooking, as a result, is strongly influenced by the Chinese. Similarities include the wok and the use of chopsticks. In addition, cooking methods such as quick stir-frying and the daily use of ingredients such as rice and noodles are influenced by the Chinese (Hsiung 1997).

Another contribution of the Chinese towards Vietnamese culture is the belief in *yin* and *yang*. All things in Vietnamese culture are believed to be encompassed by *yin* and *yang*. Harmony was maintained if *yin* and *yang* are balanced including the individual human body. According to traditional folk thought, all foods are believed to have an "essential nature," where "hot" and "warm" foods are considered *yang*, and all "cool" and "cold" foods are considered *yin* (Jamieson 1993:11). It must be made clear; however, the concept of "hot" and "cold" foods in this context is not in reference to temperature but instead, in reference to the innate spiritual essence of all foods. The balance between *yin* and *yang* foods influences Vietnamese foodways in several ways. One is the need for variety of diet. Because illness is believed to be influenced by the imbalance of *yin* and *yang*, the balanced diet of *yin* and *yang* can be achieved through the variety of "hot" and "cold" foods.

## French Colonial History in Southeast Asia

French colonists provided another significant cultural presence in Vietnam. The French began colonizing Vietnam in 1859 with most of their influence in the South. French contribution to Vietnamese culture includes, French language, Catholicism and the introduction of Western values. The influence of the French also can be seen in Vietnamese foodways. Examples include the baguette, a symbol of French national pride. The differences, however, are that the French baguette is made from wheat, while the Vietnamese baguette is made from rice and wheat (Trang 1999:17). This is a clear example of how Vietnamese food unmistakably has its own identity despite foreign influences. The most popular usage of the baguette is seen in “banh mi” sandwiches stuffed with different variations of meats, jalapeños, pickled vegetables, and cilantro. Other influences of French foods are seen in Vietnamese pastries, Vietnamese pâté, and coffee. The introduction of coffee to Vietnam is particularly significant in two ways. First is that coffee is now a major export of Vietnam, which was the second largest global exporter in 2000 (Salemink 2003:45; *The Economist* 2002). Secondly is the importance of coffee shops in Vietnam and, as I will later discuss, Vietnamese communities outside of Vietnam.

## Historical Food Shortage

An important aspect of Vietnamese current foodways involves the food shortages and starvation that due to war and famine have scarred its history (Jamieson 1993:197; Nguyen 2003:95). For example, the year 1945 was one of the most disastrous years for North Vietnam. Two million people died of famine caused by the disruption of agriculture as a consequence of Japanese wartime policies among other things in Vietnam (Nguyen 2003:95). Another factor was the consequences of an inexperienced administration after the Vietminh gained control in North Vietnam (Hammer 1966:130, 137; Lancaster 1961:127-128). Combined with the second consecutive poor harvest in the fall of 1945, the inexperience of the Vietminh led to horrible starvation. Additionally, the presence of 150,000 Chinese troops who had entered Vietnam with no provisions of their own and 50,000 of whom remained there for over six months exacerbated the food shortage (Jamieson 1993:197).

This dreary fact of Vietnam’s history has long passed but is still remembered in the minds of many Vietnamese and is culturally transmitted to their children. My mother, a Vietnamese Catholic refugee, like many others, believes that wasting food is a sin. Quynh Hoang remembers her mother’s words, “If you waste food, when you die, you will have nothing to eat [in the after-life]” (interview with author, February 25, 2007). This conservative practice of

food encompasses the spiritual, emotional, and psychological. Here, food impacts more than the physical, but can also involve spiritual redemption as well. And although generations of American-born Vietnamese have never experienced starvation, the conservative practice is shared through stories and behavior.

### **Migrations**

The 1975 reunification of Vietnam provoked a mass migration of Vietnamese people to other countries. From fear of physical harm, economic instability, and Communists reprisals, many fled the country. Migration encompassed two waves of movement. The “first wave” occurred between 1975 and 1977. The “first wave” was much more organized than the second. Consisting mainly of educated refugees who had connections to Western military, the “first wave” migration was less dangerous than the second. The “second wave” migration occurred after 1977 comprising mainly of “boat people.” “Boat people” were refugees with little education, who escaped Vietnam on make-shift boats in the hope of being rescued (Rutledge 1992; Wood 1997; Marino 1998; *The Economist* 2002). Although many drowned in the South China Sea, many were saved and brought to refugee camps awaiting sponsorship for immigration.

Many refugees resettled in America. One Vietnamese enclave, Versailles, was created in New Orleans, Louisiana. Versailles has been said by many visiting native Vietnamese as being reminiscent of the landscape of Vietnam. Even more interesting is the kinship and community ties that the people of Versailles have with others in the community. Approximately sixty percent of Versailles residents in the early 1990s originated from the North Vietnamese bishopric of Bui Chu with many other residents coming from the adjoining bishopric of Phat Diem (Airriess 2002:232). Many were rural farmers and fisher folks.

### **Food Traditions**

Vietnamese identity for those who migrated after the war was being threatened by the diaspora. Being displaced from their homeland and way of life, most had to redefine their lives in very different ways. One way in which Vietnamese held on to their identity was through food traditions. Vietnamese food traditions can be separated into two categories: the sacred and the profane. Sacred traditions are observed during festive holidays and religious offerings. One festival where food is significantly important is Tet. Tet, Vietnamese New Year, has food which is specialized for the holiday such as “banh chung” and “banh Tet,” which are called New Year cakes. Another symbol of the Tet holiday, which began in Hanoi peach blossom trees and mandarin orange bushes.

One way in which diasporic Vietnamese held on to their cultural identity was by continuing sacred food traditions by recreating ethnic landscapes (Airriess and Clawson 1994; Airriess 2002). By recreating a familiar geographical and cultural environment of Vietnam through food, they allow cultural identity to persist. This is achieved in several ways in Versailles during the Tet season. First is the continuing production of special traditional New Year foods such as “banh chung” and “banh Tet.” Production of New Year cakes is a very long and arduous task (Nguyen 2003:76). The continuity to make New Year cakes despite the hardship of time and labor is evident of the importance to the cultural identity maintained through food for residents of Versailles.

Second, persistence of cultural identity through traditional holiday food is seen in the sale of traditional items of Tet including peach blossom trees and mandarin orange bushes during the early Saturday market (Airriess 2002). The Saturday outdoor market is a recreation of the village markets in Vietnam (Jamieson 1993). This recreation of an ethnic economic landscape provides a way in which residents can feel a sense of familiarity both for the vendor and consumers. The market contributes to the celebration of Tet since it provides a space for people to sell and purchase traditional items common to Tet. Tet and Tet food becomes a shared symbol with shared meaning for the displaced Vietnamese community.

The other category for Vietnamese food tradition is the profane. This is representative of Confucian values in Vietnamese society. Another common foodway in Vietnam that has origins in China is the way food is served, which is highly reflective of the social structure. After the food is prepared, it is often served in large serving vessels and placed in the center of the table. Everyone has a small individual bowl with rice. The meal then is shared and eaten communally and not portioned. Among many things this particular foodway shows that the communal is more highly valued in Vietnamese society than individualism.

In addition, hierarchy can be represented in everyday Vietnamese foodways. Before a family is allowed to begin eating, it is customary for each member of the family to simultaneously welcome everyone at the table to begin eating beginning from the highest person in the kinship hierarchy to the member right above themselves, but never anyone lower than them in the hierarchy. After that, no one is allowed to begin eating until the highest person in the social hierarchy (usually the oldest) begins. Food rituals and social roles are much more intricately intertwined in Vietnam than in America.

Nevertheless, important food customs that surround holidays or daily foodways continue to exist in Versailles. These customs mark a cultural continuity that is shared among Vietnamese-Americans. The existence of food customs help preserve Vietnamese identity for the Vietnamese refugees and their descendants.

### Therapeutic Gardens in Versailles

The early outdoor markets in Versailles are re-creations of the village markets in Vietnam. The market in Versailles are full women wearing the traditional cone-shape Vietnamese hats squatting down near the ground selling everything from baked goods, live ducks and rabbits, to homegrown vegetables. The sounds of women haggling often fill the early Saturday air.



Fig 1 The early Saturday markets in Versailles on Alice Fortier Blvd<sup>1</sup>

Fig 2 A market in Vietnam<sup>2</sup>

Most of the vegetables sold are grown in the Versailles gardens, a community garden, which can be found near the edge of Versailles. Thirty-four different leafy green vegetables, tubers, cucurbits, condiments and herbs, legumes, and medicinal plants not common to the Western diet can be found (Airriess and Clawson 1994). Because New Orleans shares a similar climate with Vietnam, hot, humid, and (sub) tropical, the inhabitants reproduce the vegetables they once produced in rural Vietnam.

More than environmental similarity and economic incentives, the residents of Versailles may have other reasons to recreate rural landscapes of Vietnam (Airriess 2002: 241). In many instances of diaspora, the elderly are more often the ones who experience psychological adjustment problems in a new environment because of a lack of English-language skills, employment opportunities, and a dependence upon their children for the basic daily interactions outside the community including financial relations (Roberts 1982; Marino 1998;

Airriess 2002). Also, the traditional social structure is being challenged because of the elderly's high dependence on their children. As a result, the elderly experience a profound sense of helplessness that leads to psychological health problems.



Fig 3 Gardens in Versailles<sup>3</sup>



Fig 4 Gardens in Vietnam<sup>4</sup>

Because mental health is not commonly recognized in the Vietnamese community, many of these problems are not addressed in a formal way. Gardening then is seen as a “hortitherapeutic” activity (Kaplan 1973; Wood 1997; Airriess 2002). Gardening allows the elderly to reminisce and recreate rural Vietnam, and their sense of home. This form of psychological healing serves two major purposes: it eases the psychological trauma of being part of a forced ethnic displacement, and it provides the continuation of Vietnamese culture for future generations not born in Vietnam.

Gardening in Versailles, then, provides more than an availability of Vietnamese food. Culture is passed on from older generations to younger generations through food. This makes gardening and food customs crucial in the continuity of Vietnamese culture outside of Vietnam. Food and food customs act as a medium to share cultural meanings from the Vietnamese acculturated in Vietnam and later generations born in America. Food customs share more than sustenance from one generation to the next. It allows other values to be implemented through foodways. For the Vietnamese, the importance of the communal and kinship hierarchy can be emphasized. Because the re-creation of Vietnamese food and food customs outside of Vietnam are made available, American-born Vietnamese can still create a strong Vietnamese identity.

### **Hidden Functions of Ethnic Grocery Stores, Restaurants, and Cafés**

After migrating, many Vietnamese became self-employed by developing and maintaining food establishments. The Vietnamese food establishments have many cultural functions beyond simply providing familiar ethnic food to the community. In Versailles, the most numerous and oldest business establishments are food and grocery stores. Of ninety-three businesses, fourteen are varied-sized grocery markets that sell a wide range of merchandise. In addition there are two fresh meat markets, one seafood market, and one bakery. Numbering eleven, the second most numerous business establishment in Versailles are restaurants and cafes that range from large formal restaurants to small coffee shops (Airriess 2006:22). The prevalence of food establishments represents its importance in maintaining cultural identity.

Food establishments are a way for Vietnamese refugee residents to belong to a community, which is essential for emotional adjustment in a new environment (Tran 1975; Haines et al. 1981:313). This is created in several ways. First, food establishments connect numerous Vietnamese communities nationwide by bringing Vietnamese performers as far away as California mainly at nightclubs and restaurants (Haines et al 1981:315). By doing this food establishments create an environment that helps to adjust to a new environment. This helps the creation and maintenance of cultural identity through live entertainment.

Second, the use of coffee shops and food restaurants provide a space where Vietnamese people can gather through the commonality of shared foodways. Small shops such as cafés and restaurants provide a “Vietnam-like haven” in the United States; it is a place where Vietnamese can take pleasure in being Vietnamese (Wood 1997:68). This “Vietnam-like haven,” are places where people hang out in their free time creating a space for socializing and networking with other Vietnamese that ultimately creates and maintains community identity.

The importance of kinship also has its place in food establishments, since many are family-owned and operated (Haines et al 1981:316-318; Airriess 2006:25). In Versailles, 44 percent of businesses are co-managed by spouses (Airriess 2006:25). Food establishments like other family-owned businesses are able to provide economic support for the family. Food establishments and other family-owned businesses also keep family together. This is evident in that even if the individual refugee could be better off financially, they choose to stay with the family business due to family obligations (Haines et al 1981:316). Other evidence that family-owned businesses such as food establishments enforce cultural values of family is the children working in the businesses after school or in their

spare time (Haines et al 1981:318). In addition to the economic incentives of free labor, children working for the family businesses help develop strong ties within the family. Haines et al (1981: 318) notes, "one woman stressed the importance to her of the children helping each other, making decisions together, spending their allowance (which she controls) together. She emphasized that she did not want them to become 'too individualistic; we want them to stay together'." Although Vietnamese food establishments provide the services to make Vietnamese food readily available to the community, it also provides a way to enforce cultural identity.

### **Negotiating Gender Roles and Identity**

Traditional Vietnamese gender roles are threatened by displacement. The changes in gender roles subsequently threatened the traditional diet. One initial problem of adjustment that many scholars have noticed among Vietnamese refugees is lack of employment especially for men (Marino 1998). Many men lacked the English-speaking skills and the education for adequate employment. Women, on the other hand, had less difficulty finding employment since more low-paying occupations were available such as waitressing, sales, domestic service, and food service (Marino 1998:93). Because of the lack of male employment opportunities due to various factors, women often redefined gender roles by becoming the sole economic provider of the family. This significantly challenged the traditional Vietnamese Confucian gender roles of male dominance and offset the balance of *yin* and *yang*.

Because women are now unable to dedicate the customary amount of time to their traditional role in the home, less effort is spent on traditional food preparation. Because of this, the traditional Vietnamese diet changed. The Vietnamese in America now consume less of the healthy traditional diet with little fat, and with much variety and have turned to American food. Much of the American food consumed, however, are unhealthy fast food and frozen meals often consisting of an unhealthy amount of chemicals, fat, sodium and carbohydrates. The production and demand of pre-made Vietnamese products are also threatening gender roles. Examples of popular products are instant noodles (Americans have a popular version called Ramen noodles), instant "pho," a traditional Vietnamese soup, and, more recently seen on the market, instant "chao," Vietnamese congee made with rice and meat. The heavy reliance on foreign foods also disrupts the balance of "hot" and "cold" foods.

The transition to more Americanized food also helps the acculturation of the younger Vietnamese generation, who prefer American food (Crane and Green 1980; Story and Harris 1989; Airriess and Clawson 1994) as opposed to the older

generation who may consume it more out of convenience. Food, then, becomes a marker of cultural transition and acculturation for the new generation of Vietnamese Americans. In addition, since food symbolizes the change in traditional gender roles, this will have an effect how the new generation perceives their identity within traditional gender roles. Another example of negotiated cultural identity is the renaming of the Vietnamese baguette sandwiches to “Vietnamese po’boys” in New Orleans. Po’boy sandwiches are one of culinary trademarks of New Orleans. The renaming of the traditional Vietnamese sandwich to include a culinary symbol of their current surroundings is further evidence of a negotiated cultural identity in New Orleans through food.



Fig 5 “Banh Mi” sandwiches renamed Vietnamese po’boy in New Orleans<sup>5</sup>

## Conclusion

Vietnamese cuisine has evolved and changed over time with many influences from other cultures. Despite foreign influences, Vietnamese food still manages to maintain its unique style. Vietnamese food in America still maintains its links to Southeast Asia. Corinne Trang notes that “food is the center of life.” This is meant literally and centers around the family, home, culture, relations, health, seat of ideas, an expression of emotion, a form of display, and so forth: it is life (1999).

When many Vietnamese migrated outside of Vietnam, their cultural identity was negotiated through food. This negotiation shows that, not only the ways in which this new style of foodways defines new forms of belonging, but also the diaspora now engages an intercultural space where tastes are redefined and reimagined in the relation to the wider society (Thomas 2004). Vietnamese food connects Vietnamese people together. This helps maintain their identity because Vietnamese people cannot be culturally Vietnamese without the presence of other Vietnamese whether it is family or community. This communal emphasis is important for refugees because of the Vietnamese diaspora. When they lived in Vietnam, they were an ethnic majority, but after they dispersed, many became ethnic minorities in the countries in which they resettled. Because of this, maintaining ethnic identity became more important than ever in the past. Food, then,

connects Vietnamese people together through shared cultural symbols. Rice, jasmine tea, and coffee are all staples of Vietnam and are all shared cultural symbols among Vietnamese. It fulfills more than just physical need, but impacts the emotional and psychological as well through memories and multi-faceted understandings of belonging. As a Vietnamese, when I think of jasmine tea, I think of my mom sipping jasmine tea with me when I was a small child. I can hear the sounds of her laugh and the sight of her comforting smile. Vietnamese coffee always brings memories of my father in the morning, and rice reminds me of family because it is always present and shared in family meals. Rice is to the Vietnamese and other Asians as apple pie is to Americans. It is a symbol of nationality and shared meanings impacting the physical, psychological, and emotional. Loung Ung speaks for Vietnamese and other Southeast Asians when she describes, "When I have rice, I am at home" (2006). Understanding how foodways are negotiated is important to understanding the ethnogenesis of Vietnamese people in American. Foodways play an essential part of maintaining and creating Vietnamese cultural identity.

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## PSYCHIANA: A 20<sup>TH</sup> CENTURY REVITALIZATION MOVEMENT?

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During the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, a new and unusual religion called Psychiana reached millions of people around the world. Its founder claimed to be a prophet who talked with God. With no churches and minimal organization, Psychiana was said to be the world's seventh largest religion. Unlike any other before or since, this religion was almost entirely conducted through mail order – with a money-back guarantee.

One might well ask why, if this religion was so popular and influential, is there little knowledge of its existence. One also may wonder why and how it found such a widespread audience. Finally, the question must be asked how other religions with similar messages succeeded and still survive while Psychiana virtually vanished less than 25 years after its inception.

