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Aprons and Their Symbolic Ambiguity

John J. Beatty1

***La Mexicana*: The Corner Grocery as a Transnational Space in Illinois**

Margaret A. Villanueva9

Protecting Places Important to American Indians

Darby C. Stapp and Ellen P. Kennedy17

Neoliberalism, Heritage Conservation, and the Resulting Dispossession at Machu Picchu, A Protected Area in the Peruvian Andes

Pellegrino A. Luciano26

Ethical Choices in Public Health Policy and Practice

Sue Gena Lurie37

The Continuing Quest: An Acceptable Approach to Long-term Nuclear Waste Management

Elizabeth Dowdeswell46

Making Imperfect Decisions: Results From Public Workshops on Bioremediation

Amy K. Wolfe and David J. Bjornstad54

Effective Collective Action: A Consultative Approach to Enhancing Ecologically Responsible Development in Tigray, Ethiopia

Peter W. Van Arsdale and M. Wray Witten65

***On Bullshit* by Harry G. Frankfurt, Three Book Review Essays**

Reviewed and Introduced by Lawrence F. Van Horn82

Reviewed by Pennie L. Magee84

Reviewed by Barbara L. Scott86

Obstacles to Reconciliation: Can Indigenous and Non-Indigenous Australians be Reconciled?

Cara Paddle88

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The Applied Anthropologist

AN INTERDISCIPLINARY SOCIAL SCIENCE JOURNAL

Editor in Chief and Book Review Editor

Lawrence F. Van Horn (Ph.D. 1977, Graduate Center, City University of New York, Anthropology)
4777 South Oak Court, Littleton, Colorado (CO) 80127-1217 USA
303-969-2255 office, 720-635-5631 home, julavaho1@mindspring.com

Associate Editors

Ernest Atencio (M.A. 1995, Northern Arizona University, Anthropology)
Taos Land Trust, P.O. Box 376, Taos, New Mexico (NM) 87571-0376 USA
505-751-3138, ernie@taoslandtrust.org

John J. Beatty (Ph.D. 1972, Graduate Center, City University of New York, Anthropology)
Film Department, Brooklyn College, CUNY, Brooklyn, New York (NY) 11210-2889 USA
718-951-5664, profbeatty@hotmail.com

Jean N. Scandlyn (Ph.D. 1993, Columbia University, Anthropology)
Department of Anthropology, University of Colorado at Denver, 165 Gilpin Street
Denver, Colorado (CO) 80218-4011 USA
303-765-5183, jean.scandlyn@cudenver.edu

Darby C. Stapp (Ph.D. 1990, University of Pennsylvania, American Civilization)
Pacific Northwest National Laboratory, 278 Adair Drive
Richland, Washington (WA) 99352-9453 USA
509-373-2894, dstapp@charter.net

Robert Guang Tian (Ph.D. 1996, York University, Canada, Anthropology)
Medaille College, 162 Crescent Avenue, Buffalo, New York (NY) 14214-2331 USA
716-348-1725, rtian@medaille.edu

Peter W. Van Arsdale (Ph.D. 1975, University of Colorado at Boulder, Anthropology)
Graduate School of International Studies, University of Denver
102-G Cherrington Hall, 2201 South Gaylord Street, Denver, Colorado (CO) 80208 USA
303-871-3281, pvanarsd@du.edu

Copy Editor

Judith Van Horn (B.S. 1975, University of the State of New York, Albany, Marketing)
4777 South Oak Court, Littleton, Colorado (CO) 80127-1217 USA
720-635-5631, julavaho1@mindspring.com

Layout and Production Editor

Barbara L. Scott (attended University of Colorado at Boulder and Colorado Springs,
Political Science; attending University of New Mexico at Taos, Liberal Arts)
Final Eyes, P.O. Box 2275, Taos, New Mexico (NM) 87571-2275 USA
505-758-4846, finaleyes@qwest.net

HPSfAA Newsletter Editor

Clare Boulanger (Ph.D. 1991, University of Minnesota, Anthropology)
Department of Social and Behavioral Sciences, Mesa State College
1100 North Avenue, Grand Junction, Colorado (CO) 81501-3122 USA
970-248-1886, boulange@mesastate.edu

PEER REVIEWERS FOR *THE APPLIED ANTHROPOLOGIST*

Ernest Atencio (M.A. 1995, Northern Arizona University, Anthropology)
Taos Land Trust, P.O. Box 376, Taos, New Mexico (NM) 87571-0376 USA
505-751-3138, ernie@taoslandtrust.org

Lenora Bohren (Ph.D. 1995, Colorado State University, Anthropology, Natural Resource Administration)
National Center for Vehicle Emissions Control and Safety, Colorado State University
Fort Collins, Colorado (CO) 80523-1584 USA, 970-491-7240, lenora.bohren@colostate.edu

Mark A. Calamia (Ph.D. 2003, University of Colorado at Boulder, Anthropology)
Macmillan Brown Centre for Pacific Studies, University of Canterbury, Christchurch 8020, New Zealand
+64-3-364 2987 extension 7837, markcalamia@hotmail.com

Arthur L. Campa (Ph.D. 1980, University of Colorado at Boulder, Anthropology)
Anthropology Department, Metropolitan State College of Denver, P.O. Box 173362, Campus Box 028
Denver, Colorado (CO) 80217-3362 USA, 303-556-6231, arthur.campa@att.net

Kreg T. Ettenger (Ph.D. 2004, Syracuse University, Anthropology)
Geography/Anthropology Department, University of Southern Maine, 300 Bailey Hall, 37 College Avenue
Gorham, Maine (ME) 04038-1099 USA, 207-780-5322, kreg.ettenger@excite.com

Thomas F. King (Ph.D. 1976, University of California at Riverside, Anthropology)
P.O. Box 14515, Silver Spring, Maryland (MD) 20911-4515 USA
301-588-8012, tfking106@aol.com

Edward Knop (Ph.D. 1973, University of Utah, Sociology, Anthropology)
Retired, Sociology Department, Colorado State University, Fort Collins, Colorado (CO) 80523-1784 USA
970-491-6044, 505-983-6271 home, Santa Fe, New Mexico, edknop@aol.com

Donna Rae Patrick (Ph.D. 1998, University of Toronto, Anthropology, Sociolinguistics)
School of Canadian Studies, Carleton University, Ottawa, Ontario (ON) K1S 5B6 Canada
613-520-2600, extension 8070, dpatrick@connect.carleton.ca

Pamela J. Puntenney (Ph.D. 1983, University of Michigan, Anthropology, Education, Natural Resources)
Environmental and Human Systems Management, 1989 West Liberty Street
Ann Arbor, Michigan (MI) 48103-4535 USA, 734-994-3612, pjpunt@umich.edu

Jean N. Scandlyn (Ph.D. 1993, Columbia University, Anthropology)
Department of Anthropology, University of Colorado at Denver, 165 Gilpin Street
Denver, Colorado (CO) 80218-4011 USA, 303-765-5183, jean.scandlyn@cudenver.edu

Darby C. Stapp (Ph.D. 1990, University of Pennsylvania, American Civilization)
Pacific Northwest National Laboratory, 278 Adair Drive, Richland, Washington (WA) 99352-9453 USA
509-373-2894, dstapp@charter.net

Peter W. Van Arsdale (Ph.D. 1975, University of Colorado at Boulder, Anthropology)
Graduate School of International Studies, University of Denver
102-G Cherrington Hall, 2201 South Gaylord Street, Denver, Colorado (CO) 80208 USA
303-871-3281, pvanarsd@du.edu

Lawrence F. Van Horn (Ph.D. 1977, The City University of New York, Anthropology)
4777 South Oak Court, Littleton, Colorado (CO) 80127-1217 USA
720-635-5631, julavahol@mindspring.com

Deward E. Walker, Jr. (Ph.D., 1964, University of Oregon, Anthropology)
Department of Anthropology, University of Colorado at Boulder, Colorado (CO) 80309-0233 USA
303-492-6719, walkerde@colorado.edu

Aprons and Their Symbolic Ambiguity

John J. Beatty¹

Abstract

Although generally seen as an article of protective or occasionally decorative clothing, aprons are used to mark many aspects of the wearer including gender, occupation, social status and identity, and membership in specific groups such as secret societies. Focusing upon Western society and culture here follows an anthropological analysis of the wearing and meaning of aprons.

Introduction

Aprons are generally thought of as articles of clothing used for the protection of other clothing, especially on the front of the body. The word itself has the same root as napkin, and through an incorrect segmentation of a *napron* to an *apron*, the current version of the word comes into existence.

Although aprons are often used to protect clothing, the term has been used for both decorative clothing and some genital coverings. Shamanistic aprons from the Northwest Coast of North America serve no particular protective function for clothing, and the aprons that are worn as part of the clothing of Plains Indians are little more than the ends of breechcloths that have become separated from the part which passes between the legs. Similarly the aprons (*kesho mawashi*) worn by Japanese *sumo* wrestlers also appear to have developed from what could be called tails of the Japanese loincloth (*mawashi*). Interestingly enough, the Bible holds in some translations that Adam and Eve, having discovered they were naked, made aprons to cover their nudity. Some translations use the term loincloth here as well, so that the relationship between aprons and genital coverings seems rather widespread. Lawrence Lagner (cited in Bates 1958) holds that the apron was the first piece of clothing.

There is a great deal to be said about the question of just what items should and should not be included in the category of aprons. In this paper, however, I am interested more in the meaning of aprons and the wearing of aprons, especially in the West, where the linguistic problem is less complicated.

This article originated as the result of a classroom exercise in which I discussed anthropology as an approach to analysis of data, and

that almost anything that humans are involved with can be approached from an anthropological perspective, albeit not always a cultural anthropological one. I encouraged students from other disciplines to try to find anthropological approaches to the materials they worked with in their own fields. One of the students apparently gave this some thought and reported back at the next session that he was a waiter, and that while obviously eating and food were obvious areas for examination, what could be said anthropologically about aprons, which he said he was required to wear at work.

I was taken somewhat aback by the topic, but not being one to back down to a challenge, I started to look into the matter. Since many material objects, such as pottery, have been critical in some aspects of anthropology it seemed reasonable that a particular piece of clothing could be interesting and worthwhile, despite the dearth of anthropological literature about aprons.

The research, as a result, became largely fieldwork and involved talking to a number of apron wearers, which often resulted in rather blank stares, which happens regularly in fieldwork when discussing aspects of culture to which people do not normally give much thought.

In addition to interviews, I began to look for any mention of *apron* in literature and films, as some indication of the potential symbolic meanings that could be attributed to aprons. A number of historical photographs show the aproned owners and workers of various businesses posed standing outside their shops. Many photographs are also available of people working inside stores, restaurants, and bars wearing aprons. Films about the Old West in the United States abound with bartenders, grocers, and

shop keepers wearing aprons in a variety of shapes, sizes, and colors.

Because Joyce Chaney's book (2000) deals exclusively with women's aprons, the gender aspect immediately became obvious, and as a result, I tended to talk to men who wear aprons rather than women. So there is perhaps some bias in the interviews, but it was, I believe offset by the amount written about women.

The Structure of Aprons

Since aprons come in a variety of forms and can be worn in a variety of ways, it is necessary to examine the basic construction of an apron. The most complex apron consists of a yoke, a bib, a body, and ties. The yoke is the part that passes around the neck, while the bib covers the body from the waist up. The ties are used to fasten the apron around the waist, and the body is the major piece that covers the person from the waist down.

There is a surprisingly high amount of variation possible in the structure itself. Bartenders' aprons have no bibs. Other aprons are constructed so the bib appears to be a vest. Bistro aprons are long and with front pockets. Four-way aprons lack bibs, but have two layers of cloth in the body allowing the wearer to have four sides to the apron. Some aprons have ties that are almost ribbon like, others are much thicker and yet others, especially Japanese ones, are virtual bands of material. Some aprons lack ties in the normal sense, but have a kind of metal spring that clamps around the wearer's waist and holds it in place.

Likewise, the modes of wearing the apron are fairly variable. Some prefer to wear the bib up. Others fold the bib down so that it hangs either behind or in front of the body of the apron. The ties themselves are handled in different ways. Some wearers prefer to tie the apron in the back to keep the string out of the way. Others put on the apron with the bib down over the front of the apron body, then tie the apron on. After that they lift the bib and put their heads through the yoke, thus trapping the strings under the bib itself. Some men who wear aprons while working in a warehouse run the strings through the belt loops in their pants to keep the apron from riding up if they have to bend down for some object. Some Japanese waiters' and chefs' aprons have a pecu-

liar notch where the tie fastens to the body of the apron, which appears to allow great mobility when squatting down to get something from a low place.

All of the different variation in the structure and method of wearing aprons are variables with the potential for being manipulated in some meaningful way. This aspect of aprons and apron wearing should be noted. However, my main focus is on the symbolic meanings of aprons in everyday life and in linguistic structures.

There are many additional variations, as I pointed out in a widely circulated unpublished paper (Beatty 1989). There is the pencil pocket on denim shop aprons that freely hangs when the wearer bends over to work. There are plastic darkroom aprons, which are occasionally cuffed at the bottom to catch dripping liquids. And Joyce Chaney's book (2000) shows a wide diversity in women's aprons.

Aprons in general are manufactured by linen-supply companies, which generally operate a linen-rental service as well. These companies supply businesses with all manner of linens from aprons to tablecloths and napkins. Occasionally one finds a specialized company like CCA (Custom Change Aprons) which specializes in a variety of short aprons used by people who vend newspapers or make change at arcades.

Aprons as Markers of Gender and Ethnicity

Aprons are marked for gender. In general, there is a tendency to think of aprons as an article of clothing for women. Aside from the wearing of aprons by men in certain occupations, men in general do not wear aprons around the house. Like many other articles of clothing that tend towards gender specificity, women's clothing is marked, while men's is neutral. It is acceptable for women to wear pants. It is not acceptable for men to wear dresses. Women can carry black umbrellas, but men cannot carry fancy ones without eliciting some comments. Similarly, there are aprons that are clearly meant for females, while others can be worn by either sex. A woman can wear any apron that a man can wear, and unless it is remarkably specific for a given occupation, such as a blacksmith's apron might be, a woman wearing any apron goes

unchallenged. Even a blacksmith's apron is possible.

Part of this stems from the fact that aprons are seen more as an article of clothing, in the sense of fashion, for women than an article of protection as they are for men. Most so-called national clothing shows women wearing aprons, but not men, as evidenced in photographs, drawings, and dolls representative of various nations. There are a few exceptions that will be discussed later, but even so, the men's traditional or national costume does not include an apron.

The idea of aprons as being gender marked is clearly noted in Western culture. This has probably always been the case for gender specific aprons. The small tea-aprons worn by maids or some waitresses or frilly aprons worn at home by housewives will present gender problems if worn by men. Movie analysts, for example, have held that Edward G. Robinson in the film *Scarlet Street* (1945) is feminized and made powerless by being shown wearing an apron. It seemingly is not the fact that he is wearing an apron because at least five other men in the film wear the white aprons normally associated with food service, and no comment is made about them. That the apron is clearly a woman's apron, with a frill all around it, is the problem. In later films, like *Gladiator* (1992), in which some punks refer to a typical white apron worn by James Marshall as a skirt, it has become apparent that the idea of a man wearing any apron is stigmatizing. The gender reference here is obvious.

Probably the most commonly cited phrase dealing with aprons is "tied to his mother's apron strings" in which the apron is clearly gender marked. One does not say "tied to his father's aprons string," even if one's father is a blacksmith, chef, baker or a member of any other apron-wearing trade. Aprons that are clearly marked as female almost invariably tie in the back, whereas those that are gender neutral may tie either the front or back. Similar comments from men who wear aprons on the street imply this is not just a problem in motion pictures. Three men caterers wearing their aprons in a college reported that some women employees referred to them as wearing skirts rather than aprons. Another worker with an apron over his sweat pants reported being called (for the first

and only time) a faggot, implying homosexuality, because of his apron.

An additional factor involves the reality that in many areas there are racially and ethnically mixed populations. Certain populations also fall into the lower economic classes and can wind up in apron-wearing jobs. In New York City, for example, a large percentage of restaurant dishwashers and dish-bussers tend to be from African American or Hispanic backgrounds in low-paying jobs. Thus apron wearing is associated with this economic class as well as ethnic identity. It is interesting to note that the *White rapper* (a description used by every person I asked about him) Eminem has recently released a poster of himself wearing a white apron and carrying out rubbish. Since rap music is generally associated with Blacks (hence the term *White rapper*) the picture furthers the association by putting him in a kind of uniform that ties him to an occupation often associated with minorities.

Aprons as Symbols of Status

In terms of occupations, apron wearing by men would seem to be on the decline. The number of grocery-store workers, bartenders, and the like who wear aprons is clearly on the decline. Photographs of turn of the century workers show a large number of men wearing aprons in occupations that no longer wear them. To some degree the decline has been caused by the increased cost of the linen bills from the services that supplied these stores. Yet the fact that even small pizza stores seem able to manage the laundry bills, makes this seem less of a factor than some others.

Plays, old photographs, and films give some clue to the past and the degree to which aprons were worn. Shakespeare in his play *Julius Caesar*, indicates that aprons were certainly the marker of specific trades: Consider the following dialog from Act 1, Scene 1, Lines 1-7:

Flavius

Hence! Home, you idle creatures, get you home:
Is this a holiday? What! Know you not,
Being mechanical, you ought not walk
Upon a labouring day without the sign
Of your profession? Speak, what trade art thou?

Carpenter

Why, Sir, a carpenter.

Marullus

Where is thy leather apron, and thy rule?

It may well be that this is less a description of the ancient Romans than it is of Elizabethan England. But the point is that in times past, aprons, and possibly even specific kinds of aprons, marked specific occupations, as noted for Elizabethan England.

In addition, in the course of interviewing many employees of stores where aprons are supplied, a number of them elected not to wear the aprons that the management supplied. Only in rare cases was there conflict between the management and the employee in stores where the apron was not part of the distinctive clothing worn by the employee. In one record store, which had decided to have their employees wear black aprons with the name of the store emblazoned on them, there was some comment by male employees who did not want to wear the aprons, which the management had insisted upon. Some of the men, as a kind of protest wore the aprons, by hanging them around their necks, but refusing to tie them.

Some men who work at restaurants and other food places where food can be delivered to the person, remove their aprons when going on deliveries. Others do not. The explanations are classic examples of emic-etic anthropological theory (Winthrop 1991) and the same event being interpreted differently. One told me that he does not wear his apron on deliveries at the owner's request because the owner is afraid that he is more likely to be held up if he wears his apron. The notion is that men delivering food often carry money with them in order to make change and hence are ideal candidates for robberies. Others have argued that carrying the food is enough to mark the person as making a delivery so the apron is irrelevant. Other storeowners have insisted that their deliverymen wear their aprons so that the customers know they are from the store. It has been argued that a man wearing an apron and carrying a paper bag with a menu stapled to it can get past almost any security

arrangement! In fact, a mugger in New York City eluded the police by forcing a delivery boy to strip off his hat, shirt, and apron, which he then put on and walked past the police who were looking for him (Becker and McPhee 2000; Weiss and Perrotta 2000).

Others have argued that the fact that the aprons are often dirty makes it unsightly to wear them outside the store. Of course, chefs and other food service people often keep an extra clean set of clothes, including pants, jackets, and aprons, to change into if they have to appear publicly, although clearly the apron is the easiest item to change.

Yet another dimension that complicates matters can be seen by way of a brief interview with a young man who makes deliveries for a local restaurant. Usually he takes his apron off when he leaves on a delivery, but on this occasion he was wearing it. When I asked him why, he said it was "really cold and it kept his legs warmer." As with many things that have symbolic value, they may also have a practical value as well. Deciding on which is in effect at any given time is not always easy to tell.

A dark blue woolen apron worn by some butchers in parts of Great Britain and Australia was prohibited as proper wear for Scottish butchers who settled in New Jersey. The butchers I interviewed claimed that the New Jersey Health Department had forbidden their use for fear that the blood would not show, making them less likely to be washed. The butchers objected saying that they knew the necessity to be clean and washed their aprons regularly. They felt it was offensive to have the customers look at white aprons that had been blood stained.

So strong is the association of an apron with food service that in the film *Forbidden Planet* (1956), which is set well into the future, the cook on board still wears a white apron. In *Conquest of Space* (1955), another futuristic film, the busboys on the space station still wear white aprons as part of their uniforms.

The idea that men who wear aprons are involved in dirty, hence, menial work, and are therefore lower class may have some impact on the situation as well. In the 1984 comedy, *Johnny Dangerously*, Michael Keaton appears at the beginning of the film as the owner of a pet

store. He is feeding the animals and wearing a long white apron. He catches a young thief and decides to try to talk him out of a life of crime, asking him if he thinks stealing makes him big. "Bigger than you," replies the kid, "wearing an apron and feeding a bunch of monkeys."

It has also been reported that at times, the English class system was represented, albeit under very strange circumstances, by the wearing of aprons. Graves and Hodge (1941:263) report that

the English developed an elaborate system of indicating social class which was maintained in even incongruous circumstances. A nudist camp retained a hierarchy by dressing servants in short aprons to differentiate them from their nude employers (quoted in Joseph 1986:11-12)

Similarly, Phyllis Cunningham and Catherine Lucas (1967) report that

aprons decrease in size as British nurses rise in rank, [and aprons] disappear in the top echelon" (Cunningham and Lucas 1967:321, 390)

Although it seems initially somewhat contradictory, many chefs have themselves photographed in their whites, including an apron. While this might lead one to suspect that it lowers their status, it in fact does the reverse. This is in part because of the association with other clothing. Clothing must be examined syntactically as well as in and of itself. Chefs appear not only with aprons, but also with chefs' jackets (often monogrammed) and hats. This combination is interpreted differently than say with Eminem, mentioned above, whose white apron covers everyday clothing.

Linguistic Structures

Aprons appear in few fixed forms. Most commonly they appear in phrases that imply work. To put on an apron is almost the equivalent of "to gird up one's loins." The difference here is that the work is unpleasant and often, as pointed out before, associated with jobs held by people from the lower economic classes. Putting on an apron means to prepare to get to the physical dirty work. One baker who has become the owner of a medium sized bakery now simply does

the managerial aspect of the business and does not ordinarily get into the kitchen. But, if the bakery is suddenly short handed, he may, as one of the managers said, "put on the apron" and get to work.

In Bruce Griffin Henderson's pleasant book, *Waiting* (1995) he reports similar examples from his interviews with waiters, characterized by the quote he reports "You don't know what to do next. That's when you feel like taking your apron off and walking out the door."

I took a month and a half off to make the film; we were down in the East Village with a big film crew shooting every day, and then I had to go back to work and put an apron on (p. 237).

It's all part of the job. And, of course, when you are busy you make more money. But it is a terrible feeling. And I know I dislike it for at least two reasons: first, I don't like to feel panicked or out of control. Who does? There is always the fear, in every waiter's mind, that it will get so out of hand that you have no choice but to take off your apron and walk out the front door (p. 176).

Aprons as Occupational Markers

The most obvious symbolic use of the apron is to designate the wearer's occupation. The Oxford English Dictionary gives examples of two words used to indicate workmen. One is *apron* men, and the other is *aproner*, which is the equivalent of tradesman. Both of these forms are now relatively obsolete. But aprons tend to mark the wearers as people who are likely to get dirty while working. A number of different kinds of aprons mark different occupations in different cultures. The most basic Western apron is a white one with or without a bib, traditionally worn by food handlers. Chefs, servers, bussers, runners and others all can be found wearing aprons. Some are more elaborate than others. Servers' aprons tend, on the whole to reach the greatest level of complexity and variation. Some are short so-called change aprons, mentioned above, while others may be long full white aprons. In Cologne, a specific kind of full dark, full-bloused apron known as Korber's apron is found and is typically

worn by waiters. Other variations in the West often involve the modification of the bib area to make it look like a vest or similar article of apparel.

In Japan, aprons differ dramatically from occupation to occupation. Common, however, to most Japanese aprons are the rather wide ties for the aprons. Western aprons tend to use almost ribbon like strings, occasionally of late of varying colors. Many shopkeepers wear dark blue aprons, which are rather narrow, while a light beige colored apron is common for men who deliver materials on trucks to stores and individuals. These companies often have their corporate image and name on the apron.

Japanese food handlers also wear aprons, often white. A peculiarity of some of the full aprons worn by Japanese food handlers is a distinctive cut or notch that occurs where the body of the apron joins the tie. Some aprons meet the string in a perpendicular angle, while others bend in at a 45-degree angle. Some vendors claim these are made to make it easier for wearers who need to squat to secure objects from low closets and the like, binding less than those without the cut. Like the West, Japan also has rubber and plastic aprons, which are used for protection against large amounts of water. Dishwashers, fishmongers and other people working in similarly wet environments tend to wear these aprons. In the West, such aprons (and, in fact, overalls) were often worn by lobster fishermen. In Japan, an interesting development has been the replacement of the ties by a kind of metal spring inserted into the waist of the apron. The wearer does not tie the apron on, but rather clip it around the waist.

Blacksmiths and other people who work around hot metal also wear distinctive aprons, which are often leather and serve as protection against flying sparks and very hot metals. Although it would seem that such aprons would be extraordinarily hot in front of a furnace, several blacksmiths say that the aprons operate as a shield against the heat, as well as the flying metal.

More common now is the use of so-called designer aprons for stores. They indicate the name of the store, and are used to mark the employees, although fewer seem to be able to maintain the apron as part of the uniform.

Some of these stores are food specialties like Starbucks. Others are home centers like Home Depot. One chain store specializing in housewares, especially items related to cooking, originally had employees wear red aprons labeled with the store name. Later they switched to plain red aprons and more recently have substituted shirts with the store name on them for the aprons. The record store, Sam Goody, for a while had employees wear aprons. Several of the male employees I spoke to refused to tie them, and just let them hang around their necks. The store seems to have yielded, and there are no more employees wearing aprons bearing the name Sam Goody.

Since it is apparent that the apron can constitute a rather large canvas or space for decoration, it is not surprising that many aprons are available for home use that have phrases on them or are made with specific backgrounds. The "cow" pattern, which has black and white patches, is available on aprons. Aprons, like political buttons, or other buttons a few years back, seem to be a popular site for messages. "Army Cooks School: Death from Within" is one of the more fascinating ones, while "I Cook Better Naked" might lead to questions about what cooks in nudist camps might wear. The proliferation of aprons with different sayings is an area for investigation since the person wearing the apron is seen generally only by a few people, as opposed to people who wear buttons with messages on them when they walk on the street.

Aprons as a Part of National Costumes

Although the national costume of many countries shows a kind of peasant dress, in which women appear wearing aprons, aproned men are generally unknown. Nonetheless, there are at least two or three examples of men wearing aprons as indicative of national identity. Hungary is reported to have some folk dances in which men wear aprons, and the steps are set up specifically for the movement that the aprons make when the men dance. (Herman 1991), Similarly in the Tirol,

ordinances forbade men to come to town wearing the bright blue aprons, the uniform of the proud upland farmer (Ward 1993:54).

This quote indicates that the apron can

become a part of a quasi-national costume, even for men. The outlawing of it in the Tirol reminds one of similar potential embarrassments for the Scots with the kilt.

Aprons in More Symbolic Contexts such as Secret Societies

The Persian poet, Firdawsi, whose real name is Abu al-Qasim Firdawsi (circa 940 - circa 1020), wrote a poem known as *Shahnameh* that contains more than 60,000 rhyming couplets. In the poem an evil Arab ruler named

Dahhák fell into sin, becoming more and more evil until Kavah, a smith, rebelled and established his leather apron as the banner of revolt (Encarta Encyclopedia 2006).

Arkon Daraul reports that a secret society, known as *The High Priesthood of Thebes*, made use of an apron as a part of the initiation:

He was taught a grip, given a pyramidal cap, and an apron called Xylon. Around his neck was a collar. He wore no other clothes. His duty was to guard The Gate of Men in his turn." (Daraul 1961:130)

Without a doubt the most well known symbolic use of aprons occurs with the Free and Accepted Masons, where a lambskin apron is one of the major revered symbols of the order. So much is this the case that Stewart Pollard was able to write a book called *Tied to Masonic Apron Strings* (1974) seemingly without most masons feeling any negative connection to the original phrase mentioned earlier.