From an anthropological perspective, Psychiana and its founder, Frank B. Robinson, bear many of the marks of a revitalization movement and the charismatic personality who leads one. This paper will examine and compare the characteristics of Psychiana, from its inception to its demise, with the typology of revitalization movements provided by Anthony F.C. Wallace. It will include information from Robinson's personal manuscript collection (now housed at the University of Idaho and compiled by Judith Nielsen), as well as excerpts from a book by Charles S. Braden, professor of History and Literature of Religions at Northwestern University, who personally interviewed Robinson. (It must be noted Braden's book was published after Robinson's death, and he does not indicate exactly when the interviews took place). Historical references also will be used to support the argument.

It all began with an advertisement placed in a Spokane, Washington, newspaper in 1929. A pharmacist named Frank B. Robinson placed an ad with the statement "I TALKED WITH GOD" and directions on how to receive more information (Braden 1949:1). According to documents in a collection at the University of Idaho, "within a year the teachings were being sent to 600,000 students in 67 countries" (Nielsen 1980:5). Clearly, Robinson's intriguing message struck a spiritual chord around the globe.

### **The Man behind the Message**

Robinson's life was fraught with contradictions and complications. Records show Frank Bruce Robinson was born in England in 1886, though he claimed to have been born in New York City (Nielsen 1980:1). His father, as described by Robinson to Braden (1949:7) was an "unworthy (Baptist) minister who frequently engaged in drunken brawls and carried on intrigues with female members of his congregation." Robinson's mother died when he was about 8 years old; his father remarried, and his new wife was said to be a cruel and physically abusive woman to Frank and his brothers (Nielsen 1980:1). According to Nielsen's records, Robinson joined the British Navy at age 13 or 14, but was discharged soon after. Family documentation then describes how he and a younger brother traveled to Canada in either 1900 or 1902 to work on farms (Nielsen 1980:1). As a young adult, Robinson was living in Toronto, where he briefly attended Bible Training College (Nielsen: 1980:2, Braden 1949:8). The outcome of this schooling is debatable; Nielsen's records show he did not complete the studies, but Braden's article states Robinson was ordained as a Baptist minister.

Nielsen's records show Robinson held various jobs across Canada, then down the Pacific coastline, before arriving in Moscow, Idaho, in 1928 (Nielsen 1980:2). By this time he had married and started a family, and was working as a druggist at the local pharmacy (Nielsen 1980:2). Robinson's early history shows a penchant for alcohol, which caused him to lose jobs and to be discharged from the U.S. Navy; by 1919, however, he was "cured of his drinking problems" (Nielsen 1980:2).

Braden (1949:8) states that Robinson spoke of having "a great hunger for God" during this time and even as a child. Both Nielsen and Braden describe Robinson's dissatisfaction with organized religion, stating he was "disillusioned" (Nielsen 1980:2) and "disappointed ... they had no answer to given him when he asked them to show him the reality of God" (Braden 1949:8). Robinson decided he had had enough of traditional religion and "had made up his mind that the world needed something very different from 'the religious hodgepodge that minister handed out ...'" (Braden 1949:9). Braden goes on to quote Robinson's plea to a higher power:

As he stood there in his room, (Robinson) writes, he lifted his eyes to God and said, 'Oh, God, if I have to go to hell, I will go with the consciousness that I went there earnestly trying to find you.' Then a remarkable thing happened. Instead of feeling condemned for denying that the church knows anything about God, there came to him a wonderful peace and rest. At last he knew he

was on the right track. ... The experience deepened and a strange power, he says, came into his life. All fear left him and he came to know a deep abiding peace (1949:9).

According to Braden (1949:9), Robinson was impressed by a book, The Secret of the Ages, by Robert Collier, that contained elements of the relatively new New Thought religious movement. Braden then shares Robinson's description of a visionary experience:

Then God opened the veil which is supposed to separate us mortals from God, and though God and I are very close now, I shall never forget that day. The future opened up like a rose. I cannot describe it – such moments are not described by any words in any language; they are spiritual moments and are spiritually discerned. ... Let me just try to describe it by saying that the Spirit of the Infinite God spoke to me. ... God had at last revealed Himself to me, and had done it through methods entirely removed from any theological organization on the face of the earth (1949: 9, 10).

Neither Nielsen nor Braden indicate when this revelation occurred, but Nielsen (1980:4) states that Robinson began preparing lessons and giving lectures in 1928 at the Moscow Hotel about “the powers of God” and that 60 attended the first lecture. Psychiana was chartered in 1929 and very quickly advertisements were appearing in hundreds of newspapers, dozens of magazines and several radio stations (Nielsen 1980:4). The response was impressive; by the end of its first year, Psychiana was reaching 600,000 students in 67 countries (Nielsen 1980:5).

Robinson initially seems to have considered operating Psychiana as if it were a traditionally organized religion; however, as Braden (1949:1) points out, the movement has “few local organizations, but seven ordained ministers” and that Robinson did “start to organize local ‘Psychiana’ groups but gave it up and ... deliberately refused to sanction the formation of such bodies.” Psychiana differed from mainstream churches in others ways, such as owning little property other than its headquarters, and states Braden (1949:1), “recognizes but one source for its teaching, the founder himself.” Robinson began using the title of Archbishop of Psychiana and using the designations D.D. and Ph.D. after his name which, according to Nielsen (1980:3), were conferred in 1918 by a correspondence school in Indianapolis called the College of Divine Metaphysics and by Reed College in San Francisco.

As Psychiana grew to find followers around the world, Robinson began to speak to them on radio programs and in lecture halls (Nielsen 1980:5) and by 1937 had organized national conventions. Just a year earlier, Robinson hired assistants – also involved in ministry – to handle the enormous volume of correspondence from readers (Nielsen 1980:5). Nielsen (1980:5) goes on to state that both assistants were forced by their own churches – Methodist and Church of God, respectively -- to discontinue their involvement with Psychiana. During Braden’s visit to Psychiana headquarters (at an unspecified date or year, but presumably in the mid-1940s), he noted an average of 1,300 pieces of correspondence were received per day (Braden 1949:2). Nielsen (1980:5) notes “at its peak, Psychiana was reported to be the seventh largest religious organization, and that approximately 100 employees “handled up to 50,000 pieces of mail per day.” Nielsen does not clarify if this number included both incoming correspondence and outgoing lessons. She also does not give a date for Psychiana’s “peak.”

Robinson had a severe heart attack in 1940, but remained at the helm of Psychiana until his death on Oct. 19, 1948 (Nielsen 1980:3). Robinson’s son, Alfred, took over the mail-order business but was unable to maintain its success (Nielsen 1980:6). The last lessons were mailed in 1952 and Psychiana’s short but impressive existence ended in January 1953 (Nielsen 1980:6).

### **“A Prophet of God”**

Psychiana’s appeal may be attributed largely to Robinson’s claims to have had personal communication with a God who desired happiness, good health and prosperity for all people. He spoke of “no limitations to the power of God” and the ability to “materially and physically bring from the creative Realm of the Spirit of God anything you need for your complete and material happiness” (Braden 1949:14). In fact, Braden recalls his discussions with Robinson perpetually revolved around God:

It is doubtful any religious group places greater emphasis upon God than does Frank B. Robinson. The writer was impressed in his personal contacts with the founder at the almost continuous reference in their conversation to God. ... (H)e was constantly insisting upon the power of God in its relation to human problems and the necessity of making this power known to man. He seemed utterly obsessed with the idea (1949:14).

Braden (1949:14) points out similarities between Psychiana and the New Thought movement (which emerged in the mid-1800s and continues to exist in present day) that emphasizes the ability to control one’s “health, happiness, pros-

perity” through positive thinking; however, Robinson himself denied any such comparison, despite his interactions with New Thought leaders, such as Dr. Ernest Holmes and Emily Cady, and “attending a Truth Center, which is a New Thought branch, years before he had thought of starting a movement” (Braden 1949:13, 14). Interestingly, Braden notes, Robinson and Holmes had discussed forming an alliance and “did collaborate in certain public meetings” (Braden 1949:13). Robinson also had considered creating what might be considered churches, or as Braden writes “local groups of followers,” but this was never accomplished (Braden 1949:13).

A few examples given by Braden (1949:14-19) of Psychiana’s tenets deviate from traditional Christianity of its day and focuses on the individual’s ability to tap into God’s power by accepting that “within you is the only place you can find God,” that “all the power that was available to Jesus is equally available to men here and now,” and “Unbelief or doubt of God is the only sin there is in the universe.” Robinson also was not one to suppress his disdain for churches or the Christian beliefs in the crucifixion and salvation (Braden 1949:16). Concerning churches, Robinson believed they were misleading people about the true relationship they have with God. He told Braden, “If the churches would only make God real to men, I (meaning Psychiana) wouldn’t last over night” (Braden 1949:20). Robinson rejected the Christian belief in the crucifixion, stating “as though God could be crucified” (Braden 1949:16), and was equally intolerant of the traditional teachings about salvation. Braden (1949:17) describes Robinson’s interpretation of salvation as “the achievement of a relationship to, or an understanding of, the nature of God.” These, and other statements made by Robinson, were met with mixed emotions with his subscribers, as will be discussed shortly.

Robinson reported having numerous visions and dreams, including one that revealed the name of his new religion. The dream involved a man, standing near a male corpse and making gestures, who told Robinson, “This is Psychiana, the Power which will bring new life to a spiritually dead world” (Nielsen 1980:4). Those who took the Psychiana lessons to heart, Robinson claimed, would see a dramatic transformation, one of perhaps Utopian proportions. In what he calls his “most explicit statement involving moral teaching,” Braden quotes Robinson:

(W)hen America awakens to the fact that the power of the spirit of God is available with all its mighty power to all, here and now, believe me, this world will change completely. Wars will cease, illness and death will be no more ... there will be no more tears, no more sorrow, no more suspicion of the other fellow, no more crime, no more immorality ... for the sham of the present day religion will be cast off, and in its place will come the power of Almighty God (1949:18).

Interestingly, Braden (1949:12) notes that Robinson's rejection of traditional church doctrines was due to "their promise of something to come hereafter, in another life, but not available now." This would seem to conflict with the Utopian scenario Robinson espoused.

Braden (1949:10) notes that Robinson referred to himself repeatedly as "a prophet of God" and as an Adept, defined as someone "who by reason of an unusual achievement of spiritual quality come to have wisdom and powers not vouchsafed to ordinary individuals" (1949:12). Robinson also believed he possessed special powers, describing how a flat tire on his vehicle was miraculously restored after a brief prayer (Braden 1949:10), how he commanded his pet goldfish in a different room to materialize in his hands then return to their aquarium (Braden 1949:11), and how his dog was able to transport itself through closed doors when he beckoned it (Braden 1949:11). Those unfamiliar with Robinson's claims or his Psychiana teachings would surely view them skeptically; however, as Braden notes:

Such experiences ... put a heavy strain on one's credulity, but it is interesting to discover that many people accept implicitly the truth of Dr. Robinson's statements and believe that these things happened as exactly as he told them (1949:11).

Who were these "many people" who subscribed to the lessons of Psychiana? Why would so many accept Robinson's stories as true? To answer these questions, Braden offers a demographical breakdown of those requesting lessons advertised in magazines and through direct mail.

### **Subscribers to a New Faith**

Fortunately, for research purposes, Robinson kept a detailed record of respondents to Psychiana advertisements in various print sources, mostly magazines and newspapers, but also direct mailings. Braden (1949:3) reports that of ads placed in 25 magazines, those responding for either more information or to subscribe to lessons, the highest number – 21 percent – came from "readers of a magazine dealing with the future." According to Braden (1949:3), the next highest were from readers of two astrology magazines (18 percent and 14 percent), and two detective magazines (16 percent and 14 percent). The two lowest numbers of respondents – 3 percent and 4 percent – were readers of newspapers circulated in sparsely populated areas (Braden 1949:3). Braden (1949:3) speculates that subscription rates among rural dwellers were low because "they may be on the whole less insecure, better adjusted than their urban brothers, and hence feel less need for what Psychiana has to offer."

Robinson also kept track of those responding to his direct-mail advertising. One list shows the largest number came from “persons who had responded to some sort of lonely hearts appeal” and the second largest – 20 percent – from “a group dealing with the power of thought” (Braden 1949:4). A direct mailing to “several thousand” individuals, whose names were obtained through “group lists” results in the following percentages of respondents: Theosophical, 15 percent; Yogi, 14 percent; New Thought, 13 percent; and two astrology groups, 12 and 11 percent (Braden 1949:5). Thus, he concludes, “persons who have been interested in the occult or the mysterious, or the future seem to respond more readily” (Braden 1949:5).

Braden later notes that Robinson’s records showed “an equal number of men and women” subscribers and that the average age was “from forty to sixty years” (Braden 1949:26). Interestingly, Robinson told Braden that 79 percent “are ‘white collar’ people in the \$3,000 a year class. Not the lunatics as one monthly publication called them” (Braden 1949:26).

The lesson requirements themselves were relatively straightforward. Subscribers were instructed to practice relaxation and breathing techniques and to repeat positive affirmations “as many as thirty or a hundred times” each day (Braden 1949:22). Readers also were told to recognize a “white spot” or “bright spot” when they closed their eyes. Robinson described this as “the very thin veil between you and the God-Law of the Universe” (Braden 1949:22).

Many subscribers wrote to Robinson sharing stories of healing, increased prosperity and overall improvement in the quality of life (Braden 1949:30). Others were less satisfied, claiming the teachings conflicted too much with their own religious views or had no noticeable effect on their lives (Braden 1949:29). Braden points out an important aspect of the glowing testimonials of those who reported being healed:

The writers may not have known what was the matter with them. They may have been mistaken, in health cases, in the diagnosis of their ills, but that they believe they have been helped, there can be no doubt. And when people believe they have been helped, they have been helped, at least temporarily (1949:30).

Even those who didn’t reap the promised rewards promised in the Psychiana lessons found them to be beneficial. One woman admitted that Robinson’s anti-church approach was off-putting to her but “I don’t pay any attention to that. He helps me just the same. I just take what helps me. I don’t bother about the rest” (Braden 1949:27).

It appears that Psychiana was, for the most part, satisfying a psychological need for its followers. Clearly, thousands of people were seeking a supplement or even an alternative to the religions being offered in the U.S. at that time. The Psychiana phenomenon falls neatly into what is called a revitalization movement, albeit a failed one. Given the historical time frame, which will be discussed later in this paper, and the religion's particular shortcomings, Psychiana's demise is understandable.

### **Defining a Revitalization Movement**

Anthropologist Anthony F.C. Wallace has conducted extensive research into the field of religion and, most notably, the process he calls a "revitalization movement." Briefly, Wallace defines this process as occurring in stages. According to Wallace (1966:158), the first is the steady state, in which a culture is experiencing a modicum of stress at the individual level but is maintaining its overall balance. The second stage, the period of increased individual stress, occurs when the culture experiences a definitive blow to its stability, or as Wallace explains, the society is "being 'pushed' out of equilibrium by various forces" and "individuals are placed under what is to them intolerable stress by the failure of the system to accommodate their needs" (Wallace 1966:159). The third stage is what Wallace calls the period of revitalization. Without revitalization, he states, the society will collapse or become part of a different society that has maintained equilibrium (Wallace 1966:160).

This process, according to Wallace, (1966:160), usually includes the institution of the following: formulation of a code, communication, organization, adaptation, cultural transformation, and routinization (Wallace 1966:162, 163). If these steps are successful, the result will be what Wallace calls the new steady state, in which the movement is accepted and the culture is again in balance (Wallace 1966:163).

Wallace describes several subcategories of revitalization movements, but this paper most specifically refers to what he calls a Utopian movement (1966:65). Psychiana appears to contain an element that "aims to achieve a golden age believed to lie in the future but to be implicit in the evolving patterns of the present" (Wallace 1966:165). Again, Robinson's concerns with other religions' lack of focus on "here and now" and Psychiana's promises of a transformed world (described earlier) seem to contradict each other.

One characteristic of the revitalization movement is that the founder is typically a charismatic person who claims to have had a vision or prophetic experience (Wallace 2003:21). Believing a calamity will befall the culture if it doesn't

change its course, this person then begins to put into place the revitalization process, beginning with formulation of the code. As Wallace states:

This model is a blueprint of an ideal society or goal culture. Contrasted with the goal culture is the existing culture, which is presented as inadequate or evil in certain respects. Connecting the existing culture and the goal culture is a transfer culture – a system of operations which, if faithfully carried out, will transform the existing culture into the goal culture (1966:160).

Wallace explains how those who experience prophetic visions tend to form religious movements in which ritual is a major component toward a transfer culture (Wallace 1966:160). This is important to note, as it may have played a part in the failure of Psychiana. Although other aspects of revitalization are clearly present in the movement, emphasis on ritual is a missing key ingredient. Other than urging readers to meditate and recite positive affirmations, there appears to have been no other form of ritual involved. This explains to a significant degree why no transfer culture took place.

One area in which Robinson was highly successful was communication. According to Wallace, the movement's founder will make the code known to as many people possible in order to gather converts (1966:160). "The code is offered as the means of spiritual salvation for the individual and of cultural salvation for the society" (Wallace 1966:160). Without question, Robinson was a master of marketing his code to the masses and indeed had hundreds of thousands of "converts" to his religion.

At the end of the day, Psychiana could not fulfill the remaining processes of revitalization: organization, adaptation, cultural transformation, and routinization. Again, this is likely due to Robinson's reluctance to form churches where members could meet and be instructed by an official Psychiana leader. Psychiana was loosely organized, at least well enough to sustain a mail-order congregation for 23 years; however, without an established set of rituals and routines -- without what Wallace (1966:161) terms a "tricorned relationship" involving the founder, a group of "disciples" and the congregation -- it is remarkable that Psychiana endured as long as it did.

### **Historical factors**

Robinson introduced Psychiana in 1929, the same year that the Great Depression struck the United States. While there is no mention whether Robinson himself suffered any great financial loss at this time, it is reasonable to conclude that his readers were among many who did. According to Cantor, the Depression:

(D)id not make itself felt everywhere at the same time, and it produced unprecedented economic disasters in the Western world, particularly deflation, decline in productivity, and massive unemployment. ... The level of unemployment reached twenty-five percent by the time Franklin Roosevelt became president in 1932 (1988:208).

The 1930s were a time of extraordinary hardship, a time of financial ruin for many and, one must agree, of spiritual distress as well. After all, Americans were imbued with the Protestant work ethic, described by Max Weber as “advocating hard work and delayed satisfaction” (Cantor 1988:105). Cantor goes on to explain how Weber’s theory (that the Protestant work ethic would “foster capital accumulation”) was an example of “ideas that shape social forces” and not the opposite (1988:105).

The United States had seen capitalism in full swing during the “Roaring Twenties,” and it seemed the “work hard and you can achieve great riches” mindset was in full accord with the economy. This came to a sudden halt when the stock market crashed in 1929. Over the next few years, the country was indeed sunk into a depression. Despite Roosevelt’s New Deal program to put people back to work, it was “the coming of the Second World War, not the New Deal, that ended the depression in America” (Cantor 1988:213).

This historical period also was one of great change in religion, most notably Catholicism (Cantor 1988:118). As Cantor explains, in the early 1900s, there was an attempt to bring the Catholic church into the 20<sup>th</sup> century through a movement known as Modernism (1988:118). This move was “suppressed by the Papacy as being dangerous to the faith” (Cantor 1988:118). Still, despite the Pope’s admonishment, people saw the need for change, as Cantor writes:

It was therefore the task, during the 1920’s and 30’s, of Catholic thinkers who wished to modernize Catholic theology, to try and find a way around the disaster that had taken place in the early years of the century, a way around the papal condemnation. These thinkers were engaged in an activity which the overwhelming majority of the hierarchy, particularly of the Vatican, did not welcome. They were obliged to sneak, as it were, the modern world into Catholicism (1988:118).

Certainly, other forces were in play historically but, upon reflection, one might see how traditional mainstream religions might not have garnered the same

loyalty from its members or offered the reassurance its congregants needed during this time of national – and personal – crisis. Perhaps not only Catholics were struggling to worship in a way that more closely reflected their view of the world. Perhaps others were disenchanted with their current belief systems and sought something that provided a sense of security. Psychiana promised happiness, prosperity, wellbeing – qualities that were sorely lacking during the Great Depression.

### **A Return to Prosperity**

As Cantor (1988:213) stated, the U.S. economy was boosted by World War II. By the 1950s, people were again living the “American dream,” and the future looked more promising than ever before. It does not appear to be a coincidence that Psychiana’s popularity peaked in the 1940s; the U.S. was recovering from the Depression while engaged in battles around the world, which continued to provide tremendous stress on an already traumatized nation. Nor is it unreasonable to conclude that Psychiana’s demise was not only the result of Robinson’s death but of the economic upswing in the late 1940s and early 1950s.

Finally, one must wonder if Psychiana would exist today had Robinson organized it in such a way to ensure it would carry on after his death. Would it have joined other New Thought churches and offered worshippers a place to meet on a regular basis? It’s difficult to say, but what does seem likely is that those who were loyal subscribers to this mail-order religion, those who took it seriously as a new way to interact with a higher power, found and joined similar religions – such as Divine Science, Religious Science and Unity -- that have succeeded into the 21<sup>st</sup> century.

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## THE KATSINA CULT AND PUEBLO IV RELIGIOUS AND POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

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The Katsina Cult as well as religious and political organization has always been a fervently debated topic among archaeologists of the American Southwest. Some archaeologists argue that the Katsina Cult evolved solely as a cooperative social integrative system in response to mass migration during the fourteenth century. They also argue that the same ceremonies and rituals practiced in prehistoric Pueblo society are still evident among the contemporary Pueblos. Other archaeologists argue that the early Katsina Cult was associated with warfare because the social environment of the Pueblos was characterized not merely by cooperation, but conflict and violence as well. On religious and political organization there is a split debate with archaeologists arguing over whether or not pueblo social organization is defined by a hierarchical system or an egalitarian system. However, there is a more recent view point on Pueblo social organization that is attempting to abolish the traditional assumptions of societal organization. The archaeologists' viewpoints, dealing with the Katsina Cult and Pueblo social organization, attempt to give evidence for their explanation on how each appeared evolved and how each are still practiced in contemporary society.

In Stephen Plog's and Julie Solometo's article, "The Never-Changing and the Ever-Changing: The Evolution of Western Pueblo Ritual," they explain that the Katsina ritual did not remain the same over centuries while the social environment of the Pueblos was changing and evolving. The appearance of the Katsina Cult coincides with a cultural environment plagued with conflict and violence; therefore, connecting and associating the appearance of the Katsina Cult with warfare. They then propose that the communal aspect of the Katsina Cult came when the Spanish arrived and nearly wiped out the Pueblo population. The Pueblo, faced with this large population loss, had to start recruiting from other clans to increase participation. Both articles, "The Katsina Cult: A Western Pueblo Perspective" by E. Charles Adams, and "Evidence for the Origins of the Pueblo Katchina Cult as Suggested by Southwestern Rock Art" by Polly and Curtis Schaafsma, take on a different view point than Plog and Solometo by claiming that the Katsina Cult appeared as a social system mechanism for integrating new,

large and diverse populations into the already established Pueblo villages. In response to the other Katsina articles, I chose to read Edward P. Dozier's article, "The Pueblos of the South-West United States" because it gave a detailed overview of the contemporary Katsina Cult, which greatly helped in my understanding on how Katsina ceremony is practiced among contemporary Pueblo Indians. Dealing with Pueblo social organization (religious and political), the article, "Although They have Petty Captains, They Obey Them Badly: The Dialectics of Prehispanic Western Pueblo Social Organization" by Randall H. McGuire and Dean J. Saitta, attempts to take a dialectic approach to explain Pueblo organization. The authors stray away from the generalized categories of 'hierarchical' and 'egalitarian' and interpret Pueblo social organization as having both egalitarian and hierarchical characteristics. Through reading and analyzing all of the articles above I have come to agree with Plog and Solometo in regard to the Katsina Cult. I also have come to the conclusion that McGuire and Saitta's article have validity in its suggestions on how to understand Pueblo social organization.

First, with the Katsina Cult and Katsina ceremony Plog and Solometo propose that in its earlier phase, the cult was connected to warfare. Plog and Solometo give an abundant amount of evidence to support their proposal. First, they give an overview of what the social environment was like when the Katsina Cult first began to appear. During the years in association with the Katsina Cults appearance, there is wide spread evidence that warfare and the need for defense existed. This evidence includes villages located in inaccessible areas such as cliff dwellings and villages constructed atop unique land forms that allowed for signaling and visibility with other groups. Other evidence includes enclosed plazas that can easily be interpreted as defensive because of the high walls and few entrances or exits. However, Adams has a different opinion on the appearance of enclosed plazas. He proposes that these plazas appeared solely for Katsina ceremonial purposes. I disagree with Adams' proposal because if the enclosed plazas were for ritual usage only; there would be no point in enclosing them and making it difficult for the people of the village (who all participate in the Katsina ceremonies) to enter and exit due to a small number of openings. Militaristic images in occurrence with weather and fertility images found on Pueblo rock art, kiva murals and ceramics also give evidence that warfare was possibly a significant part of the Pueblo's religious ideology.

Schaafsma and Schaafsma and Adams apparently have chosen to ignore this aspect of warfare in pueblo art because neither one give any reference to evidence associated with warfare. All three authors also propose that the Katsina Cult appeared as a response to the large influx of immigration into Pueblo villages, but they claim this social environmental change was characterized by cooperation and not by conflict. However, with all of the evidence offered by Plog and Solometo,

it is difficult not to assume that there was violence and conflict and that the early Katsina Cult appeared as a reflection of this.

Schaafsma and Schaafsma also propose that the early Pueblo's integrative style of Katsina ceremonies is still evident amongst the contemporary Pueblo. However, I cannot agree with their proposal that the Katsina Cult has remained unchanged because there has been radical change both internally and externally (Spanish interference) that the Pueblo endured over the centuries. Taking Dozier's contemporary Katsina overview, and relating it to Plog's and Solometo's evidence, which connects warfare to early Katsina Cult, it is apparent to me that it has not remained stagnant, but has evolved over the centuries.

In their article, McGuire and Saitta attempt to address the hotly debated topic of Pueblo social organization. There is a heated debate over Pueblo social organization due to the split view point between archaeologist who categorize Pueblo organization as egalitarian and those who categorize Pueblo social organization as hierarchical. However, McGuire and Saitta propose that Pueblo societies were both egalitarian and hierarchical. They have chosen to take a 'dialectic' approach to interpreting and explaining Pueblo social organization in which it should be intellectually studied and observed instead of generalized and categorized. To shed light on the debate and their viewpoint, McGuire and Saitta give the example of the Grasshopper Pueblo and Chavez Pass Debate. The Grasshopper Pueblo site appeared to be characteristic of an egalitarian society while on the other hand the Chavez Pass site appeared to be a hierarchical administrative center. In McGuire's and Saitta's opinion, both sites are too similar to be interpreted so differently and they suggest that both sites show evidence of hierarchy and egalitarianism.

This is just one example of how archaeologists disagree on the categorization of Pueblo society. A critique on McGuire's and Saitta's article suggests a heterarchy approach, but the authors argue in their responsive article to the critique, "Dialectics, Heterarchy and Western Pueblo Organization" that this type of approach is too "static and silent." It would not allow them to really investigate the causal powers that created the different aspects and the complexity of Pueblo organization, McGuire, Saitta and their critic agree in the terms that Pueblo social organization is complex; however, their approaches to explaining it and categorizing it are very dissimilar. After reading McGuire and Saitta's article and the response to their critique, I have come to the conclusion that both opinions have their valid points and both could be useful in particular situations. For example, McGuire and Saitta's dialectic approach might yield to be a complicated feat because social organization within any culture is hard to dissect piece by piece while useful categories might help to better explain the general composition of Pueblo social organization. I agree with McGuire's and Saitta's statement that

social life should be viewed “in terms of bundles of processes that are locked in complex and contradictory interplay, rather than...a set of systemic ‘elements’ that can be ranked or unranked in different ways” (Dialectics 335). Social life and the manner in which it is organized should be vigorously scrutinized to extract the full meaning and understanding of why a certain culture is organized in a particular manner. However, when we are dealing with just a fraction of the past, it can be difficult to take on such a detailed approach to understanding social organization. This is when those “useful” categories can come into play, so as to allow for a general understanding of the culture’s social organization.

Reading all seven articles and taking into account every authors opinion on the Katsina Cult and Pueblo social organization, I have had the chance to form my own opinion on the subjects. I agree with Plog’s and Solometo’s argument that the Katsina Cult first appeared in association with warfare. I also agree that the cult has not remained unchanged, but has developed and evolved over the centuries. In terms of Pueblo social organization, I agree both with McGuire and Saitta and their critic on their suggested methods for understanding Pueblo organization. Truly grasping and understanding Pueblo social organization is important, but this dialectic approach might be more useful in understanding contemporary Pueblo organization. Moreover, when only bits and pieces of the past are left to observe, using a categorical approach to understand prehistoric Pueblo social organization may yield to be a more useful strategy.

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## THE ROAD TO SUMER: A LOOK INTO THE DEVELOPMENT OF MESOPOTAMIA'S EARLY CULTURES USING THE MULTILINEAR EVOLUTION THEORY

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People in the western world today cannot imagine a life outside of the capitalist societies in which they live. Nor do they take into account the novelty of this subsistence. Considering the 200,000 years of our modern human existence, the way we live today is incredibly unique. Even our decision to become agriculturalists, some 10,000 years ago, is a very modern advancement! We have spent the vast majority of our existence subsiding by hunting and gathering. This shift in subsistence methods is incredibly important. Living an agricultural, and therefore, sedentary life, is significantly more labor intensive, and requires a considerable amount of planning and organization. Our agriculturalist ways soon led to the development of villages, towns, cities, and eventually highly structured states, or “civilizations” (Wenke, p.269; 1999).

This phenomenon of “civilizations”, (besides the development of agriculture itself), is one of the most mysterious events in all of human history. The question is this: why? Why did complex state level societies emerge? Why did we decide to settle down in large cities with a centralized, governmental rule, rather than abiding by our own rules in small hunter/gather bands? While there are many theories on this topic, they are somewhat limiting because most seem to address the issue of *how* rather than *why*. Even to this day, there is no single accepted theory, and some theories seem to fit certain civilizations better than others. In this paper I wish to address the question of “why” utilizing the development of ancient Mesopotamia as an example, in conjunction with the Multilinear Evolution theory.

The theory I found to be most effective with the information on Mesopotamia was the Multilinear Evolution theory proposed by the near eastern archaeologist, Robert McCormick Adams. Multilinear Evolution theory assigns no one event as the cause of the development of the state, but rather, several events

leading to its formation. Factors such as hydraulic agriculture, the collecting of and redistribution of surpluses, economic specializations, economic concentrations, growth in administration, and warfare are all included as causes to the formation of a state (Wenke, p.332; 1999). I believe that it was these factors, experienced in the early cultures of Halaf, Samarra, 'Ubaid, and the first state of Uruk, that led to the rise of the Sumerian civilization in ancient Mesopotamia.

### **The Environment of Mesopotamia**

In the area known as Mesopotamia, which literally means “the land between two rivers”, is where the earliest civilizations arose. The rivers are the Tigris and the Euphrates, which run mainly through the modern day territory of Iraq. However, the term “Mesopotamia” now seems to be more inclusive, referring to the areas surrounding Iraq and the two rivers, namely, north-east Syria, south-east Turkey, and south-west Iran (Reade, p.4; 1991). The heartland of Mesopotamia, the place where the first complex settlements were drawn, is concentrated in the southern alluvial flood-plains of the Tigris and Euphrates rivers that extend out into the Persian Gulf. Mesopotamian soil is very rich and well-suited for agriculture due to the constant alluvial deposits from the rivers. The climate of Southern Mesopotamia itself is very hot and desert-like, and provides little rainfall. Yet, with proper irrigation from the rivers, this land makes for ideal agricultural conditions. The Zagros and Taurus mountains surrounding Mesopotamia also served ancient farmers well, as their green foothills provided excellent grazing grounds for sheep, goats, and cattle (Wenke, p.388-89; 1999). These highland areas also provide a more temperate environment, opposite of the desert environment in the southern plains, in which rainfall agriculture can be practiced.

### **Early Indicators of Complexity: Hassuna, Halaf, and Samarra**

Many archaeologists have tried to define what exactly a civilization, or state society, is. The most agreed upon characteristics of a state society include: social stratification, agricultural intensification (i.e. irrigation), economic specialization, centralized authority, urbanism, warfare, and monumental architecture (Wenke, p.332; 1999), (Matthews, p.95; 2003). These characteristics of a state society are almost identical to what Robert McCormick Adams lists as the causes of a state society. With all of these characteristics stated, it is now possible to analyze their presence in the early cultures of Mesopotamia.

Mesopotamia was home to several Neolithic farming communities well before we define it as a state-level society with the beginnings of the Sumerian civilization. Most famously associated with early Southwest Asian complexity are the early Neolithic sites of Catal Huyuk in Turkey, and Jericho in Jordan.

Although these sites are not in the Mesopotamian heartland, but rather in the surrounding areas, they are still considered key sites in the archaeological sequence of Mesopotamia. The most notable early indicators of rising social complexity within Mesopotamia came with two ceramic styles known as Halafian and Samarran. These styles spread across large areas of Mesopotamia, which shows not only increasing trade, but also increasing uniformity to one culture. Hassuna, which predates Halafian, was another ceramic style associated with this cultural transition period however it was not as widespread as Halafian and Samarran. Hassuna pottery seems to be restricted to the Northern Mesopotamian area, and is simpler in shape and decoration than that of Samarran and Halafian (Reade, p.15; 1991).

Much of what archaeologists use for a chronology of the past is based on the typology of pottery styles or other material remains. This is because ceramic styles changed over time in art styles, forms, and even methods of production. This technique of dating is known as relative chronology, and it allows archaeologists to determine the age of a site by relating its material remains to the material remains found at other sites, and obtain an age without using an expensive absolute dating method, such as carbon dating. These cultures are also named after the sites from which they were found. For example, Tell Halaf (Halafian), Samarra (Samarran), Tell Hassuna (Hassuna), and the later sites of Tell al-'Ubaid ('Ubaid), Uruk, and Jemdet Nasr (Reade, p.15; 1991), (Matthews, p.65; 2003). Halafian culture not only showed a step towards higher civilization with the widespread use of its pottery, it also showed progression with the first appearance of metal use in Mesopotamia. The appearance of seals is also seen here for the first time, with the use of the clay stamp seal (Riley, p.29-31; 1969). Finding seals is especially important when tracing rising civilizations, as seals were generally used for administrative purposes of tracking and controlling goods, indicating a rising level of administrative authority (Wenke, p.407; 1999).

### **Rising complexity in the 'Ubaid Period**

While the Halafian and Hassuna cultures were present in the North, and the Samarran in central Mesopotamia respectively, another style soon flourished in the South. This style has since been recognized as belonging to the culture that holds a critical place in the transition into the state-level society. The 'Ubaid is this critical culture, replacing the widespread Halafian culture, and as Riley (p.31, 1969) asserts, "'Ubaid) represents a considerable advance over the peasant cultures of the past."