The apron is worn by masons on public occasions, but ritually is worn in different ways to indicate the level of initiation completed, as well as a host of different honors and positions. Elaborately decorated in many cases, and contrasting with the plain lambskin, these aprons can be found described in many books and in museums. Robinson (1989) in his book *Born in Blood* in which he tries to link the Masons to the Knights Templar, points out that the Masonic apron is one of their most important symbols. He links it with a white lambskin worn by the Templars. He argues that operative masons in medieval times did not wear aprons, and that the apron is related directly to the Templar costume.

Drawings of operative masons from those times would seem to belie this statement.

Conclusion

Symbolically, aprons would seem to represent an ambiguous position in Western culture, although other societies clearly regard them differently. In the West, their general use indicates physical, often dirty labor, which is viewed positively in the abstract but is something to be avoided in reality. Since such physical work is obviously associated with the so-called working class it implies lower, rather than higher status.

Perhaps especially for men, it may be fruitful to look at the changing attitudes towards the wearing of aprons where the apron seems to be marked in some ways as feminine. As pointed out, women can wear any apron a man can wear with impunity, but men cannot reverse the process. This would appear to reflect the status of the two genders. It is acceptable to dress using the clothing of a higher status person, but not the other way around. Women can wear pants; men cannot wear skirts. Even Scottish kilts are sometimes a problem for men outside of the area where they are generally found. If indeed, as suggested, aprons have become less worn by men in certain jobs, could this reflect something of a rejection of a gender role?

On the other hand, some stores like the Home Depot and the Lumber Headquarters seem to have been successful in getting their employees to wear aprons. Both companies deal with home supplies and the aprons look somewhat like the blue denim shop aprons worn by carpenters in the past. Even the now defunct Lechter's store which specialized in housewares, seemed to not have had the problems Sam Goody Record shops did. Although Lechter's stopped having its employees wear aprons, there seemed to be no great resistance against it the way there was in the one Sam Goody store where I found male employees refusing to tie their aprons. ○

Notes

1. John J. Beatty has conducted extensive field-work in Japan. Retired as a full professor of anthropology from the Department of Anthropology and Archaeology, Brooklyn College of The City University of New York (CUNY), John

Beatty continues as an adjunct professor of anthropology and film in the Department of Film at Brooklyn College, CUNY. He received his Ph.D. in anthropology from The Graduate Center, CUNY, in 1972. He may be reached at the Department of Film, Brooklyn College, CUNY, 201 Field Building, 2900 Bedford Avenue, Brooklyn, New York (NY) 11210-2889 USA. He may also be reached by e-mail at **Profbeatty@hotmail.com** and by telephone at 718-951-5664.

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Scarlet Street

- 1945 Directed by Fritz Lang.

La Mexicana: The Corner Grocery as a Transnational Space in Illinois

Margaret A. Villanueva¹

Abstract

Studies on the impact of Mexican culture in the United States have traditionally focused on the Southwest and more recently on the Southeastern states. This article takes a close look at the creation of a transnational social space in a Midwestern town in Illinois that I call by the pseudonym of Prairie View where immigration has had a strong impact on local demographics from the mid 1990s to the present. In the form of ethnographic notes, the article describes the transnational products and complex ethnic identities that come together in a corner grocery during the first months of a new wave of immigration. And it briefly explains more recent changes brought about by settlers from the Mexican state of Veracruz to this mid-sized Illinois city.

Introduction

Mexico's *La Jornada* newspaper anticipated the return of 50,000 Veracruzanos to coastal and mountain towns like Yecuautila, Landero y Coss, Yanga, Cuitláhuac and Carrillo Puerto for the winter holidays of 2005–2006. Correspondent Andrés Morales (November 15, 2005) reported that most of the sojourners would arrive from North Carolina, Texas, and California, but the article failed to mention a significant group who might visit from the northern reaches of Illinois. After a decade of settlement and hard work in Chicago suburbs and beyond, the *Jarocho*s as Veracruz natives are called in Mexico, had changed the face of a neighborhood and altered the demographics of a small city. By 2002, immigrants, settlers and locals had opened a community center with nonprofit status where three years later, residents are taking English-as-a-second-language (ESL) courses, practicing folkloric Mexican dances, working in a computer laboratory funded by county agencies and major corporations, and painting a mural under the mentorship of university graduate students. Unlike the many Mexican newcomers to the Midwest who have been recruited to rural poultry plants and other industries (Millard and Chapa 2004), the Veracruzanos followed the path of a migrant family who sought a tranquil place to open a business beyond metropolitan Chicago.

A Sense of Place Away from Home

For recent immigrants, building community and creating a so-called sense of place can be a

slow process, but in a small town just outside the “edge city” sprawl of Chicago’s suburbs, this process was accelerated in the mid-1990s by the establishment of a Mexican grocery store named *La Tienda Jarocho* by its owners. This small marketplace, like other immigrant places in the Chicago region, became what anthropologist Nicholas DeGenova terms a

spatial conjuncture of social relations ... constituted through the everyday social relations and meaningful practices that comprise the intersection of a transnational labor migration, capitalist enterprises, and the U.S. nation-state (DeGenova 2005:112).

The new family business created a transnational space: *un espacio*, a new social space in a heartland town, where nothing like it had existed before. Here, the aromas, textures, and colors of *la comida*, the food, are saturated with *recuerdos*, memories aroused by food, and the transnational marketing of food products stimulated by memory and desire for a faraway place.

Mexican settlers and sojourners have come to the Midwest’s “Northern Borderlands” (Valdés 1989) since early in the twentieth century to work in the sugar beet fields, on the railroads, in manufacturing, or in the service sector (Elizondo 1989; Valdés 1989, 2000). But the late arrivals to out-state Illinois I speak about have migrated from tropical Veracruz in a new trend. From Crystal Lake and Palatine in Chicago’s northwest suburbs to a mid-sized town that I refer to as *Prairie View*, 60 miles west of Chicago, the *Jarocho*s are further diversifying the process that Robert Aponte terms “the browning of the Midwest” (Aponte and Siles 1994).

This immigration from Veracruz to Illinois has not simply joined the already-existing Latino communities in the heartland. Rather, as a new phenomenon, it contributes to what anthropologist Roger Rouse (1991:14) calls "transnational migrant circuits" mapped by the border-crossing practices of recent immigrants and by a "continuous circulation of people, money, goods, and information." I argue that this new immigration is producing not only ethnic diversity, but also new social spaces. This occurs, in part, through the circulation of food and memory—*los recuerdos de la comida*—a circulation only partially commodified, since it is interlaced with reciprocal relations. To posit "circuits" and "circulation" is to suggest that movement does not flow in one direction, but rather that cultural practices and products constantly change over space and time to create the profound "transcultural changes" first noted by Cuban anthropologist Fernando Ortiz Herrera. Transcultural change transverses cultural territories as people, goods, and memories actively intervene to alter practices in geographically distant social spaces (Ortiz 1947).

As an ethnographic observer, I interacted with several of the new immigrant families to Prairie View (a fictionalized name for this city which had 35,000 people in 1990 and nearly 40,000 today). Having carried out my dissertation research for two years in Papantla, Veracruz, in the 1980s, my knowledge of the regional geography, cultural practices, foods, and modes of joking surprised the new arrivals, and I quickly became their local informant and part of their support network. My observations of the grocery store in its first months of existence are intended to show how new social spaces are created, spaces that reminded me of the years that my son and I had lived among the *Jarocho*s. *Jarocho*s provide a much warmer welcome to newcomers than most Illinois natives provide for strangers from the South. Thus, the following account is written in the ethnographic present although it describes a small family business which has since changed hands, and recently moved across the street to a larger building. Today, the new owners have expanded the grocery to include a small café that offers Veracruzano cooking for a well-established community.

Both commodities and reciprocity flow

through the grocery store that everyone calls *La Mexicana*, a small corner store near Prairie View's industrial zone. The owner, José Luis Santes, claims to be the first person to arrive in Chicago hinterlands from Veracruz in the early 1980s, pioneering a new immigration circuit that has extended outward from his family-run business back to Veracruz, as family and neighbors return "home" for short vacations or extended stays. Before the recent settlement to this "edge city" town in the mid-1990s, a decade of immigration had brought over 1,000 *Veracruzanos* to the northwest Chicago suburbs. Seeking a less "racist" community to set up a new business, Santes moved west from the suburbs to transform a small Mexican grocery in this predominantly white city from a dark, understocked, and nearly empty space, into an expanding enterprise that seems to constantly create its own clientele.

Ethnic Identities of Veracruzanos

Who are the Veracruzanos in Illinois? Back home in central Veracruz they may be either *Jarocho*s or *Totonacos*, depending on whether their families are *mestizo* (identifying with a national Mexican culture) or *indígena* (belonging to an indigenous Totonac-speaking community). Generally the regional elite, who call themselves "*Criollos*" (Creoles) do not participate in this working-class immigrant circuit. *Jarocho*s was formerly a derogatory term for racially mixed inhabitants of the Veracruz lowlands, who were described as wanton and "lazy" by 19th century European travelers (Siemens 1990). In the United States, *Jarocho* cultural practices are best known through their lively regional music featuring harp and strings, with an accompanying folkloric dance by women in diaphanous white dresses, balancing lighted candles on their heads. *Totonaco* derives from a Nahuatl (Aztec) name for the "people of the hotlands" who lived in *Totonacápan*, a region extending from the cool eastern slopes of the Sierra Madre Oriental to the tropical rainforests along the Gulf of Mexico, now the north-central region of Veracruz state (García Martínez 1987).

Four hundred years of European writing on the tropics described this home region of the *Jarocho*s and *Totonacos* as "a bountiful and exuberant nature" where food was available for the

taking: fruits to be picked, wildlife to be hunted, fish to be netted, vanilla, spices, and medicinal herbs, honey from the wild bees. A 19th-century Belgian traveler described the *Jarocho*s in the same terms used by 16th-century friars observing the indigenous Totonacs: "Should we then wonder ... that the natives enjoy the banquet thus prepared for them, and deem it folly to care for the future?" (Sartorius cited in Siemens 1990:152)

In the 20th century, the *Jarocho* identity moved from margin to center as a marker of popular Veracruzán *mestizo* cultural identity, but people identifying as Totonacs through their location in rural spaces, their language, dance forms, clothing, and other practices, remained on the margins. The Gulf Coast brand of *mestizaje*, like the national one, excludes the indigenous subject, assuming their eventual assimilation into an assumed mainstream. However, the speakers of ancient Totonac resist assimilation, as Latinos in the United States similarly resist a cultural blending into the Anglo mainstream (Villanueva 1996). During two years of field study in the Totonac region, I never heard Totonac speakers refer to themselves as *Veracruzanos* or *Jarocho*s and seldom as *Mexicanos*. To a Totonac speaker from the Gulf Coast, a *Mexicano* is a Nahuatl-speaker from the highlands, a *Serrano* from the *Sierra Madre Oriental* mountain range who speaks the *Mexicano* language, the language of the Aztec or *Méxica* people who conquered the Totonac city-states in the early 1400s. Totonac speakers use the word *luhán* to refer to outsiders, to strangers, including other indigenous groups, so even the *Jarocho*s of Veracruz State are outsiders whose culture is a mixture of indigenous, African, and European, who play *sones* on a harp, and wear crisp linen *guayabera* shirts, but they are "not us."

At the small corner store in northern Illinois, bilingual customers speaking Totonac and Spanish are crossing complex borders of identity and practice—as immigrants to this new land, they now describe themselves, first of all, as being from Veracruz. Separated from their indigenous communities, they are engulfed by that 500-year old enculturation process called *Mestizaje* that began when Cortez first landed on Totonac shores in 1519. Ironically, the earnings of these indigenous people here *en el norte*, in the north,

will result in remittances to families back home. These are funds that will sustain rural villages and a local material culture besieged by the neo-liberal socioeconomic changes inscribed in the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) that marked the end of the post-revolutionary Agrarian Reform Program in Mexico.

Mario Perez describes the impulse to emigrate from tropical Gulf Coast and mountain towns of Veracruz to places like Illinois:

Migration is an idea, a labor alternative that has been transmitted from person to person, from pueblo to pueblo, across close and distant communities: the American Dream that invades more and more Veracruzanos who wish to try their luck in the United States. Nothing keeps them back; they are prepared to risk all and suffer the social and economic costs that migration implies (Pérez Monterosas 1999, my translation).

Although the official name of the grocery store owned by a descendent of the Totonac is *Tienda Jarocho*, most customers refer to it merely as *La Mexicana*. No one from the Spanish-speaking community calls the store *Los Milagros*, the name proclaimed from the front window. It is only the local *Gringos* who mistakenly accept the large plastic sign with bright yellow letters and a green cactus that reads "*Los Milagros*" as a true reflection of the store's name. Everyone else knows that this was the earlier name of the store when it was owned by the Mexican evangelicals who sold it to the Catholic *Jarocho*s a couple of years before.

"Where are you from?" "Veracruz." The state is remembered as the point of origin that is distinct from the homelands of earlier settlers, not Jalisco or Durango. Questioned further, people name their municipality, and when I mention that I lived in Veracruz, they explain how their village fits into the state's geography and economy. A substantial number of newcomers come from the same municipality as the store's owner José Luis Santes, *Misantla*. And even from the smaller township of *Yecuantla* further into the forested hills; more specifically from the outlying hamlet of that town, *San Cristóbal*. Given that nearly the entire male population of this

hamlet has spent time living and working in the Chicago suburb of Crystal Lake, the immigrants jokingly rename the prosperous northwest suburb *Cristóbal Lake*.

Totonac roots are deep in the Veracruz homeland of José Luis Santes. The town of *Misantla* was part of the Totonac Federation in 1519, tributaries to the Aztec empire. Meaning "the place of the deer" in Nahuatl, the Totonac told the Spaniards that it was named by the Aztec overlord *Mizanteuctli* or "Lord Deer" (Ramirez Lavoignet 1962:13, 16). Located on a small plateau in forested hill country, in the 19th-century Misantla was a major producer of vanilla, and later of coffee. Hidden among the hills several miles beyond Misantla, the village of Yecuautila has enjoyed an excellent climate for vanilla and coffee growing. Named for the confluence of three rivers that meet below the village center, Yecuautila means "a snake with three heads."

Studies of out-migration carried out in the late 1980s verify José Luis Santes' claim that he was among the first people to leave the central Veracruz region for the United States. In a study of eight towns in the highlands, researchers Odile Hoffman, Bertha Portilla, and Elsa Almeida found that Misantla was the only town in the coffee-producing region that had sent its residents abroad seeking work during a time of economic crisis in the coffee industry. They report that 12 people had left the town over the past five years (Perez 1999).

Transnational Origins and Material Culture

The transnational character of the Mexican grocery store of Mr. Santes is not only embedded in the flow of its people and their money, but also in the way that material culture occupies its interior spaces. What is most *veracruzano* about the store is the abundant array of foods displayed on its shelves. One imaginatively returns to a tropical space by walking into the store, just by sniffing the mixed aroma of fresh *tamales*, *chicarrones*, *hierbas medicinales*, ripe fruit and *pan dulce*. Well-stocked shelves, bins, and refrigerators promise future meals of black beans, green *tomatillo*, *pipian y chile* sauce, ripe *platanos con crema*, candied *camotes* or a *parillada* with *arrachera* marinated in fresh lime juice, grilled atop *mesquit* charcoal, accompanied by a cold *agua de guanabana*

or a *Jarritos* soda.

Upon closer examination, product labels reveal commodity flows that circle back upon themselves. For example, there are cleaning agents like *Maestro Limpiador* depicting a Yul Brenner character on the label translated southward for Mexican consumers, but now returning to the north in Spanglish. Alongside, bottles of liquid, a slightly different yellow-green shade, the same logo, but in English as *Mr. Clean*. The Mexican variety costs nearly a dollar more.

Across the aisle food labels are just as likely to say *Hecho en EEUU* (Made in USA) as *Made in Mexico*. On a high shelf, the imported Gamesca brand cookies include *Ricanelas—galletas integrales* (graham crackers in English). Below, Adelita, Inc.'s *Jalapeños Nachos / Nachos Jalapeños* as round green slices to adorn a Chicano-Mex favorite, packed in Los Angeles, of course. These bottled nacho-makings brought to mind a food fad I encountered in Papantla, Veracruz, the center of Totonacapan, two summers before. Local teenagers pass weekend evenings strolling around the plaza munching on *Nachos Americanos* in cardboard holders, the familiar toasted chips bathed in yellow cheese sauce squirted from a steel spout with jalapeño slices, catsup and mustard on top. So far the *Jarochos* have not brought this trans-cultural treat back to the so-called Northern Borderlands.

Regional specialties on the *Tienda's* shelves demonstrate the global reach of *salsa*. One specialty label for the *El Yucateco* brand promises an *Original Mayan Recipe* and calls the brownish mixture *Salsa kutbil-ik de chile habanero*. The Yucatecan *XXXtra Hot Sauce* label provides both an 800-number and e-mail address, which is *salsa@yucatan.com.mx*.

Chiles are displayed in many forms, from dried black *anchos* to a three-ounce can of pickled red peppers. On the bottom shelf, three kilos of *jalapeños en escabeche* from the *Empacadora del Golfo* in Veracruz sits next to a six-pound Bush Brothers "gen-u-ine" *pozole blanco*, made in Knoxville, Tennessee where it used to be called *hominy*. For Caribeños who prefer milder flavors, Goya *Azaf-rán* packets are on hand to accompany rice, and canned *gandules verdes* arrive from three different ports—*Condal* from Peru, *La Criolla* from Ecuador, or *La Preferida* imported green pigeon peas

packed in Chicago. Chicago, too, is the distribution point to all the Latino grocery across northern Illinois, and a manufacturing center for fresh tortillas, baked goods, and the *velas* (candles) *de San Martín* sold at *Tienda Veracruzana*. The same Chicago factory produces *Santería* rainbow powders, and *Chango-Santa Bárbara* candles sold in urban *botánicas* or health stores.

Transcultural signs link local people and newcomers to the faraway production zones made visible in the everyday spaces of this corner grocery. Since José Luis Santes acquired the building consisting of two floors of apartments and a ground-level store space, the sale of Mexican-manufactured dry goods has done so well that he built a new room to display household goods and popular clothing, such as tortilla presses, flat metal *comales* for heating tortillas, acrylic and cotton plaid blankets, cowboy boots, and a circular rack of brown suede and leather-patch jackets. Ubiquitous t-shirts, baseball caps, and decals evoke memories of other places by such insignias as *Durango*, *Veracruz*, *Guanajuato*, or *Sonora*. There are revolving wheels of compact discs (CDs) and cassette tapes in the aisles, and behind the cashier's counter one finds salty chile *paletas*, spiced tamarind paste, or a *lotería* game for less than a dollar, even a few medicines in the familiar cardboard boxes of a Mexican *farmacia*.

In the background, a radio plays the calypso song *Matilda* with Spanish lyrics and a Caribbean *Banda* beat; on television (TV), a Pedro Infante movie featuring *mariachi* and *ranchera* songs. *Telemundo* TV became available on local cable for the first time in the Spring of 1996. Before then, not one Spanish-language program was transmitted this far from Chicago, and when I had called the cable company to ask when they would begin broadcasting *Telemundo* or *Univision* a couple of years back, a polite voice answered that "there's just no audience for *those* channels here." But that was *before* they noticed the changing demographics.

Tienda Jarocha sells the means of communication with the homeland. *La Tarjeta Telefónica* plastic cards precoded for 10 or 25 dollars worth of calls, and a toll phone outside the door, an international money-order service to send earnings south without going to Western Union, which no longer exists as a company. The com-

munity bulletin board announces a *baile* (dance) with a live *conjunto* (band) that will perform at a local nightclub usually dedicated to Anglo rock. Notices are tacked up for jobs, church services, or English classes.

Portrait of an Extended Family

The three-story building housing the corner store is home to the Santes' extended family members who traveled north from Veracruz only recently. Back home in Yecuaautla, a junior high school teacher on his Christmas break, recalls his two-year stint in Prairie View working at a fast food place. He is thinking about returning. While watching a news broadcast, transmitted through the huge parabolic antenna on the roof, the young teacher comments on how the Mexican government cut off Spanish-language news broadcasts transmitted from the United States. This was so because, he said, "They told the truth about what's going on in this country, and they don't want us to hear it."

Standing in a doorway out of the rain near Yecuaautla's small central plaza, another youth who had lived in Chicago for several years said he returned because the gang violence was getting too serious in his *La Villita* neighborhood. *La Villita* centers on bustling 26th Street, the commercial heart of Mexican Chicago, formerly known as "Little Village," an enclave of Bohemian immigrants. This return-migrant youth's short-cropped hair and earring looked somewhat out of place on the cobbled-stoned streets of Yecuaautla. However, many other children and youth show off their Chicago colors and Reeboks during this Christmas season in Misantla, Yecuaautla, and surrounding villages.

The youngest resident in Mr. Santes' building, is a distant nephew, born in Illinois early in 1996 to Micaela, a woman with long black hair who arrived from a distant hamlet outside Yecuaautla, which she described as a two-hour walk up into the mountains where no vehicles could reach. She believed that she had received surgery to prevent further pregnancies in a Mexican clinic. And Micaela never imagined as she ran across the desert beyond Nogales, feeling more terrified than ever before in her life, that she would bear a child across the border, *en el otro lado* (on the other side). Her family of four lives

temporarily in one room behind the store, a space organized in the Veracruz manner, with a large bed, baby blankets shading the window, a wash basin and table utensils in one corner by the portable electric stove, the bathroom area cordoned off by plastic sheets and a lace curtain, and the color TV broadcasting a boxing match in English, watched by her husband and his cousin who were relaxing before their bicycle ride to restaurant jobs that Sunday afternoon when I happened to stop by. Micaela cooks chicken tamales for her husband's relative, Mr. Santes, who is allergic to pork. She uses vegetable oil instead of the traditional rendered pork lard back home or the store-bought *manteca* (lard)—adding tomato and freshly ground dried chiles, the tiny hot ones that grow wild in the *milpas* (fields) of Totonacapan, called *chile pequin*.

Around the dinner table, they all agreed that what they miss most about *Misantla* and *Tecuautila* is the fresh cold water running down the mountains, "so pure you can drink it right out of the stream." But the market for coffee fell, the *Tratado de Libre Comercio* [North American Free Trade Agreement or NAFTA] is destroying the local economy, and one *kilo* of meat costs at least one and a half days work, when you can find work at all. "It's easier here, it's not so beautiful, but it's much easier to live."

When I traveled back to Veracruz with the Santes family to visit their extended families in the *Misantla* and *Yecuautila* region, Mr. Santes proudly pointed to the white cement houses dotting the landscape beyond each turn in the rough dirt road. He said that

these were all built with money sent by relatives working back in Illinois. Before, this town was dying. Coffee prices dropped and there was no work. Now there are new houses, but hardly anyone lives here year-round.

The remittances from *Prairie View* become part of a larger flow of international cash transactions that villagers across rural Mexico receive for basic living expenses, tragic emergencies, and family investment from relatives in metropolitan Chicago (DeGenova 2005: 129–32).

We visit the kitchen of Jose's sister's small cement house, where the fragrant smell of cook-

ing arises from clay pots on the Totonac-style hearth, built of adobe and covered with a smooth clay finish, raised to waist-level above the dirt floor. Aromas of chile sauce, black beans with *epazote* herb, and toasting tortillas fill the space. In the summertime, one can purchase a fresh bundle of *epazote* herb in northern Illinois by looking for a store in an old Finnish-built neighborhood that seems to be named *Los Milagros*, but isn't.

Jose Luis Santes does not plan to live up north all his life; he looks forward to retirement back home near *Misantla*. After fifteen years, he still feels connected to his home region, but to his fully bilingual kids, Mexico is just a place to visit on summer and winter vacations. Micaela's family returned to Veracruz, purchasing a cement house along the muddy streets of a *colonia* in the state capital of Xalapa. However, her teenage son stayed behind, finding Illinois a more exciting place than provincial Mexico.

La Mexicana: Changes since 2000

The story of Veracruz immigrants later took a tragic turn when 14 farmers from the coffee-growing township of Atzalan, Veracruz, died in the Arizona desert in 2001. By then, the trickle of Veracruzanos crossing the border had become a flood.

Between 1995 and 2000, some 800,000 people left Veracruz. Pérez Monterosas reports that Veracruz has been steadily climbing the ladder in the list of the states that contribute to the migrant population in the United States. In 1992 Veracruz was in 30th place, by 1997 it had risen to 27th, in 2000 it held 14th, and by 2002 it had become the fourth-largest sending state in the nation (Hernández Navarro 2004).

Census Bureau and school district figures demonstrate that the portion of this population flow which has reached northern Illinois changed the local demographic makeup. From 1,300 Latino residents in 1990, the 2000 Census counted about 3,500 Latinos, nearly 10 percent of the town's population. School district figures indicate that Latino children make up nearly 15 percent of the kindergarten to grade twelve (K-12) enrollment, and at the elementary school

nearest *La Mexicana* store and the new community center, Latino children comprise a third of the school enrollment in 2005. This demographic change so far outside Chicago reinforces DeGenova's arguments that the one million people of Mexican descent living in metropolitan Chicago, approximately half within the city and half in the suburbs, constitute a *Mexican Chicago* unbounded by the traditional geographies of city lines or nation-states (DeGenova 2005:119-120).

Residents of small towns surrounding Prairie View now have access to a bilingual newspaper, *El Periódico Lo Nuestro*, whose mission is to "unite the Latino community" and provide a voice. In print and online, the newspaper is published in Spanish and English in order to "help bridge the gap between Latinos and non-Latinos living in the region by recognizing the contributions and culture that Latin residents bring to their communities" (*Lo Nuestro Bilingual News* 2005). The newspaper carried a story about *La Mexicana* grocery store's relocation to a larger building that had been vacant for nearly a decade across the street. They reported that after owning the business for three years, the family wanted to serve customers better:

The new location provides ample parking, which was limited in their old location. The large kitchen and dining area allows the family to provide Veracruz style Mexican cuisine on a daily basis. Daily breakfast and lunch specials are available for dine in or carry out services. Soon they will also offer butcher shop services (*Lo Nuestro Bilingual News* 2005).

In addition to a larger store, the new community center will expand the spaces and services available to local residents, where master's students from the nearby university are collaborating with local children and youth to create a colorful mural in the sturdy white wooden building constructed over a century ago by Finnish immigrants. Members of local churches, community college, and university have reached out to the growing Mexican community since the 1990s, although anti-immigrant sentiment is not entirely absent (Villanueva 2002).

Before long, the empty storefront with a neon sign announcing *Los Milagros* will probably

be converted into another family business to serve the busy neighborhood. But the transnational cultural space that José Luis Santes attempted to re-name *La Jarocho* but that remained *La Mexicana* by popular demand has created a spatial conjuncture of transnational social relations, the likes of which continue to produce new social spaces in countless places across the heartland. ○

Notes

1. Margaret Ann Villanueva obtained her Ph.D. in sociology from the University of California at Santa Cruz in 1991. She is a full professor in the Department of Community Studies at St. Cloud State University and may be reached there by U.S. mail as follows: St. Cloud State University, Mail Code SH 365, 720 Fourth Avenue South, St. Cloud, Minnesota (MN) 56301-4498 USA. Her e-mail address is mvillanueva@stcloudstate.edu and her telephone number is 320-308-2140.

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Protecting Places Important to American Indians

Darby C. Stapp¹ and Ellen P. Kennedy²

Abstract

American Indian groups have had to struggle to keep their unique cultural systems over the last several hundred years. Initially, as Europeans arrived on the continent it was the loss of physical life that threatened the Indian way of life. Later, migration, religious conversion, and governmental restrictions led to increasing loss of traditional ways and adoption and adaptation of new ways. Even today, as Indian peoples seek to maintain their values and culture, they face many challenges from constant pressures of the surrounding non-Indian culture. Life for most Indian people has improved in many ways in recent decades. But factors such as employment, education, and infant survival continue to fall below, whereas alcoholism and diseases such as diabetes surpass most other cultural groups in North America. Still, Indian culture persists.