‘Ubaid became more widespread than any of the previous cultures, spreading over the entire area of Mesopotamia, and was probably “fully fledged” as early as 4350 B.C. (Daniel, p.67; 1968). However, ‘Ubaid occupation is usually thought to have begun as early as 6,000 B.C., to as late as 3,700 B.C. One of the main factors classifying ‘Ubaid culture as more advanced is its system of agriculture that produced an economic surplus. Having a surplus of goods allows for more economic specializations, such as full-time potters or builders, which are needed to support the high, state-level society. Simple irrigation systems were in place to effectively sustain more crops, and free more people of agricultural labors. By efficiently cultivating barley, wheat, dates, along with fishing and the use of goat, sheep, and cattle products, the ‘Ubaid culture showed the beginnings of a high society (Wenke, p.400; 1999), (Reade, p.20; 1991).

The ‘Ubaid culture was quite long lived, yet not much of its details are known. Archaeologists have the most information from the later years in the ‘Ubaid culture, starting at around 4,000 B.C. Due to the constant flooding of the rivers, little is known of the early ‘Ubaid settlements, as most have been destroyed or buried deeply beneath the sediment, making them hard for archaeologists to excavate. Also, many later Uruk settlements were built directly on top of the ‘Ubaid settlements, again, making them harder to excavate. Matthews (p.102, 2003), states only a few productive early ‘Ubaid sites at Eridu, Tell al-‘Ubaid, and Tell el-‘Oueili. For later ‘Ubaid settlements he lists twice as many sites: Eridu, Ubaid, Ur, Uruk, Tell Abada, Tepe Gawra, and Susa (Matthews, p.102, 2003).

The ‘Ubaid culture also has evidence for trade, which could not only be due to a lack of natural resources, but also due to its prime location on major waterways. Although the southern alluvial plains create excellent soil for farming, due to the annual flooding of the rivers, it also creates a few negative consequences as well. First, there is no immediate access to stone, which has obvious usefulness in the production of tools and structures, but there is also no supply of sturdy wood. Because of this deficiency, almost every structure built in ‘Ubaid times was made of sun dried mud brick, with only small amounts of stone used mainly in the platforms of the structures (Wenke, p.403; 1999), (Daniel, p.67; 1968).

From the Late ‘Ubaid period, several artifacts have been recovered containing, or made from carnelian and lapis lazuli stones, which come from the surrounding lands of Iran and Afghanistan, also indicating trade (Matthews, p.104; 2003). Living next to waterways is also an important factor for trade as it makes travel easier. Archaeologists know that peoples of Southern Mesopotamia

built and used reed boats, so it is easy to imagine travel up the two rivers or even in the Persian Gulf, as a very possible event (Riley, p.31; 1969). These routes would also be much easier than routes over land, due to the several harsh factors associated with land travel, such as climate conditions, physical geography, and lack of sophisticated transportation. Another important factor indicating a rise in civilization, was that the 'Ubaid culture spread universally over a large amount of land. Unlike Halafian and Samarran cultures, which were only widespread in northern Mesopotamia and Central Mesopotamia, 'Ubaid spread from the South, encompassing all the regions of Mesopotamia. 'Ubaid remains have been found in central Turkey, Iran, and Syria (Wenke, p.403; 1999).

The presence of towns in the 'Ubaid period also signify a growing civilization. Since the previous peoples in the area were simple farmers without dense populations, the beginnings of aggregation is a very significant change toward a state-level society. The site of Eridu is one of the earliest cities known in this region, and quite possibly the world, with a date of around 4750 B.C. Eridu had a cemetery, which is usually a phenomenon associated with cities, as earlier peoples simply buried their dead underneath their houses. (Wenke, p.400; 1999), (Daniel, p.67; 1968). The earliest known structure at Eridu is most likely a temple. Finding a temple is significant for many reasons. First, it is obvious evidence for monumental architecture, which is a characteristic of a state level society. Second, it shows the growing role of religion on society, and its conformity to one set of ideals. Conformity to some set of rules or authority is necessary in order for a bureaucratic state to function. Temples also seemed to have served as storing facilities for agricultural surpluses, and in this manner, could offer some insurance for a large population if there was a bad harvest or a drought (Matthews, p.102, 105; 2003). There have been other mud brick buildings found in, and surrounding 'Ubaid areas, but these structures are not the large public works present in very complex civilizations. This indicates that the 'Ubaid period was only a transitional period, not what most archaeologists would consider a full state-level society (Wenke, p.403; 1999).

While the 'Ubaid culture possessed some features characteristic of a state-level society, it still cannot be clearly defined as such, as much of the evidence is debatable. As mentioned earlier, evidence has been found for increased craft specialists in pottery making. However, there isn't any evidence for a central authority controlling the production of the pottery. Evidence for a central authority controlling the distribution of goods was found though, with the presence of seals (Matthews, p. 104,107; 2003). There also has not been any clear evidence for social stratification in the 'Ubaid period. Although, there have been small amounts of beads of carnelian and lapis lazuli found at Tepe Gawra, which are usually associated with prestige and upper-class peoples in later periods (Matthews, p.105; 2003).

## The State of Uruk

The 'Ubaid period ended around 3,600-3,500 B.C. with the start of the Uruk period. Uruk has been identified as the period when the first clearly defined state arose in Mesopotamia. I say clearly defined because while the previous cultures have had some of the characteristics of a state level society, Uruk indisputably represents all of the characteristics. Uruk period settlements are present in many sites throughout Mesopotamia, most famously in the city of Uruk (Warka), after which the period is named. As with the 'Ubaid culture, Uruk settlements were very widespread. Uruk sites have been found as far north along the Euphrates river as Syria at Habuba Kabira, southeast into Turkey at Hacinebi Tepe, and southwestern Iran in the Susiana plains (Matthews, p.109; 2003). Uruk is generally divided into three eras: Early, Middle, and Late. Again, this division is based upon pottery styles.

In the Uruk period, it is one pottery type in particular, known as the bevel-rimmed bowls, that's evolution is significant. The bevel-rimmed bowls were important because they were made from molds and mass produced throughout Mesopotamia. Production above the household level is obviously a feature of a state-level society, as other smaller societies would have no need for such large quantities of goods (Wenke, 404; 1999). Hans Nissen (p.10, 2002), has spent a career studying Uruk ceramics, and argues that "the existence of Bevelled Rim Bowls by the millions as in Babylonian or Susiana sites does indicate a high level of complexity". Despite what the bowls were used for, be it for daily food rations for workers, votive offerings, or for standardized bread making, it still indicates that there was a central authority controlling their use (Nissen, p.10; 2002).

Another important advancement in Uruk was the use of a wheel for pottery production. Wheels could produce more pottery in a shorter amount of time than was possible by hand. This would serve the need for mass production in a growing state-level society. Nissen (p.9, 2002) points out that the pottery wheel might have been used not only because of an increase in population, but also because of an increase in other craft specializations, creating a decrease in the number of pottery specialists. As a state grows larger, it not only needs a larger production of the basic goods such as pottery, it also demands specializations in complex necessities, such as administrative figures.

One characteristic of state-level societies that is strikingly apparent in the Uruk period is warfare. As more and more city-states began to arise in Mesopotamia such as Ur, Lagash, and Umma, there also began a rising degree of warfare. The ancient city of Uruk itself was surrounded by a series of defensive

walls. Warfare might have also been linked with the rise of urbanism, as people were safer to live in a protected city than out on the open plains of the Mesopotamia alluvium. However, during this period it is also important to note that the plains surrounding the cities were used chiefly for agriculture, forcing the majority of people to live within the city walls. Urbanism is truly experienced in the Uruk period with about 10,000 people living in the city of Uruk at 3800 B.C., to around 50,000 people in 3000B.C. With urbanism and increased populations, Uruk had increasing levels of economic specializations to fulfill the needs of the people (Wenke, p.404, 406; 1999). Population growth was probably further continued by population growth itself. As the need for more agricultural lands and for more resources (i.e. wood, stone, water) to support a large population escalated, so did the acquisition of new territories and therefore new populations to the state.

Further evidence for a state society lies in Uruk with the presence of monumental architecture. Uruk had architecture in the form of residential buildings as well as large temples. The residential buildings are significant because of their differing qualities in construction, size, and decoration, all of which indicate separate socio-economic classes characteristic of any state-level society. One of the most important temples built during the Uruk period was the "White Temple" built around 3200-3100 B.C. in the form of a ziggurat. Ziggurats are often called "step pyramids" because they start with one large platform that is continually built upon with smaller platforms, creating a unique pyramid shape. The White Temple is twelve meters high, and is made of whitewashed mud brick, hence the name. It contained detailed decorations, niches, columns and buttresses on the outside, and altars and tables on the inside (Wenke, p.410; 1999).

Perhaps the most important advance of the Uruk period was the development of the writing system. Early indicators toward a writing system could be seen with the appearance of seals in the Halafian period, and the appearance of tokens in the 'Ubaid period. Seals were predominantly used for administrative record keeping, and tokens were used to represent objects that one might own such as animals, grains, clothes, and oils (Reade, p.26-27; 1991). Writing was still in its early stages during the Uruk period, but it was a complete and fully functional script by the time of the Sumerian civilization, in which it became known as cuneiform, or "wedge-shaped" writing. Seals themselves became more advanced during the Late Uruk period, with the appearance of the cylinder seal, which often showed war scenes, prisoners, kings, animals, buildings, and religious representations (Riley, p.47, 1969), (Matthews, p.113, 2003).

The Uruk period ended with the beginning of the Early Dynastic period at around 3000-2350 B.C., the period which is considered the start of Sumerian civilization. The Sumerian civilization was comprised of the previously warring city-states of the Uruk period. Sumer contained around thirteen of these city-states that were connected by a cultural tradition rather than a ruling political entity (Wenke, p.412; 1999).

### **Conclusion**

After researching the varying theories on state development and the archaeological evidence of Mesopotamia, I don't think it is possible to answer the question of "why did complex civilizations arise" with any kind of certainty. Of course one can list causes or characteristics that led to their formation, but because of human complexity, it will never be possible to have a concrete theory of "what goes up, must come down" as is possible in the realm of the natural sciences. Human complexity is simply too random, never following a predictable path. And since the earliest people never wrote down for us why they decided to live in a complex state instead of foraging for their own food, we must rely solely upon those remains they left us, and try for good guesses at what they may mean.

I do think however, that the characteristics listed in this paper for a state-level society are very helpful in trying to place some sort of order and understanding to the unpredictability of humankind. I believe Mesopotamia flourished into a high civilization because of the initial economic prosperity experienced by the farmers of the southern alluvial plains with their effective agricultural systems. This set off an entire sequence of events that helped the state society to form. As with Robert McCormick Adams, I don't believe it was just one factor that caused the rise of civilization; I believe it was many factors. For instance, with the initial economic prosperity, farmers had more food to support the existence of larger populations, and with population growth, a need for more housing developed. The need for more housing then brought the need for specialists to build the houses, which was again made possible by the initial economic surplus of food to support these specialists who were not producing their own food. The surplus in goods creates a constant cycle of interdependence upon one another that allows for cultural advancements. Known as "Organic Solidarity" to the famous sociologist Emile Durkheim, this is when the members of a society become so intertwined that they are no longer able to support themselves without the products of the other members' labor. This is how we live today, and this is also how the ancient Mesopotamians lived some five-thousand years ago.

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## WHY DID THE AZTECS CONVERT TO CATHOLICISM, FOLLOWING THE CONQUEST OF THE SPANIARDS IN 1521

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The Spaniards and the Aztecs were at war between 1519 and 1521. The Aztecs fought to preserve their traditions and their way of life while the Spaniards waged a spiritual crusade, hoping to win souls to their faith, land for the Spanish crown, and large amounts of gold. It was an unhappy circumstance in which the Aztecs were defeated by Hernan Cortes, leader of the invasion of the Aztec empire, and his men. The Spanish conquerors then began the gradual process of converting the Aztecs to Christianity. The question of some curiosity was why the Aztecs converted. There were three main theories as to why conversion took place. The first was the belief that the Aztecs suspected the conquistadores to be gods who were returning to claim their lands. The second theory was that the Aztecs were forced to convert to Christianity. And the last theory related to the process of osmosis, the belief that the Spanish missionaries took the Native religion and the Christian religion and blended the two together to easily convert the Aztecs. While these were three very different theories, there was no one theory that could satisfactorily be credited with the conversion of hundreds of thousands of Aztecs. It was the combination of all three that caused the eventual conversion of the Aztecs to Catholicism. In this essay, the three theories will be expressed in terms of their strengths and weaknesses. This will allow us to argue that there was not one factor that was the sole cause for the conversion of the Aztecs but that each theory played a contributing role to converting the Aztecs.

It is interesting to note, that while the theories are listed in order of oldest to most current historian consensus on the issue, they can also be examined in this order because they demonstrated the native reactions to the different phases of the Spanish invasion. The first phase was the invasion by Cortes. This initial reaction by the Aztecs was that of fear and not the most significant reason for conversion. The only explanation to deal with the shock with the arrival of the Spaniards was to believe that the Spaniards were Nahua deities. The second phase was when Montezuma denied Cortes' order to convert to

Catholicism. This immediate response was physical. In other words force was used to convert the Aztecs who were fighting back to preserve their traditions. This theory too was not as important in the conversion process in the long run. The last phase was the Aztec acceptance that the Spaniards were not going to be leaving. This reaction was more psychological in the sense that it was more convenient and easier for the Aztecs to accept then to feel completely defeated. In the long run this last phase has played a more substantial role in the conversion process.

Many of the early Spanish settlers and early historians credit the first theory, the legend of Quetzalcoatl<sup>1</sup>, as the dominant factor in the conversion of the Aztecs. This is something one could expect since the Spanish settlers did not want to portray themselves as oppressors. There were also many native accounts that supported this theory. Many historians regarded the native sources as unreliable.<sup>2</sup> However, many of these native versions of the prelude and aftermath of the conquest were similar to the sources of the conquistadores. The native accounts were just as accurate and just as important to examine.

The native sources provided a lot of information with respect to the legend of Quetzalcoatl. According to this Aztec legend, in the year 1 Acatl, or the year 1519, the white bearded god, Quetzalcoatl, was to return from the east to reclaim his land. It just so happened that in the year 1519 (Good Friday, April 22, 1519)<sup>3</sup> Hernan Cortes came to Tenochtitlán, the great city of the Aztecs.<sup>4</sup> According to native accounts, with the appearance of bad omens and when the arrival of strangers was confirmed, Montezuma, the king of the Aztecs, ordered his men to find magicians to explain the evil occurrences. Montezuma spoke to many foreseers and no one could explain the omens and no one was able to give reasons for what was going to take place. It was only when a *macehual* (a common man) from another city, visited Montezuma that an explanation was provided. He told Montezuma about “a mountain range or small mountain floating in the midst of the water.”<sup>5</sup> Later, reports of strange bearded light skinned- men on a floating mountain made Montezuma anxious.<sup>6</sup> No where was it indicated that Montezuma thought the Spaniards were gods or that Cortes was Quetzalcoatl. Nevertheless, we cannot rule this out.

In many of the accounts of the Spaniards and the Aztecs the idea of Quetzalcoatl was evident.<sup>7</sup> In the accounts of Bernal Diaz de Castillo, a Spanish soldier under the command of Cortes, wrote that Montezuma spoke to him and to the other Spaniards saying, “his ancestors in years long past had spoken, saying that men would come from where the sun rose to rule over these lands, and that we must be those men...”<sup>8</sup> In other words, this was a confirmation that Montezuma believed Cortes and his men to be deities. This therefore also was

verification by the Spaniards that the Aztecs believed that Cortes and his men were deities.

In the *Florentine Codex*, a compilation of Aztec history told by the natives, compiled by Fray Bernardino de Sahagun, once Montezuma learned of these strangers and that they were near, he ordered the messengers to offer the finery of the gods' Quetzalcoatl and Tezcatlipoca.<sup>9 10</sup> The messengers were sent to greet Cortes with these gifts. When the messengers neared the vessel they thought the appearance of Cortes resembled the description of Quetzalcoatl. When the messengers returned to Montezuma, they told him that Cortes was Quetzalcoatl. And so, Montezuma believed his messengers.<sup>11</sup> Eventually, Cortes and Montezuma met. When they did, Montezuma accepted that Cortes was Quetzalcoatl and Cortes played along. Montezuma told Cortes, "No, it is not a dream... And now you have come out of the clouds and mists to sit on your throne again.... Rest now, and take possession of your royal houses, Welcome to your land, my lords."<sup>12</sup> Cortes confirmed the native belief by saying that the natives were awaiting the king of Spain.<sup>13</sup>

At a gradual pace at first, Cortes started to gain control over Montezuma and the rest of the Aztec empire, by conveniently and opportunistically playing the role of Quetzalcoatl. After his first meeting with Montezuma, Cortes returned the following day to explain about the Christian faith. Montezuma said that he needed time to absorb all he had learned. In the meantime, there were many others who converted based on the belief that Cortes was Quetzalcoatl. As Hubert H. Bancroft wrote, "the conquered were only too eager to conform to the orders of their masters by tendering respect and obedience to the holy men."<sup>14</sup> In other words, because some of the Aztecs believed Cortes was truly a god they obeyed and converted to Catholicism as Cortes instructed them to do so.<sup>15</sup> This was known as "the year when the faith came."<sup>16</sup>

There was and still is a lot of criticism on this particular theory. Camilla Townsend stated in her article, *Burying the White Gods: New Perspective on the Conquest of Mexico*, the legend of Quetzalcoatl only surfaced when Sahagun edited the *Florentine Codex*. This meant that Sahagun created the resemblance between Quetzalcoatl and Cortes. If this was in fact true than this first theory is completely false. To further evaluate Townsend's argument, she believed the myth of Quetzalcoatl was of no significance to the native people at the time of the Spanish arrival.<sup>17</sup> In further support of Townsend's position, J.H. Elliot also did not find the myth of Quetzalcoatl reliable. Elliot stated that there was no evidence to confirm any existence of

Quetzalcoatl and as Townsend stated, only appeared after the conquest.<sup>18</sup> The problem with this theory was then how the Aztecs could explain the arrival of the strangers otherwise. In Elliot's case he wrote that the Aztecs thought Cortes was another god, Orchilobos and not Quetzalcoatl.<sup>19</sup> While it was true that in some sources there was no direct mentioning of Quetzalcoatl but just of a god, it seemed more likely that it was Quetzalcoatl based on his popularity in many of the sources.<sup>20</sup>

To further critique Townsend's and Elliot's argument, while it is true that Sahagun included the myth of Quetzalcoatl only after he edited the *Florentine Codex*, this does not dismiss the fact that the Aztecs believed in Quetzalcoatl. How else can Townsend then explain Cortes' letters that state that the Aztec people believed that he was Quetzalcoatl?<sup>21</sup> Furthermore, through the evidence of archeological excavations, has also confirmed the argument that Quetzalcoatl indeed existed in the Aztec world prior to the invasion of the Conquistadores.<sup>22</sup>

What is more, if Montezuma did not trust Cortes, why then did Montezuma not attack? He had hundreds of thousands of able men ready to fight and defeat the 600 or so men on the Spaniards' side in the first attempt. The only explanation as to why he was afraid of the Spaniards was because of religion.<sup>23</sup> In the back of his mind Montezuma had the story of Quetzalcoatl. He knew that these "gods" had the ability to take away his power.<sup>24</sup>

To further support the above, how else could the Aztecs explain the arrival of these conquerors and the Spaniards in general? There were so many differences between the Aztecs and the Spaniards. The Spaniards had enormous ships, unusual attire, and more advanced technology. They also looked different and they spoke a different language. How could the Aztecs explain the arrival of these strangers? The only explanation was that the Spaniards were deities. And both native and Spanish writings confirm the belief in the Quetzalcoatl myth.