In this paper, we focus on one element of the struggle to maintain culture—the fight to protect cultural landscapes. We begin by placing the cultural landscape in the context of a present-day cultural system. We then describe the rampant loss of the cultural landscape that has occurred, and continues to occur. This leads us to the subject of landscape survival and the need to develop strategies to prevent further destruction. We close with a few brief comments on the roles that applied anthropologists can play in these protection efforts.

The Cultural Landscape and Its Relationship with the People

What do people make of places? The question is as old as people and places themselves, as old as human attachments to portions of the earth. As old, perhaps, as the ideas of home, of “our territory” as opposed to “their territory,” of entire regions and local landscapes where groups of men and women have invested themselves (their thoughts, their values, their collective sensibilities) and to which they feel they belong. The question is as old as a strong sense of place—and the answer, if there is one, is every bit as complex (Basso 1996:xiii).

The importance of the landscape to American Indians is well known to students of American Indian cultures. Regardless of whether we refer to the land as cultural landscapes, landscapes of the heart, traditional cultural properties, ethnographic landscapes, sacred landscapes, cultural geography, or some other name, it is the land and the resources and their place in Indian culture that is being talked about. The people have ties to the landscape for foods, medicines, stories, raw materials, ceremonies, the ancestors, and the spirit. The land and its various components are part of the cultural system. For example, a particular place on the landscape may be important for its role in a creation story, but it is also important because of all of the ideas, activities, and interactions that occur in relationship to this

place: the traveling, the roles that certain individuals play in preserving and telling the story, the relationship of the story to the overall epistemology of the group, the various activities that take place during the telling of the story, both onsite and offsite, and so on. This is an important point because we all too often focus on the place itself, and not the broader context of the place in the cultural system.

Certainly the relationship of American Indian groups to their land has changed over the centuries. Many groups have moved and had to develop new relationships with the land. Many have changed their religious beliefs and thus the meaning of many places has shifted. Most peoples' diets, material culture, and technologies have changed dramatically, so their dependence on land-based resources has altered, in some cases from day-to-day economic uses to ceremonial uses. Despite the changes, relationships with the land go on, many of which are centered on discrete places. Maintaining the integrity of these places allows the landscape to continue to function, which in turn supports the cultural survival of the group.

It is for this reason that tribes continue to fight to protect their lands. Despite the many gains achieved by tribes in the 20th century, the assault on their landscapes continues and in many cases has accelerated as a result of the massive development that North America has seen since World War II. Economic improvements

are making it possible for some tribes to reacquire lands they lost in the past and keep them from development; other tribes are able to obtain expertise so that laws can be used to protect places not under their direct control. The struggle to protect important places is ongoing across the continent.

The Loss of Cultural Landscapes

Cultural landscapes have not fared well over the centuries. They have been abandoned, destroyed, altered, restricted, and developed. The story is a familiar one and need not be retold here. Suffice it to say that with the arrival of non-Indians into North America, until the 1970s there was a steady loss of land owned by tribes or tribal members. The details may differ in particular cases. A treaty might have been abrogated, or ignored, or rewritten. A group may have been moved. The Dawes Act of 1887 may have carved a reservation up into allotments. Or a tribe may have been terminated and the land sold to the highest bidder. But the results have typically been the same—a diminishing land and resource base.

Efforts began early in the 20th century to return some Indian lands to tribes. For example, the Taos Pueblo began a fight at the turn of the 19th century to get its sacred Blue Lake back, and was finally successful, with the lake being returned 64 years late in 1970. The Yakama Nation's effort to secure its sacred Mount Adams in the 1970s also was successful. Other efforts, such as those involving the Black Hills of South Dakota, have not met with success.

In most cases, tribes have not been able to get their lands back physically. To address the hundreds of claims made by tribes, the United States Congress created the Indian Claims Commission in 1946 to provide financial compensation for lands lost. Hundreds of claims were settled over the next three decades through financial payments.

A major step forward toward stemming the loss of land occurred in 1934 with the passage of the Indian Reorganization Act. Spearheaded by new Commissioner of Indian Affairs John Collier, tribal governments were established and the process of returning decision making to tribes commenced.

Interestingly, Collier had been involved in the Taos Pueblo's fight for Blue Lake, and was an advocate for tribal sovereignty.

The situation deteriorated in the 1950s when the United States government attempted to terminate tribal governments, but by the 1960s, this threat had passed, and a new era was about to begin. Laws such as the National Environmental Policy Act of 1969 (NEPA) and the National Historic Preservation Act of 1966 (NHPA) were passed by Congress. These laws instituted processes whereby impacts to the environment and cultural places needed to be considered in the governmental decision-making process. Over time, amendments strengthened the roles of tribes in these decision-making processes. *Bulletin 38* clarified the definition of *historic properties*, meaning places eligible for listing in the National Register of Historic Places, relative to *traditional cultural properties* (TCPs) (Parker and King 1998). Others laws that related to places and resources included the American Indian Religious Freedom Act of 1978 (AIRFA), the Archaeological Resources Protection Act of 1979 (ARPA), the Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act of 1990 (NAGPRA). These laws have helped enable tribes to be involved in decisions affecting places, resources, and remains from their past.

It is not really clear, however, how much impact these cultural and historical resource-related authorities have had on stemming the loss of cultural landscapes. None of these laws requires the federal government to protect or preserve anything. The only real requirement on an agency is to notify tribes and others of impending actions, solicit input, and consider that input when making decisions about how a potential project may impact that resource. Some mitigation may be required, but there is nothing that prevents any cultural resource from being destroyed. In general, cultural landscapes continue to lose.

Strategies for Stemming the Loss of Cultural Landscapes

Interest in preserving and protecting cultural landscapes is a worldwide phenomenon. United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural

Organization (UNESCO) recently issued a major volume on landscape conservation (UNESCO 2002). In that report, Roessler (2002:10) describes the three types of landscapes that UNESCO conceptualizes: The most easily identifiable is the **clearly defined landscape** designed and created intentionally by humans. This embraces garden and parkland landscapes constructed for aesthetic reasons which are often (but not always) associated with religious or other monumental buildings and ensembles.

The second category is the **organically evolved landscape**. This results from an initial social, economic, administrative, and/or religious imperative and has developed its present form by association with and in response to its natural environment. Such landscapes reflect that process of evolution in their form and component features. They fall into two subcategories as follows. A **relict or fossil landscape** is one in which an evolutionary process came to an end at some time in the past, either abruptly or over a period. Its significant distinguishing features are, however, still visible in material form. A **continuing landscape** is one that retains an active social role in contemporary society closely associated with the traditional way of life, and in which the evolutionary process is still in progress. At the same time it exhibits significant material evidence of its evolution over time.

The final category is the **associative cultural landscape**. The inclusion of such landscapes on the World Heritage List is justifiable by virtue of the powerful religious, artistic, or cultural associations of the natural element rather than material cultural evidence, which may be insignificant or even absent (Roessler 2002:11).

Many countries have individual efforts underway to protect landscapes that have heritage or environmental significance to the population or to specific cultural groups. Within the United States, the National Park Service of the United States Department of the Interior maintains a cultural landscape program, issues guidance and provides support, an example being *Preservation Brief 36*, "Protecting Cultural Landscapes: Planning, Treatment and Management of Historic Landscapes" (Birnbaum 1994). Within the National Park Service's Applied Ethnography Program, focus is directed at *ethnographic land-*

scapes. And within the National Register program, cultural landscapes are viewed as National Register Districts, which must meet certain standards for registration.

Tribes today, like many indigenous groups around the world, continue to fight for their cultural landscapes in the face of widespread development. Situations vary considerably, and as a result, so do the strategies used by tribes to protect their landscapes and resources. In our work in the Pacific Northwest, we have observed a variety of strategies that have been used. In an attempt to identify strategies that may be useful to others, we have looked at case studies we are familiar with, identified the strategic elements, and analyzed the benefits and drawbacks.

One of the major factors in working to protect tribal cultural landscapes and their component parts relates to the degree of cultural sensitivity. Some knowledge is not meant to be shared with others and therefore, people are reticent to discuss the cultural meanings of places. Even within some tribes, information about places and practices is often held within families, and meant to stay that way. Another important factor concerns the threats the resources face. If development is imminent, action may need to be taken; if it is not, maintaining the status quo may be the appropriate approach. In looking at various landscape preservation cases and the strategies that were used, we have identified six elements that often appear in various combinations to form a strategy:

The first is the **degree of information sharing within a tribal group**. Will information be shared as it has been traditionally? Or are expanded efforts needed, for example, to involve elders or inform children?

The second is the **degree of information sharing with agencies/local governments**. Does the tribe want to stay silent about places and landscape issues, or initiate a dialogue with the entity managing the area?

The third is the **degree of information sharing with the general public**. Does the tribe want to stay silent about places and landscape issues, or initiate a dialogue with the public about the importance of the landscape and individual places?

The fourth is **participation in formal**

decision-making processes such as the National Environmental Policy Act or the National Historic Preservation Act. Does the tribe want to participate in these legal venues, which are perceived to require public disclosures about locations and significance? The National Register does provide for not revealing exact locations of sacred, archaeological, and ethnographic sites, but many times there are reasons for not wanting to discuss even the general nature of the place with agencies or the public.

The fifth is **degree of documentation**. Does the tribe want the landscape or resource minimally documented or fully documented to National Register of Historic Places standards?

The sixth refers to **specific actions needed**. Has the tribe identified specific actions that are needed to prevent harm, such as access controls, management plans, or restoration or rehabilitation?

Four Real-Life Examples of Strategies for Stemming the Loss of Cultural Landscapes

Example 1. The following examples illustrate how these elements can be used in real-life situations. This first example is of an important ethnographic traditional fishing and root gathering area used seasonally by the tribe. Threatened by a federal access easement, the place was documented as a traditional cultural property for listing in the National Register of Historic Places as part of the Section 106 process of the National Historic Preservation Act. Located in a recreation and camp area, it was believed that the easement could result in increased visitation and hinder tribal access. Since the location was well known as a tribal fishing area, the level of documentation required for the National Register nomination was acceptable to the tribe. Agreement was reached to work with the agency's cultural resources staff to conduct oral-history interviews as well as archival and archaeological research to document the significance of the area to the tribe concerning long-term use. National Register status required that the agency develop a Memorandum of Agreement (MOA) to mitigate adverse effects of the easement on the fishing site. Protective stipulations provided by the tribe and outlined in the MOA included continued

access to the resource for traditional fishing and gathering activities and participation in the development of interpretive materials on the history of the fishing area and its cultural significance. The National Register nomination resulted in the documentation of the significance of the location for the tribe, including an educational legacy for children. And it provided procedural protection allowing continued access to the resource and an opportunity to raise agency, county, and public awareness of the cultural significance of the place.

Example 2. The second example involves a mountain that is highly valued for religious, cultural, and spiritual reasons. It is also an important plant gathering and vision quest area. The mountain is located on the interior of agency lands and is not publicly accessible. In the early 1980s, in response to a proposed federal drilling project, the agency was informed that the mountain was sacred, essentially stopping the project. Prior to this action, the sacredness of the mountain was largely unknown by the federal agency because laws requiring tribal involvement were not as strict or pervasive. A decade later, shortly after the agency had begun to develop a cultural resources program, the agency nominated the mountain to the National Register of Historic Places based on archaeological evidence of past use of the mountain.

Today several smaller scale federal projects continue to be proposed, such as communication towers, road upgrades, and research experiments, all of which are mitigated or negotiated through the Section 106 process. Concerned about the trend, tribes asked the agency for a more proactive approach in the protection of the mountain, including a cultural resources management plan that would provide guidance on ways to rehabilitate the mountain from impacts related to past and current undertakings as well as guidance on future impacts. Examples include having the agency remove old communication equipment that is visually obtrusive and re-vegetating areas scarred by past projects.

Example 3. The next example is of a culturally significant fishing and resource gathering area located in a spot that has become popular for recreational fishing. This place may be transferred to another federal agency whose mission

could emphasize the recreational attributes of the river and increase tourism. It is expected that this type of land transfer could put this location into further jeopardy, but due to cultural sensitivity, the importance of this area is not publicized to other tribes or the public.

Cultural resource staffers have been approached for the agency to begin documenting the archaeological and ethnographic evidence of use and presence at this site. Although site visits with elders indicate that this area has great spiritual importance, this aspect of the significance is not the current focus of the documentation. It is hoped this type of proactive documentation, which could easily transition to National Register documentation standards, will convince the current and potential future land manager that the place is significant and ensure that fishing access and use are protected for the long term.

Example 4. The last example is of two places that are spiritually and cosmologically significant. They are not threatened by any federal action and currently remain in protected status. The stories associated with the significance of these places are not known outside the tribe. These places are visited to regain place memory and transmit cultural information to children. A minimal documentation effort has been initiated with cultural resources staff. Documentation at one place consisted of completion of a video of an elder describing its significance in broad terms. A cursory documentation effort was completed for the other location describing again in broad terms that the place is important. The site forms and video are currently stored in a secure manner and can only be accessed with tribal permission. It is believed that this sort of documentation will provide proof of their use in the event the places and access are threatened in the future.

Advantages and Disadvantages of Different Approaches

These examples demonstrate the complexity of situations that arise when protecting traditional resource areas. Generally, a combination of efforts is needed to deal with each unique situation. By deploying a multiple-element strategy, the chances of long-term protection increase, and helps ensure the passage of the

knowledge onto younger generations.

In developing the multi-element strategy, the community must weigh the advantages and disadvantages of the various elements. For example, if information is provided to an agency or local government, it will be more likely to believe a place is important and provide assistance in maintaining its integrity. But this must be weighed against the cost of making this information available outside the tribal community, say in cases where such information is not to be shared. The question of documentation faces similar concerns. It is often the case where many of the options identified that may be beneficial in the short term, have long-term consequences for the individuals involved, as well as for the group.

Anthropological Roles in Cultural Landscape Protection

There are many anthropologists, applied anthropologists, archaeologists, other social scientists, tribal members and non-Indian people working with tribes, agencies, and communities to protect cultural landscapes and their component parts. Some of this work in the United States is conducted within the National Historic Preservation Act framework (see King 2003, 2005), while other work is outside that framework (see Basso 1996 and Kelley and Francis 1994). As shown above, there are a variety of tasks needed in cultural landscape protection, and anthropology clearly possesses many of the skills and understanding to provide good service.

One of the primary needs that can be served by the anthropologist is helping explain the interests, concerns and expectations of one side to the other, which is generally done within a consultation framework. Other services include evaluating policy requirements and developing compliance strategies; identifying landscapes, which will involve ethnohistorical research, interviews, and on-the-ground surveys; documenting the landscape by completing federal, state, or tribal forms and other forms of media; evaluating the importance of the landscape and identifying those aspects that contribute to the importance; assessing impacts and identifying activities that mitigate or minimize future impacts; and assisting with implementation of protective measures, which might involve repair,

re-vegetation, access controls, or signage.

Much of this work is performed in a reactive mode, usually the result of some new development activity. One effort we would like to see anthropologists make is to assist tribes in proactively protecting landscapes. Tribes and agencies typically must work in a reactive mode because they do not have the budgets and staff to conduct the long-term planning studies required to move into the proactive mode. Nevertheless, it is instructive to consider how such long-term studies could be done and explore the roles that anthropologists can play in designing and implementing such studies.

Using the landscape structure developed by the United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization and the protective strategic elements outlined earlier, we offer the following three-step protection model:

- **Step 1.** Identify the various landscapes of interest using the categories developed by UNESCO (2002):
 - Clearly defined landscapes—examples include gardens, memorials, cemeteries, and small-scale commemorative parks.
 - Organically evolved landscapes—
 - Relic—examples include pre-contact landscapes represented largely by the distribution of archaeological sites, and abandoned historic communities
 - Continuing—examples include existing tribal communities, reservations, large-scale parks associated with tribal history or culture
 - Associative landscapes—examples include ethnographic landscapes, traditional use areas, ceded lands, sacred lands, or any other areas that tribes associate with their history and culture.
- **Step 2.** Develop a protective strategy. Using the protective elements identified earlier, identify and answer a set of questions, which, when answered form the basis for a protective strategy; for example:
 - Do we need to heighten awareness of this place within the tribe?
 - Do we need to heighten awareness of this place among federal, state or local agencies that have some management responsibility?
 - Do we need to heighten awareness of this

place among the public and the private sector corporations who may impact the resource?

- Do we need to be involved in any compliance processes (NEPA, Section 106, state environmental review processes, local planning boards)
- Do we need to get this place documented so there is some type of record in place?
- Are there any immediate actions we need to take to repair, restore, or prevent damage?
- **Step 3.** Develop an action plan for those landscapes or parts of landscapes that need immediate attention in order to keep or restore the landscape's integrity.

Simply discussing the various landscapes is a major step forward. Not only does it bring the landscape into focus, it also forces staff and tribal officials to actively think about the future of the landscape and those who depend on it. For example, once decision makers decide to share information about a landscape, they must decide what that message will be. The message then must be developed into the medium, be it a radio interview, a newspaper article, a video, a letter to an agency, or an onsite event.

One final thought concerns the relationships anthropologists develop as they perform their activities. Working with a people to understand the landscapes is a long-term endeavor. It requires building trust and a lot of learning. Many times these relationships will evolve from professional relationships into close personal relationships. At one end of the spectrum, then, we can find an anthropologist who has maintained the strictly professional relationship, while at the other end of the spectrum we can find the anthropologist who has immersed himself or herself into the culture, developed close friendships, maybe even to the extent of becoming "family." Most situations fall somewhere between the two extremes.

The notion on whether anthropologists can remain objective if they develop personal relationships with those they are working for is a longstanding current in anthropology. Our purpose is not to revisit this debate, but rather to bring it to the forefront so that young anthropologists are aware of the dynamics that they may encounter with others and within them-

selves. Can one become close to a group and remain objective? Can one be objective if one has not become close enough to a group to understand them? No easy answers here.

Related to the issue of closeness and objectivity is the issue of activism. Is it appropriate for anthropologists to go beyond their specific job and promote awareness of issues important to the group they have been working with? Is it appropriate to become an advocate? What about an activist? Or to flip the question around, is it appropriate for an anthropologist to *not* become advocate or activist? And does becoming an advocate or activist by definition then mean that you are no longer objective? Again, no easy answers, but these are important questions for anthropologists to debate within themselves, if not with others.

For ourselves, as applied anthropologists, we are guided by the spirit of Sol Tax, the internationally recognized anthropologist from the University of Chicago (Stocking 2000). Tax suggested in his "action anthropology" approach that an anthropologist's role is to provide recommendations to the group that will help them achieve their goal, recognizing that it is the group's decision to make. Applying this concept to cultural landscape protection, we would see an anthropologist's role as helping a tribe develop the protection strategy by working through the options for each element of a strategy, providing their opinions on the advantages and disadvantages of each option.

We have found it particularly helpful to use Sol Tax's principles to guide our work. These principles are outlined by Robert Hinshaw (1979) and are as follows:

- To serve one's fellows, contribute as you can knowledge of the choices available to them; to learn about one's fellows, observe the choices they make.
- Have the respect not to decide for others what is in their best interests; assume you will never understand them that well.
- But do have the courage to protect wherever possible the freedom of others to make those decisions for themselves; and even to make mistakes.
- For oneself, avoid premature choices and action; assume there always is more knowledge to be brought to bear on any matter than is

currently available.

Conclusion

The assault on American Indian cultures is centuries old. Following periods of genocide and displacement, the assault turned to more passive measures. Society deemed that Indians could exist, just not exist as Indians, and so measures were put in place to transform social and religious practices, language, traditional subsistence, and so on. Over time, society decided that it was okay to be an Indian, and so the assault shifted from changing social and cultural practices to securing land and resources for the dominant society. This economic development of lands has resulted in wholesale destruction of traditional use areas, sacred sites, and resources. It was within this context that measures have been taken by the government and others to help American Indians protect places and landscapes that are important to them.

Stoffle (2005) discusses an important problem with identification of important places by American Indians, that being the acceptance of proof that a place is important. The dominant Western-based society has certain epistemological rules for proving that something is so, what Feldman refers to as "The Standard View" (Feldman 2003:1-8). Alternatives to the so-called standard view, such as those of American Indians and other indigenous societies, are subsumed under the rubric of *epistemological relativism* and generally discounted by the mainstream. This was part of the problem in the Enola Hill case described by Frank Occhipinti (2002), whereby the United States Forest Service simply did not believe the evidence of the American Indians involved that an Oregon location was culturally significant.

Certainly the inability of an American Indian group to convince a community or a court of law that a particular place is significant to its cultural existence is a problem. However, there is an equally, if not more serious problem that tribes face in protecting resources, places, and landscapes. The dominant society can, and generally does, expropriate the resource in question if its needs outweigh those of the (usually smaller) American Indian group. The agency officials could believe 100 percent what a tribe tells them, but if they need the land, they can

take it. Yes, laws exist that afford protection to certain resources under many conditions, but no laws *guarantee* protection. Moreover, the law is often quite fickle, with decisions based more on the political leanings of the courts than any inherent quality of a specific law or case.

It is for this reason that protective strategies cannot solely rely on legal remedies. In fact, the legal route is generally the last resort. If places and resources are important to the cultural future of a group, that group needs to develop a strategy to ensure continued survival of the place. Such strategies require conscious decisions on how much information to share, with whom, how much documentation to produce, and protective measures that need to be taken. If asked, anthropologists can make a significant contribution in developing and implementing protection strategies. ○

Notes

1. Darby C. Stapp earned his Ph.D. in the American Civilization Department of the University of Pennsylvania in 1990. He has worked in cultural resource management in the Pacific Northwest for 25 years, much of that time spent in southeastern Washington. He can be reached via e-mail at dstapp@charter.net, by telephone at 509-627-2944, and by U.S. Postal Service mail at 278 Adair Drive, Richland, Washington (WA) 99352-9453 USA. Please note that the opinions expressed are solely those of the author(s) and do not necessarily represent the viewpoints of any entities that might be employing the author(s).

2. Ellen P. Kennedy earned her M.A. in the Anthropology Department at Western Washington University in 1998. She is a cultural anthropologist, who has worked in cultural resource management in the Pacific Northwest for 10 years. She can be reached via e-mail at ellenpkennedy@hotmail.com, by telephone at 509-967-0784, and by U.S. Postal Service mail at 5313 West Rail Court, West Richland, Washington (WA) 99353-9107 USA. Please note that the opinions expressed are solely those of the author(s) and do not necessarily represent the viewpoints of any entities that might be employing the author(s).

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Neoliberalism, Heritage Conservation, and the Resulting Dispossession at Machu Picchu, A Protected Area in the Peruvian Andes

Pellegrino A. Luciano¹

Privatization is when the government comes in and takes away your property.

(*Privatización es cuando el gobierno viene y se apodera de tu propiedad.*) —FRANCO²

Community of Huayllabamba, Machu Picchu, Fieldnotes May 25, 2002

Abstract

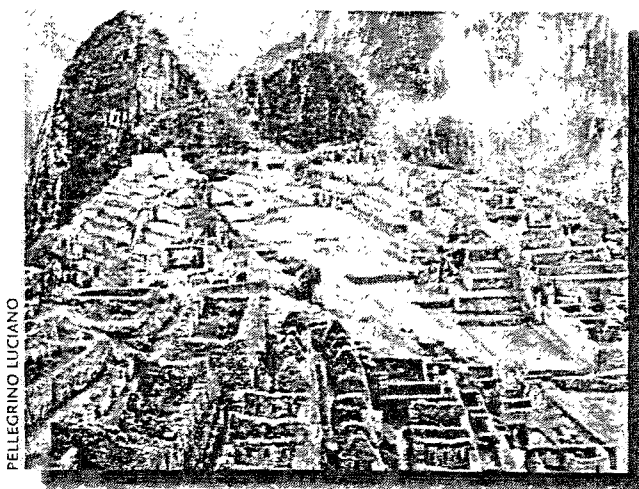
This article discusses social changes in the archeological and ecological Sanctuary of Machu Picchu located in the southern Peruvian Andes. It examines the status of the people who live within its boundaries. The goal of this paper is not to criticize conservation efforts per se but to call attention to the contradictions people face when those efforts are integrated with privatization policies, sometimes referred to in Peru as neoliberalism. What happens when conservation and the need to attract global investments come together? I explore Erving Goffman's work (1961) on life in asylums, particularly secondary adjustments and the institutional loops they create, as helpful in understanding the lived contradictions of people who live in protected areas.

Introduction

This article examines the inconsistencies experienced by district residents in the historic and nature Sanctuary of Machu Picchu, over the Peruvian government's drive to implement neoliberal policies. Heritage conservation in the southern Peruvian Andes is increasingly shaped by current privatization efforts and structural adjustment demands. The people who live in Machu Picchu live in a protected area that gives the state expropriating powers to claim the land as a public good. The central problem is that under neoliberalism, a public asset is used for private gain at the expense of residents. Inhabitants experience a contradiction between the neoliberal claim of a free market, and the hand of the government creating conditions that select some groups over others. I argue that by reframing public goods in neoliberal terms, the stage was set for dispossessing inhabitants. Heritage conservation combined with economic structural adjustment policies create conditions that justify the takings of possession rights, civil status and the public resources in order to accommodate the interests of larger capital investments.

The Quechua term *Machu Picchu* basically translates into Old Mountain or Old Peak. As a place name, the term initially referred to the name of a mountain located on the eastern slope of the southern Peruvian Andes about 70 kilometers east of Cuzco. However, over time a political

district, a rural town, an archeological site, and a nature reserve also came to be called Machu Picchu. Machu Picchu as a district is located in Urubamba, which is a province in the Department of Cuzco, Peru. The district was established in 1941, some forty years prior to the state's creation of a historical and natural sanctuary in 1981, 42 years before it was inscribed in the



The Archaeological Citadel of Machu Picchu surrounded by over 32 thousand hectares constituting the Historical and Nature Sanctuary of Machu Picchu.

World Heritage List in 1983 of the United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), but 30 years after the discovery of the Incan Citadel.³ The district is comprised of a pueblo, which is the capital of the district, and four rural campesino communities. Like the district, the pueblo capital is also called

Machu Picchu, though many in Peru and even in Cuzco, not to mention foreigners, refer to it as *Aguas Calientes* or Hot Springs. In addition, Machu Picchu refers to the famous citadel. The Citadel of Machu Picchu rests on a ridge cradled between the mountains Machu Picchu and Huayna Picchu⁴. It is not known what the Incas called their citadel or the mountains between which it is positioned. The Citadel of Machu Picchu harbors the same name as one of the mountains, but reference to these mountains can be dated only as far back as the mid-19th century (Tamayo Herrera, 1981).

It is important to note the various intersecting spaces called *Machu Picchu* because it connotes the different ways the Machupicheños are implicated in conservation regulations that would otherwise be obscured by the generic use of the same name.

Cultural Heritage and Neoliberalism in Peru

Like globalization, the term neoliberalism can be a vague concept. As such, the development of neoliberalism must be understood in Latin America, as elsewhere, as a process (Gledhill 2004). The current trend towards neoliberalism in Latin America is connected to the debt crisis of the 1980s. The oil crisis of 1973 increased the cost of petroleum, which increased the cost of everything from transportation to food production. Less developed countries were severely affected by the crisis leading ultimately to steep deficits in trade balance. As banks and lending institutions filled with so-called petro-dollars, they offered loans to third world countries at low interests (Green 2003:27-30).

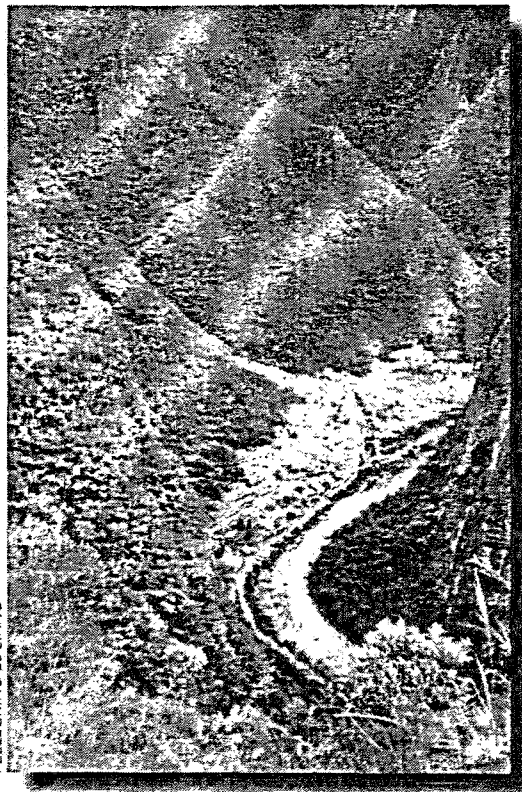
As the balance of payment deficits for imports and development costs increased, many Latin America countries became ever more dependent on foreign loans. Throughout the 1970s, most

Latin American countries borrowed heavily from Western banks at low interest rates in pursuit of development. But those rates eventually increased, and ultimately along with trade deficits and extensive inflation, led to the debt crisis by the 1980s as Latin American countries, as in most of the Third World, defaulted on payments. As a result, foreign creditors became determined in forcing their economic perspectives on reducing government intervention and promoting free

market policies. The World Bank and the International Monetary Fund (IMF)⁵ intervened to impose structural adjustment programs that reflected the economic ideals of the Washington Consensus. The International Monetary Fund put forward structural adjustment policies as a condition for debtor nations to obtain additional loans. The adjustment entailed the triple prescription of privatization, liberalization, and deregulation, meaning privatizing many state operated sectors, integrating trade and investment with the global economy, and reducing state regulation of the economy (Green 2003:39-46;

Thomas-Slayter 2003:52). However, the governing mandates of financial institutions are not necessarily congruent with the rapidly changing global economy. Thomas-Slayter (2003:149) observes that there is often a tension between the kind of demands international financial institutions place on poorer nations with the flexibility global capital investors have to evade national laws and requirements.

In Peru, along with the debt crisis, the 1980s saw *Shining Path* insurgents engaged in a violent revolutionary struggle against the state. The war had devastating social repercussions. Rural inhabitants were often caught between the



The Pueblo of Machu Picchu as well as the Capital of the District of Machu Picchu. The district boundary overlies and extends beyond the Sanctuary boundary (photo taken from a mountain adjacent to the Citadel).

violence of the military and that of the Shining Path (Degregori 1990, Poole and Renique 1992). However, in the early nineties, the military gained the upper hand on the Shining Path with the capture of its leaders. Alberto Fujimori, president of the Republic of Peru, 1990–2000, made an international effort to attract direct foreign investments and to change the image of Peru as a dangerous place. A strong effort needed to be made to demonstrate to foreign investors the government's commitment to transform the economy. Hence, one of President Fujimori's creations was *PromPeru*⁶ an organization charged with coordinating and fostering activities related to the promotion of Peru to a global audience and for attracting foreign investment. PromPeru also used foreign media to help build a tourist market by creating interest in the Peruvian pre-Columbian past by diffusing information through sources such as the newspaper *The New York Times* and via television on the Discovery Channel. Nationally, PromPeru advanced social and cultural projects meant to increase local awareness of the significance of tourism for the economy, offering workshops on improving services.⁷

In Peru's 2000 presidential elections, Alberto Fujimori won under dubious conditions. Under the pressure of the Organization of American States (OAS) re-elections were held a few months later in which Fujimori lost to Alejandro Toledo. One of the striking aspects of this election was the role race played in the campaigns. Since Toledo has what are seen as Indian facial features, it seemed he was able to manipulate this quality to gain votes in the Andes, as his greatest support came from the sierra region⁸. He represented himself as part of Peru's pre-Columbian past and gained popular support, especially in Cuzco, the seat of the former Inca Empire. For the first time in Peruvian history, Toledo held his inauguration ceremony at the Citadel of Machu Picchu, using the site to call attention to Peru's pre-Columbian origins. Unlike Fujimori, Toledo's pre-election campaign emphasized anti-privatization policies, in particular, a promise to keep the hydroelectric companies in state hands. When Toledo entered office in July 2001, there were media discussions that a new Peruvian democracy was emerging after Fujimori's ten-year authoritarian rule and the protracted war

against the Shining Path.

Toledo placed a great deal of emphasis on increasing tourism in Peru. He, like his predecessor, stressed tourism as one of Peru's greatest economic options and thus began seeking avenues to further develop the industry. However, in spite of his pre-election anti-privatization platform, once in office, he continued Fujimori's neo-liberal agenda under the demands of the International Monetary Fund. In less than a year, Toledo lost support even in the sierra. It seemed as though he was attempting to sell everything under state authority. Popular dissent followed, and in Cuzco anti-neoliberal protests invoked Machu Picchu as a rallying flag against the privatization efforts taking place. The politics of privatization merged with that of heritage conservation on both sides of the neoliberal debate.

Relationships among cultural heritage, nationalism, and nation-building are well established (Handler 1985; Hewison 1987; Walsh 1992; Clifford 1997; Kirshenblatt-Gimblet 1998). They have to do with ways representations of the past factor into contentious politics, and are hegemonic sites where people struggle over the interpretation of the past, and to redefine identities (Handler and Gable 1997; Bender 1998; Meskell 2002). However, less attention has been paid to how pressure from international financial organizations, in addition to conservation institutions, influence governance, and to how heritage preservation and promotion factors into state reorganization under such pressures. For example, heritage can shape projects that define and represent the state to the rest of the world. Heritage can be drawn on to represent state economic policy and used as symbols for attracting direct foreign investments. Heritage also entails boundaries codified by jurisdiction. As is the case in Peru, heritage is legally designated and managed under the auspices of the central government, as opposed to provincial or local governments.⁹

Lastly, through heritage, we see a particular way in which the retreating neoliberal state reappears with different institutional arrangements and forms of coercion. Heritage provides the state with expropriating power that can be a venue for dispossession. Hence, in light of Thomas-Slayter's (2003:149) insight noted above, I argue

that what we see in the case of Machu Picchu is how international financial institutions coupled with the demands and mobility of global capital translates into greater control by the state government over resources firmly in its grip, which here means state subjects and national heritage.

Sanctuary as Institution: Social Identity in a Protected Area

When I arrived in Machu Picchu, the pueblo was in the midst of its big festival, the anniversary of the founding of the political district. The anniversary festival is a special event for the people of Machu Picchu. It is perhaps a time when the community reasserts its jurisdictional autonomy over the sanctuary designation. Festival activities are often encounters with the intersecting spaces of district and sanctuary.

As part of the festivities, a dance competition is planned. David, the president of one of the *barrio* or neighborhood associations, had spent the last few weeks preparing his dance group for the evening contest. In designing the dance he called *Rito al Dios Sol* or A Rite to the Sun God, David wanted to create a dance to represent the Pueblo of Machu Picchu. Although David knew little about dance or choreography, he took it upon himself as a *barrio* president to organize some of the local children. David explained,

The pueblo does not have an identity, and creating its own dance would offer something unique to Machu Picchu. We are the only pueblo in Peru ... [with] no identity. (*Somos el único pueblo en Perú que no tiene identidad*).

That evening, spectators crowded the plaza waiting for the competition to begin. All participants were from the pueblo with the exception of those dancing for the Instituto Nacional de Cultura (INC), which is the state archeological conservation agency. Many objected to their participation, claiming that these dancers were outsiders. When it was time for David's group to dance, he entered the stage to explain to the audience that this was their new dance created to represent ancient times in Machu Picchu. He stressed to the pueblo that they should accept this dance as theirs because, "our pueblo does not have its own dance."

At last, all the dance groups performed. The judges decided that the INC had won. David and his group began shouting, "fraud." He was furious and insulted the panel of judges made up of officials from the municipality. "Incompetents," he cried. He expressed the feeling that the municipality had betrayed the pueblo and explained, "They don't represent us, but rather the powerful. The felt need by many, such as David, to create a Machu Picchu identity, raised the ques-



Two dance participants playing the role of Inca king and queen for the pueblo team in the 40th district anniversary dance competition.

tion of what is considered an appropriate identity for the pueblo and why having one had become urgent.

The people of Machu Picchu live in a landscape made to represent a utopia, classified as an intangible zone by the tourism industry, state institutions, and bodies of the United Nations. For example, UNESCO defines Machu Picchu as a heritage area for all humanity or *patrimonio de humanidad*.¹⁰ Since the creation of the sanctuary in 1981 residents of the district overlapping the sanctuary were granted user rights. What happens to those rights when the concept of intangibility has been steered to serve neoliberal policies? In one sense, the criteria for inclusion and exclusion involve having the right commoditized identity for the landscape. The mammoth growth of the tourist industry in Peru turned Machu Picchu into a commodity that commercializes an image of the past. That image dictates the kinds of identities that are marketable within the sanctuary boundaries. In another sense, governing agencies methodically manipulate social identities and the law to promote some interests above others and to move poorer people out of

the way. Sergio, a pueblo resident, responds to my question: What do people mean when they say Machu Picchu is an intangible resource?

What is the meaning of intangible? They say the Historic Sanctuary of Machu Picchu is intangible—everything that you see [points to the landscape] is intangible. But this intangibility is only for the poor, it's not intangible for them [points to Sanctuary Lodge]. [T]hey say it's prohibited to construct buildings with concrete but in reality they [the state authorities] don't care. They can violate the rule [pertaining to intangibility] but for the campesinos that have been living here for years, and understand the ecology, only they are [said to be] destroying the environment.

It might stretch the imagination to think of the residents of Machu Picchu as inmates, living in a total institution (Goffman 1961), because the conservation agencies of the state are not designed for the management of people in the same sense as a prison or hospital, but rather that of a protected heritage area. Moreover, people are not confined behind physical walls and cut off from the wider society, as are people in a total institution. Also residents are not so brutally stripped and leveled, in Goffman's sense, of status, as they would be in a prison. And of course the residents of the district do not quite live in so-called batches where all activities are carried out in the constant presence of others (Goffman 1961:4–28).

Nevertheless, sanctuary life shares similarities with life in a total institution. For instance, while people are not confined, exit and entry into the sanctuary is highly controlled, and it is difficult for a resident to receive a family member or friend without the guest paying tourist entrance fees. Furthermore, the privatization of the railroad has meant that residents are subject to fare hikes that in effect limit their movement. While residents of Machu Picchu do not live in batches, their movements are constantly watched by park rangers, and from the perspective of the director, the status of community is denied to the rural residents. At least in his eyes, residents are nothing more than a chaotic mass of people, referred to by terms like *grupos humanos* or human groups,

rather than legitimate communities.

However, the semblance of a total institution arises when since the mid-1990s the state integrated neoliberal policies into their management of the Sanctuary. First, by tying nature to Peru's foreign debt with a debt-for-nature exchange with the government of Finland,¹¹ and second by offering multimillion-dollar contracts to non-governmental organizations (NGOs) to conserve specific ideas of nature that stigmatize the activities of the population, and finally, the privatizing of services formally run by the state such as transportation and major hotels, to the global-scale tourism company *Orient Express*. In effect, the state retains control of a nationally symbolic territory while maximizing capital accumulation needs. It does so by balancing the idea of a public good, a commons normally *not* associated with the politics of privatization, with an emphasis on private property creating a contradiction that needs to be resolved, and the resolution is a coercive politics of blame. There is a fuzzy problem of whose property is defined as public goods, and who does damage to them.

Suddenly, residents find themselves stripped in the sense of having their possessions taken or restricted for the financial benefit of others, and leveled in the sense of having a new commercialized identity imposed on them as a qualification to live in the sanctuary. Equally important, people must still respond to the strict rules and regulations of the sanctuary. What we see is something akin to what Goffman referred to as "secondary adjustment" where people adapt to the institutional order often through secretive and deceptive practices. These are

practices that do not directly challenge staff but allow inmates to obtain forbidden satisfactions or to obtain permitted ones by forbidden means (Goffman 1961:54).

As Machu Picchu is part of a configuration of tourism icons in Cuzco, which in particular is a kind of gateway for tourists to the sanctuary (van den Berghe and Flores Ochoa 2000: 8), we might expect investment interests producing similar types of relationships that result in comparable forms of adaptation on the part of local people. An examination of secondary adjustments, in neighboring areas outside of the

Sanctuary of Machu Picchu further shows that conservation enforcement is drawn on as a rationale for the facilitation of privatization policies that increasingly favor some interests over others. Corporate and governmental interests come together to impose an intensified institutional order of people management.

For example, up until 1999 the *Plaza de Armas* or central plaza in Cuzco was teeming with small level merchants selling artisan goods arranged on the pavement, along the portals, and under the balconies that encompass the plaza. Men and women without the resources to rent pavement space ambled around the plaza as they carried their goods, such as clothing, jewelry or food, to sell. There were shoeshine boys and children who sold postcards or posed in traditional Andean garb with a llama or a lamb, and for a small fee offered tourists a photo opportunity. And of course the plaza area was also filled with tourist establishments such as, tour agencies, artisan shops, restaurants and bars. At the turn of the millennium all of that changed. The wealthier establishments were left untouched, but the merchants selling their wares on the portal pavements were sent off to a newly built artisan market located about a mile away from the plaza, where most foreigners never go. The rationale was that they were unsightly and that they posed a hazard to tourists by attracting criminal elements. In contradictory fashion, another artisan market was constructed for them near the central market, an area where many tourists are specifically told not to go because it is considered dangerous and unsightly. These markets are also not well advertised and tourists tend to make their purchases in the establishments in or around the plaza. The displaced small merchants thus suffered great economic loss. Hence, just as the Orient Express captures the high-end tourist market in Machu Picchu, plaza space is regulated to capture the dollars of wealthier western tourists by removing competition and the temptation of customers purchasing cheaper goods or memorabilia.

A more dramatic alteration of plaza space in Cuzco can be seen in the new laws that prohibit street sellers of any sort from entering the plaza. Whereas once poorer families could reasonably benefit from the tourist economy by selling

goods without having any overhead costs, now they cannot. The plazas are in effect swept of poorer people who do not look well educated or cosmopolitan, and are thus viewed as different. Nevertheless, people do adjust to the laws governing their built environment. People sneak goods into the plaza hidden in bags, under vests, and the like. They make their products visible only when they approach potential buyers. However, now there is a need for vigilance. On one occasion, a child of about 10 years tried to sell me postcards, but when a police officer passed by he shoved his package of cards under his shirt. Police can confiscate a person's goods if they are caught in the act; hence, special tactics are necessary to avoid suspicion. Those who sell food are often faced with the problem of arousing police attention because customers tend to eat purchased food openly. A popular option for the sellers is to camouflage the economic transaction as a personal exchange between friends. Once while I was sitting in the Cuzco plaza, a food seller sat down beside me, feigning a personal relationship by pretending to be engaged in a conversation. While this might work when dealing with the denizens of Cuzco, or a curious anthropologist, it is often much harder with foreign tourists because of language barriers and because tourists are likely to interpret such behavior with distrust. Western tourists often come to Peru with preconceptions that it is a dangerous so-called third-world country. Tourists may thus mistake such action as an attempt at being swindled, or perhaps being offered contraband or stolen goods. In the nearby community of Fortaleza similar problems occur. The community is located above Cuzco in the park and archeological site of Sacsayhuaman, a popular tourist destination, and also the place where the *Inti Rymi* winter solstice ritual is held. Most of the residents were not granted permits by the INC to sell artisan goods to tourists, even though they live next to the ruins. As one woman explained, "we have to [quietly] chase after tourists as if we were delinquents [trying to rob them]."

In contrast to Cuzco, in Machu Picchu the boundaries of the sanctuary not only define the market space, but also a public good, and the commodity sold; a tourist must pay to enter the sanctuary to have a heritage experience. In

Machu Picchu, the changes in sanctuary laws affect the interactions between tourists and residents with profound economic consequence. Here, great effort is made to separate tourists from locals. For example, tourists were once allowed to hike the Inca Trail alone, crafting their own kind of experience through interactions with residents. Residents could make some extra money by renting a bed to a hiker. Tourists at that time were far more likely to attempt to engage in dialogue as well as receive local interpretations of Inca monuments. Also, before privatization, tourists could, if they chose, to take the local train either to the kilometer from where they would start their hike on the Inca Trail, or go directly to the pueblo to visit the citadel. While it was crowded and not the most comfortable ride, many tourists chose the local train not just because of cost, but also to be engaged with the realities of a contemporary Andean population. With a shortage of seats, a tourist might be asked to share a seat with a child to lighten a mother's load. From a resident's perspective these interactions were also opportunity moments to establish economically significant godparent relationships with foreigners.



Campesinos from the rural community of Pampacabua protesting INRENA control during the 40th anniversary festival civil-parade. Some of the banners demand liberty from INRENA, as well as respect for the campesino way of life.

Now the tourists are no longer allowed to use the local train. Tourists are also no longer allowed to hike the Inca Trail alone, but must go through tour agencies that provide a tour guide. Andean life as well as the past is now interpreted through a professional tour guide who echoes official versions of the past.¹² The tour company provides all the food, and there is little interac-

tion between locals and tourists. Tour groups have designated campsites that, while often located near homes, offer few opportunities for interaction with residents. The little interaction that does take place between locals and tourists is largely confined to the purchase of a bottle of water or a candy bar as they pack their gear to depart on the trail. Residents must pick other moments and places to sell to tourists directly, often tagging behind them as they walk.

In addition to survival strategies, another issue raised in secondary adjustments pertains to how people are affected by the kinds of actions they perform. Perhaps, what is most interesting about secondary adjustments is the possibility that local people can create narratives that provide for them a sense of historical awareness about their own actions and behaviors that differ from conservation framings.¹³ As in one case, Don Marcos a farmer in the sanctuary, was illegally chopping tree branches for wood, when he related conservation personnel to the old hacendado family. As Don Marcos stripped the limb, I inquired about the old hacienda. Only half interested in my question, Don Marcos provided his own perhaps more interesting reflection saying: "Peru [the state] is like the hacendado, it's as if we live in a hacienda. Those from UGM and INRENA (state conservation agencies)¹⁴ prohibit everything, they don't want us to work, they don't want us to cut trees, work the fields, they don't want us to do anything, yeah just like the hacendados they watch everything and prohibit everything, and yeah those from UGM and INRENA are just another hacendado." Don Marcos described the hacendado-peasant relationship, saying that "The hacendado from kilometer 88 would come to see how many animals we had, how we worked. He watched our families. Sometimes everybody, women and children, had to work his fields." He explained that the work done for the hacendado was referred to as *la condición*, or the condition, referring to the contract that allowed them to cultivate the hacendado's fields. After the agrarian reform, the distribution of land never came to pass legally because of the politics of the sanctuary. The *campesinos* were never able to obtain land titles from the government. Don Marcos said in a sarcastic tone of voice: "People

say it's a sanctuary, at least that's what the rangers tell us all the time." For Don Marcos the residents shifted from abiding by the conditions of the hacendado to those of the conservation agencies, explaining how now they conduct garbage collection duties for the state.

Hence in order to understand how neoliberalism results in dispossession in the sanctuary, one needs to distinguish between the commoditization of identity from the governance of identity. The commoditization of identity is a much more direct response to market forces as in the world tourism industry, and to what images connect to the expectations of tourists and by extension sell. On the other hand, the state's manipulation of identity as a means of social control is more akin to the effort to build an institutional framework that facilitates the movement of capital, and demonstrates compliance with structural adjustment demands. Making the distinction between the two forces that shape social identity under neoliberalism allows us to better see how the economy is politically organized to favor elites, whereas a focus on identity as commodity opens the door for blaming market failures on local peoples' inability to create a competitive product for tourists.

What may at first appear from David's defiance during the dance competition described above as an all too common attempt on his part to commoditize an identity for tourists, can be more completely understood as a defeated challenge to the state's method of disqualifying the population's right to belong in the sanctuary. For both the conservation authorities of the state, and the expectations of the tourism industry, an idealized nature must be populated by nothing short of an idealized Indian. The current population is out of place, because they do not fit well with the romanticized notion of an Incan past symbolized by the citadel. Race and Indian identity are not merely implicated in the dance festival but are also more directly embedded in the history of the area; the development of a tourism economy and the effort to attract direct foreign investments and appear loan worthy to international financial organizations.

Conclusion: The Neoliberal Double Bind

Goffman's notion of secondary adjustment

(1961) does not connote attempts at subverting social hierarchies. In the setting of a total institution, secondary adjustments are a mode of adaptation to power, but not a confrontation. But more importantly, as the institutional setting becomes more encompassing, adjustments can backfire and be made to serve the interests of those who are in control. Goffman's notion of looping (1961) describes a double-bind scenario where inmates making secondary adjustments to survive the rigors of the institutional order, can then be used by the staff to further justify the rationale for their incarceration.

I apply that reasoning to situations revolving around economic structural adjustment and state conservation efforts. The concept of secondary adjustment here is a way of understanding how people are disciplined to respond to economic conditions designed to favor more powerful interests. I suggest it shows how market space is cleaned up, so to speak, to make way for larger investors. Many low level secondary adjustments resemble De Certeau's description of "poaching in countless ways on the property of others" (1984: xii). As long as the adjustments do not go beyond a certain point, they are accepted. From the injured party, one might, at most, receive scowling stares, or as the saying goes, a piece of one's mind, for conducting activities that might be considered crude and inappropriate. Foucault's term for such secondary adjustments is necessary illegality. Foucault explains how from the age of monarchy in Europe through the 18th century, people of lower stratum found a space of tolerance for certain kinds of thievery and other infractions needed for continued existence. Those necessary illegalities changed after the downfall of the feudal system and the emergence of new propertied classes. With the emergence of capitalism, came an increase in crime, and what were once considered tolerated practices were afterwards defined as crimes against property (Foucault 1977: 82-85). Thus, serious attempts to thwart secondary adjustments by using force implies that one party is no longer willing to abide by the informal strategies involved in secondary adjustments, suggesting also that new social and economic relationships may be developing in Machu Picchu and more broadly in the tourism economy of Cuzco.

This application of secondary adjustment connects with the way, the geographer David Harvey (2003:149) refers to neoliberalism as the “the cutting edge of capital accumulation by dispossession.” He ties the imperial impulses of global capital to dispossession of land and property as ways of clearing away smaller property holders to make way for larger investments and cheaper labor, identifying state force as the primary means. The introduction of a neoliberal economy in Machu Picchu has changed the relationship between conservation enforcement and forms of economic adaptation. Now a concerted effort is placed on criminalizing the more fuzzy infractions found in secondary adjustments, converting them into more severe crimes to be prevented. Locals are now excluded from a market arena. In these cases, secondary adjustments become much more of a gamble at the same time as they become more crucial for survival. People risk expulsion from the sanctuary and their district as well as property confiscation.

If we view the sanctuary as a place where public goods and user rights collide with privatization efforts, we can see secondary adjustments eliciting harsher government discipline. Initially the expropriation of property was justified by the state in the name of the public good. Now, the uneven standards in nature-preservation enforcement mean that, the more stringent the enforcements, the harder it is for residents to survive without making secondary adjustments. The more pervasive secondary adjustments become, the more those governing institutions turn to documenting ecological violations or damages to a public good. This situation leads to increasing justification by governing agencies for the further dispossession of sanctuary residents, and the subsequent turning over of that space to larger capital holders. Machu Picchu is an intangible good. Equally intangible are its institutional walls. ○

Notes

1. Pellegrino A. Luciano received his Ph.D. in anthropology from the Graduate Center of The City University of New York (CUNY) in October of 2005. This article is based in part on a chapter of his doctoral dissertation (Luciano 2005). He can be reached at 34-21 Crescent Street, Astoria,

New York (NY) 11106-3917 USA, by telephone at 718-392-2607; and at pluciano@msn.com by e-mail. He is an adjunct anthropology instructor at Brooklyn College, CUNY.

2. All names have been changed to protect informants' identities.
3. The district was established on October 1, 1941 by law 9396. The Sanctuary was established by National Law 001-81 AA on January 12, 1981.
4. Huayna Picchu is also a Quechua term usually translated into English as Young Mountain or Young Peak.
5. Both institutions are creations of the 1944 Bretton Woods Conference to establish an international monetary system.
6. PromPeru stands for The Commission for the Promotion of Peru.
7. Interview with PromPeru representative on July 16, 1999, from the author's fieldnotes.
8. Racial categorizations in Peru differ from that of the United States in that they are not based on conceptions of blood-line. In Peru, definitions of race often allude to cultural differences and social status such as education level, dress, and custom rather than biological notions (see De La Cadena 2000).
9. In contrast, cultural heritage in the United States can be designated federally but also by state and even counties.
10. According to UNESCO Legislative Resolution 23349, Peru is required to “identify, protect, conserve, restore and transmit to future generations” its world heritage sites.
11. Generally, a debt-for-nature exchange is a method of providing funds for nature conservation programs in third world countries, while simultaneously reducing their international debt. A first world government or a non-governmental organization (NGO) buys a portion of a developing country's debt from a

commercial bank on the international secondary market, usually at reduced prices. Usually, once the exchange is worked out, a national NGO carries out the selected conservation programs. The basic benefits to a recipient country include the reduction of debt and access to hard currency (Patterson 1990). In the case of Machu Picchu, the debt-for-nature exchange was based on Finland's debt forgiveness over a loan default.

12. The exception is found in agencies that specialize in mystical tourism. The explanations of the past by such tour guides vary, but they are often romanticized narratives that cater to the Western imagination. Hence it is not surprising that many locals refer to these tour guides as *chísticos*, a phrase comprised of the two Spanish words—*chiste* meaning joke and *místico* meaning mystic.

13. Contrary to the criticism against Goffman's role theory as being one that lacks an "inner story," the notion of secondary adjustment shows how people draw on "inner resources to adapt to rigid institutional conditions" by creating personal narrative about their situation (Manning 2000).

14. *Unidad Gestión Machu Picchu* (UGM) is the state institution that was, at the time of this research, tasked with coordinating the efforts of all other conservation agencies in the sanctuary. The *Instituto Nacional de Recursos Naturales* (INRENA) is the state agency tasked with protecting the natural resources and the national parks of Peru.

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Ethical Choices in Public Health Policy and Practice¹

Sue Gena Lurie²

Abstract

Public health policy and practice priorities involve ethical choices across "spheres of justice" (Walzer 1983) that are related to potential benefits and risks for communities. This paper addresses an important issue about how public health funds are allocated in response to local, regional, and national priorities and interests in light of ethical consequences of those priorities and decisions. Current federal policy emphasis on bioterrorism preparedness has the potential to divert public health resources with negative impacts on community health and group disparities in healthcare. This paper compares ethical decisions for local programs made by public-health professionals in the southwestern United States, in response to policy changes, using ethnographic evaluation and participant observation of a statewide peer-review process. Ethical choices and local health priorities vary among rural and urban communities in relation to diverse social, economic, political, and inter-organizational environments.

Introduction

Public health policy and practice involve ethical choices that are framed by the coexistence of "spheres of justice" that are socially constructed (Walzer 1983). Since these choices have significant implications for health benefits and risks for local communities, what constitutes social justice in a given case/situation must be analyzed from an ecological, relational, and contextual perspective. Within this context, distributive justice involves decisions for health and social resources that are not made in isolation, but in interaction and relation to coexisting issues. They are framed within a matrix of complementary and competing social and ethical spheres (Lurie and Lurie 2001) that affect relationships among health and social policies.