To sum up the first theory, unlike Elliot believed, there was ample amount of evidence to conclude that the Quetzalcoatl myth existed. The belief that Quetzalcoatl returned was real to many of the Aztec people. Because some of the Aztecs believed that Cortes was Quetzalcoatl they obeyed him and they converted to Catholicism.

The second theory, the idea that the Spaniards used force to convert the Aztecs, developed later. There was enough evidence in both Spanish and Aztec writings to confirm this theory as well. The Spaniards believed that their duty as

servants to God and to the Spanish crown was to convert the Aztecs to the Christian faith.<sup>25</sup> This concept was seen during a conversation between Cortes and Montezuma. To relate the second meeting of Cortes and Montezuma again, after Cortes became aware that Montezuma thought he was Quetzalcoatl, Cortes asked about converting Montezuma. Because Montezuma did not reply and since there was resistance by the Aztecs to convert, Cortes began to take power in his own hands. This resulted in the destruction of the Aztec idols and temples.<sup>26</sup>

In Cortes' Second Letter to the Spanish king, Cortes wrote, "The most important of these idols, and the ones in whom they have most faith, I had taken from their places and thrown down the steps..."<sup>27</sup> Later in the same letter, Cortes wrote that the idols were taken away and the altars were cleared of the blood.<sup>28</sup> The idols were replaced with images of the Virgin Mary.<sup>29</sup> Hence, Cortes forcibly destroyed the religion of the Aztecs and tried to instill Christian images in order to convert the Aztecs.<sup>30</sup> When the Aztecs saw all their idols destroyed they wept and asked their gods for forgiveness.<sup>31</sup> Not only did the Spaniards destroy the idols but the Franciscans did as well. The Franciscans claimed that they alone destroyed "more than five hundred temples and twenty thousand images within seven years."<sup>32</sup> Bartoleme de Las Casas<sup>33</sup> wrote that the Spaniards had no right to come and convert the Aztecs. The Aztecs should have converted on their own free will. By coercing them to convert it was an abuse of a God-given Christian right.<sup>34</sup>

What is more, if any of the Aztecs were to rebel against the destruction of their religious icons, the Spaniards were instructed to fight back.<sup>35</sup> Accordingly, the Aztecs rebelled and the Spaniards fought back. The Spaniards killed many of the kings and princes of neighboring cities.<sup>36</sup> As one native wrote to the king of Spain, "[The people of] many towns were forced and tortured, were hanged or burned, because they did not want to leave idolatry, and unwillingly they received the gospel and faith."<sup>37</sup> Out of fear, the Aztecs reluctantly saw no other way but to convert.

It was not only the Spaniards that destroyed the Aztec religion but Aztec youth as well. The Spanish missionaries kidnapped many of the Aztec children and they were brought up as Catholics.<sup>38</sup> The captured youths were easily won over by Christianity and they started a crusade of their own spanning from 1525 to 1531.<sup>39</sup> The youths, along with the Spaniards, participated in the destruction of idols and the temples.<sup>40</sup> Destroying the native religion was without a doubt an approach Cortes used to convert the Aztecs to Christianity and put the Aztec empire under Spain's control. The Spaniards had a great advantage over the Aztecs. They used their technology in order to force the conversion of the Aztec people. They were superior in this way to the Aztecs.<sup>41</sup>

Supporting this notion, the Spaniards found converting the Aztecs a necessity in order to obtain control and power over them. Cortes understood the need to Christianize the Aztecs for control. However, he converted the Aztecs by “insisting on conversion out of a strong sense of the need to legitimate conquest through crusade and implementing the true faith.”<sup>42</sup> In other words, Cortes converted through the use of force. Besides the need to gain control of the area by Christianizing the people, Castillo wrote, “We came here to serve God and also to get rich.”<sup>43</sup> This further indicated that the Spaniards used force to convert the Aztecs in order to more quickly obtain wealth.<sup>44</sup>

To further prove this theory, some towns were forced to observe Christian mass and kiss the cross of Christ which had no relevance to the Aztec people.<sup>45</sup> Another approach to converting was the baptizing of the women the Spaniards received. Women, who were given as gifts to Cortes, were forced to be baptized in order to be accepted.<sup>46</sup>

The criticism of this theory was that the Aztecs were not forced but made to comprehend that the Aztecs religion was evil. Cortes wrote, “I made them understand...how deceived they were in placing their trust in those idols which they had made with their hands from unclean things.”<sup>47</sup> In other words, the Nahua religion was formed of idols that were wicked and the Spanish were only trying to help the Aztecs get rid of them. Others wrote that destruction was a necessity in order to save the Aztecs from the sinful idolatry and their evil worshipping practices.<sup>48</sup> This statement was one from an ethnocentric point of view. The Spaniards considered the native people inferior to their own.<sup>49</sup> This argument was created to justify the cruelty of the Spaniards towards the Aztecs. There was no evidence to show that no force was used to convert the Aztecs. As a matter of fact, the human sacrifices of the Aztecs “amounted to fewer native lives” wrote Las Casas, “than the Spaniards had sacrificed to their precious ‘goddess of greed’ every year since their conquests began.”<sup>50</sup>

Over time, during the first half century of the conquest, an *encomienda* system was developed where the Spanish colonists were responsible to convert the Aztecs. This process of conversion was done through the use of force. It was believed that if the Aztec laborers were converted than they would obey the Spanish colonists.<sup>51</sup>

Cortes defeated the Aztecs and forced them to convert. The destruction of idols, temples, the kidnapping of the Aztec children, the killings of the nobility, and the practice of Christianity were forced for the most part on the Aztecs by the Spaniards. These approaches were the Spaniards way of who were

undermining the native religion and making Christianity triumphant. As Braden wrote, "thus was the conversion of the Indians of the new world begun."<sup>52</sup> This meant that Cortes' coercive tactics put fear into the minds of the Aztecs to the point that the Aztecs no longer practiced their faith.<sup>53</sup> Therefore, with the destruction of the Aztec religion Cortes began the conversion of the Aztecs to Catholicism. This method of force, although effective, was not significant in the sense of creating and maintaining good Christian worship.

The last and most current theory was the belief that the Aztecs converted on the basis that Christianity was not much different from their own religion. There were many similarities between the two faiths. The Spaniards and the Aztecs both shared the cross as a religious symbol. The cross in Christianity was the symbol for redemption and in the Nahuatl religion it was the symbol for the rain god.<sup>54</sup> Both had a revered female religious figure. In Christianity the Virgin Mary and in the Aztec faith Tonantzin ("our mother") was a revered goddess of fertility of life (human and agriculture).<sup>55</sup> Other shared common religious practices were baptisms, confessions, communions, feast days, and fasting.<sup>56</sup>

In further support of this last factor of conversion, many of the Aztecs were willing to convert after they became more aware of the Christian religion. The idea of baptism, as mentioned above, was also very appealing to the Aztecs. According to the Aztecs baptism was a way to purify one's soul.<sup>57</sup> Father Gante, a friar in the New World, wrote that "eight thousand, sometimes ten thousand, and even fourteen thousand persons in one day" were baptized.<sup>58</sup> The similarities and the advantages of converting gave the Aztecs little reservation on whether they should convert. It was an easier pill for the Aztecs to swallow than to acknowledge defeat and allow for the destruction of their entire culture.

Confession was a practice that the Aztecs were familiar with. If one committed a sin and they confessed that all would be forgiven.<sup>59</sup> However, if they repeated the same sin again than they would not be forgiven. The major difference between Aztec and Christian confessional practices was that the Aztecs generally confessed during times of crises rather than being an annual practice as is Christianity.<sup>60</sup>

When the friars arrived to the Mesoamerican region, they found it a necessity to learn the native language and beliefs. In this way they could more easily associate with the native population. The friars believed that if the Aztec traditions, that were similar to the Christian traditions, were combined, it would seem more appealing for the Aztecs to convert.<sup>61</sup> Accordingly, as referred to earlier, the friars began to learn the native language, Nahuatl, and study the

similarities of the religions. Consequently, translations of Aztec traditions were produced; similar to the volumes compiled by Sahagun. The similar practices were then combined and resulted as osmosis of the two religions. This combination of the two religions was later given the name of Nahua Christianity.<sup>62</sup> “The native people interpreted Christianity in terms that were more or less compatible with their own cultures.”<sup>63</sup> “The native population continued to interpret elements as reflecting similar values or entities that they had known in Prehispanic days.”<sup>64</sup> In other words, they took what they considered fundamental Christian rites and still maintained the basic Nahua traditions.<sup>65</sup> There were Christian traditions which were rejected by some of the Aztecs and others that were adopted. The same was done with the Nahua faith. To further support this theory, the friars tried to create a sense of continuity by building churches over the previous locations of the temples. In other words, the locations of the worshipping structures were still in the same locality.<sup>66</sup> Despite the fact that the Aztecs were now Christians, under the understanding of the Spaniards, they did not stop worshipping their idols. The Aztec idols were instead incorporated into the Christian religion. Even “the Pope urged the Catholic Church in Mexico to be respectful of indigenous traditions and to incorporate them into religious ceremony when appropriate.”<sup>67</sup> For that reason many people now see the Christianity of the Aztecs as tainted by the Nahua faith in the Mesoamerican region.<sup>68</sup>

This link between Aztec and Christian traditions may be best seen with the conversion of Juan Diego.<sup>69</sup> Juan Diego was born in 1474 and was an Aztec. He was baptized in 1524 and given the name we are familiar with today as Juan Diego. It has been told that on December 9, 1531 Juan Diego saw the Virgin Mary while walking to mass. This is therefore a further example of this idea of syncretism.<sup>70</sup>

This final theory was not as well explored as the others’, yet it was of equal significance, if not more. Due to the similarities between the two religions it was easier to adapt and attract conversion amongst the natives instead of the Aztecs admitting to total defeat.

While all three theories on their own seem to be sole causes or reasons for the conversion of the Aztecs to Catholicism I cannot chose one theory as the singular reason why the Aztecs converted. I believe that the Aztecs did believe that Cortes was Quetzalcoatl. I also can understand Townsend’s argument which allows for some doubt to arise that Cortes was Quetzalcoatl. However, I believe that it is logical to believe in Quetzalcoatl’s existence for the fact that it explains how the Aztecs responded to the surprise of these newcomers, the Spaniards. Without a doubt, I also believe that the Spaniards used force to convert those

unwilling to on their own. The last theory, the idea of syncretism, I believe also plays a significant role in converting the Aztecs to Catholicism. The similarities between the two religions allowed for the Nahua Christianity to be created.<sup>71</sup> It was a sort of an accord that was established in order to allow for the conversion to Catholic ideas.

This essay has argued that there was not one reason for the conversion of the Aztecs but a combination of factors (the three theories). The legend of Quetzalcoatl, the first theory to be credited for the conversion of the Aztecs did not by itself convert the entire Aztec population. The use of force, the second theory to be developed to account for the conversion of the Aztecs, most likely played a more significant role than the first. The last theory being the idea of osmosis, the current theory established to explain the conversion of the Aztecs and of developing importance to the conversion process, has a more significant and longer lasting effect than the first two theories had. Nevertheless, each theory was established to justify the reasons and the process of Aztec conversion to Catholicism following the arrival of the Spaniards in 1519. It is very unlikely that only one of the theories listed above could have solely been responsible for the conversion of hundreds of thousands of Aztecs. Each theory, whether the significance was major or minor, played an important role in converting the Aztecs.

The Spaniards and the Aztecs were at war between 1519 and 1521. The Aztecs fought to preserve their traditions and their way of life while the Spaniards waged a spiritual crusade, hoping to win souls to their faith, land for the Spanish crown, and large amounts of gold. It was an unhappy circumstance in which the Aztecs were defeated by Hernan Cortes, leader of the invasion of the Aztec empire, and his men. The Spanish conquerors then began the gradual process of converting the Aztecs to Christianity. The question of some curiosity was why the Aztecs converted. There were three main theories as to why conversion took place. The first was the belief that the Aztecs suspected the conquistadores to be gods who were returning to claim their lands. The second theory was that the Aztecs were forced to convert to Christianity. And the last theory related to the process of osmosis, the belief that the Spanish missionaries took the Native religion and the Christian religion and blended the two together to easily convert the Aztecs. The first phase was the invasion by Cortes. This initial reaction by the Aztecs was that of fear and not the most significant reason for conversion. The only explanation to deal with the shock with the arrival of the Spaniards was to believe that the Spaniards were Nahua deities. The second phase was when Montezuma denied Cortes' order to convert to Catholicism. This immediate response was physical. In other words force was used to convert the Aztecs who were fighting back to preserve their traditions.

This theory too was not as important in the conversion process in the long run. The last phase was the Aztec acceptance that the Spaniards were not going to be leaving. This reaction was more psychological in the sense that it was more convenient and easier for the Aztecs to accept than to feel completely defeated. In the long run this last phase has played a more substantial role in the conversion process.

While these were three very different theories, there was no one theory that could satisfactorily be credited with the conversion of hundreds of thousands of Aztecs. It was the combination of all three that caused the eventual conversion of the Aztecs to Catholicism. In this essay, the three theories will be expressed in terms of their strengths and weaknesses. This will allow us to argue that there was not one factor that was the sole cause for the conversion of the Aztecs but that each theory played a contributing role to converting the Aztecs.

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## FOOTNOTES

<sup>1</sup>Quetzalcoatl was one of the creators of the cosmos.

<sup>2</sup>Romanticists, those who in the time of Columbus believed that only Europeans were sophisticated. The Mesoamerican region was believed to have been influenced by outsiders, Europeans. This meant that what the Mesoamerican people achieved was not one their own but by the European presence.

Robert M. Carmack, Janine Gasco, Gary H. Gossen, *The Legacy of Mesoamerica: History and Culture of a Native American Civilization* (New Jersey: Prentice Hall, 1996), 22.

<sup>3</sup>Miguel Leon- Portilla, *The Broken Spears* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1962), xxv.

<sup>4</sup>Ignacio Bernal, *Mexico Before Cortez* (New York: Doubleday & Company Inc., 1973), 96-97.

<sup>5</sup>Portilla, 16.

<sup>6</sup>Ibid, 16-17.

<sup>7</sup>Braden, Smith, O’Gorman, Gruzinski, Carmack, Florescano, and Sahagun relate the arrival to Cortes as the arrival of Quetzalcoatl.

<sup>8</sup>Bernal Diaz de Castillo, *The Discovery and Conquest of Mexico*, Translated by A.P. Maudslay (Mexico City: Mexico Press, 1928), 283.

<sup>9</sup>Tezcatlipoca was one of the gods of war and hunting. Carmack, 115.

<sup>10</sup>Fray Bernardino de Sahagun, *Florentine Codex: General History of the things of New Spain Book 12*. Translated by Charles E. Dibble & Arthur J.O. Anderson (Utah: The University of Utah, 1951-1959), 11.

<sup>11</sup>Sahagun, 9.

<sup>12</sup>Portilla, 64.

<sup>13</sup>Charles S. Braden, *Religious Aspects of the Conquest of Mexico* (New York: AMS Pres, Inc., 1966), 107.

<sup>14</sup>Hubert Howe Bancroft, Volume X History of Mexico Vol. II 1521-1600 (San Francisco: A.L. Bancroft and Company, Publishers, 1883), 170.

<sup>15</sup>Ibid, 170.

<sup>16</sup>Ibid, 170.

<sup>17</sup>Camilla Townsend, “Burying the White Gods: New Perspectives on the Conquest of Mexico,” *The American Historical Review*. 108 (3): 665.

<sup>18</sup>J.H. Elliot, *Cortes and Montezuma*. ed. Gilbert M. Joseph & Timothy J Henderson, "The Mexico Reader: History, Culture, Politics" (Durham: Duke University Press, 2003), 105-106.

<sup>19</sup>Ibid, 107.

<sup>20</sup>Braden, Smith, O’Gorman, Gruzinski, Carmack, Florescano, and Sahagun relate the arrival to Cortes as the arrival of Quetzalcoatl.

<sup>21</sup>David Carrasco, *Quetzalcoatl and the Irony of Empire: Myths and Prophecies in the Aztec Tradition* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1982), 48.

<sup>22</sup>Ibid, 48.

<sup>23</sup>Braden, 105.

<sup>24</sup>Edmundo O’ Gorman, *The Political Evolution of the Mexican People*, Translated by Charles Ramsdell (San Antonio: University of Texas Press, 1969), 56.

<sup>25</sup>Carmack, 126.

<sup>26</sup>Sahagun, 53.