Walzer's model offers a valuable perspective on distributive justice and the prevention of domination within each sphere, such as health and social welfare, the economy, or national security. However, when the model is interpreted as representing mutually exclusive spheres, it can be criticized as divorcing health from the social and economic causes of health disparities. Yet rather than limiting application of this model to the micro-allocation of medical resources as bioethicists have proposed, those concerned with health and social policy need to ensure that "... the totality of social institutions, practices and policies is designed toward ... preventing systematic inequalities affecting multiple dimensions of well-being" (Powers 2005:10). This is the goal of international health planning based on

social epidemiology, for community health (Pan American Health Organization 1996).

This paper addresses the ethical issue of deciding which public health goods and services should be allocated. The concept of "local justice" connotes ethical issues in the allocation of goods in separate institutional arenas, for example, problems such as allocating a given amount of goods among a selected number of recipients, by different mechanisms in various locations (Elster 1990, 1992, 1995). This paper compares ethical choices related to local justice in public health policy and practice in the United States, based on a case study that compares local public health programs and planning.

Ethical Perspectives in Public Health

Contemporary public health research and practice in the United States tend to identify social justice with resolving inequalities that affect low-income and medically underserved populations, issues of fairness in access to health care, and eliminating or reducing health disparities across diverse socioeconomic and ethnic groups (Krieger et al. 2005; Kass 2001; U.S. Department of Health and Human Services, 2000). Public health also applies communitarian ethical approaches (Emanuel 1991) that are implicit in participatory- and community-based research and interventions.

From a broad social policy perspective, current federal policy emphasizes on domestic security and bioterrorism preparedness for public health and health care (Moreno, 2004), and on volun-

tary and faith-based responsibility for health and social programs, have the potential for diverting public resources from programs to maintain and improve community health. This may result in negative impacts on the potential to attain "health for all" in local communities (Whiteford and Manderson 2000; Labonte and Schreker 2004), with implications for social justice.

The current use of national security as a dominant political issue in the United States tends to cross-cut social "spheres" and to have a comprehensive or far-reaching impact on ethical choices and decision-making to distribute economic resources for health and social welfare programs, and to enhance national security. This has stimulated controversy in medicine and public health. Bioterrorism prevention and response requires collaboration among public health, medical and community institutions, professionals, and community members. Medical ethicists have sought to place the threat of bioterrorism in historical perspective, and to respond to ethical dilemmas it poses for health care and protection of individual liberties (Moreno 2004).

Public health is now developing academic ethics education that acknowledges the context of bioterrorism. In general, public health ethics applies contrasting but not mutually exclusive ethical perspectives—from primary concern with protecting individual rights, to utilitarianism—in epidemiological, environmental, and community health policy, practice, and research. Professional ethics for research and intervention in public health are guided by bioethical principles of autonomy, beneficence, non-maleficence and justice (Brannigan and Boss 2001; Coughlin and Beauchamp 1996; Jennings 2003). In health protection, risk assessment, health planning, education and research, confidentiality, individual and community informed consent are ethical standards (Marshall and Rotomi 2001).

Yet practitioners and researchers have responded in divergent ways to the recent enactment of emergency response legislation, under the Model State Emergency Health Powers Act (MSEHPA) that gives public health authorities broad powers to abate serious threats, albeit to be exercised in the least restrictive manner (Hodge and Gostin 2004). A major trend in public health has been to interpret this mandate

as an opportunity to expand local resources, to support a range of public health programs, and to develop research and training in this area. While many public health professionals and organizations have embraced bioterrorism preparedness as a resource for a broad range of community health programs, others express concern over disproportionate emphasis on bioterrorism. Some seek to expand direct support for basic public health services (Bayer and Cosgrove 2004), increasingly threatened by federal funding reductions (Krisberg 2005). As their concern has been posed by public health researchers and policy analysts:

Should we be guided by a perspective that focuses on a hypothetical bioterrorism as a main concern while relegating to the background the monumental issues of infectious disease, food borne illness and chemical accidents, not to mention the daily problems that are inadequately attended?" (Sidel et al. 2001:717).

This question emerged as a key issue from the case study, and raised ethical issues that must be addressed by local public health practitioners and researchers.

CASE STUDY: PUBLIC HEALTH PEER REVIEW PROCESS

Background and Methodology

This case study is an analysis of a public health program evaluation process in a populous, ethnically diverse southwestern state. It applies ethnographic research methods of participant observation and key informant interviewing to evaluate the peer review process of a statewide association of local public health professionals. The case study is based on a program evaluation by the applied anthropologist that was not subject to review under institutional guidelines for human subjects research. The evaluation and case study applied ethical guidelines of confidentiality and consent for observations, interviews, recording and reporting findings. The evaluation report was reviewed by the project coordinator and association director, and the director reviewed the case study.

In the comparative process evaluation of local programs, ethical choices made by public

health directors in response to policy changes related to current and potential programs were found to vary across urban, suburban, and rural communities. Since the state of Texas does not mandate public health departments in each of the 254 counties, which range from a few thousand to two million inhabitants, only a minority of cities or counties have organized public health departments, but each has a local health officer (Lurie 2003). Those without a local health department rely on the Health Service Region in which they are located; the state is divided into 11 regions that were initially designated for tuberculosis control. One local health officer encapsulated this diversity of public health program organization in a comment: "If you've seen one health department, you've seen one health department."

The statewide Texas Association of Local Health Officials (TALHO) Peer Review Project was developed with support from the state health department, to meet the basic goals of improving public health and health care. It was implemented in 2001 and evaluated by the University of North Texas Health Science Center from October, 2002 through August, 2003. TALHO became a nonprofit organization in 1998 with a grant from the Texas Telecommunications Infrastructure Board for the state Health Alert Network (HAN), an electronic information system to warn practitioners about major public health threats from specific disease outbreaks, and received Bioterrorism-Public Health Preparedness funding from the federal Centers for Disease Control through the state health department.

TALHO also expanded memberships to promote liaisons with local health officers. The mission of the association is:

To promote health, prevent disease, and protect the environment in order to ensure the public's health in Texas through leadership, vision, advocacy and commitment to the principles of public health practice in local communities and throughout the state (Texas Association of Local Health Officials, 2004).

The peer-review project was designed to foster interaction among local health departments, around program evaluation and innovation, and as a voluntary professional alternative to state

accreditation. The project was implemented through association meetings that included focus groups, and coordinated with the school of public health. A key component was redesign of the association's website as a centralized, interactive, and accessible forum for public health peer review across agencies and regions. The website was to be a resource for local program development through access to information that was posted for the peer-review project, for the seventy-five local health officers who are members. The peer-review process applied a participatory approach using six focus groups that were conducted by local health officers with peers from 20 locations, in the state capitol and a north-central city. They applied results to develop categories for local program review, conducted a pilot session and implemented the project.

Based on results of the Texas focus groups and a similar project in Washington State, forms were developed for local health officers to compare organizational structures and "best practices" and conduct self-assessments of their programs. Relevant forms were disseminated to local health departments through the pilot peer-review meeting and on the website. The first step in implementing reviews was to align peer-review teams with local health units that were similar in structure, function, and size. This step was completed by over thirty local health officers; they selected peer-review self-assessment modules on: "Public Health Assessment," "Helping People Get Services," "Protecting People From Disease and Other Health Threats," "Environmental Health," and "Promoting Healthy Living." The pilot peer-review session, meetings and conference calls with project staff and association members, and training sessions for local health officers provided preparation for peer-review site visits. These were coordinated with volunteer participants for eight urban, suburban and rural communities in the central, northwestern, southeastern, southwestern, and far-western regions of the state.

Comprehensive evaluation of the peer-review process and outcome was conducted by way of forms for local health programs, training sessions, peer-review site visits, and professional interaction. This evaluation was based on participant observation and open-ended interviews

with project staff, site visit teams, local health officers and staff. Participants' responses in peer review training and site visit interactions throughout the project were analyzed. A small sample of local health department directors who declined to participate in the peer review were also interviewed; of those, some were unable to participate. The director of the county health department of the central metropolitan area where the state capitol is located also declined. Another director changed an initial positive response on receiving information about the project, on the grounds that the peer-review process would not help with "the struggles we currently face."

The pilot peer-review session was held in a north central city that has a combined city and county health department, regional psychiatric hospital, and military base. In this county, a department of bioterrorism links hospitals, law enforcement, and morgue services, and health-care providers have access to the electronic Health Alert Network. The pilot peer-review session was perceived as a positive experience by the reviewers from two centrally located counties and by local participants. This session served as a model of the process and was refined for site visits across the state.

Two training sessions for potential peer reviewers were held in February of 2003. The first, at a new public health school, drew 17 local public health administrators and staffers from across the state. In the second session, held in the capitol, the 14 participants were directors and staffers of health departments from various regions, state health department staffers, and the TALHO executive director. The training sessions focused on communication, interviewing skills, and team-building, rather than on public health issues, and served as interactive forums to motivate volunteers for peer-review visits in urban, suburban, and rural counties. Participants' comparisons of local programs were reviewed by association officers and posted on the website.

Most participants selected priorities and exchanged local "best practices." Printed modules were used as a framework for the review of disease surveillance, preventive and primary care, health education, and crisis response. As a whole, the peer-review process was effective in eliciting

and comparing public health practices and challenges in dealing with local issues, and reinforcing relationships among local and state public health professionals. It served as a basis for comparison with other state and national models, such as accreditation. Several local health officers expressed concern about standardizing performance measures and professional training, due to regional differences in public health priorities, organization of agencies and available resources. State support for peer review was eventually terminated as a consequence of wide-scale reorganization and merging of state agencies, but the state health department recommended that it be integrated into regional meetings and informal networking among local health officers.

The value of the peer-review process, as perceived by participants, lay in opportunities for interaction, mutual assessment of programs, and exchange of solutions to such problems as those in environmental health, West Nile Virus control, immunizations, human immunodeficiency virus/acquired immunodeficiency syndrome (HIV/AIDS) and tuberculosis (TB) control, and food-borne illness prevention. The project fostered information-sharing among a proportion of local health officers across the state, enhancing their ability to evaluate programs and develop innovations, through "networking" on specific issues. This was a forum for sharing common responsibilities and challenges, and comparing variations in public health practice. The extent of participation in peer review on the website varied with local priorities, resources, emerging public health policies, and changes in state social and political environments. Ethical issues were found to be embedded in the process of decision-making on local programs and resources.

Findings on Ethical Choices in Public Health

National and local debate over the role of public health in the so-called healthcare safety net has escalated since the proposal by a National Institute of Medicine report for "reinventing public health" (Lee 1993; Aday 2005). This idea shifts healthcare for medically underserved areas toward population-based health education, administration, information management,

training and health policy (Baker et al. 1994; Aday 2005). Redirection of practice and research away from indigent health care has ethical implications for community health research and intervention, especially as related to health disparities. This national and local transformation of public health has been further compounded by federal and state mandates for bioterrorism preparedness, given the need to prevent and control infectious and chronic diseases, and environmental risks.

In the case study, ethical issues for local justice emerged throughout the peer-review process. During the second training session, a proposal to include bioterrorism preparedness in peer-review elicited debate over the diversion of resources from basic public health needs. The need to conserve resources is also implied in the website program description:

In these troubling times where resources are stretched to the limit and Public Health infrastructure is tested on all sides, Peer Review offers an opportunity to expand and enhance the way we, as Health Care Professionals, do business (Texas Association of Local Health Officers 2003).

Ethical choices in public health by local officers, staff and community leaders, in seven rural and urban areas, focused on decisions in allocating resources for bioterrorism preparedness, as compared with prevention and primary care. Their priorities were influenced by regional social, political, economic and inter-organizational environments for obtaining and sharing resources and services.

ETHICAL ISSUES IN DECISION- MAKING FOR RURAL AND URBAN PUBLIC HEALTH PROGRAMS

Geographic Area One

In one rural area, the health officer raised the ethical dilemma in carrying out the mandate to persuade public health nurses to take smallpox vaccinations; many resisted vaccination because they were reluctant to expose patients to the disease. Other ethical concerns included the lack of resources for expanding laboratories and electronic communication systems, such as the Health Alert Network, contrasted with needs for allocating

resources to provide basic public health services such as immunizations, health education, food service inspections, environmental testing and West Nile virus control.

Geographic Area Two

In comparison, the impact of the terrorist attack on the United States on September 11, 2001, and federally mandated preparedness was considered by a second rural southwestern county to take precedence over routine public health duties because no additional funds were available from the state or federal government. Health education and other programs were delayed. Another nearby county health department considered putting bioterrorism on the organizational chart since it is taking an inordinate amount of time and resources, and staffers must be integrated with those in other programs.

Geographic Area Three

A county health administrator in a central suburban town supported both extensive preventive health and primary care services, and a new bioterrorism unit under the direction of an epidemiologist, the Health Emergency Alert Response Team (HEART), to disseminate electronic and printed information from the CDC on infectious diseases such as severe acute respiratory syndrome (SARS), smallpox, and West Nile virus, for local healthcare providers. This is complemented by clinical services and sudden infant death syndrome (SIDS) health education, based on research on African-American infant mortality on this important local problem. The director responded to a challenge by the peer reviewer from a nearby county that bioterrorism preparedness should take priority by affirming an ethical decision that clinical services are fundamental to the public health department's mission and cannot be provided solely by community groups; they are to be retained based on community needs assessments. Primary and prenatal care are important services for over 1200 Medicaid recipients; clinical care by nurses, funded by grants, is perceived as ethically essential in the absence of a public hospital. The clinic implemented HIPAA guidelines for patient care by the Health Insurance Portability and Accountability Act of 1996 (HIPAA) that took effect on

April 14, 2003, to be followed by health plans, doctors, hospitals and other healthcare providers. In addition, the Women's, Infants and Children's program (WIC) is the largest public health program in the county, serving 7,800 clients. Immunizations increased with the population, and the Children's Health Insurance (CHIP) outreach program receives strong community response.

Geographic Area Four

Ethical choices in programs for the above department contrast with those in the reviewer's urban county health department, which transferred Medicaid health services to the public hospital when it separated from the city health department, although a community coalition of racial and ethnic minority leaders advocated greater access to health care and public hospital services. The county health department provides immunizations, clinical referrals, epidemiological information, TB control with directly observed therapy for a diverse patient population, including Mexican, African, and Vietnamese immigrants, and homeless persons. It coordinates health information assessments, preventive clinics, community health education, mobile immunizations at WIC clinics with nurses, child health and family planning with a contract physician and six centers, but has no prenatal or primary care. In contrast, it emphasizes its bioterrorism preparedness program, directed by an epidemiologist and surveillance response manager, with four community response teams and a "defense council" of local hospitals. An Epidemiological Health Intelligence Center and electronic information system complement health education programs on heart health, diabetes, obesity, infant mortality, sexually transmitted diseases (STDs), AIDS, and suicide prevention. The political context of public health is indicated by the county's relationship with a congresswoman who formerly supported programs for youth substance abuse treatment and diabetes research on the national Health and Human Services committee, before moving to the Defense Committee.

Geographic Area Five

In a third county with a large metropolitan area in this region, ethical choices have been

made to coordinate bioterrorism preparedness and emergency response by both the city and county health departments and hospitals, while supporting federally qualified community clinics and public hospital Community-Oriented Primary Care clinics. This hospital conducts health information assessments, treats undocumented patients, and has succeeded in reducing infant mortality. The county health department focuses on both preventive health and epidemiological programs, while the city department maintains environmental health.

Geographic Area Six

In comparison with this region, in a remote northwestern city with a large state university, the health department reorganized programs to meet state policy priorities, including bioterrorism. Public health planning ranges from health improvement to weapons-of-mass-destruction responses. The department responded to the anthrax scare with Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI), police, and hazardous-materials (HAZMAT) units, and it is a test site for the Syndromic Surveillance System (SSS) and the Rapid Syndromic Validation Project (RSVP) developed at Sandia National Laboratories, Albuquerque, New Mexico. Physicians and primary care providers report warning signals of an emerging public health threat or disease; the system is to be linked to hospitals, minor emergency clinics, health science center, school district, and medical examiner's office. A new laboratory is to be built for bioterrorism testing, storage of the Metropolitan Medical Response System stockpile, and a portion of the National or State Pharmaceutical Stockpile.

In this county, open Board of Health meetings prioritize the need to address various health issues and urgent problems, from bioterrorism to sexually transmitted diseases (STD's) and West Nile Virus. Microbiology Laboratory analyses are conducted for food-borne illness outbreaks, HIV/AIDS and syphilis, extensive STD testing and a regional milk and dairy laboratory. This department gives immunizations and has a STD clinic, but it ended direct care in 1995. The large family planning and maternity clinics were turned over to the private sector a year before the state health department cut support, and acute

care clinics, WIC programs and dental care were closed or moved.

However, community health outreach in targeted neighborhoods is supported by grants such as Title V for Maternal and Child Health Education and Head Start coordinated with the local university. The health department collaborates with the local Citizens Advisory Committee and Youth Commission, city and county libraries; the Consortium for Health coordinates school districts, labs, physicians, clinics, day care centers, home health agencies, public and private hospitals.

Geographic Area Seven

In comparison, ethical decisions in public health that have implications for local justice for a county metropolitan area near the Gulf Coast are in transition. This area has an extensive urban medical/public health academic, clinical and research complex, and the city department of health and human services collaborates with the county health department on bioterrorism and smallpox preparedness. In keeping with recent national emphases in public health (Aday 2005), community health planning and education, and risk communication have replaced emphasis on HIV testing by the county. The county relies on local support for services to urban *colonias* of recent Latino immigrants in older residential areas, and its focus is on response to industrial, environmental, and nuclear threats in the port, rather than on infectious disease priorities identified by the state health department. The new director, from an urban health department on the West Coast, held participatory-planning meetings and compared local priorities with those identified by peer reviewers from metropolitan and suburban areas that vary in clinical services.

Discussion and Conclusions

The above comparison of rural, suburban, and urban health programs reveals the complex context of ethical decision-making by public health professionals and communities, related to national and local priorities and competing needs for resource allocation. This context varies geographically, socially, and economically. Rural and suburban areas tend to have greater resource

constraints than urban areas and to rely on urban and regional public health services. This situation affects ethical choices among programs, such as bioterrorism preparedness, local disease prevention and control, and primary clinical care. Urban areas have more economic and human resources, as well as more flexibility to develop new programs. They tend to divide public health responsibilities between city and county health departments, but serve larger, more diverse populations. Urban areas also provide basic public health services, leadership, and training for regions and rural areas in their regions.

During the peer-review process, there were significant changes in health and social policy environments of public health programs across the state. These changes were compounded by inter- and intra-organizational transformation, with comprehensive reorganization of state agencies and consolidation of public health with mental health programs. New national and state public health programs for bioterrorism preparedness and emerging disease responses were developed to be implemented locally, such as disaster response training and vaccinations for public health and medical staff. As a consequence, state funding for peer review was eliminated after one year, and the professional association implemented local training in bioterrorism preparedness that was supported by the school of public health through evaluation research.

In this context, case study findings that local public health practitioners and administrators respond in divergent ways to the mandate for emergency response preparedness for future threats to community health should be considered in health policy and planning. These responses affect local justice through the allocation of resources. While some interpret this as an opportunity to expand public health resources and coordination of services, others are concerned about the impact of disproportionate emphasis on bioterrorism on direct support for public health programs. Local justice and ethical decisions in health and social policy are highly impacted by political emphases on domestic security and the diversion of social welfare and basic health needs to voluntary and private sector responsibility. Ethical decision-making

that attempts to balance individual rights with utilitarian, communitarian (Emanuel 1991), and social justice perspectives is being reframed in a newly dynamic social and political environment.

Notes

1. Sue Gena Lurie presented a version of this paper under the title "Ethical Choices in Public Health Research and Intervention" in the session organized and chaired by Elisa Gordon on "Making a Difference: Applications of Anthropological Research to Health Policy and Health Practice." She gave the paper on Friday, April 8, 2005, at the 65th Annual Meeting of the Society for Applied Anthropology, Santa Fe, New Mexico, USA.

2. Sue Gena Lurie, Ph.D. is an assistant professor in the Department of Social and Behavioral Sciences in the School of Public Health at the University of North Texas Health Science Center and can be reached there at 3500 Camp Bowie Boulevard, Fort Worth, Texas (TX) 76107-2644 USA. Her 1983 Ph.D. in anthropology is from the University of Oklahoma at Norman. She held a National Institutes of Mental Health post-doctoral fellowship in ethnography and public policy at Northwestern University and is a medical anthropologist who researches bioethics, comparative health systems and professions, health and mental health, social justice and health disparities. She works with community groups in participatory research and qualitative program evaluation. She can also be reached by e-mail at slurie@hsc.unt.edu and by telephone at 817-735-2451.

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The Continuing Quest: An Acceptable Approach to Long-term Nuclear Waste Management

Elizabeth Dowdeswell¹

Abstract

Long-term management of nuclear waste illustrates well the conundrum that societies face in moving toward sustainability. It is an issue that requires an understanding of resilience, vulnerability, and the dynamic interaction between nature, technology, and society. It is an issue that requires consideration of scientific and technical factors, but as well fundamental social, ethical and economic factors that go to the heart of our values and priorities as societies—how we want to live.

Canada's Nuclear Waste Management Organization (NWMO) has been tasked to design a responsible, responsive, and acceptable path forward. We have chosen to design this path forward collaboratively with Canadians, in a way that ensures the management of the used fuel will be socially acceptable, technically sound, environmentally responsible, and economically feasible. In implementing a study process that provides a forum for recognizing divergent viewpoints while seeking common ground in an iterative dialogue with citizens, the NWMO has sought more broadly to redefine the process of developing public policy. Mid-way through its three-year process of study, this article describes some of the organization's efforts to date.

Introduction

In the early years of this new millennium our world is changing dramatically. This is a time of blinding technological change, increasingly interconnected economies and growing alienation between citizens and their institutions. A sustainable world is not an unreachable goal, but any critical environmental, social or economic analysis would certainly raise questions about our current trajectory.

The issue of the long-term management of nuclear waste illustrates well the conundrum that society faces. It is an issue that embodies scientific complexity and uncertainty. It inspires fear and insecurity and polarizes citizens. It is very long-term in character, raising questions of intergenerational equity quite inconsistent with the time frames of elected governments. It raises discussion of trade-offs: energy sufficiency versus significant financial investment and long-term security. In sum, it is an issue that requires much better understanding of resilience, vulnerability and the dynamic interaction between nature, technology and society.

All nuclear nations have faced significant challenges in their quest for an acceptable approach for the long term management of the nuclear waste they generate. The story behind that fact illustrates the degree to which the nuclear industry is being shaped by factors much beyond the scientific and technical.

Social, ethical and economic considerations are now being recognized as legitimate aspects of the public policy process. This article describes some of Canada's experience in responding to this evolving environment.

Background

The question of what should happen to Canada's nuclear energy waste is one that has taken the time and energy of more than a generation of Canadians. Notwithstanding considerable research about the science, technology and engineering of possible storage and repository approaches, the task of implementation has proven challenging. In 1988, Canada's Minister of Energy, Mines and Resources requested that a federal environmental assessment panel conduct an assessment of an Atomic Energy of Canada Limited (AECL) proposal for deep geological disposal under the requirements of the federal environmental assessment and review process. This led to formation of the Nuclear Fuel Waste Management and Disposal Concept Environmental Assessment Panel (The Seaborn Panel) in 1989. Based in Mississauga, Ontario, with laboratories and other offices in Canada as well as in China, South Korea, and the United States, Atomic Energy of Canada Limited (AECL) is a nuclear technology company that provides services to nuclear utilities worldwide.

An intensive and lengthy period of delibera-

tion was undertaken by the Seaborn Panel. In 1998, after conducting a close to ten year review, the Seaborn Panel provided insight and direction on key issues that had to be addressed in order to move the decision-making forward. With respect to the AECL proposal, the panel concluded that:

- From a technical perspective, safety of the AECL concept has been on balance adequately demonstrated for a conceptual stage of development. But from a social perspective, it has not.
- As it stands, the AECL concept for deep geological disposal has not been demonstrated to have broad public support. The concept in its current form does not have the required level of acceptability to be adopted as Canada's approach for managing nuclear fuel wastes.

The Government of Canada considered and responded to the Seaborn Panel Report, and in November 2002 brought into force the *Nuclear Fuel Waste Act* (an Act respecting the long-term management of nuclear fuel waste). The Nuclear Waste Management Organization (NWMO) was established in late 2002 in response to this federal legislation requiring Canada's nuclear energy corporations to create an organization to investigate and develop an approach for the long-term management of their used nuclear fuel. An independent Advisory Council acts as a guarantor of the public interest. The companies were also required to put in place trust funds to ensure that the money will be available to finance the nuclear waste management approach ultimately adopted by the government.

The NWMO has been given three years to study, at a minimum, three approaches including deep geological disposal, storage at the nuclear reactor sites and, centralized storage, either above or below ground. We must examine the risks, costs and benefits, develop implementation plans and consult with Canadians and in particular aboriginal peoples. Once the Government of Canada takes a decision on our recommendations the NWMO will be responsible for the managerial, operational and financial implementation.

In Canada, used nuclear fuel is safely managed by its owners in interim storage facilities at nuclear reactor sites, in strict accordance with the regulatory requirements of the Canadian Nuclear Safety Commission. If Canada's 22 licensed commercial nuclear power reactors run

to the end of their currently projected lives it is estimated that about 3.6 million *bundles* of used fuel will result. A *bundle* is the term used to refer to the assembly of uranium dioxide ceramic pellets sealed inside zirconium alloy tubes that are about the size of a fireplace log. These tubes are inserted into a nuclear reactor as fuel for the generation of electricity and, after about a year, removed as waste.

Listening and Learning

It is reasonable to ask, "What will make this attempt any different than those of the past?" The answer may lie in our search to understand the deeply held values of citizens and to review our options through a multidimensional lens that is in part shaped by citizens themselves.

Sustainable development is our conceptual underpinning. We see as our purpose, to develop collaboratively with Canadians a management approach that is socially acceptable, technically sound, environmentally responsible and economically feasible.

Our approach includes a focus on broad engagement of society; a comprehensive (not just technical) review; a study built around three milestone documents so that we could learn together with citizens—first about the framework for the study itself, then the assessment and, finally the recommendations and implementation plan. We provide a forum for recognizing divergent viewpoints and seeking common ground.

Our journey from dialogue to decision began with preliminary conversations with a broad cross-section of Canadians. Those citizens brought perspectives and ideas that were instrumental in advancing our knowledge and understanding. We were asked to approach the study in manageable steps that would encourage citizens to think about complex issues, and provide informed, thoughtful feedback. In response, the NWMO developed an iterative study plan that involved a series of milestone documents. The documents openly shared NWMO's thinking as it evolved at key stages. They served as the basis for dialogue and deliberation and enabled citizens to shape and direct subsequent steps in the study and to participate in developing the recommendations. The intent was also to make transparent NWMO's deliberations. We listened

and learned.

The first discussion document "Asking the Right Questions? The Future Management of Canada's Used Nuclear Fuel" defined the problem, communicated potential choices and posed a way of assessing the alternatives. The analytical framework was derived directly from key questions raised by citizens. Through a series of engagement activities these questions were validated before continuing to the next step. Our journey from dialogue to decision was well underway.

The challenge for the NWMO is to develop and apply, as much as possible, a societally directed framework—one that is consistent with the collective sense of how Canadians want to live. The following initiatives were designed to guide us.

A Focus on Ethics

A Roundtable on Ethics was established early in the NWMO's mandate to deliberate on the range of ethical considerations which should be factored into the NWMO's work. It was composed of six individuals, expert in the field of ethics and drawn from a variety of disciplines ranging from medicine to business and the faith communities. The Roundtable helped the NWMO make explicit and ensure the systematic integration of ethical considerations into the assessment of options and the ultimate recommendations of a management approach.

Among the early advice received was that rather than treating ethics as a separate and distinct assessment area, it would be preferable to embed ethical and value considerations in all aspects of the NWMO study. With this in mind, ethical considerations were considered as one of the "overarching aspects" in the analytical framework. The key question raised for discussion was as follows. Is the process for selecting, assessing, and implementing the management approach fair and equitable to our generation, and future generations?

To answer this question, consideration was given to such matters as:

- Have ethical-impact analyses been undertaken to address environmental justice and violations of rights to know, of due process, of equal protection, to free informed consent, and compensation for harms/threats of harm?

- Has the management approach been tested for its capacity to ensure a fair sharing of costs, benefits, risks and responsibilities both now and in the future?

- Has the deliberative decision-making process undertaken by the NWMO been tested, to ensure it has been carried out in an ethical fashion?

The Roundtable developed an "Ethical and Social Framework" composed of a list of principles and questions to help guide the NWMO's activities throughout the study. The six principles that form the core of the framework are:

- Respect for life in all its forms, including minimization of harm to human beings and other sentient creatures.

- Respect for future generations of human beings, other species, and the biosphere as a whole.

- Respect for peoples and cultures.

- Justice (across groups, regions, and generations).

- Fairness (to everyone affected and particularly to minorities and marginalized groups).

- Sensitivity to the differences of values and interpretation that different individuals and groups bring to the dialogue.

Canadian Values

We realized that public confidence in our recommended approach had to be built. The starting point was for us to understand what really mattered to Canadians. To explore the values which citizens bring to bear in thinking about the long-term management of used nuclear fuel, the NWMO launched a collaborative research project with the Canadian Policy Research Networks (CPRN). A cross-section of citizens from coast to coast participated in a National Citizens' Dialogue on the Long-Term Management of Used Nuclear Fuel.

CPRN is a nonpartisan, nonprofit organization specializing in social and economic policy research and public engagement. It has been using public dialogue since 1995 as a means to involve citizens more directly in research and public policy discussions on issues such as health care, quality-of-life indicators, Canada's children, aging and the society to which Canadians collectively aspire.

In these dialogues 462 Canadians gathered

in 12 cities across Canada between January and March 2004, to talk with each other about the key characteristics they feel are important in a long-term management approach. All the participants were randomly recruited by a professional polling firm to be as representative as possible of the Canadian population, 18 years of age or older. They came to these dialogue sessions as unaffiliated individuals, not as representatives of stakeholder or special-interest groups. Before arriving they received background information explaining the dialogue process. On arrival they were given a specially prepared workbook providing key factual information. Dialogue participants were presented with four scenarios, each representing a plausible view that could be held by a segment of society. They could choose or reject elements from different scenarios, or identify their own new ideas, in arriving at their own preferred scenario. The scenarios provided to citizens for this dialogue addressed the issues that society is best placed to answer. They were presented with arguments in favor and against each perspective, reflecting different values that people hold dear.

The first set of scenarios asked:

- How do we best share rights and responsibilities across generations?
- Should we emphasize using the knowledge we have today?
- Should we emphasize choice for future generations?

The second set of scenarios asked:

- How do we best ensure confidence and trust in a management approach?
- Should we emphasize the role of governments?
- Should we emphasize the role of affected communities and civil society?

As people deliberated, key characteristics of a desirable long-term management approach were developed and from these areas of common ground, core values were identified. The values summarized below reflect the choices they made, the conditions they imposed and the reasons they gave for choosing one outcome over another.

One overriding need underpins the values that emerged—that is, the basic human need to feel safe from harm. This need did not arise from a sense of fear, or from an expectation of

a risk-free world, but rather from a sense of responsibility to this generation, and future generations, to take the necessary precautions. Citizens talked about safety and security in the context of recent events that posed risks to public health and the environment, and expressed concerns about possible acts of terrorism, both now and in the future. To manage these risks, they looked to governments to fulfill their responsibilities as regulators and standard setters. And they called for better information, greater transparency and inclusiveness in decision-making to build public confidence about their overall safety.

Responsibility—We Need to Live Up to Our Responsibilities and Deal with the Problems We Create

Citizens want to leave a legacy for their children and grandchildren that they can be proud of. They want to take concrete steps to deal with problems. Dialogue participants were surprised and upset that the decision to use nuclear fuel was made 30 or more years ago without a plan in place to manage the used fuel for the long term. As the generation that has consumed the energy and created the used fuel, they felt a sense of responsibility to the extent possible to act now and to pay now.

Adaptability—Continuous Improvement Based on New Knowledge

Citizens do not presume that we have the best answers today. They looked back over the last century and saw how dramatically technology had changed their lives, and they expect this advancement to continue. They wanted to make deliberate investments in research so that future generations would have safer, more efficient ways to deal with the used fuel. They also wanted to invest in measures to ensure that future generations would have the knowledge and capacity to fulfill their own responsibilities with respect to the used fuel. Therefore, they wanted to ensure that future generations would have access to the fuel so they could apply new knowledge. They wanted a flexible, step-by-step management approach that would regularly take stock of new knowledge and adapt accordingly.

Stewardship—We Have a Duty to Use All Resources with Care, Leaving a Sound Legacy for Future Generations

The concepts of reduce, reuse and recycle have become deeply embedded principles, and citizens want to use all resources wisely. They want to address issues in an integrated, holistic way, looking at all possible costs and benefits of decisions on used fuel and on broad energy policy.

Dialogue participants saw reducing the volume of waste as a necessary part of the management approach. They acknowledged their own responsibility to reduce the amount of electricity they use, and recognized the challenge in changing behaviour. They called on governments to provide leadership to individuals and industry to reduce consumption by offering incentives and providing more information on the real costs of energy and the environmental and health impacts. They sought greater use of alternative energy sources like wind and solar. They wanted more research into how to safely extract more energy from the uranium, as well as to try and reduce the toxicity of the waste.

Accountability and Transparency

Citizens hold governments, especially the federal government, as ultimately accountable for the public good, but their level of trust in government and industry is low. Dialogue participants imposed the following conditions on governments:

- There must be real engagement of experts, citizens, communities and other stakeholders before any decision is made;
- People must be told the truth. There must be greater transparency in decision-making and monitoring by both government and industry. Citizens will want to know why decisions are made and how they are being implemented. They will want full disclosure of financial and management information;
- Citizens will seek assurance that decisions will not be made simply for political expediency or profit; and,
- They will hold governments responsible for ensuring safety and security, including enforcing strong regulations and standards.

Knowledge—A Public Good for Better Decisions Now and In the Future

Citizens are embracing the idea of knowledge as a public good to help make better choices, both now and in the future. Their surprise at their own lack of awareness about the used nuclear fuel led to an urgent call for better efforts to ensure people are informed so they can engage in an informed way to support better decisions and investment in the education of young people to ensure that future generations have technical expertise and social institutions necessary to manage the used fuel.

Inclusion—The Best Decisions Reflect Broad Engagement and Many Perspectives; We All Have a Role to Play

Inclusion is about having a voice that is heard. Dialogue participants believed that better decisions would be made by involving as many perspectives as possible. Consumers, energy producers and those from related industries, scientists and other experts, affected communities, governments and citizens all have a role in the decision-making process and for contributing in an ongoing way to the management of used fuel over the long term.

Aboriginal Views and Perspectives

The approach taken by the NWMO is dependent on working together with and being guided by the values of those who stand to be affected by whatever management strategy is chosen. Since its inception, the NWMO has sought dialogue with the aboriginal community to share information on the issue of managing used nuclear fuel over the long term, to understand how this information is processed by the aboriginal community and in turn, to learn from the reactions, insights and concerns that are expressed as a result.

Aboriginal peoples of Canada (Inuit, First Nations and Métis peoples) told us that it is essential that they be involved in the study of long-term management approaches for a number of reasons, including lands that may host waste management facilities that are occupied or used by aboriginal people; traditional ecological knowledge should be integrated into the

development and assessment of management proposals; and, as stewards of the land, they feel a strong sense of responsibility to ensure that we provide well for future generations.

Aboriginal people emphasized the need for consultations to be designed and conducted in a manner that is culturally appropriate and sensitive to their traditional methods of discussion. The NWMO has entered into collaborative dialogues with national organizations representing the aboriginal peoples of Canada (Inuit, First Nations and Métis peoples as mentioned) and with regional/local organizations in the vicinity of nuclear fuel cycle activities. In these collaborations, the dialogues are designed and executed by aboriginal people on behalf of their organizations and the NWMO. More than 30 reports have emerged from these dialogues and have been input to the NWMO's study by aboriginal organizations, and more reports are expected as the study progresses. In addition, with few exceptions aboriginal people have been invited and/or have participated in all NWMO activities.

In the early stages of the study, many of the observations and insights emerging from the dialogue with aboriginal people echo those emerging from the broader dialogue. For example, the highest priority concern expressed is for safety and security for people and the environment. The issue of fairness in the distribution of costs, benefits, risks and responsibilities is a focus of concern as is, among some, the need to reduce the use of energy as part of a larger discussion of energy policy.

Many of the observations and insights also reflect special perspective that derives from the particular history, experience, and concerns of Canada's aboriginal peoples. For example, many spoke to: the importance of recognizing aboriginal rights, treaties and land claims in any decisions which are made; the need for nuclear industry agencies to earn the trust of aboriginal peoples as a first step in establishing a lasting and positive relationship going forward; and, the importance of incorporating traditional aboriginal knowledge throughout the study.

There is much to learn from the holistic and broadly integrative approach inherent in traditional aboriginal knowledge. Traditional aboriginal knowledge has provided some preliminary

insight into the principles inherent in this philosophy. To the extent that the NWMO was able, these principles were carried forward as part of the values foundation on which the study proceeded:

- **Honor** involves the wisdom that can be garnered from speaking to elders in both the aboriginal and non-aboriginal communities.
- **Respect** involves the opinions and suggestions of all who take the time to provide insight into this process.
- **Conservation**, particularly as it applies to the consumption of electricity, must be a major part of the solution, not just a footnote in the NWMO process.
- **Transparency** is essential to the process when NWMO, which was created by the producers of the problem, has to suggest a solution.
- **Accountability** must be part of the fabric of any solution so that those responsible (whether for the concept or the delivery) are held to high account by the public for their actions.

A Work in Progress

The three initiatives described above are illustrative of the manner in which NWMO has sought to redefine the process of developing public policy by focusing on the ethical and societal dimensions. As well, scenario workshops helped us imagine the future. Workshops with environmental interests, representatives of aboriginal communities and those with technical and scientific expertise contributed insights about expectations and concerns, the knowns and unknowns and suggested possible ways forward. Papers were commissioned to capture the current state of knowledge on a broad range of technical matters as well as evolving concepts related to our work. And of course we benefited from the experiences of other countries around the globe.

For the past year and a half two interrelated tracks of activity continued: an assessment which thoroughly examined the options and an engagement program through which we tested our initial observations and refined our thinking. This iterative process of seeking input and exposing our evolving ideas will continue until our task is completed.

A multidisciplinary assessment team developed an assessment methodology that built

upon the framework identified by citizens. It was applied to each of the alternatives, identifying the risks, costs and benefits and describing the social, economic and ethical considerations associated with each of them. The team also tested the robustness of different approaches against different time frames contemplated in the earlier scenarios workshops. All of this work was shared with the public for review in our second discussion document "Understanding the Choices" before recommendations were developed.

To give evidence of transparency, we made a commitment to share with the public our study report and recommendations in draft form before submitting them to the federal government. That document "Choosing a Way Forward" attempted to present as honestly as possible the path that led to our recommendation. It responded to all of the required elements of our mandate and reported back to all of those who had collaborated with us in the process. It will be the subject of public dialogues, open houses, workshops, focus groups and electronic dialogues. The insight gained from these exercises will be captured in the final study report completed in November 2005.

Preliminary Observations

The question of what constitutes "responsible action" in the long-term management of used nuclear fuel has been central to the complex and, at some times, impassioned discussion we have had with Canadians. We have heard participants in our dialogues propose values and objectives to guide our decision-making and serve as a platform for moving forward. As a true product of collaborative development, these values and objectives reflect the common ground of individuals and groups with many diverse perspectives on this issue. They suggest the terms and conditions of a collective journey to implement a long-term management approach for Canada which acknowledges both the areas in which we all agree and are prepared to proceed quickly and the areas in which greater confidence needs to be gained before proceeding.

We have heard that people wish to proceed. In fact, they expect to immediately begin the process of implementing a long-term manage-

ment approach for Canada. While some are very comfortable to move quickly to implement a final or definitive solution, we have heard from others they are only prepared to proceed with caution. These people would like the opportunity to learn more, understand better, and build greater confidence in decisions before they are taken, particularly if these decisions are difficult to reverse.

We believe that the evidence of common ground that has emerged from the dialogues provides the foundation for a staged and adaptive approach to be taken. This should be an approach which has a clear direction and end in mind, but which has built into it flexibility to further explore the areas where citizens wish to gain greater confidence. At each point in the process, the safety of people and the environment needs to be assured, and contingency plans need to be put in place. A clear and appropriate decision-making process needs to guide the journey, and strong and independent oversight needs to help ensure that we continue to progress towards our goal. It is this understanding, and the detailed guidance from dialogue participant which forms the foundation for our recommended approach.

Concluding Thoughts

In designing a responsible and responsive path forward we became very aware of the fact that there are no "right" answers to many of the ethical questions. How do we accommodate the desires of the current generation while recognizing that the decisions we make now may affect the lives of our children, their children and many generations to come? How heavily should we rely on emerging technologies? What forms of institutions and governance inspire trust and confidence?

These questions and more are fundamental to meeting the challenge of managing used nuclear fuel in an appropriate and acceptable manner. To be able to choose the right technical solutions we must first ask what requirements the technology has to live up to. Despite the fact that scientific and technical research into waste management options has been going on for decades a solution has eluded us. Perhaps that is because there has been no agreement on the

societal values we wish to protect. Perhaps also because we have been arrogant in our assumptions that expertise resides only in the minds of a select few.

Within Canada and internationally, the landscape against which our study is being conducted is shifting. Issues of energy policy, security, health and safety, environmental protection, and good governance are prominent on the public agenda.

How we approach this challenging public policy issue will say a lot about our values and priorities as a society—how we want to live. Fundamentally it is about developing a contract between science and society: a contract that allows us to benefit from technology while managing the risks and respecting the values of Canadians. We approach this task with humility in the face of uncertainty and complexity, but also fortified by the inherent wisdom of citizens.

Notes

1. Elizabeth Dowdeswell is president of the Nuclear Waste Management Organization, 49 Jackes Avenue, First Floor, Toronto, Ontario M4T 1E2 Canada. She may also be reached by e-mail at edowdeswell@nwmo.ca and by telephone at 416-934-9814. She serves as a Pierre Elliot Trudeau Foundation mentor, helping to guide the public-policy research of Trudeau scholars. From 1993–1998 she was Under Secretary General of the United Nations and Executive Director of the United Nations Environment Programme. She holds a behavioral science M.S., awarded in 1972 by the then Department of Home Economics Education of Utah State University. She is the recipient of eight honorary doctorates—six Doctor of Law degrees from different universities an honorary Doctor of Humane Letters degree from Mount Saint Vincent University, Halifax, Nova Scotia, Canada and a Doctor of Environmental Sciences from Utah State University, Logan, Utah, USA. Charles University, Prague, Czech Republic, has awarded her its distinguished Memorial Gold Medal.

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The core of our engagement program is our website. It is becoming a significant repository of information and an active venue for engagement

and exchange. It offers simple polls and short surveys, invites more comprehensive electronic submissions and hosts moderated e-dialogues. All of the activities and reports referred to above are available at www.nwmo.ca. For example, please see:

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Making Imperfect Decisions: Results From Public Workshops on Bioremediation¹

Amy K. Wolfe² and David J. Bjornstad³

Abstract

This article addresses how people make decisions in community settings when any option, though beneficial to some people, may cause harm to others. We focus on decisions surrounding field research on, and the use of, a category of bioremediation—using microbes to immobilize below-ground plumes of metal and radionuclide contamination at United States Department of Energy legacy waste sites. As part of a multi-year project, we previously developed a conceptual framework called PACT (Public Acceptability of Controversial Technologies) and analyzed recordings of citizen advisory board meetings at three sites facing subsurface contamination issues. In this paper, we report on a series of quasi-experimental workshops undertaken to test hypotheses about the determinants of societal acceptability of controversial remediation technologies that emerged from our past work.

We found the quasi-experimental approach to be a powerful tool to address questions of this sort. Results indicated that 1) workshop participants readily accepted the role-playing methodology and responded in ways that mirrored actual behavior in decision-making settings; 2) the quasi-experimental design allowed us to structure the activity into systematic “treatments” while leaving the participants’ responses unconstrained; 3) the approach yielded systematic differences among treatments, but also displayed differences depending on the decision context interacting with the specific personalities of the participants; 4) participants were generally unfamiliar with the particular technologies involved but reframed issues into analogous terms to which they could apply lessons learned from past experience; and 5) because the approach encouraged participants to impose their own frames of reference and values to the questions they were to answer as a group, many of the results were surprising, yet consistent with the local context and personalities.

Introduction

Start with contaminated subsurface sediment and groundwater. Assume the contaminants may be harmful to anyone having extensive contact with them, but that the chances of contact in the foreseeable future are slim. Also assume that this subsurface contamination has been acknowledged for decades, that the agency generating them first denied responsibility for cleanup, later accepted responsibility, subsequently developed a cleanup-related research program, and finally implemented a variety of specific cleanup actions. Add to this situation a surrounding community that has some degree of past or continuing economic dependence on the agency responsible for both the contamination and the cleanup, the possibility of continued local economic benefit associated with cleanup-related research or cleanup itself, and a desire for a “safe” and “desirable” community that is attractive for current and future residential and economic development. Finally, ask the community to advise the government agency on cleanup options without specifically assigning it a role in the final decision.

In broad outline, this description depicts the situation faced at many United States Department of Energy (DOE) sites, and possibly at numerous other contaminated sites throughout this country and worldwide. DOE sites are termed legacy waste sites because they are part of the so-called legacy of the Cold War. Community members constituent to remediation decisions may be DOE employees, regulators, residents, local business leaders, environmentalists, or virtually any interested or affected party. How will these constituents navigate the complex, ever-changing world of remediation decision making? The work described in this paper sought to reveal how people undertake decisions about new remediation technologies and, through this undertaking, establish the conditions under which alternative options become more or less acceptable.

In the section below, we describe the quasi-experimental methods we used to explore this question, first depicting how our past work led us to take this particular approach, and second describing the specific methodology. Next, we summarize our findings, both those associated with the process of implementing these methods

as well as substantive results. We end with a discussion of the implications of these methods and results for questions of how groups make "imperfect" decisions.

Background: Why We Began to Study the Acceptability of Bioremediation, A Potential Cleanup Option

Our initial foray into the realm of bioremediation decision making began with a research project that asked: What are the determinants of societal acceptability of a particular, yet-to-be-developed, bioremediation strategy? That strategy was the use of genetically engineered microorganisms (GEMs) in remediating subsurface metal and radionuclide contamination, a topic we took to be inherently controversial. The contaminants of most interest—namely the metals mercury and chromium, and the radionuclides uranium, technetium, and plutonium—pose particular challenges to DOE. Although several alternative strategies can be used to deal with these subsurface contaminants, none is problem-free when considering all of the technical, economic, and ecological attributes within the specific community context. For example, when the contamination is concentrated and relatively close to the surface of the ground, it is more feasible to remove than when it is deep, dispersed, or in the groundwater. Contaminant attributes must be factored in, as must groundwater flows, likelihood of exposures to affected populations or ecosystems, and likely future land uses.

The below-ground conditions in which metal and radionuclide contaminants are found at some DOE sites make them extremely difficult to clean up. For example, the contaminants sometimes are found at great depths, sometimes hundreds of feet below ground. Site hydrogeology (how water flows in those geological conditions) may be complex, making it challenging to know or sometimes impossible to predict the rate and extent of contaminant movement below ground over time. Contaminated portions of DOE reservations can be very large. For instance, an estimated 200 square miles of groundwater are contaminated on the Hanford, Washington reservation. These expanses make some existing remediation technologies extraordinarily expen-

sive or otherwise impractical. Also, because of past DOE operations and practices, sites tend to be contaminated by more than one metal or radionuclide, and may also contain other contaminants like solvents.

DOE initiated a basic research program in the late 1990s that sought to provide the scientific underpinnings for eventual strategies that use microorganisms to clean up these contaminants in place. Cleanup for this program centered mainly on using microorganisms for immobilizing contaminants so that plumes would not migrate and adversely affect human or ecological populations or on speeding up the natural breakdown process. Bioremediation has been used successfully for some contaminants, mainly organic compounds that can be transformed into harmless substances. However, that is not the case for the target metals and radionuclides in subsurface environments. Further, while bioremediation cannot transform radionuclides into harmless non-radioactive substances, the hope was that bioremediation could be used to immobilize, for example, by changing the atomic structure of a radionuclide. As an illustration, while uranium VI in the subsurface environment is mobile and potentially can be taken up by plants, animals, and humans, uranium IV is insoluble and not mobile. As the research program developed, DOE decided to exclude GEMs. However, we have continued to consider them in our work on societal acceptability because of their putative potential to generate concern and controversy.

Our work was motivated by two observations. First, an agency staff member responsible for chemical cleanup commented to us that, no matter how much he explained the projects to them, so-called environmentalists never changed their minds. To us, from the outside, it was clear that the environmentalists—especially those representing activist organizations—would not change their minds because their goals had little or nothing to do with the project the staff member was managing. Our question became, is it not reasonable to assume that other parties affected by the cleanup also have goals apart from the cleanup itself, but goals that they express in terms of the cleanup? Second, the agency staff member's response indicated that he

thought that "the public" should be "educated" about the situation, technology, or alternative presented. Like many other specialists, he exhibited the attitude that "if they (the public) only knew, they would agree with us." Again, as outsiders, this line of reasoning appeared to us as narrow. It systematically excluded a range of issues of likely importance to community members, was optimistic in assuming that similar facts lead to similar opinions, and stood in contrast with extant evidence (Evans and Durant 1995; Martin and Tait 1992; Yount and Horton 1992). We queried: Do agency officials reduce the acceptability of projects by offering non-responsive responses to citizen concerns?

We focused our analysis on cleanup-related decision making, rather than on generalized opinions, values, or preferences. Our reasoning was that decision making forces people to confront and chart a course for navigating through messy and uncomfortable real-world terrain, whereas opinions are often abstract and hypothetical. Messy refers to such elements as uncertainties, incomplete and conflicting information, and different goals (cleanup, economic development, reduction of stigma, cost containment, etc.). Uncomfortable refers to value conflicts, such as choosing among alternatives that may remove contaminants from one location while destroying the local ecosystem (as when all vegetation is removed and bulldozers scrape and remove soil to a depth of several feet) and transporting those wastes to another location, potentially exposing individuals along the transportation corridor and surrounding the waste disposal site.

Within this decision-making context, we were interested in the positions that involved individuals and groups took, and how those positions were adjusted over time in response to interactions, new information, and other changes. We noted an asymmetry in the power of different positions, with a negative position (no GEMs) frequently holding more sway than the positive position (GEMs hold great promise). Therefore, we were particularly interested in those factors that would propel individuals and groups holding non-negative positions into taking strongly negative positions. We included both outcome and process considerations. One affected party

might object to a project unless certain features were modified. Others might object because they were excluded from the decision-making process that considered the features. Or, affected parties might simply require an opportunity to express opinions, for example, that the agency was remiss for having created the contamination in the first place.

Our Conceptual Framework: Public Acceptability of Controversial Technologies (PACT)

We began our work by developing a generic, conceptual framework for analyzing issues of social acceptability for technologies deemed "controversial," using GEMs to add concreteness to our efforts (Wolfe and Bjornstad 2002). We did not define "controversial" precisely, but at minimum it was taken to mean that some parties to a technology decision-making process thought the alternatives were less than fully acceptable. We also believed that some technical attributes were lightning rods for controversy. The resulting framework describes the dimensions of acceptability relevant to a dialog among involved constituents (see Figure 1).

Our framework argued that decision-making dialogs occur across a continuum of decision rules. At one extreme was what we termed binary decision rules, constituting insistence on either acceptance or rejection. We reasoned that these positions were similar in the sense that assuming an inflexible stance militated against a productive dialog to resolve differences. At the other extreme was a decision rule marked by complete negotiability, a kind of indifference in which everything becomes negotiable because there is no stance. Intermediary points describe conditional requirements placed upon a subject technology necessary to achieve acceptability, which we define as a willingness to consider seriously rather than as a particular outcome. Within this context, acceptability describes a condition whereby a technology is considered a viable alternative. This willingness to consider an alternative is separate from the specific issues that influence actual technology deployment, for example, cost considerations; many acceptable technologies never are deployed.

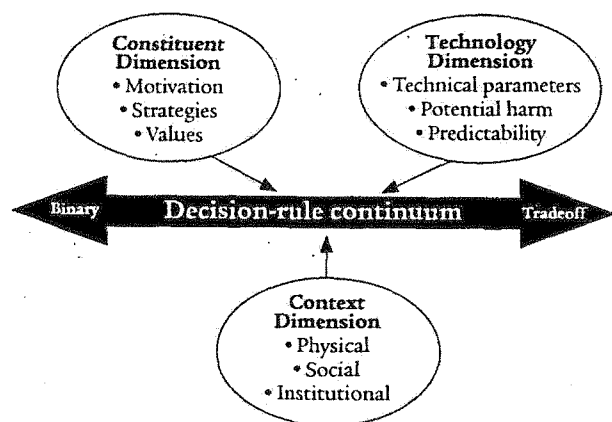
We identified three types of considerations

that would affect the location of parties to the acceptability dialog along the continuum. The first was the attributes of the involved parties, which we divide into goals, motivations, and strategies. Our point here was to emphasize that involved parties may have different goals from the agency as well as different values, and may or may not adopt a strategy of revealing those goals and values accurately or at all.

The second set of considerations was the local context. Local context included physical, institutional, and social attributes, recognizing that current manifestations of local context reflect past interactions and events. Take, for example, a community with a long-standing contamination problem that now is faced with a cleanup decision. The community likely will react differently if the action is deemed critical because the contamination poses an imminent threat (the plume might be moving toward the community's drinking water supply), than if the contamination is deemed relatively benign, but its removal is required by law. Social and economic attributes also are key. A community in an isolated location may view cleanup as a "basic industry" supplying jobs. Institutional aspects might include the forum in which the dialog takes place, the rules governing the dialog, and the standing of individual groups in the decision-making process. Lastly, there is the technology dimension, basically, the attributes of the technology—its costs, technical effectiveness, predictability, history of use in similar settings for similar purposes, associated risks, alternatives to that technology, and so on.

Figure 1. PACT Framework

(PACT = Public Acceptability of Controversial Technologies)



Two Previous Acceptability Analyses, Guided by PACT

Next, we engaged in two analytical efforts. First, we applied PACT to the subject of phytoremediation (using plants to trap or clean up contaminants) in an attempt to determine if the framework provided an efficacious means of ordering the issues pertinent to a decision to use what is presented as a relatively benign technology (Wolfe and Bjornstad 2002). In the course of examining the technology lifecycle, we determined that once plants have absorbed contaminants they may be disposed of using incineration, itself a controversial technology. Further, there may be some volatilization of contaminants taken up by plants, a factor that could discourage the use of phytoremediation near such places as schools, playgrounds, or parks. We concluded that all remediation technologies can become controversial, given the right combination of attributes.

Second, guided by the PACT framework, we collected data from a number of meetings of three DOE Site-Specific Advisory Boards (SSABs). We took this approach to observe continuing remediation-related dialog among multiple parties, where the positions of involved parties—and changes in those positions—could be tracked over time. SSABs are institutionalized, DOE-sanctioned modes of public participation. We targeted our investigation on aspects of the SSAB (or advisory board) mode of participation that could, by themselves, influence the dialog process and its outcome (Wolfe, Bjornstad, and Kerchner 2003). Two examples of internal SSAB procedures that affect the nature of participation and "outcomes" delivered to DOE are whether or not: (a) to use "round-robins" as a means to air each participant's thoughts (in contrast to situations where a few SSAB members can dominate discussion to the near or total exclusion of other members), and (b) to transmit to DOE dissenting or minority opinions.