<sup>27</sup>Hernan Cortes, *Letter from Mexico*, Translated by Anthony Pagden, (New York: Yale University Press, 1986) 106.

<sup>28</sup>The altars were used for sacrifices to the gods.

<sup>29</sup>Ibid, 106.

<sup>30</sup>Braden, 81.

<sup>31</sup>Castillo, 162.

<sup>32</sup>Bancroft, 179.

<sup>33</sup>A Spanish priest.

<sup>34</sup>O’Gorman, 89.

<sup>35</sup>Castillo, 161.

<sup>36</sup>Portilla, 129.

<sup>37</sup>Ibid, 157.

<sup>38</sup>Stephanie Wood, *Transcending Conquest: Nahua Views of Spanish Colonial Mexico*, (Oklahoma: University of Oklahoma Press, 2003), 99.

<sup>39</sup>Ibid, 99.

<sup>40</sup>Ibid, 100.

<sup>41</sup>Dirk R. Van Tuerenhout, *Understanding Ancient Civilizations: The Aztecs- New Perspectives* (California: ABC-CLIO, Inc., 2005), 267.

<sup>42</sup>K. Liss, *Mexico Under Spain, 1521-1556*, (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1975), 29.

<sup>43</sup>Liss, 20.

<sup>44</sup>O' Gorman, 56.

<sup>45</sup>Castillo, 113.

<sup>46</sup>Braden, 94.

<sup>47</sup>Cortes, 106.

<sup>48</sup>Braden, 95.

<sup>49</sup>The inferior name put upon the natives later gave more reason to the Spaniards to enslave the natives. The Spaniards believed the enslavement would benefit the Aztecs by using the Spaniards as models of what kind of people they could become. It was not until later that the King of Spain forbade this form of enslavement, the encomienda system. In contradiction to the Spanish notion of inferiority towards the Aztecs, Francisco de Victoria, a priest, believed that the Aztecs were civilized people and were not irrational or mentally challenged people as these early Spanish settlers stated. Carmack, 132.

<sup>50</sup>Carmack, 135.

<sup>51</sup>Van Tuerenhout, 267.

<sup>52</sup>Braden, 82.

<sup>53</sup>Bancroft, 179

<sup>54</sup>Braden, 62.

<sup>55</sup>Octavio Paz, *The Sons of La Malinche*. ed. Gilbert M. Joseph & Timothy J Henderson, "The Mexico Reader: History, Culture, Politics" (Durham: Duke University Press, 2003), 24-25.

<sup>56</sup>Braden, 61.

<sup>57</sup>Bancroft, 175.

<sup>58</sup>Ibid, 175.

<sup>59</sup>Van Tuerenhout, 186.

<sup>60</sup>Ibid, 273.

<sup>61</sup>Wood, 14.

<sup>62</sup>Ibid, 14.

<sup>63</sup>Ibid, 290.

<sup>64</sup>Van Tuerenhout, 273.

<sup>65</sup>Ibid, 290.

<sup>66</sup>Michael E. Smith, *The Aztecs* (Cambridge: Blackwell Publishers Inc., 1996), 287-288.

<sup>67</sup>Van Tuerenhout, 275.

<sup>68</sup>O'Gorman, 86.

<sup>69</sup>Van Tuerenhout, 275.

<sup>70</sup>Ibid, 275.

<sup>71</sup>Wood, 14.

# BOOK REVIEWS

## SEXUAL SALVATION: AFFIRMING WOMEN'S SEXUAL RIGHTS AND PLEASURES NAOMI B. MCCORMICK, 1994

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The book *Sexual Salvation: Affirming Women's Sexual Rights and Pleasures* by Naomi B. McCormick examines women's sexuality through a feminist approach. Along with discussing the positive aspects of female sexuality, she also delves into issues of sexual victimization. Throughout the book she addresses the various assumptions and biases of sexuality, including a heterosexuality assumption, and a Caucasian, middle-class bias. Although she works hard to challenge these biases, she is not without her own, which include a feminist and Western bias. Even with these few faults, McCormick manages to present a perspective on female sexuality that few have yet to manage.

McCormick splits feminists into two categories, "radical" feminists and "liberal" feminists, whose different arguments are presented in her book in almost every section. The "radical" feminists take a sex negative view, especially when it comes to heterosexual sex, which they believe women need to liberate themselves from. They also tend to be anti-pornography or, at least, anti-certain types of pornography that they deem violent and subjecting to women. The "liberal" feminists tend to be more sex positive, believing a woman should take control over her sexuality and, by doing so, can liberate herself to be an equal to men. They are not against heterosexual sex or pornography. They believe that it is dangerous to censor any type of pornography for fear that it will inhibit people's personal freedoms. Though both feminist encampments agree for the need to stop sexual exploitation of children and women, they may differ on what they view as exploitive. For example, "liberal" feminists do not necessarily think all prostitution is exploitive but "radical" feminists do (two feminist views are the views presented throughout the book).

Sexuality is looked at almost exclusively as a social construct in *Sexual Salvation*. McCormick sees sexuality as determined by a person's culture, not their biology. This is in stark contrast to researchers such as William Masters and Virginia Johnson. Masters and Johnson looked at sexuality biologically, and made a model of sex which was broken into four phases: excitement, plateau, orgasm, and resolution. This model saw sex as the product of biology and not something that culture played a role in. Because they constructed sex in this fashion, they did not separate male and female responses to sex (they were seen as having the same phases) and they also had a major heterosexual bias (Masters and Johnson 1966). On the other hand, since McCormick structures sex culturally, she sees sex as something that can deviate from these phases. Also, her social construction allows for men and women to have a completely different sexuality because it is dependent on culture, not biology. She can also allow for homosexuality and bisexuality in her model. She is allowed to see sex in a less biased manner by looking at it culturally. She also believes that almost all female sex problems are not biological but problems psychologically from past sexual abuse (McCormick 1994). According to McCormick, "childhood sexual abuse, rape, and other forms of sexual assault are so common among the general population that sexual trauma must always be considered as a possible cause of women's sexual problems" (1994:194-195). However, it is difficult to separate sex completely from biology, so this social constructionist approach may not provide the complete model for female sexuality. It always puts the assumption on psychology when addressing women's sexual problems, so when there may actually be a physical problem it could be ignored.

McCormick addresses the issue of prostitution in *Sexual Salvation*, where she addresses both sides of the issue of whether or not prostitution leads to the further degradation of women or is a way for some women to take control of their sexual lives. Though she presents both sides of the issue and seems to genuinely believe that not all prostitution is wrong, she seems to concentrate mostly on the victimization of some prostitutes and the issue of sexual slavery of children in other countries. She acknowledges that prostitution can be a safe, well-paying job for some women, as long as they are allowed to have rights to social benefits in countries and a safe working environment. However she states that prostitutes are not entitled to benefits, especially in countries like the United States, where it is illegal for the most part. Also, there is still a good proportion of women in the sex trade that have unfair and unsafe working conditions (McCormick 1994).

McCormick's view on prostitution is moderate compared to that of women like Christine Overall. According to Overall, the problem with prostitution is that "sex work is an inherently unequal practice defined by the intersection of capitalism and patriarchy" (Overall 1992:724). Overall believes that

prostitution will never increase a women's power because it will always be mostly women who provide a service to fulfill men's sexual needs, which by nature will always lead to inequality (Overall 1992). This view contrasts with McCormick's in the sense that she believes it can increase a woman's power, but only if the woman is able to have control of her own trade and have safe working conditions; without these it is still a form of victimization (McCormick 1994). McCormick takes a moderate view when it comes to prostitution.

Along with her discussion of victimization in the sex trade workers chapter, McCormick has an entire chapter called "Sexual Victimization and Pornography". This chapter discusses such topics as rape, sexual coercion, child sexual abuse and pornography. This chapter mostly focuses on male victimizing of women, but includes a small section about women who victimize men or other women. It discusses the results of being victimized and the effects it can have on female sexuality. It also, delves into the feminist arguments over whether or not pornography should be censored because of the fear that it may promote male dominance and rape. McCormick presents both sides of this argument, but in the end tends to lean towards the anti-censorship side. She believes that there is not enough proof linking pornography as a cause of violent crimes like rape. She also believes that promoting any type of censorship may be dangerous to freedom of speech and could lead to censorship of beneficial materials, like pamphlets on birth control. However, this chapter does seem out of place in the book, along with the chapter on prostitution. It causes the book to be broken up strangely, jumping from chapters on love and intimacy, to those on victimization, back to those on sexual fulfillment (McCormick 1994). This was a chapter discussing some important yet hard issues, and therefore seemed a little out of place from the rest of the book.

One of the main assumptions that McCormick states she wants to disparage is the heterosexual assumption of female sexuality. She includes discussions of lesbians and bisexuals in every chapter of the book. She also includes a whole chapter on them exclusively. Whenever she discusses an area of sexuality in a heterosexual perspective, she makes sure to include a discussion on the lesbian and bisexual perspective. She believes that to give a truly holistic account of women's sexuality, women who love women should never be excluded. She also believes that the heterosexual model should not necessarily be applied to heterosexual women. The typical heterosexual penile-vaginal intercourse is not the only type of sex, and heterosexual couples should explore what makes them feel good, even if it is only kissing and cuddling. She also is a proponent of masturbation. According to her, knowing ones own body is important for sexual satisfaction (McCormick 1994). She believes that sex researchers need to study other areas of sexuality and abandon their heterosexual bias.

McCormick also states she wants to challenge the white, middle-class bias that has pervaded sexual research for many years. She includes in her book discussions of other cultures and classes within the United States. In her chapter called "Models of Sexual Fulfillment" she includes sections on low-income, urban women, African-American women, North American Indians and Inuit's, Latinos, and Asian Americans. She even includes sections on middle-aged or older women, and women who are physically disabled and chronically ill. She looks at these groups culturally and relates to their sexuality (McCormick 1994). She believes in a holistic approach to the study of sexuality, so she includes sections on groups which have largely been ignored by researchers.

Like all researchers, McCormick is not without her own biases and assumptions. The whole book is written from a feminist viewpoint, with the understanding that, in general, the feminist approach is the right model for sexual research and therapy.

However, McCormick does realize her own bias and admits to it, "Feminist sexology is not the same as nonsexist research" (McCormick 1994:239). She goes on to speak about feminists researchers, "she or he is guided by feminist political theory" (McCormick 1994:239). The whole book may contain the viewpoints of two different groups (radical and liberal feminists), but both are feminists. She freely admits that feminist researchers usually study one sex (male or female) exclusively (McCormick 1994).

McCormick has a Western bias to her writing and ideas. Though she is culturally sensitive for the most part, she still offers up information that can be interpreted as biased in a couple of areas. Whenever she mentions female genital surgery, she relates it in a negative light. She focuses on the fact that female genital surgery, especially when the clitoris is removed, takes away from a female's sexual pleasure. She also relates it to an increase of a woman's chance of contracting a sexually transmitted disease because of bleeding from the wounds. She does not appear to be culturally sensitive to an ancient custom in many civilizations. Also, she is so careful to include all orientations in her discussions, yet fails to mention transsexuals at all. Therefore she has a two-gender bias in her book and never considers the sexuality of a genetic female who identifies as a male or a genetic male who identifies as a female (McCormick 1994).

McCormick is not careful about some of the wording in her book, which could alienate certain groups of women. She says in her book that she hopes it is "a step in the right direction" (McCormick 1994:239) in getting a woman-affirming sex education out in the mass media and therefore available to everyone. However, she is not sensitive to all groups of women with some of her

comments, and therefore will not get her message across to everyone. Throughout the book she is careful to include multiple sides to arguments and include groups of women usually left out of research, yet she makes a comment equating the popular magazines *Field and Stream* and *American Rifleman* to high frequencies of rape. According to her, these magazines are “macho” and associated with hyper-masculine men who are more predisposed to rape. She makes this correlation twice in the book, once even saying “sales of ‘macho’ outdoors magazines are more positively related to the number of reported rapes in a region than is the sale of sexually oriented men’s magazines” (McCormick 1994:163). The problem with correlating hunting magazines, and therefore hunting, to rape is the fact that there are many women who hunt and read these magazines who automatically feel alienated from the book. Also, many women know very loving men who read these magazines and hunt, who may also feel alienated by this comment. The comment is not backed by many sources, except one called the *Question of Pornography*, which appears to be more of a study of pornography not hunting magazines (McCormick 1994). This comment alienates an entire group of women who are hunters or loves someone who is a hunter. This shows how even one, seemingly small comment can turn a group of women against a book or an author.

*Sexual Salvation: Affirming Women’s Sexual Rights and Pleasures* by Naomi B. McCormick examines female sexuality. The book attempts to instill a feeling of power and control to women over their sexuality. Throughout the book, McCormick hopes to make clear the social constructions that are shaping female sexuality, and the assumptions and biases that are shaping female sexuality research. Although, McCormick does freely admits that she also has her own assumptions and biases while conducting research. The book attempts to enlighten women on why they think the way they do about sexuality, and with that knowledge empower them to change it.

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## RICE AS SELF: JAPANESE IDENTITIES THROUGH TIME EMIKO OHNUKI-TIERNEY, 1993

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In *Rice as Self*, Emiko Ohnuki-Tierney analyzes how food in Japan, particularly rice, has created identity. Her ethnographic account is a diachronic look at Japanese social group identity transformations through “rice as *our* food” and “rice paddies as *our* land” (4). Rice as a component of identity fortified notions of the collective self and other throughout Japanese history, despite the fact it has become less ritually or economically meaningful recently. Ohnuki-Tierney focuses on a self and other dichotomy because “the rice issue has become the rallying point to defend *the self* when *the other* threatens it” (111). She chose to use rice as the vehicle to talk about Japanese identity because it connects their land, history and rituals in ways other foods, even tea, does not.

Ohnuki-Tierney writes very straightforwardly and organizes *Rice as Self* in a way that is easy for the reader to manage. The first few chapters of the book provide a background for the development of agriculture in Japan and the gradual dominance of rice as the most important source of food symbolically, if not quantitatively. Ohnuki-Tierney highlights controversy concerning exactly how important rice was for the Japanese sustenance throughout history. Some scholars believe other grains, such as millet and wheat were more important nutritionally. Regardless of the controversy and the emphasis put on rice as the staple food, there has always been heterogeneity in Japanese diet. Ohnuki-Tierney feels that even if rice has not been the main source of sustenance or income, it has been a major part of Japanese identity.

Ohnuki-Tierney points out that rice as a dominant symbol for Japanese identity is not necessarily an economically rational phenomenon. In recent history, there has been an exodus from rural Japan to the cities meaning most of the Japanese live in urban areas and have non-agrarian occupations. Even farmers have shifted to part-time work for economic reasons and most are ambivalent about continuing their profession. The affluent, especially urbanites, have become pickier about the quality of the rice they eat, but they are eating less of it replacing rice with more side dishes or Western food. Along with all these changes, Ohnuki-Tierney brings up an interesting paradox. Despite the shift to

an industrial/post-industrial nation state, Japan's major identity component rice, is rooted in its agrarian past.

According to Ohnuki-Tierney, with the decrease in rice consumption per person combined with the decrease in agrarian lifeways, rice as identity is best explained through its symbolic cultural meaning. The next section of *Rice as Self* highlights the importance of rice in myth-histories. Rice is deified and believed to have a soul. While other deities have dual positive (peaceful) and negative (violent) attributes, rice is a unique case. Its deity is only peaceful and pure.

In a particularly intriguing section, Ohnuki-Tierney emphasizes the Japanese interest in purity, wealth, power and aesthetics in relation to rice. In Early Modern times, rice was paid as a tax to the government and a sacred tax to temples and shrines. The elite who received rice were those with power and wealth. Rice as money was considered pure. Ohnuki-Tierney notes that metal currency was introduced to Japan from China, but because of its impure connotations, it took a time span ranging from 1185-1603 to become the dominant monetary unit. She claims that even today, the Japanese feel that money is dirty and impure and children are often told to wash their hands after touching money. Rice has lost its monetary value, but it still maintains its purity. For Ohnuki-Tierney, rice as money and a representation of purity reinforces Japanese collective identity through exclusivity. Only Japanese rice could be used in exchanges. Its meaninglessness to others bolstered its meaningfulness to the Japanese, which in turn, reinforced the self and others dichotomy.

In the final part of the book, Ohnuki-Tierney looks at how varying periods of isolation and confluence with other cultures have impacted Japanese identity. Isolation reinforced collective self identity because there was little influence from the outside. During times of confluence, particularly with the Chinese in the eighth century AD and Western society in the late nineteenth century AD, identity was also reinforced and often rice was used as a tool to maintain identity.

The media and the government contributed to Japanese identity and nationalism. One example Ohnuki-Tierney gives is during World War II when the government proclaimed all the soldiers were provided good white "Japanese rice" that would give them strength. Another example deals with the influence of Western culture. While the Japanese have tried to emulate and surpass Westerners, they maintain purity in their identity with rice. The importance of California rice is not allowed by the government and most people do not want it, even if it tastes the same and would decrease the cost of rice. As far as the Japanese are concerned, the quality of non-Japanese rice pales in comparison to homegrown rice.

Dichotomies are prevalent in *Rice as Self* and I wonder if Ohnuki-Tierney largely overemphasized extremes in Japanese culture. She does mention that in discussions of agriculture urbanites are pitched against rural farmers, despite a number of occupations that do not fall within those categories, such as miners, fishermen and entertainers. However, she continues through the book to stress extremes like pure and impure, rice and other grains, us and them, and etcetera. These stark contrasts might exist in reality, but I question whether or not there is more gray area in Japanese culture than Ohnuki-Tierney lets on. Unfortunately, if she mentioned the in-betweens of the culture it would likely weaken her arguments about how the Japanese have developed a collective social self in relation to others.