Over a several-month period, we used PACT to structure our analyses of hundreds of hours of audio and video tape recordings of SSAB dialogs in full-group meetings (as opposed to smaller, working-group meetings) at Hanford, Washington; Oak Ridge, Tennessee; and Rocky Flats,

Colorado. These tapes allowed us to observe a real-world, formal deliberative process unobtrusively. We wanted to learn how participants tend to present their issues and concerns about remediation options; how they interact; and if or how they shift positions over time. As expected, GEMs were not a topic of discussion. Nevertheless, analyses of these tapes revealed much about the dynamics of one form of public participation with regard to remediation technology acceptability. Our conclusions included the following:

- Technology-oriented decision making need not focus on technologies or their attributes—the amount of time spent discussing specific technologies and their attributes was miniscule.

- Generalized opinions about technologies and technical issues need not transfer to particular cases (opinions about waste disposal generally vs. at a particular facility), and vice versa—these apparent inconsistencies actually may reflect different ways of framing issues.

- Differences in the “same” forms of public participation (SSABs at the three DOE sites studied) significantly influence the nature of the subsequent dialog (reinforcing our previous findings).

Despite the value afforded by unobtrusive observation (via tapes) of constituent groups interacting in actual forums, this method also has several drawbacks. As examples, information of this sort is costly to analyze, much of the dialog may be irrelevant to research goals, and observation does not allow the kind of manipulation necessary to test some important hypotheses.

Therefore, we sought additional data sources to inform our work, specifically through the series of quasi-experimental simulation exercises that we report here. We designed these exercises to gather data about specific hypotheses in a more controlled way than is possible with observation of naturally occurring situations.

Methods: Quasi-Experimental Simulation Exercises

Each workshop was structured into four phases: 1) background information; 2) scenario 1; 3) scenario 2; and 4) de-briefing. We selected participants from the Oak Ridge and Knoxville, Tennessee, vicinity, working through web-based lists of community organizations (chambers of

commerce, neighborhood associations, etc.) to identify individuals willing to participate. Our target participants were adults likely to be involved in community decision making, but with no direct connection to local DOE offices or the local DOE complex in Oak Ridge. A number of participants did, however, have a current or previous connection with these operations. Some happened to have worked for other businesses in the region and had previous experience in grappling with non-DOE cleanup issues. We did not seek participants who were technical experts.

Because workshop participants had varied backgrounds, we thought it important to provide them with common background information about the DOE complex, the legacy wastes, and continuing remediation challenges. Background information described DOE legacy wastes, and the challenges associated with remediating subsurface chromium, mercury, plutonium, uranium, and technetium. Information packets also described categories of remediation options, including bioremediation, along with some of the pros and cons associated with each option (in terms of financial costs, technical effectiveness, long-term maintenance and monitoring, impact on landscape, etc.). We deliberately wanted to convey the idea that there are no “perfect” options.

After giving participants time to read and ask questions about the background information, workshops then centered on a sequence of two hypothetical scenarios. The sites and contamination scenarios, though fictitious, were consistent with real-world sites and cleanup-related issues. Scenario 1 focused on the acceptability of four proposed bioremediation *field research* projects, all ultimately targeted at immobilizing subsurface chromium, mercury, plutonium, uranium, and technetium. The proposed experiments were the following:

- Injecting nutrients below ground, in wells, to test whether naturally occurring microorganisms live and multiply as anticipated in the field setting;

- Altering the chemical composition of the below-ground environment (by reducing acidity, removing nitrates, or adding oxygen), to make it more conducive to the growth and multiplication of naturally occurring microorganisms that

could transform contaminants into more stable forms or immobilize contaminants in place;

- Adding naturally occurring microorganisms from another location to the below-ground environment at the field experiment location;
- Testing whether microorganisms genetically engineered to target specific contaminants and to thrive in the below-ground environment function as anticipated.

Participants were given a series of questions to address, and they were told that their product should be a report to the federal agency (called Fedagency in the scenarios) proposing the research that would advise the agency on the acceptability of the four field research alternatives.

After a break, participants were provided with Scenario 2. It was described as taking place several years after Scenario 1 and focused on the acceptability of a proposed *use* of one bioremediation technique, GEMs, for remediation. We deliberately chose GEMs as the deployment option because we thought that option would be likely to spur the greatest controversy and discussion among workshop participants. Again, the group was given a set of questions to consider and told to report to Fedagency about whether it was ready to "go public" with its proposal.

Our research design included three separate exercises, each of which was conducted twice, for a total of six workshops. Participants in each workshop were divided into two or three subgroups. Variations within and among workshops and subgroups, illustrated by the following examples (see Figure 2), helped us address specific hypotheses about differences in acceptability:

- **Workshop 1**—participants were given local versus non-local advisory board roles;
- **Workshop 2**—site size and complexity varied; and
- **Workshop 3**—forcing conditions and pressures to remediate differed (economic development pressure, encroaching human health impacts, and regulatory deadlines).

For four of the six workshops, participants were assigned roles that corresponded to interest groups affected by real cleanup situations. These roles included 1) owner of property adjacent to contaminated site, 2) president of the League of Women Voters local chapter, 3) head of the

Figure 2. Research Design Manipulated Variables within and across Simulation Exercises

	Exercise 1	Exercise 2	Exercise 3
Subgroups	3	3	4
Advisory board members	1 national, 2 local	all local	all local
Assigned roles	1 group	all groups	all groups
Contaminant location	• non specific • your community	• isolated, rural community in your vicinity • in the midst of your town	• outskirts of your community
Question	local vs. non-local	site context	forcing condition

Chamber of Commerce, 4) leader of a fictitious local environmental activist group called Friends for a Safe Environment, 5) retired scientist, and 6) minister. Participants were given information packets that described their goals and motivations. Two examples of the role-related information provided to participants follow:

President, local chapter of the League of Women Voters:

As the president of the local chapter of the League of Women Voters, your main goals are to assure that decisions are fully informed and that local community members have both the opportunity and the materials necessary to acquire relevant information. You strongly oppose measures that may shut down the flow of information. You do not join this advisory group with already formulated opinions about, preferences for, or antagonism toward particular cleanup-related activities or options.

Leader, local environmental organization:

You lead a local environmental organization called Friends for a Safe Environment (FASE). FASE has a long history of challenging Fedagency. Years ago, your group challenged the agency to acknowledge and take responsibility for its contamination problems. FASE has challenged the findings of many worker and community health studies. The group has pushed hard for total cleanup at the complex, no matter the costs. It has criticized Fedagency on many cleanup-related issues, such as foot-dragging on environmental cleanup and favoring lower-cost cleanup

solutions to what FASE would consider genuine cleanup. FASE position papers highlight Fedagency's ethical and legal responsibility to protect the health and well-being of workers and local citizens as well as the need for environmental protection and restoration.

As its leader, your goal is to represent and promote FASE's main interests—the protection of human health and the environment. FASE strongly supports activities that allow or achieve true cleanup and strongly opposes alternatives that the group thinks may lead to non-solutions.

The simulation exercises were intended to provide rich qualitative data that would further the knowledge about particular aspects of bioremediation acceptability. They were not intended to provide statistically valid results about which to generalize.

Results: Analogies, Issues, and Conditions that Influence Acceptability

Although there was considerable variation among groups in the manner of their interactions and their specific responses, we are able to draw a number of conclusions. As to role assignment, we found that without roles, the participants viewed themselves as adopting the values and goals they attributed to Fedagency. In contrast, once assigned roles, participants exhibited quite different values and goals. The distinction between groups with assigned roles versus those without assigned roles was so strong in the first workshop, we decided to assign roles in all subsequent workshops. Roles seemed to provide participants with an anchor—with the stakes they held in the decision-making process. This observation may be indicative of the difficulty in anticipating acceptability issues from the general populace, as opposed to affected and involved parties.

With regard to proposed bioremediation field research activities, for instance, participants generally ranked the alternatives from most to least acceptable, as follows: inject nutrients (for example, glucose or acetate); alter subsurface chemistry (such as to change pH, add oxygen, remove nitrate); introduce non-native organisms; and introduce GEMs. This ordering largely was

consistent across groups, though some groups found the suite of options much more acceptable than other groups. However, there were notable exceptions to this ordering, which seem to be influenced by the kinds of analogies or allusions members of different subgroups used as they reframed issues. We were struck by the apparent power of these analogies to anchor discussions and to influence participants' descriptions of their reasoning. For example, some subgroups ranked as least acceptable the introduction of non-native organisms. A number of these groups referred to this proposed research project as "the kudzu alternative." Kudzu is a well-known invasive plant species in the eastern Tennessee region, where the workshops were held. It was originally introduced to control erosion along TVA waterways, but was found to cover landscapes aggressively if unchecked. Some of the groups that pursued this line of reasoning also identified a number of invasive plant and animal species that may or may not be important locally. Members of these groups expressed concerns that non-native microorganisms could have similar invasive effects.

As another example, subgroups considered the proposed field research project that would alter subsurface chemistry in two broad ways. One set of subgroups explicitly saw this proposed field research project as analogous to gardening, where it is common to alter soil pH. These subgroups tended to consider this field research alternative as benign. Others, however, deemed the same alternative relatively unacceptable. In these subgroups, discussion centered on the introduction of chemicals to the subsurface, implying that chemicals should be avoided.

Participants also used other kinds of analogies relating to recent or local events. One example was a train derailment that occurred in the months preceding our workshops, spurring a local evacuation because of a sulfuric acid release. Another example was a contaminated industrial site located in Knoxville, Tennessee. In both cases, the participants mentioning these cases used them to raise potential concerns such as faulty flow of information, accountability, (lack of) results or problem resolution, and issues of trust/distrust of government.

We also found that the kinds of issues raised

regarding proposed bioremediation field research tended to differ from those for proposed deployment. These differences are summarized in Table 1. In general, discussion focused more on technical issues in scenario 1 than scenario 2. Participants queried each other about the types and characteristics of various organisms and the technical merits of each alternative field research endeavor when discussing scenario 1. In these deliberations, they also considered such attributes as the potential safety/harm of each alternative and costs for the different kinds of field experiments. Some groups were concerned about the duration of the experiments, though that issue was not raised in the two groups in which no roles were assigned. While this result could be a matter of chance, it also could be related to the influence that holding stakes in outcomes may play in remediation decision making—a testable hypothesis. Finally, some groups questioned the need or desirability of conducting more research instead of taking action to clean up the site.

Table 1. Issues Raised Tended to Differ for Proposed Bioremediation Field Research Versus proposed use.

Research	Application
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Safety • Technical components • Cost of experiments • Duration (for role-players) • Research versus cleanup 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Research conferred some legitimacy • Long-term consequences • Long-term "stewardship" • Distrust of government and research results tied to government

In contrast, deployment-related discussions associated with scenario 2 tended not to delve into technical issues, costs, or safety. Rather, these discussions typically started with process issues deriving from the disparity between Fed-agency's choice (to use GEMS) and the advisory group's previous recommendation (typically ranking GEMS least acceptable). Some groups reasoned that the research that occurred between the time of scenario 1 and scenario 2 must have shown that GEMS were the best alternative, indicating that the research conferred legitimacy on an otherwise less-than-desirable choice. Other groups, however, expressed irritation that Fed-agency disregarded their previous input and wondered why they should provide additional

advice "for the agency to ignore." In that same vein, participants in several groups expressed a distrust of government and the results of government-sponsored research.

Deployment-related discussions also centered on the long term. Participants were concerned about the potential long-term consequences of deploying GEMS and their effectiveness over the extremely long time periods necessary for radioactive contaminants. Several participants raised long-term institutional issues, wondering whether funding levels or monitoring would be sustained over time and whether there had been any contingency planning, should the remediation strategy prove ineffective or be found to cause other problems. Our scenario indicated that GEMS likely would require continuing, periodic so-called feeding to maintain their effectiveness, as opposed to creating a self-sustaining system. This piece of information led some participants to suggest that immobilization or containment is an impermanent solution. Taken together, this suite of concerns led some participants to state that total acceptability may not be possible, though some were willing to take a chance to recommend that Fedagency proceed with GEMS.

A critical part of our investigation centered on the conditions under which various field research or deployment options might become acceptable. Items that participants suggested could enhance the acceptability of field research alternatives are as follows. They include prior laboratory-based research; publications in peer-reviewed literature, although a few participants distrusted the selection of peers to review literature; locating the field experiments away from residential areas; and monitoring the experiments. Elements that could enhance the acceptability of deploying GEMS included monitoring, particularly by independent parties, and long-term stewardship; assuring safety should there be unintended consequences or re-mobilization; plans for dealing with contingencies; proven effectiveness at cleaning up, as opposed to immobilization; more research conducted on a larger scale, with a broader focus, and undertaken for a longer period of time; and speed for a quicker remediation process.

Other observations we made about this set of

workshops suggest additional avenues for future research. Even in the short-term, artificial environment we created through these scenarios, groups seemed to mirror the decision-making behavior of real-world advisory groups. In some cases, there were dominating personalities to whom others seemed to defer either by choice, when the individual was charismatic, or not, when the individual was dictatorial. In other cases, group members explicitly sought each individual's input, sometimes voting and presenting the majority response and other times presenting all opinions. It would be interesting to explore whether, or the extent to which, group dynamics affect the nature of the issues raised by advisory groups.

We previously noted that many participants reframed issues through the use of analogies. Participants also seemed to rely on their own expertise, whether we viewed that expertise as relevant or the information they provided as technically accurate. Frequently, participants appeared to separate themselves from the public, so to speak, in their role as an advisory group members. It was not uncommon for participants to refer to what the public or community might think, as if they played a role separate from that of the public at large. Moreover, participants reflected on how responses might vary in different kinds of communities, pointing to Oak Ridge (home of DOE's large, economically important Oak Ridge Reservation that was originally created as part of the Manhattan Project) versus surrounding communities versus other locations across the nation.

Concluding Discussion

We provided workshop participants with difficult decisions. The situations were complicated, with role-playing participants assigned goals and values that conflicted with those of other participants. The options offered had both pluses and in some cases substantial minuses. In their capacity as members of citizen advisory groups for the purposes of these workshops, participants were able to fulfill their charge, though groups did so in a variety of ways.

Overall, we confirmed our observations from DOE Site-Specific Advisory Board meetings that technology attributes influence, but do not deter-

mine, acceptability. This finding is particularly striking because the quasi-experimental workshops deliberately were designed to force technology-related discussions and decisions, unlike the SSAB meetings that typically touched on a diverse set of topics and lacked the same focus on technology decisions. One implication of this finding is that perceived technological effectiveness may be defined quite differently between technology sponsors and community members, producing situations in which dialog inadvertently inflames instead of elucidates. The context of potential application, rather than technology attributes, appears to be the key determinant of acceptability. Further, participants' stakes, and their role-defined goals, appear to alter the nature of the decision-making dialog.

Our work demonstrates the importance of focusing on decision-making processes, rather than on individual components of decision making. Viewing decision making primarily through the lens of single components, such as technology attributes, degree of (technical) knowledge held by participants, and ethical concerns too easily fails to benefit from the understanding that emerges by considering these components as part of a system and in juxtaposition to one another.

Our work also demonstrates that decisions about scientific or technological matters are better framed as *social* decisions than as scientific or technical decisions. This conclusion is not exceptional for an audience of anthropologists, but it tends to be jarring for members of agency, regulatory, or scientific and technical communities who frame this kind of decision making as *science- or risk-based* as opposed to *science- or risk-informed*. Thus, the body of literature emerged that, in essence, began by asking why people so often reject technologies when their risks were so low (Starr 1969; Slovic, Fischhoff, and Lichtenstein 1979, 1982) and, over time, looked to other elements that could play a dominating influence such as values and mental models (Axelrod 1994; Keeney 1992; Kempton, Boster, and Hartley 1995; Morgan et al. 2001; Stern and Dietz 1994). Regardless of the status that science and scientists enjoy in society, ordinary members of society typically do not normally delegate decision-making responsibility to such scientists.

Moreover, while technical details and scientific uncertainties may condition decision dialogs, items of contention in decision dialogs typically are not issues of technical or scientific understanding. We believe that scientific or technical education, while a cornerstone for effective participation in a demographic society, is a necessary, but far from sufficient, condition for issue resolution. ○

Notes

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2. Amy K. Wolfe received her Ph.D. in anthropology from the University of Pennsylvania in 1986. She is the leader of the Society-Technology Interactions Group, Environmental Sciences Division, Oak Ridge National Laboratory, Bethel Valley Road, P.O. Box 2008, Oak Ridge, Tennessee (TN) 37831-6038 USA. She may also be contacted by e-mail at wolfeak@ornl.gov and by telephone at 865-574-5944.

3. David J. Bjornstad received his Ph.D. in economics from Syracuse University in 1973. He is part of the Society-Technology Interactions Group, Environmental Sciences Division, Oak Ridge National Laboratory, Bethel Valley Road, P.O. Box 2008, Oak Ridge, Tennessee (TN) Oak Ridge, TN 37831-6036 USA. He may be reached

also at bjornstaddj@ornl.gov by e-mail and at 865-574-5152 by telephone.

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Effective Collective Action: A Consultative Approach to Enhancing Ecologically Responsible Development in Tigray, Ethiopia¹

Peter W. Van Arsdale² and M. Wray Witten³

Abstract

Rather than primarily following a neoclassical economic paradigm regarding growth and development, which links these two processes via capitalist-oriented market dynamics, this analysis is based upon a broader cultural/environmental/developmental paradigm.⁴ It accommodates state-, regional-, and local-level institutional factors and forces, emphasizing the Tigray Development Association (TDA) and its efforts during the 1990s to assist in the redevelopment of Tigray, Ethiopia's northern-most province. Droughts, famines, and the repressive rule of the Mengistu regime through 1991 led to significant deterioration in infrastructure, institutions, agricultural production, and water resources. Upon invitation of Tigrayan representatives, external advisors and consultants (including the two authors) worked through the 1990s to assist the development process. Improving potable water supplies was the original focus. Within a framework of facilitative development, with an emphasis on functional issues of sustainability, this article goes into detail as to the general history of such efforts and the ways in which one Tigrayan village—Beleho—addressed institution-building and organization-building activities that grew out of the original TDA work. Women's roles and capacity-building are discussed.

Introduction

Slogans and catch phrases have come to dominate much of the discourse regarding environmental and development issues. "Sustainable development" is followed—sometimes in the same breath—by such phrases as "environmental sustainability," "ecosystem maintenance," and "diversity preservation." In the socio-economic development field alone, we hear "grassroots development," "facilitative development," and "community development," among other phrases.

In other fields and in other eras, especially within the United States, phrases as wide-ranging as "manifest destiny," "poverty reduction," and "women's rights" have captured the attention of broad segments of the public. By slogan, as it were, some people thus are spurred into action, others into reaction; the availability and content of empirical data (whether lending support to a cause or not) often cannot be easily correlated with the approaches actually taken. Some people become project beneficiaries, others come to research them, and still others choose to promulgate policies affecting the stakeholders involved.

The present article emphasizes the Tigray region of Ethiopia. In so doing, it is our intent to focus on ecological issues using potable water rehabilitation as an example. It is our hope to

avoid inappropriate slogans and catch phrases, but not to avoid those expressions which capture the spirit of human endeavor and the essence of empirically based findings. The central question becomes: How can a community's degraded and extremely refractory physical environment be improved to restore a source of safe drinking water? How can limited resources—the community's local collective action, technical knowledge from abroad, and local governmental and non-governmental organizations—be combined to address the need, promote short- and long-term local collective action, and result in a water supply that is less likely to fail in the future?

One Notion of Sustainability

Sustainability is in danger of becoming a cliché. Yet, during the past 20 years it has become one of the most important terms in the development field. Our review attempts to narrow the scope and to place its application within an arena that includes women's activities in Africa. This follows Scott (1995), who—while not analyzing sustainability—emphasized the critical importance for development studies of re-examining women's roles in Africa.

In terms of our work, one of the most important applications of the term is that by Marja-Liisa Swantz (1995). She was among the first to introduce the notion of "sustainable

livelihoods" with special reference to women (cf. Thomas-Slayter 2003). Complementing—but not citing—the work of Scott (1995), who emphasized the need to reconsider the dynamics of the African household and the roles played by women in development, Swantz stressed that women comprise the overwhelming majority within "economies of the poor." In Africa, systematic surveys of women to assess their contributions to the informal sector have been few; their contributions are significant but poorly understood. Primary motivations other than "pure" economic gain stimulate many women's activities. "Such efforts comprise enterprise and service" (1995: 27). Sharing is essential, but diffused and thus difficult to measure. By contrast, men tend to participate less in those activities that regenerate life and reproduce society, i.e., "in managing households and serving communities" (1995: 28). Swantz believes, and we agree, that a basic issue is to "secure continuity of life through sustained livelihood and to put reproduction (regeneration) of biological, material and social life in its rightful place as the foundation of social economics, production, work and employment" (1995: 29).

Swantz does not see this realm of activity as removed from the broader socio-economic system, but rather, as contributing to it. Villagers must work within the perspectives of the world they know. Scale of effort and scale of impact, studied at the micro level, indeed are small, but they are not insignificant. It is by small actions in a multitude of villages that many aspects of life unmeasured and unquantified by the neo-classical economic model are, or are not, produced.

Understanding this and seeing village problems that have not and, in fact, cannot be solved by villagers acting collectively but without assistance from outside, we are forced to recognize the limits of local collective action and the importance of the institutional environment within which they are acting. Solutions by which the local collective action may be enhanced, without being undermined, require a delicate balance of related efforts larger than the too-small effort of local collective action alone (Grindle and Hilderbrand 1995). Causing such a subtle but effective enhancement of collective action requires understanding the environment

and finding ways to shape the relationships between organizations and institutions in constructive ways that will lead to the desired results on a sustained basis (Cohen 1995).

The Situation in Tigray and the Development of the TDA

Historically, the boundaries and constituent regions of Tigray have changed, in large part depending on the center of Ethiopia's political power. The former home of the Axumite Empire, contemporary Tigray is a land-locked area of about 80,000 km immediately adjacent to Eritrea (which until 1998 offered port access to the Red Sea). Geographically, Tigray is divided into three distinct regions: 1) the eastern escarpment, a tortured land of high population density; 2) the central plateau/highlands region, which is even more heavily populated; and 3) the western lowlands, which are relatively fertile but the least populated due to the prevalence of malaria (Hailu, Wolde-Georgis, and Van Arsdale 1994). The region is home to the Tigrayan and, in lesser numbers, the Raya and Azebo Oromos, the Afar and the Saho peoples. We estimate the population during the late 1990s to have been about 3.5 million.

Virtually all economic activities are at subsistence level and hence easily disrupted by prolonged droughts and/or socio-political instability. Indeed, droughts and destructive wars have characterized the history of Tigray. ... Causally inter-related are successive famines, civil war [including that which led to Mengistu Haile Mariam's defeat in 1991] and certain policies of the Ethiopian government, which all [contributed] to the displacement of thousands of Tigrayans within and outside of Ethiopia (Hailu, Wolde-Georgis, and Van Arsdale 1994:23).

Indeed, the drought and famine of 1985–1986, intertwined with oppressive policies of the Mengistu regime, are now considered to have been among the most ominous in Tigray's history. These natural downturns occurred in a fast growing population and caused desperate efforts to fend off starvation through cutting of trees, overgrazing, and farming marginal lands better left unfarmed. The results included degraded

soils, increased erosion, less groundwater, and the drying up of traditional water supplies such as springs and hand-dug wells. In many villages the problem was so severe that women, whose work carrying water is well-established in Tigray, were forced, for much of the year, to spend many hours each day carrying small amounts of water up steep cliffs from polluted perennial surface streams far below. Thus women wasted their major resources, time and energy, because their families still had insufficient water of poor quality and less of every other type of care.

Due to the civil war, national and regional government programs stopped, and infrastructure development and maintenance were severely disrupted. The people of the villages of Tigray suffered as their physical environment deteriorated.



These four women participated in a focus group, facilitated by the two men at left. In rank order, they expressed their most immediate needs as "new grain grinding facility," "better access to firewood," and "improved village water supply."

But during the war the Tigray Peoples Liberation Front (TPLF) fought environmental degradation as much as it fought the war. The TPLF was a significant part of the Ethiopian Peoples Revolutionary Democratic Front which overcame the Mengistu regime and, after 1991, through national and local elections, came to control the country. During the war TPLF encouraged the creation of local collective action organizations throughout Tigray for the purpose of building hillside terracing to stop soil erosion and rainwater runoff. Thus, at the end of the war, though the villagers had serious water supply problems they also had a functioning soil and water conservation program and a strong belief in the possibility and benefits of collective

action. In addition, the position of women in society had changed enough that their voices, and their concerns about water supplies and the adverse effects on their families, were heard in local government meetings. The re-emergent *baito* (a participatory local council) was one reason that this occurred.

In 1989, near the end of the war, the Tigray Development Association (TDA) was founded in Washington, D.C. as a kind of Ethiopian "humanitarian development organization in exile." The repressive Mengistu regime, civil war, economic upheaval, and drought prevented significant development activities from taking place in Tigray, and a number of overseas Tigrayans (including refugees, students, and those in business) were intent on assisting those still at home. Village water supply problems were one of the key problems presented at the first TDA General Assembly. Yet, while chapters and support groups were established in several U.S. cities, Canada, Europe, the Middle East, and Africa, relatively little beyond internal organization-building could be accomplished by TDA during the ensuing two years.

At about this time, and independently, the Water and Sanitation Consultancy Group (WSCG) was founded in Denver, Colorado. Initiated as a nonprofit organization, its mission was—and is—to share the expertise of members representing the fields of engineering, earth sciences, public health, applied anthropology, water resources law, and other disciplines in helping address the water and sanitation needs of those in developing countries. Some representatives are sent as volunteers to targeted areas, such as Tigray, while others work from their bases in the United States. Water resource development is undertaken only in concert with host country counterparts and with host country fiscal involvement. Several early members of WSCG were Tigrayan American professionals. Even before the end of the war, in late 1990, at the request and funding of TDA, former Tigrayan refugee and current United States citizen Tsegaye Hailu made a reconnaissance trip throughout the Tigray region to investigate the current state of village water supplies.

With the overthrow of the Mengistu regime in May of 1991, and the subsequent establishment of a new Ethiopian government sympa-

thetic to the needs of Tigrayans and other ethnic groups, TDA finally was able to begin to pursue certain development goals. The support of outside specialists, including the two authors, was enlisted, with the second author eventually moving to Tigray in 1992. Village water resource needs initially engaged our attention, in part because of our ongoing work with the Denver-based Water and Sanitation Consultancy Group.

In December 1992, TDA consolidated its expatriate and local associations and established its international headquarters in Mekelle, the capital of Tigray. TDA's move to Mekelle brought its operations close to the thousands of TDA members by then located in villages throughout the Tigray region. As government capacities have grown, the organization's vitality has waned, although these members remain one of the strengths of the organization. During the 1990s the majority of TDA's funds came from Tigrayans in Ethiopia, but the members' presence throughout the region's villages presented a unique opportunity for ecologically responsible development. Equally important, however, many urban members responded well to TDA's telethon fund-raisers and also contributed their professional skills to TDA through its five professional associations. Thus TDA itself, by the design of its founders, came to embody the need to bridge the divides between poor and less poor, rural and urban, uneducated and professional.

At about this time, TDA began organizing symposia both in Tigray and abroad at which the second author and another WSCG member were speakers. The information presented through such events helped define and inform TDA development policy. In 1992, TDA began to sponsor short-term visits by experts who helped design development programs in rural water and sanitation, forestry, education, healthcare, and administration. A total of six WSCG professionals, including the two authors, contributed their time and professional expertise during the 1990s.

By 1993, TDA was able to embark on a much more active role in the development of Tigray. TDA's 1993 budget was \$3 million US, derived entirely from member contributions. During 1993 these funds were targeted to assist the creation of twenty elementary schools, fourteen secondary school labs, ten small dams, ten tree

nurseries, four fuel-wood plantations, one major market road, seven research projects (including one on alternative power), and two pilot projects (including one on building-trades training). Plans also were put in place to build libraries, some of which later came to fruition.