*Rice as Self* is fairly well written. Ohnuki-Tierney often presents a barrage of statistics, controversies and paradoxes in each chapter, but she skillfully organizes and summarizes her information by the end of the chapter. While her ethnography could be construed as being too general, I appreciated her emphasis on the collective self over the individual self because it might better represent how Japanese construct and view their own selves. Ohnuki-Tierney says that they view a person as socially interdependent, unlike the Western stress on independence and individualism. Also, rice and rice products are the “foods used to establish and maintain the most important human relationships” (97). Therefore, it only makes sense that her unit of observation is the social group and not individuals. Most people would have no problem understanding Ohnuki-Tierney’s points and could certainly take something away from her book.

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## *GENERATION X: ANTHROPOLOGY IN A MEDIA SATURATED WORLD*

SHERRY B. ORTNER, 1995

Review by Megan Suzanne Towle  
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Sherry Ortner, in her piece entitled “Generation X: Anthropology in a Media-Saturated World,” asserts that, “Most theorizing in the late 20th century is quite eclectic, drawing upon a variety of master theoretical narratives, but rarely signing up for one of them in full” (422). In assessing Generation X’s cultural and social context, Ortner claims to theorize with a Marxist approach to late capitalism, class reproduction, and representations of public culture. While Ortner does this well, I would also argue that she depends heavily on structuralism, the dynamics of phenomenology, and psychoanalysis to assess diachronic and emic perspectives of the generation’s social context.

Ortner asserts that “a free play of signifiers with no referent...” has created the discourse of Generation X:

One can see the play of various positionalities, interests, political claims, and marketing intentions at work in the competing representations. One can see as well that Generation X has quite literally been brought into being in the play of these representations. (416)

However, she reduces this complexity when highlighting Generation X’s discourse through structuralism. This perspective only focuses on presenting the existing public representations of Generation X – not explaining the process of how they came to be. In this spirit, Foucault describes structuralism as a “... refusal of analyses couched in terms of the symbolic field or the domain of signifying structures, and a recourse to analyses in terms of the genealogy of relations of force, strategic developments, and tactics” (114).

Utilizing external sources – namely the media – Ortner characterizes baby boomers and Gen Xers through sets of binary opposing characteristics. This construction reflects Levi-Strauss’ principal of mediated binary opposition, which he considered to be pervasive at all levels of human life (Perry 108).

Ortner utilizes this system as she classifies – linguistically and socially – Generation X’s discourse. Generation X is essentially defined as what it isn’t – the baby boomers. This parenting group is “contradictorily portrayed” as “hippies” and “yuppies,” with a mediating quality of self-indulgence. In opposition, Generation X is classified as the older group’s “clean-up crew.” Structuralism’s emphasis on reciprocity between opposing bodies is apparent in the relationship between baby boomers and Generation X, as there is a tendency to blame the other group for perceived shortcomings. In addition, Generation X is further characterized within two polarities in discourse and attitude, the “slackers” and “whiners” (417). Undoubtedly, this perspective requires Ortner to do a great deal of homogenizing. Recognizing this, however, she seeks to investigate discrepancies within these characteristics in later analysis.

For Ortner’s purpose in classifying the discourse of baby boomers and Generation X, structuralism provides an accessible contrast of attitudes and ideals within complex cultural phenomena. While structuralism disregards the extensive social implications of these concepts (Ortner only acknowledging them briefly), utilizing this perspective allows her to construct a framework through which she can further investigate the Generation X experience, particularly economic polarity.

As Ortner describes the structuralist representation of Generation X – set forth by media and ethnography – she also realizes that discrepancies exist within. Instating the Marxist perspective, Ortner seeks to further analyze the economic and institutional inequality that has fostered the binary opposition within Generation X’s discourse.

Theories of representation, in turn, compel us not to think not only about the relationship between a signifier and its referent, but about representations as produced and consumed within a field of inequality and power, and shaped as much by those relations of production and consumption as by the nature of the supposed referent. (434)

Ortner contends that the emergence of “late capitalism” has created this imbalance within the middle class of Generation X. A transformation of the middle class has caused changes in capital/labor relations and the social context of the proletariat and bourgeois. Ortner provides some diachronic perspective – in the 1970s and 1980s, emerging changes in the economy initiated a rift in the traditional middle class:

...The middle class started pulling apart at the middle. The economy suffered a series of setbacks, and the overall level of prosperity began to slip...the top and the bottom of the middle class began pulling away from one another. Since that period, the upper middle class has done better and better, while the lower middle class has been slipping down into more and more difficult straits. (423)

Characteristic of Marxism, Ortner catalogs these new classes not as zones of wealth, but roles – the upper middle class as the “professional-managerial class” and the lower middle class as holders of the “McJobs” (428, 432).

Ideologies, the Marxist perspective claims, mask the material relations that determine all components of life. Generation X would claim that its condition is guided by ideologies, such as the desire to pursue happiness, achieve success and plenty, uphold generational expectations, and gain prestige. However, Ortner contends that the transformation of the middle class and emergence of late capitalism is grounded in materialism:

The most prominent characteristics are economic: there are not enough jobs, there are certainly not enough well-paying jobs, and there are particularly not enough quality jobs available for the level of education and qualification many members of the cohort have achieved. (417)

The tension between class, power, and economic roles also echoes a materialist sentiment. As one lower middle class woman described, her family was ““a Sears Roebuck family living in a Bloomingdales’ community”” (424).

The Marxist perspective is useful for Ortner in this discussion, as it allows her to analyze inequality within the economic condition of the upper and lower middle classes. In this investigation, she classifies the intensifying gap between these two groups as materialist in nature, and the classes emerging with late capitalism as filling specific roles within the economy and power structures.

Ortner, however, does not fully rely on a Marxist perspective to analyze the Generation X experience - there are times when it just doesn't make sense. Marxism asserts that, for example, the upper middle class is becoming increasingly well off. It would be reasonable, then, to assume that their children – Generation X –should be dominating the capitalist system and climbing into the bourgeois. However, according to Ortner's ethnographic investigation, her informants' reality deeply contradicts this expectation. Instead, the group's experience and economic situation is steeped in insecurity.

Acknowledging this discrepancy, Ortner recognizes the need to explore the experienced qualities of Generation X. Seeking an emic perspective to the emotional bearing of Generation X's discourse, Ortner employs phenomenology:

Finally I reminded myself of the cardinal rule of ethnography: the informant is always right. Even if, 'objectively,' these kids had nothing to worry about, there was something experientially real to them about the doomsaying forecasts of the Gen X literature, and this needed to be captured by the argument. (427)

Her approach parallels that of Downey's, who utilizes phenomenology as a method of moving past cultural hermeneutics and into the exploration of an individual's perception and experience. He writes, "...I had to be ready to let go of the assumption that experiential reality was made *entirely* of 'meaning'...Rather, it is about training, appearances, behaviors, and their effects" (19-20, italics in original). His emphasis, a method Ortner begins to explore, is anthropological analysis not as an outsider looking into the experience, but as an insider looking out. Applying phenomenology allows Ortner to investigate the emic experience, and consequences, of a discourse essentially created by outside sources. The use of this perspective also reemphasizes the point that analysis needs to return to the personal experience, the lived reality, instead of being caught up in the theoretical.

Ortner's phenomenological investigation provides access to Generation X's response to the transformation of the middle class. The reaction actually proves to be quite dramatic, which Ortner recognizes in her metaphor of the "abyss:"

Since the abyss is in many ways real, it takes no sleight of hand for the representations to be convincing. What is elided by the idea of "generation," however, is that people's relationships to the middle-class abyss are very different. Depending on which edge one is standing on, the configurations of anger, fear, anxiety, and resentment will vary. (423)

Youth from the upper middle class are increasingly fearful of not achieving the prestige or quality of livelihood they have always known. They are attempting to work within a system that is unable to provide good, well-paying jobs that match their skill and education levels. "They expected to do as well as, or better than, their parents. And now they realize (or fear) that they will not, which is why they are angry at the system" (Ortner 430). In comparison, individuals from the lower middle class feel cheated by the system and incapable of accessing anything above their current economic setting. The upper middle class fears falling into the abyss, the lower middle class fears it to be impossible to cross.

Once accessing this lived experience, it becomes apparent that much of Generation X's perceptions, and disillusionment, is relative to their childhood experience and parents' economic situation. Ortner investigates this cause-effect relationship with the psychoanalytical analysis, seeking to investigate the impact of Generation X's development on its discourse. This approach serves as a useful tool for further examining themes she has identified, through emic exploration, within her informants' lived experience.

Essentially, the psychoanalytical perspective investigates childrearing practices and how they have instilled particular ideals within the Generation X attitude, culture, and discourse. Class reproduction, Ortner asserts, must be examined in the context of family and gender relations:

It also includes the recognition of the deep centrality of family politics, including gender and, most pertinent to the present article, generational politics, for understanding class reproduction. (427)

Ortner asserts that while both upper and middle class parents exert strong influence, the development patterns are very different. Upper middle class parents seek to "front-load their potential for success," some even admittedly spoiling their kids, intending to get them attached to the good things of life so that they will strive for the same as adults (429-430). Within the lower middle class, the parenting focus is getting kids to "stand on their own two feet" and exhibit economic independence. She notes that the emphasis is on, "...backing children up in case of failure rather than proactively endowing them with a lot of start-up capital and cultural boosting" (430). In both scenarios, there appears to be a tremendous amount of pressure to achieve generational expectations – even when they are unattainable in the currently poor economic setting. Thus, disarray emerges within emotions and discourse.

Ortner has classified her argument as one exploring the interplay between anthropology, the media, and the creation of public representation – essentially questioning: who holds the discourse of Generation X? She claims that, "Ethnographers' 'data' are part of the journalists stories; journalists' reporting is part of the public culture and thus part of the ethnographic data" (414). This self-perpetuating influence, in turn, contributes to the multitude of factors that create and maintain public culture. Social conditions, economic settings, proliferating technology, and cultural transitions are bound to have directly and indirectly (via media and ethnography) influenced the discourse of Generation X. She writes, "If at one level the public culture stands over and against what is going on the ground, at another level it is one of the things that is made on the ground" (432).

This dynamic parallels Appadurai's discussion of deterritorialization, particularly in that it is critical for ethnography to account for the multitude of causal forces and those who have roles in shaping them.

However, as Ortner's discussion progresses, she disregards the pluralism represented in Generation X's discourse, seeking to, "...move away from that vertiginous position, and to articulate an alternative standpoint" (416). In turn, she utilizes structuralism and presents the public representation as a cut-and-dry discourse – a difficult transition to make, especially considering that she just recognized the complexity of the social context. Utilizing an analytical framework resembling the dynamic systems theory, this could have been a good opportunity for Ortner to further explore these pluralistic influences. By doing so, she would lend greater credibility to the analytical process she utilized in cleansing social difference and pluralism into homogenous, clear-cut representations of public culture, Generation X, and late capitalism. In neglecting this perspective, she fails to investigate how these representations are being systemically created, and how their effects may positively influence the social process.

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## AN INTRODUCTION TO THE ANTHROPOLOGY OF MELANESIA PAUL SILLITOE, 1998

Review by Troy Belford  
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A general text about the varied customs, practices and features of Melanesian cultures is a simple proposal and a difficult task to perform. To this end Paul Sillitoe has written one of the more readable books dealing with the general study of Melanesia.

This book will be known territory to specialists of the area. The main audiences for this book, and the group who will profit from it the most, are students and the general public. The prose is well written without too much recourse to academic overstatement, though he does refer to penis gourds as “phallocrypts” at times. With the necessary technical language Sillitoe manages to bridge intelligent discussion of ethnographic subjects and acceptable prose.

The introduction is followed by 14 chapters which deal with classic aspects of anthropological study and ethnographic subjects. Each chapter uses a particular group as the model for an aspect of anthropological inquiry: “Swidden cultivation in the Bismarck Range” (p. 35-52), “Exchange cycles in the Massim Archipelago” (p. 69-83), “Big men on Bougainville Island” (p. 99-111) “Dispute settlement around the Paniai Lakes” (p. 148-164), etc. What makes these individual sections of value to the introductory student and general audience is that each chapter utilizes singular references in place of a large number of ethnographic sources.

This method of arrangement allows a reader with an interest in a particular chapter to go more into depth about the subject and the ethnographic group being discussed by looking to the primary source. There is a possible charge of reductionism that some would apply to this book. It must be noted that this approach allows new students and non-anthropologists the chance to become interested in the subject. This generalization can spare the reader some of the controversies and debates about theoretical issues and academic perspectives. The chapter on witchcraft features R. F. Fortune’s “Sorcerers of Dobu” (1932) and the chapter on exchange uses Bronislaw Malinowski’s “Argonauts of the Western Pacific” (1922) to illustrate the differences between economics in the Western conception and the practices of exchange that the Trobriand Island people practice.

Sillitoe does use multiple theoretical positions in his discussions of individual areas of inquiry. Though he does not directly agree or disagree with the issues of post-modern theory within this text, he does fleetingly make reference to those critics and the issues they put forth: “Each will witness initiation sequences like the Baktaman ritual a little differently” and “will likely entertain somewhat different views about the significance of what they have seen and taken part in – and the cult leader is no final arbiter, only another view. These post-modernist inspired criticisms apply not only to the interpretive approach but also to every other approach to the study of myth. Indeed, they apply in some degree to all anthropology, although they take on added piquancy in the study of ritual belief, where the rationale for action exists entirely inside others’ heads and experiences” (p. 246). Though not necessarily a matter of central discussion throughout the book, this announcement on the next to last page does call into question the validity of the rest of the book, namely that the ethnographic data may not be as representative of what people think as what they do.

This book was a pleasurable reading experience that reminded me that a text book does not have to be a boring and shallow reading experience. This book would be of great value to an introductory class, a general course on the area for non-specialists and the interested layperson.

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## THE CRISIS OF THE SELF IN THE AGE OF INFORMATION RAYMOND BARGLOW, 1994

Review by Sandi K. Harvey  
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*The Crisis of the Self in the Age of Information* takes a psychoanalysis approach to uncover the concept of the self in crisis in post industrial societies. Barglow attempts to extend his imagery to that of information processing systems, dreams, and artistic representations, in order for the reader to visualize what he means by “crisis” of the self. Post industrial societies call for individuals to be autonomous, self-initiating, and self-determining agents, which have sufficed in the world of mechanics according to Barglow. He asserts that in the Age of Information individuals are reverting back to finding their ‘self’, which has been lost due to information processing systems and technology. He argues that “there is more obsessive, even desperate, quality about the search for the self” (11). Mechanical objects, such as automobiles, are of the external world, where individuals try to master and control its devices. Technologies and especially information processing systems, replace the self as subjective and functions as internal objects in our unconscious (6). The boundaries between the subject and object have now become blurred with the innovation of new technologies.

The book is divided into three parts: The Crisis of the Self; Technological Objects and Divided Subjects; Internal Colonization and Response. The first part, ‘The Crisis of the Self’, deals with the interpretation of dreams whereby his subjects are individuals employed as system analysts or programmers. Barglow’s interpretation of contemporary dreams does not situate itself to that of Freudian interpretations, which is usually associated with sexual conquest, or oedipal symbolism. The analysis of the contemporary dreams, however, associates the individual with a feeling of detachment, isolation, and most importantly a loss of their own subjectivity. It is this dichotomy between subjectivity and objectivity that places itself within the “crisis” of the self.

The second part, ‘Technological Objects and Divided Subjects’, sets forth five major premises as seen in Western individualists traditions: boundary, centered subjectivity, ethics, recognition, and identification.

Again, he reiterates the distinctions between the object and subject, inside and outside, are all but diminishing. The boundaries set between the subject and object have all but blurred. The gap between human beings grows, “but the distance between the thinker and the thinking instrument diminishes” (71-72).

The third part, ‘Internal Colonization and Response’, focuses on the dangers of technological innovation. He seems to imply that information processing systems and new technologies have replaced the notion of the self as subjective to that of being detached and isolated. But it is not technology’s nature alone that creates this polarization, nor its nature to impose on the values of human beings. Human beings all have a unique world view or reality that is socially and historically constructed. It is the invention of and deployment of technology that when brought into a larger social context that can bring about danger, or perhaps just the opposite.

Historically, philosophers of ages and natural scientists alike have organized human beings hierarchically, progress being the means to an end. Hierarchy allows social systems and information processing systems to function more efficiently (170). However, computer modules may require hierarchical processes to function efficiently, human beings, on the other hand, should never be equated to the likes of computer modules. Exploitation and domination of technology and the deployment of technology become the real issue. Technology and information processing systems in the larger social context have replaced workers, or they have exploited people in various ways. Social movements continue to address how we exploit our environment, laborers, minorities, children, and women, by becoming detached from our external world, whether emotionally or physically. Barglow offers that democracy can work to alleviate existing powers that continue to exploit and dominate the working class (182-188).

The problem lies with the polarization between the object and subject. The author offers some solutions, with regards that polarization between the two will stay intact, where technologies and information processing systems can benefit both traditional and innovated mechanisms. For example, Tibetan religious traditions can be preserved, while at the same time it can be shared throughout the world. However, there is also another perspective that must be addressed, and that is the idea of Tibetan religious traditions becoming exploited through the use of information processing systems. The author insinuates that information processing systems and technology will ultimately destroy traditional concepts of the self, but there need be a balance, or communication linking the subject and object.

Barglow's emphasis on the conflict between the subject and object caused by technological innovation and information processing systems is a common concern among a diverse set of people. I believe that the latter half of the book has much more to offer to students in anthropology. He does, however, provide for an interesting read, especially through the use of visual presentations, such as advertisements and art to state his case.

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## CALL FOR BOOK, ARTICLE, AND FILM REVIEWS

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**ABSTRACTS**

**Troy Belford**, *The Problems of Ritual on Film*

The use of ritual in ethnographic films can be problematic due to limitations in the medium being used. The methods for producing ethnographic films are tied to the media that is used to present them, as well as considerations of length for broadcasting purposes. As such, every aspect of the film will be approached with these limitations in mind. How ritual is presented in film depends on the nature of the film, the presuppositions for its distribution and the subject matter. Context, montage, editing techniques, and viewer opinion are aspects of the film viewing process that have a considerable impact on how a film is understood. This paper seeks to explore some of the problems with constructing ritual on film using the example of Jean Rouch's 1954's film *Les Maitres Fous (The Mad Masters)*. Context, montage, editing techniques, and viewer opinion are aspects of the film viewing process that have a considerable impact on how a film is understood.

**Kristen Bernard and Peer H. Moore-Jansen** *Morphology and Sexual Dimorphism in the Humerus at the Footprint Site*

Archaeological investigations of the Footprint site, 41PT25, have identified a total of thirty one individuals among the human skeletal remains of the archaeological assemblage from the feature referred to as Room 1. The individuals have been described in previous reports as ranging in age from infant to adult, however little information about a more specific biological profile of these individuals is available from prior analyses. While it is sometimes difficult to determine an accurate number of individuals and their biological profile in such assemblages, especially due to the highly fragmentary conditions of the remains, analysis of long bones may aid in determining the sex of an individual by metric as well as non-metric observations. The purpose of this paper is to examine the morphological variation and sexual dimorphism of the humerus from the Footprint site. Eight measurements representing maximum length, breadth, maximum and minimum diameters, and diaphyseal circumferences of the long bones of adult human remains were used to quantify morphological variation of the humerus. The measurements represent standard and nonstandard measures and are in accordance with an established protocol specific for this study. Qualitative observations of size and robusticity of the humerus were also recorded to complement the quantitative data. Minimum number of adult individuals and their biological sex is estimated using both types of data. The results are part of a more comprehensive analysis of the remains from the Footprint site seeking to identify and account for the skeletal remains and the population structure that they may represent from this Antelope Creek archaeological locus in West Texas.

**India Black, *Troubleshooting a Field Project***

A field project is in progress and some major set backs have been encountered. This presentation reports on the project and its development thus far. The field project considers taphonomy and sharp-force trauma. Taphonomy deals with what happens to biological remains after death. Sharp-force trauma is physical injury caused by a sharp object. Project research is a comparative analysis of cut and uncut pig ribs, both on the ground surface and buried, and their changes over time.

**Gretchen R. Dabbs, *A Preliminary Quantification of the Adage "Heads Roll Downhill!"***

The underlying interest in this topic stems from the adage that "Heads will roll downhill!" often espoused by instructors in Forensic Taphonomy and Forensic Anthropology courses, the author included. The current literature on human taphonomy is extensive; however, simple quantifications such as at what slope a head will begin to roll downhill have often been overlooked for flashier projects. Due to the difficulty inherent in obtaining complete cadavers, this initial phase has included only one individual, who was rolled several times. This paper presents the preliminary findings of 120 experimental rolls of a fleshed head with the first three cervical vertebrae attached, a condition frequently observed by the author in forensic casework. Specifically, two questions will be addressed; the variables observed to effect the mobility of the head, and a report on the initial results from a test run of this experiment. Future research protocol includes the inclusion of many more individuals. Additionally, investigation of the same condition for skeletonized elements of the body; in particular those necessary for construction of the biological profile, such as the cranium, os coxa and femur are planned.

**Jerry Elmore, *An Analysis of Ogallala Aquifer Depletion Using the Stress Model***

The Ogallala aquifer underlying and providing much of the water for eight states in the High Plains is being depleted at an alarming rate – so much so that it is possible whatever water remains at the end of the century will be inaccessible and unusable. Many models have been used to account for this phenomenon. The author attempts a new analysis of available literature using a variation of Boserup's population pressure model, also known as the stress model. Irrigation in the region above the Ogallala aquifer has steadily increased since the first well was dug in the early 20th century. Many populations elsewhere rely on the food produced in the High Plains using water from the aquifer.

This population pressure has placed increased stress on the region to produce more food; this extra food generally leads to larger populations. With increased food demands, more sophisticated water extraction technologies are needed and created, increasing costs. Cost increases force some irrigators out of farming altogether leading to greater consolidation of lands, a reorganization of society in those areas, and increased competition for available water. The stress model performs well in predicting the cyclical nature of these stressors. This stress model analysis indicates that the Ogallala aquifer will indeed be depleted unless preventative measures are taken and alternative means are found to produce the needed amounts of food.

**Cori Gale**, *The Evolution of Altruistic Behavior*

Darwin's theory of natural selection is the process by which the genetic composition of a population is passed on from generation to generation. Those traits that will reproduce successfully are selected in favor of other traits in order to ensure that that population will continue to survive to the next generation. The environment has an affect on this process by keeping the population of a species in check so that the population doesn't overwhelm the natural resources. But what about behavior known as altruism? How does it play a role in natural selection? Darwin's theory of natural selection works on the individual level, but altruistic behavior sacrifices the individual for someone else's benefit. So how can altruism fit into the theory of natural selection? I will examine how altruistic behavior has evolved and what its role is in natural selection.

**Matthew Harms**,  *Holding All the Cards? The Hand Wetland Archaeology Holds*

The paper's objective was to understand wetland archaeology and its role in the greater archaeological arena. It appears wetland archaeology, with its remarkable artifact preservation, would be a highly utilized method, however there are some who feel it and its contributions are being ignored and or not utilized fully to broaden our understanding of the past. It seems that much of the blame for this lies both in its practitioners focus on sites and artifacts more than interpretation and contextualization, and a lack of dialogue between wetland archaeology and the greater discipline as a whole. This study reviews the principles of this archaeological sub-field, its hands-on methodology, its latent potential, and discusses issues relating to its climb to become more relevant and connected to mainstream archaeology.

**Sandi Kana Harvey, "Keeping Pure Hearts" : Identity, Reminiscence, and Resistance**

Since the early 1990s, Okinawans have been creating music, which mixes traditional *min'yo* (folk songs) and *shima uta* (Island songs) with jazz, rock, reggae, folk, and other Western musical elements. The mixing of traditional and Western musical elements is referred to as "hybridization" or *champurū*. Okinawan popular music, also known as Uchinaa Pop, is unique in that it uses Okinawan indigenous language and the traditional instrument, *sanshin*. It will also be necessary to analyze the lyrical content, in which certain themes are embedded with Okinawa's cultural values and worldview.

I will analyze Okinawan popular music as a symbolic construct to define such concepts as identity, reminiscence, and resistance as it is locally situated within the context of the historical and political framework. These concepts are not mutually exclusive, rather they are interconnected in meaning and purpose when it comes to interpreting and explaining Uchinaa Pop.

**Julie Holt, Cranial Thickness in the Footprint Site**

Cranial thickness has been shown in previous studies to be a decent indicator of the sex and group affiliation based on cranial measurements. Different areas or the cranial bones have been shown to have a different thickness in males versus females. The Footprint site has a number of cranial fragments, along with nearly complete crania, and this study was done to see if there would be any way to attribute sex or group to the fragments present. A total of nineteen measurements can be taken on complete crania, however since there were no complete crania present, all the possible measurements that could be taken were used for each sample. If it was shown that it could be done it would aid greatly in grouping the skeletal elements into individuals, and likewise may also aid in piecing together the cranial fragments to produce a more complete element.

**Shannon Kraus, Jason Kirk, Peer H. Moore-Jansen, Being Guided by Fragments: A Study of the Potential Use of Vertebral Remains for the Estimation of Sex at the Footprint Site**

The identification of skeletal remains from archaeological sites can enable anthropologists to gain insights into the demographic structure and composition of past populations. In order to thoroughly examine and identify the population at a site, a thorough analysis of the materials is necessary. This study examines the potential of using fragmentary remains from an archaeological assemblage to estimate sex within a particular population. Using a protocol developed specifically for

the estimation of sex in human vertebral skeletal remains, evidence of sexual dimorphism in vertebral skeletal morphology among the remains from the Footprint Site 41PT25 is evaluated by looking at particular dimensions to determine which measurements are the most reliable when looking at sexual variations. Using known samples of vertebral materials from the WSU-BAL collection, the potential for reconciling elements and identified individuals using derived estimates of sex from fragments is evaluated.

**Jan E. Mead-Moehring and Peer H. Moore-Jansen, *The Role of Copulatory Behavior within the Social Structure in Bachelor Groups of Captive Western Lowland Gorillas***

Modern zoological parks that house western lowland gorilla populations prefer to accommodate single-male/multi-female groups which include their sexually immature young. The result is an excess of adolescent, sub-adult, and adult bachelor male gorillas that must be housed and displayed collectively. Due to the increase of gorilla bachelor groups in the zoological community, the social structures of these all-male groups are more accessible to research. This observational study focuses on copulatory behavior within these groups and its role in the current hierarchical relationships among the group's members. Observations were conducted at the Sedgwick County Zoo in Wichita, Kansas. The Sedgwick County Zoo has eight male gorillas in three separate groups; two groups of two silverback males, and one group of four sub-adult/adolescent males. Only the group of four was observed for this study. Observations occurred over fifteen non-consecutive days and were three hours in length. The observational method used was group-scan sampling every five minutes with all occurrence documentation of affiliative behavior within two meters or less. The social order within this group is complex and varies between dyads of individuals and the group of four. The rank of an individual was estimated by size, age, and displacement frequencies. This study suggests that sexual activity within this bachelor group may be integral to the greater social bonding dynamic.

**Ingrid Mendoza, *GIS in Archaeology***

Geographical Information Systems (GIS) are modeling systems of data that has a locational component. Most are in the form of computer programs that store and permit analysis of spatial data and the relationships among spatial features and the associated information. GIS is a tool currently being used by archaeologists to map site locations, environmental resources and minimize damage to archaeological sites. It is also used for spatial analysis of archaeological sites and analysis of artifact scatters across a specific site. In this paper I will introduce how GIS is used in the field of archaeology and its potential use in the field.

**David I Mixer and Kristen Bernard**, *Contributions to the Study of the Number of Individuals at the Footprint site and their Age Distributions Using Observations of Dental Remains*

The issue of determining the number of individuals in archaeological skeletal assemblages can be difficult, in part, because of its dependency on age determination of the sometimes highly fragmentary condition of the remains available for examination. Archaeological investigations of the Footprint site, 41PT25, have identified a total of thirty one individuals in the archaeological assemblage from Room 1. Due to the nature of the reported turbation at the site, this estimate is re-evaluated. The individuals identified range in age from infant to adult. This paper assesses the age estimations of the general population of the Footprint site with the future goal of applying the age estimations towards the identification of the total number of individuals present at the site using evidence of developmental and progressive change in the dental remains recovered from the site. Established protocols for recording tooth formation, eruption and attrition were implemented to collect information from the dental remains to establish an estimate of least number of individuals present at the site. These estimates are further identified by age group. The results are part of a more comprehensive analysis of the remains from the Footprint site seeking to document the inhabitants of the site and also address broader questions of the nature of the assemblage, past and present.

**Evan Muzzall**, *Estimating Sex From the Hands and Feet*

It is important to explore population specific measurements and quantitative standards for the hand and feet bones for constructing and sexing individuals due to the fragmentary nature of partial skeletons and the variation they exhibit. This paper reports on the ability of the hand and feet bones to construct human individuals, examines side variation within these individuals, and also determines the sex of the remains found at the Footprint Site, Antelope Creek Focus, Texas. Standard measures for estimating sex from skeletal remains include the cranium and the pelvis. Both crania and long bones are, however, commonly either lacking or are fragmentary among the skeletal material. The large number of hand and foot bones present in the human body may suggest a greater chance of being present among the remains of a skeleton. This study proposes a univariate quantitative analysis constructed to assess sex and is based on the measurements of the carpals, tarsals, metacarpals, metatarsals, and proximal, middle, and distal phalanges of the hands and feet. A combination of previously established measurements and standards were applied to this collection. The findings are reported and discussed.

**Angie Rabe**, *Assessing Sex from the Human Femur*

The present research was taken to determine sex estimation from the human femur found at the footprint site. The footprint site is a Plains village site located in the Antelope Creek region in the Texas Panhandle. The remains of at least 32 individuals were recovered and an attempt is being made to identify individuals. Sexual dimorphism of the femur is based on 13 measurements taken from 15 femurs. The analysis of the human skeletal remains will then be compared to other collections to base the standards for Native American sex identification based on the quantitative measurements of the human femur.

**Carol A. Shallue and Joy H. Vetter**, *Running to Stand Still: Addressing Ongoing Curation Issues in a NAGPRA World, as Illustrated in the Footprint Site (41PT25) Osteological Collection*

In the fall of 2005 the WSU Biological Anthropology Lab began a full inventory of the osteological remains from 41PT25. The present paper discusses issues and processes addressed during the cataloging and curation of materials from archaeological sites such as 41PT25, specifically concerning the curation of human osteological remains in the context of existing NAGPRA guidelines. The 1964 excavation of the Footprint site not only predates NAGPRA standards by almost 30 years, but also provides an interesting point of contrast illustrating changes in the general mindset towards bioarchaeological investigation and the curation and management of human remains over the past 40 years. Today, it is not only critical for special protocols to be exercised through the provision of properly trained specialists and adequate funding during both the excavation and recovery processes, it is essential to assure that such protocols are also applied through the ensuing documentation, curation, storage, and transfer stages. As shown with 41PT25, by following through with all obligations to artifacts and collections, the risk of leaving the next generation of scholars an inheritance of fragments and dust in forgotten boxes on a shelf can be avoided.

**Mark Shirley**, *Good Breeding: An Example of the Development and Transformations of Eugenic Theory and Application Over the Last One Hundred and Forty-Two Years*

The objective of improving the human species or human races and nations through selective breeding can be traced back at least as far as the Ancient Greeks. Beginning in the early 1860s, Francis Galton, inspired by his cousin, Charles Darwin's theory of descent with modification, and motivated by his own desire to eliminate the human suffering caused by socio-economic and political problems and by the inefficiency of the evolutionary mechanism, be-

gan his labor to develop a science dedicated to the improvement of the human race through controlled breeding, which he eventually named “eugenics”.

While many perceive eugenics as a single cohesive movement, this not so, different schools of eugenic thought, each with their own unique perspective on how best to achieve the objective of improving inherited human characteristics have emerged over the last century. These are most readily categorized as “classical” eugenics, “reform” eugenics, and the “new” eugenics often referred to as “neo eugenics”. Over the last century, eugenic thought has had an immense impact around the globe, not only in the fields of human biology and medicine, but also philosophy, religion, politics, and in the arts, and while some assert that eugenics is “dead” having suffered a fatal blow, as a result of the atrocities of the Nazis and other atrocities such as the forced sterilizations of those deemed mentally incompetent in the United States, Great Britain and elsewhere during the 20th century, it is clear that this assertion is unfounded, and that each of the schools of eugenic thought survive today. If we are to comprehend eugenics, the influence it has had, and continues to have on various aspects of the worldwide cultural milieu, we must be cognizant of the differences in the perspectives of each of the schools of eugenic thought.

**Tandi Smith**, *Biocultural Study of Human Remains from Southwestern Colorado*

The Ewing collection is a large collection of artifacts and skeletal remains originating from a number of archaeological sites in Colorado, all located near the Four Corners region. The sites comprising the Ewing Collection were excavated in the latter part of the 1960s and throughout the 1970s. Although some provenance information remains, a large amount of pertinent information and documentation of the materials were excluded during the curation, and are in the possession of the project manager. Subsequently, little investigative work has been conducted on the collection. Research was directed towards the current standards applied in biological anthropology for the purpose of skeletal analysis. The Anasazi are believed to have occupied the Four Corners area from around 700 BC up to the Spanish conquests and chronology of the area is discussed utilizing the Pecos Classification System. In addition to investigating the cultural affiliation of the skeletal material, a discussion of the importance of provenance information for archaeological collections will be included, and when unavailable, what information can be useful in the further understanding of such a collection.

**Joy Vetter and Peer H. Moore-Jansen, *Sacra Among the Footprint Site***

The Foot Print site is located in the Sanford Dam area in Hutchinson County, Texas. When first excavated in 1964, several human remains were recovered, including a large number of fragmentary elements lacking credible provenience. Despite the convoluted nature and origin of these remains, it has been estimated that there are twenty-one individuals, eleven adults, six juveniles, and four infants. The estimated sex of these individuals and unassociated elements are yet to be established, but it is suggested that a detailed analysis of the sacral elements can provide further insight to their identification. A study of sacral morphology, both quantitative and qualitative is carried out on five of forty-five otherwise highly fragmentary elements. The five sacra were chosen on the basis of their completeness and skeletal maturity, allowing for at least several quantitative and qualitative observations. Twenty measurements, including both standard and non-standard measurements, were recorded, using coordinate and sliding calipers. These measurements were using Plochocki and Moore-Jansen (1997) study of sacral morphology. Standard qualitative observations of the sacra and sometimes matching os coxa by Phenice (1969) and Acsadi and Nemeskeriu (1970) were also used for estimating sex. A comparison of the observed morphometric variation among the Foot Print site sacra with those of the Terry and Todd collection (Plochocki and Moore-Jansen 1997 and Plochocki 1999) is used to assess the potential for estimating the sex of the undocumented sacral fragments from the Foot Print archaeological assemblage. The completion of this analysis will help further the identification and restore the integrity of the Foot Print site remains.

**Kristina Wyatt, *A Closer Look at Gout***

This study addresses the manifestations of the disease gout in the human body; specifically bone tissue. Gout is caused by an accumulation of unmetabolized uric acid in the body's bloodstream. Urate crystals are usually deposited around the areas of articular cartilage and other tissues such as tendons. This crystal accretion causes a painful inflammatory reaction in the joints. Not only will archaeological and historical evidence of this disease be discussed in this presentation, but also information about a contemporary specimen afflicted with gout that's housed in the Wichita State University Biological Anthropology Lab (WSU-BAL). The WSU-BAL B110 specimen is that of the right and left of each: distal femora, patellae, tibiae, fibulae, and complete sets of feet bones. The radiographs of the specimen will be examined to locate the accumulation of the crystals, while visual inspection of the bones will then be completed in order to see if those crystals have caused damage to the bone tissue.

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