However, due to its limited staff and start-up situation, through 1994 TDA's role in most of these projects remained limited to the collection of donations, the disbursement of funds, some monitoring and evaluation, and the appraising and selecting of projects prepared by others. The latter included projects by government bureaus, TDA foreign branch members, and TDA professional association members. The result of this financially and technologically induced "growth without growth," i.e., without the concomitant evolution of social and institutional structures, were severe problems of underperformance and possible long-term lack of sustainability. In concert with Tigrayan leaders and village-based organizations discussed below, we began discussing capacity-building more aggressively.

With regard to the theme of this article, an equally significant limitation of TDA's effectiveness to assist its constituents was that, though it was formed in part to assist with village water supply problems, TDA had no water-supply project or program. Other agencies did, but their choice of technology and funding limitations made them unable to reach the remote situations where drill rigs could not go and, even if they did arrive, could not find water. Even a hand-dug well program was unsuccessful in these locations. The second author, having worked initially with each of these agencies, was well aware of these limitations (Witten 1990).

A Brief History of Development

Since 1992, TDA gradually has sought to expand its expertise in development. In our roles as facilitators, in attempting to tackle the joint issues of institution-building and water resource improvement in Tigray, we reviewed early on the post-World War II history of development approaches (Van Arsdale 1993). While not detailed here, in summary it can be noted that programs that have worked most effectively include capacity-building components, although they rarely have been labeled as such. Program

ownership/empowerment, and—in the broadest sense—sustainability, are tied directly to this. Women play active roles. Institutional development is key. Economic growth by itself does not equate with sustainability nor do structural adjustment and infrastructural modernization.

Attention to grassroots schemes gradually allowed non-governmental organizations (NGOs) to gain greater footholds, filling the unprofitable and difficult-to-perform-in gap between the private and public sectors. This certainly was the case in much of Africa. Localized development efforts, while less spectacular and newsworthy, could be demonstrated to be making impacts on village-based lives. Sustainable livelihoods, if not immediately achievable, at least could be envisioned. Through the 1970s and into the 1980s, socio-economic development programs came to be emphasized by many of these NGOs. The theoretical perspective came to be based on understandings of the political economy (Van Arsdale 1975) and dependency (Nash 1981). While the cultural, environmental, and developmental elements of the ecological paradigm were well understood separately, most NGOs had not yet fully appreciated nor implemented them in integrated form. In Ethiopia, however, by the end of the war in 1991 the TPLF had arrived at something very much like the ecological paradigm, though by a vastly different route, making Tigray a fertile arena for development efforts.

Tying these approaches together, at least for our work in Tigray, has been the concept of facilitative development. This concept became important to some applied social scientists during the 1970s, 1980s, and 1990s as well. As outlined early on by Lang (1973), facilitative development is a form of non-directive development whereby external agents of change work with internal agents of change as counterparts to create opportunities. The outsiders do not dictate what will be done, nor bring in pre-established project plans, but they may take a part in securing external sources of funding. Conceptual leadership is provided by those indigenous to the area.

The Tigray Rural Water Supply Development Program

WSCG and TDA worked in partnership in

development endeavors during the early- to mid-1990s. However, WSCG was never registered as an NGO in Ethiopia, operating instead solely through TDA. WSCG continues to send teams of consultants for specific jobs, such as determining the causes of Axum's city water quality problems. Separately, and to a limited extent together, they functioned as NGOs—giving some idea of the diverse types of organizations that may be found within that designation in Africa (Okumu 2003).

Overall, WSCG's contribution to the development of the rural water sector of Tigray has been significant, though not well known outside the Tigrayan political leadership and some donors. The door was opened to these activities by Tsegaye Hailu, mentioned earlier, a Tigrayan hydrogeologist based in Denver, who was both an early TDA member and a WSCG founder. His reconnaissance work in 1990 laid the basis for WSCG's initial proposal for the "framework" Tigray Rural Water Supply Development Program. This contribution is hereinafter referred to as the Framework (Water and Sanitation Consultancy Group 1991). The second author, editor of the Framework, investigated the institutional environment in Ethiopia a month after the end of the war in 1991 and succeeded in enticing the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF) to begin funding the first technology in the program, airlifting drilling rigs into Tigray and supporting their operation. UNICEF then hired Tsegaye Hailu to set up the borehole technology element of the program. Building on his reconnaissance work and his own earlier pioneering geologic mapping in Tigray in 1968, he spent seven months in 1991 and 1992 conducting initial field investigations that laid the groundwork for village water projects. The second author moved to Tigray four months after Tsegaye Hailu's return to the United States.

Although never funded as a single program, the Framework has been the basis for UNICEF's and several other donors' partial support. As of 2000, all elements had been put in practice: drilled and hand-dug wells, spring developments, surface dams, and, finally, the TDA element of sub-surface water storage.

The TDA element was the last to be undertaken, perhaps because it was both the most

innovative and the most difficult organizationally. Simply put, the Framework recognized that storing drinking water in the ground is frequently less costly and, at the same time, less susceptible to pollution, than other technologies. In addition, there are many situations where no other technology will work because there is no surface or groundwater source within an economical distance so that the only option is to restore the traditional groundwater system. Both the general and a more specific method of storing rainwater underground were described in the Framework.

In practice, as later research showed, the specific method was unsuccessful because in many areas of Tigray the underlying rock formations are fractured and the storage systems leak. How groundwater storage might be enhanced was not well understood, appeared to require massive amounts of labor that exceeded a village's collective action capabilities, and might well be a risky investment. Consequently, the more traditional elements of the Framework were undertaken first by government agencies for drilled wells and NGOs for hand-dug wells and springs development, both suitable for small community undertakings with some specially trained technical assistance. But the sub-surface element languished, even though in a few areas it was known to be the only feasible technology.

In these areas, environmental degradation of surface soil deposits, due to deforestation, overgrazing, and inappropriate farming, had caused severe erosion of the surface deposits that, at some former time, had supported springs and traditional hand-dug wells of great age. The relation between the deposits and the point of

access varies, but in many cases rain falling in a small basin had naturally slowed down, infiltrated into storage in the soils, and then slowly percolated to the surface at a connected spring or shallow well. In many sites, this ground-water flow provided a year-round source of clean water. After the surface soils were eroded and degraded, however, they no longer held water, and the time period after the rainy season during which the spring flowed or the well produced decreased and, in many cases, ceased. This meant that

women sought water from the only alternative source: polluted lowland perennial surface streams.

Over the course of several WSCG consultancies in Tigray, we found evidence that villages had attempted to address these situations using their soil and water conservation work. At the request of the people in one area, the community of Beleho, TDA, with the assistance of the authors, investigated the water situation. The investigation used participatory methods of research and project design, which the first author taught to the TDA staff in class and field exercises and implemented through dia-

logue with various members of the community over six continuous days.

The Case of Beleho, Phase I

Beleho is situated high on a plateau and has a population of approximately 1,200 people. Its water supply had been good some thirty years before but had deteriorated. The area where rainfall recharges the water stored in the ground is small, extending not more than one kilometer over a slightly oblong "bowl," tipped down with a basalt lip at the low end where water runs out and is underlain by solid basalt from which the



PETER VAN ARSDALE

These two women daily hike a three-mile round trip, carrying water from the stream below to the village of Beleho on the mesa above. When full, a water jug can weigh 40 pounds.

soils have been highly eroded. At the time of the investigation, the springs flowed for a short time after the rains but dried up long before the next rains. During the dry period, women, children with herd animals, and in many cases men, were forced to walk some five kilometers to the river fetch water. Because of the distance to the water, men were reportedly finding it difficult to convince women from other villages to marry them.

The investigation identified a series of community efforts spanning some 30 years designed to solve the water supply problem (Wolde-Georgis 1993). The community clearly understood the causes of the problem and understood how the problem might be solved. Some 20 years before, one well-to-do man led and worked with several women to build a stone wall at a natural dam site, with the intention of catching rain runoff, slowing it down enough so that it would drop its sediment load and fill the space behind the wall, thus reestablishing the "soil sponge" that misuse had eroded. That first effort had some positive effect and confirmed the people's assessment of the problem, but it was too small an intervention at the basin. Small groups of men conducted several other modest efforts, but these were even less successful. Degradation continued. These insufficient interventions confirmed that working together did not provide the necessary solution. As one man related the outcome:

We could not work together. We just fought all the time about who was working and who was not. The work got nowhere, and there was so much to do.

Subsequently, shortly after the war, representatives to the community meeting decided that they had learned so much from their soil and water conservation program, built up during the war, that they would simply move that system to the water-supply basin. They would do the work needed, then move it back to the area they had undertaken to terrace in agreement with the local government leaders. Asked what the importance of the program was, one person replied:

The teams of workers, and the trained terrace designers gave us a plan. But the most important was the standard of a day's

work. Having that allowed us to work together without fighting.

This work is a prime example of the strong effect of simple time-management tools introduced by the TPLF during the war. The community never told the local government and did not try to get recognition for the terraces built above the dried-up springs. They simply did the work and expressed pleasure with being able to do it on their own.

Unfortunately, the project was not well designed. The design used was that for small terraces for soil conservation. Although it stopped degradation in the upper part of the basin, it was insufficient to store enough water to restore the springs to their original state. The people recognized this; they could see the erosion continuing in the lower two-thirds of the basin that comprised the majority of the catchment and groundwater storage area.

It was at this juncture that the community asked for help. The people knew that bigger check-dams were needed, but they also knew the designs for terraces were not strong enough for a dam. Unfortunately, although this technology is ancient and has been used over much of the world (usually through check-dams, sand storage dams or sand recharge dams, depending on design and use), neither TDA or WSCG had personnel skilled in this ancient technology.

TDA's report noted the importance of the Soil and Water Conservation Program management tools that enabled the community to work together voluntarily and effectively. A proposal was made to the regional government to consider incorporating recharge structures into the program. A hypothetical positive answer followed, hypothetical because the technology had to be demonstrated first.

Understanding their role in this collaborative effort, WSCG professionals performed a literature review and provided copies of all references to the TDA library. With the literature "under their belts," Jim Horner, a dam safety engineer and WSCG president, and Mark Palumbo, a hydrologist, visited Tigray in 1994. Together with new TDA water project staff and the second author, they investigated other areas in Tigray where similar dry-laid stone check-dams had been

constructed, paying special attention to how the sediment had accumulated and how the dams had held up.

Based on this work, WSCG and TDA produced a manual for locating, designing, and constructing such dams in conjunction with traditional springs and wells that had in the past provided a good water supply but that had, due to changes in the surface topology, deteriorated. This came to be known as the TDA Recharge Project and incorporated two stages. The first would test the site with a check-dam treatment. If that worked, and the traditional spring or well was revitalized, then the spring or well would be improved and protected from pollution with a spring box or well cap and hand-pump. WSC consultants provided basic training to TDA staff.

However, this process took time and these developments spanned a very critical transition period after the war during which time the socio-economic environment changed. The people were diverted from their war-time and marginally "post-wartime highs" of voluntary community collective action. Increasing opportunities for paid labor in public works construction programs, designed to build needed infrastructure such as roads and larger dams, in which TDA was a major investor, meant that fewer and fewer person-days of free labor were available for the community's self-help collective action projects. When TDA staff met regularly with the community, they continued their demands for technical designs that they could implement themselves and assured TDA that the community would do the work. The community may not have understood the scope of the work needed to build the larger check-dams as they had never built anything like these structures. Additionally, technicians and other professionals may not have provided information in a form that the rural farmers could understand. Probably for these reasons, when the rural water supply specialist finally delivered tools and cement, the community was unable to organize sufficient collective action. Only a small amount of the work was accomplished before the rains began and agricultural activities took over.

Beleho and Beyond, Phase II

The community of Beleho is small. Without

support from the local government or some other institution or entity larger than itself, it is unable to increase the size of its collective action pool. Thus the situation required a new institutional analysis of the development environment to determine how the project could be implemented.

A plan was forged by which a community anywhere in the region could obtain TDA consulting advice on recharge systems, built upon the praise received for the Soil and Water Conservation Program, reported in the earlier document, and extensive discussion between TDA and local government at three levels. It also assessed the inadequacies of the private sector to deliver the needed inputs at reasonable costs. If a TDA expert and community members believed a design was feasible, the design could be made, the collective action needed to actualize could be estimated, and the community could take the design to the local district government. Through this democratic process, the community could advocate for a public works project within the district. Once selected, the district could budget from among its resources, including cash grants from more tax-rich levels of government, carefully targeted food-for-work food aid, and donor funding, some from TDA. TDA then could provide technical expertise, on-site project management, and education in maintenance in addition to water, sanitation, and hygiene education by TDA-trained community health workers (CHWs).

By late 1997, the program had become established institutionally, a process that illustrates the points we wish to demonstrate regarding institution-building. To succeed, the institution had to be fully integrated with local governments, the government water supply agency, and the government agricultural agency. These entities assisted with local organizing, site selection, and public works funding. The water resource technology appeared to work in many, if not all, of the difficult cases and was tested at an additional 12 sites during 1996–1997, thus strengthening the site selection methodology. The TDA field staff increased in number and skill. Several additional sites entered the second phase of the TDA program with well and spring development.

WSCG's anthropological, institutional,

and engineering assistance and its seed funds contributed directly to the development of this program. It became the last piece of the comprehensive, although underfunded, Framework of the rural water supply development program. Although subsequent, post-1997 political instability, including war with Eritrea, led to institutional problems, a successful model had been established.

Capacity Building: Strategies

We believe that what Bissell (1988) early on called "capacity enhancement" and what Paul (1987) early on called "capacity building" is central to what success we have been able to achieve in Tigray and will be central to the notion of sustainable development in the 21st century.

Capacity building, as we define it, is the process by which internal and external agents of change work in partnership to increase the socio-economic and managerial capabilities of intended project or program beneficiaries. Important indicators of capacity include ability to invest financially in local initiatives, ability to manage local projects, ability to create new economic opportunities, and ability to build upon village-based institutions. We believe that capacity is built upon a foundation of ownership with psychological investment as reflected in the decision to invest one's own resources.

Thus, alongside WSCG's sector-specific capacity building effort with TDA, the second author assisted TDA to develop effective programs in health, education, training, and economic development. Different development strategies and management techniques were developed for different efforts. Overall consolidation, reorganization, and expansions were carried out. But the primary actors have been the members, directors and staff of TDA. WSCG's assistance followed the facilitative model outlined above: suggesting alternative ways to do things and emphasizing horizontal connections among parts of TDA and among TDA and the organizations and institutions in its environment. All major decisions and undertakings were made by TDA and the communities in need.

On the short side of the collaborative effort,

WSCG never has been able to contribute much financial support to the Ethiopian program, beyond funds needed to support WSCG visiting consultants. Except for its negative effect on WSCG's efforts to make a greater name for itself, this situation has been unfortunate, but not critical. Peaking at about 60 percent of its estimated 1996 annual revenue of \$10 million US, TDA succeeded in attracting contributions from members and supporters in Ethiopia, from members abroad, and from major donors. TDA, for example, became a direct contractor with USAID. It had earned a reputation as being a well-managed, efficiently controlled, and fiscally effective organization.

WSCG's limited capacity as a volunteer association of primarily United States-based professionals has also been a constraint. During the late 1990s and early 2000s, WSCG was unable to respond to some requests for overseas consulting services in designing and building small earth-filled irrigation dams. That WSCG does not seek consulting fees, working primarily through volunteers, has both upsides and downsides.

In Tigray, the collaborative capacity building effort during the early 1990s led to a multiplicity of TDA development initiatives beyond the water program, including the following:

- Constructing schools and clinics, TDA coordinated with the regional, district, and community levels of local government, partnered directly with the community/village (which must contribute a share), and supplied as needed a foreman and skilled workers.
- Improving the quality and gender equity of education, TDA deployed Development Agents ("DAs", all Teacher Training Institute graduates) to work with communities, with the support of USAID. The community members, assisted by the DA, made strategic plans, applied for grants, and implemented their own projects to improve the education of their children.
- Enhancing the management side of capacity building, TDA began a consulting service to make local professionals available directly to communities at reasonable costs until the private sector could provide the same services.

• TDA's five professional associations supplemented the skills of TDA's staff.

Under the general umbrella of institution-building and capacity-building, our approach came to emphasize the following components, some of which are still only partially realized:

- Regional development, at the level of the province and below, with particular attention to those at the district and community levels;
- Villager "psychological investment" and project ownership, with (as it pertains to water resources) careful attention being paid to share distribution systems;
- Local mechanisms for dispute resolution, tied to both in-depth understandings of local customs and national laws regarding natural resources;
- Training, with a strong component on "train-the-trainers" and (as it pertains to water resources) skills aimed at operation, maintenance, and repair;
- Projects leading to programs, couched within an ecological paradigm, which avoid the pitfalls of pilot and demonstration projects;
- Reliance on the *baito* (a participatory, local council of representatives that helps decide both social and political activities), to include significant co-involvement of potential beneficiaries—particularly women—in the planning, implementation, and evaluation processes;
- Sensitivity to technologies and strategies which themselves are sensitive to environmental enhancement and the avoidance of environmental degradation;
- Restudy of similar, previous programs and projects in Ethiopia and elsewhere to determine what worked and what did not work. Publications and seminars of the Consortium for Sustainable Village-Based Development, headquartered in Colorado, have enabled much of this to occur (Consortium for Sustainable Village-Based Development 1997).

One strategy WSCG continues to promote involves a package of efforts that are evolving toward market oriented, "consultative development." One of TDA's development models embodies this strategy. The package ideally provides technical services to community-based members in order to stimulate completely self-reliant groups undertaking locally controlled

and financed development. Today in Tigray, village problem-solving capacities remain weak in the areas of problem quantification and analysis, the understanding of financing methods, and the forging of necessary linkages with available private- and public-sector technological, material, and financial resources. If fully applied, we believe that many community-based TDA members would undertake singular- or group-based development activities, applying their own resources, if they were able to engage such problem-solving skills. We proposed that TDA's development officers, hired and primarily responsible for implementing the community-based education project, might make these skills available on a consulting basis, and at the same time provide training in these techniques in order to facilitate more widespread community-based development. This mode of operation falls at the high end of what we would term the "member participation continuum." It has yet to be fully implemented.

The Issue of Where to "Base" Sustainable Development

An important topic that has received less attention than required, at least in the general development literature, concerns where sustainable development activities should be "based." This is not a facilities or infrastructural question, in the strictest sense, but rather a question of concept. Is sustainable development to be "based in" a community, a village, a zone or region, a development agency, a local institution? Is it to cross a wide spectrum?

One relatively early approach focused on what were originally described as "development zones," a more recent spin-off being "enterprise zones." Most recently, the concept of "zone of peace" has been introduced (Ramos-Horta 2005). To the degree to which influential members of "zones" or "communities" can be empowered, and in turn can share their skills, localized successes can be achieved. To the degree to which "zones" or "communities" come simply to be treated as "units" to be developed, failures likely will be seen.

To be distinguished from community development historically was "village development" (Critchfield 1979). Unlike the community, which could be a single village but in many instances

was not, this approach focused on the village per se. Certain projects, especially those involving careful assessment of beneficiary-identified needs, did succeed at the village level. However, when "the village as a unit" became the primary subject of development activities, successes were rare.

Still other approaches, not necessarily mutually exclusive from those mentioned above, have framed development in terms of the impetus of external vs. internal agents of change. For example, the Global Poverty Reduction Act, devised using input from a wide variety of sources during the 1980s, focused on bilateral foreign aid offered by the United States. Its intent was to make the recipients of such aid more accountable and the products of such aid more measurable. In consultation with overseas leaders, as well as representatives of entities such as rural women's groups, one measurable target was the under-age-five child mortality rate, which ideally is to be brought below 70 per 1,000 live births by the year 2000.

Within what we have termed the external versus internal change agent genre are those approaches which are agency-based, or at least agency-driven. Many of those funded by USAID fall within the external category. The irrigation redevelopment project which the first author worked on in Guyana as early as 1980 was of this type, as were some of those whose agency representatives he interviewed in post-war Bosnia in the late 1990s. During this same period several authors reiterated that for development to succeed many parts of the institutional environment must function in concert (Cohen 1995; Grindle and Hilderbrand 1995).

Judging from our work in Tigray, it is our belief that sustainable development must be

"based" at several levels simultaneously and must integrate the effective actions of the public, private, and nonprofit sectors. The sectoral lines are blurred. The levels are conceptual, and not merely geographic or infrastructural entities, and involve local, district, and regional councils, as well as women's committees. Because of what we would term its "vertical and horizontal penetration" and because of lessons learned from working together with WSCG, TDA was able to accomplish this better than an external NGO alone, better than the private sector alone, and better than the government alone. The notion

of simultaneity in the context of community water management is independently supported by the findings of a joint team representing the Society for Applied Anthropology and the Environmental Protection Agency (*Society for Applied Anthropology* 2001).

Is it possible to provide a protocol or develop a visual portrayal or graphic of what pieces must work together and what will hold them together? Is a theory per se possible? We think the answer is "not yet." We hope to eventually refine our understanding, but at this time what we believe is needed is an improved operational

definition. The process entails an assessment of the environment as a system, identifying key institutions and organizations within it, and analyzing why they are not working effectively together. Further ethnographically based understandings of what constitute the correct domains for ecologically responsive development are needed. We think the water supply examples demonstrate this process. It is a learning process, though not the highly structured and staged one originally proposed by David Korten in his clas-



PETER VAN ARSDALE

The two authors met this priest while hiking near the Tigrayan capital of Mekelle. He blessed them, while warning them not to step off the main path, since land mines still were buried nearby.

sic study (1980). It must be a continuous process because the environment is changing continuously and because errors occur both randomly and systematically. We think it is similar to the process by which effective private corporate enterprises and conscientious public enterprises assess their constituents' demands and seek the most efficient methods of satisfying them, except more fully informed by the values enumerated above.

Thus, where private enterprise is able and willing, it is likely to be the most responsive and economically efficient. Where government is able and willing it may be the most equitable and best able to deal with the "free-rider" problems associated with public goods. Where neither of these types of actors is willing or able, a special organization from a complementary sector may fill the gap until profitability, sustainability, equity, or another value comes to determine that the program should be handed over. Almost always collaboration is necessary to include the key elements necessary for success. Understanding the elements and how they may be encouraged to work together through incentives, rules, accountability, and responsiveness is the main function of the process.

The Issue of Unsung Variables: Time and Freedom

Capacity-building indeed is reliant on the factors outlined above. But there are two more factors that are essential, time and freedom. These are difficult to conceptualize in the context of sustainable development, and almost impossible to measure. Even as we present them here, we run the risk of being accused of being "too idealistic" or "too cosmic."

Capacity-building does not run by a clock. It is not governed by the schedules imposed by government agencies, NGOs, nor development contracts. It also is not dictated time-wise by project beneficiaries themselves. Capacity-building occurs in fluid fashion. For this reason, we are recommending that the projects we work with in one sense be open-ended. This does not mean abandoning planning and schedules; it means being sensitive to the fact that learning and building relationships often does not occur on schedule. When it does not, pushing ahead and ignoring the problem is not usually benefi-

cial. In terms of the diffusion of training opportunities from villagers trained by outsiders to those eventually trained by insiders, this is particularly true. This "second-order training effect" is contingent upon those initially trained having the time to internalize the value of the process, and to develop the motivation necessary to impart what they have learned to others. Time also is necessary so that those not interested or capable can select themselves out.

Freedom is essential to development in many ways, of course, but we would like to address one dimension that easily overlooked: dispute resolution. Free people eventually design mechanisms to settle disputes. Usually these mechanisms involve some form of enforceable laws or other local systems of rules, and thus the government serves as regulator, forum creator, or facilitator, but not lead actor. In order to resolve disputes the rights of each party must be defined. When people's rights are well defined, certainty is enhanced and perceived risk is reduced. Certainty is one of the main criteria for investment, a key indicator of capacity. Relating this to water, as water user associations are created and initial disputes over small amounts of water are resolved, the rights of association members are defined. Information spreads, with others coming to feel more confident in joining, and eventually in making the investments necessary to harvest more and more costly water, such as that impounded by dams. Collective action of all types is similar. The people of Beheho reminded us that they needed work standards before they could work together: A small step in terms of rules but an important management tool.

Conclusions

The applied fieldwork that we conducted in Tigray in conjunction with our Ethiopian colleagues during the 1990s leads to several important, and quite simple, conclusions regarding environmental preservation and conservation.

Environmental preservation and conservation indeed can succeed within rural areas dominated by "the poor." In concert with governmental support, locally designed and implemented conservation efforts will work when conjoined with other socio-economic initiatives. In Tigray soil and water conservation activities, in concert with

terracing, served as springboards upon which other development initiatives could be started. A "piggy-backing" of efforts took place. Furthermore, NGOs have an important role to play in education and facilitation, catalyzing pieces of the puzzle into effective cooperative action. The process of facilitative development depends on this. Recent research by Petros (2005) indicates that an increase of over 500% occurred in the number of registered NGOs in Ethiopia during the late 1990s and early 2000s, with over 250 now operative. It is estimated that a higher percentage are being run internally—rather than by external agents—than ever before. It also is estimated that a higher percentage are focusing on sustainable development—rather than temporary relief—than ever before.

In terms of communication strategies, we have that information is transferred more easily horizontally, that is, among peer agencies, programs, and personnel, than vertically as among different levels of a hierarchy. However, the "elite" must not be bypassed communication-wise, even if the program is being developed "from the grassroots up." We are concerned about changes currently underway in central Ethiopian administrative practices that do not bode well for the country as a whole. If elites can be made effective in their present leadership roles, informed by our participatory values, then we will work with them to that end.

Capacity-building is essential to institution-building, and that same institution-building is essential to sustainable development. While remaining elusive to precise measurement, as Harrington (1992) originally emphasized, sustainability and capacity are dependent upon the existence and cultivation of a well-managed resource network. Human resource and fiscal resource development, while essential, cannot be conducted at the exclusion of network development (Van Arsdale 1985). The network must be structured so that mechanisms for dispute resolution can evolve. It must be structured so that women have substantive, ongoing roles and so that their contributions to the maintenance of sustainable livelihoods are supported. It also must be structured so that useful written products, such as field manuals, can be incorporated. That seven U.S.-based universities have agreed to work with Mekelle University of Tigray in devel-

opment and capacity-building activities, beginning in 2005, suggests that these principles are now at work within one increasingly important Ethiopian educational institution.

The development approach being used in Tigray is still evolving. Since the split in the TPLF, and the associated reform movement, tremendous effort by many people and institutions is once again going into building effective networks. We are, therefore, only able to address or critique certain of the intended outcomes. Important elements being tried derive from earlier Integrated Rural Development and Counterpart Development models, as well as the concept of facilitative development (discussed above). While a formal theory encompassing these is not in place, the future development of an empirically driven "grounded theory" might be possible.

The TDA program outlined in this article might serve as a model. The ecological paradigm is thus subsumed, although often not explicitly discussed by villagers. Bringing the local members into the decision-making process fosters participatory democracy, one of TDA's principles and a common element in successful development efforts. Encouraging TDA members to undertake their own local development activities stimulates a struggle as important as the one by which the feudal and centralized regimes of the Ethiopian past have been overthrown. The current struggle, equally revolutionary and equally difficult, is this time aimed against paternalism and dependency. To the degree to which Ethiopian expatriates and refugees can be reincorporated back into this struggle, with their expertise being tapped, gains also will be realized. Current local leaders understand these and other culturally embedded concepts beyond our knowledge. Making such concepts work on the ground, as the political leaders know only too well, takes a great deal of ingenuity, perseverance, and luck. Time also is essential, but for fragile democracies in poor countries this usually is not in great supply. Getting it right early affords a premium. New strategies for getting the right pieces lined up efficiently with the right "glue" and "lubricant" are valuable. ○

Notes

1. Portions of this article, now updated, are based extensively upon two earlier papers, one by M. Wray Witten and Peter W. Van Arsdale (1993) and the other by Tsegaye Hailu, Tsegay Wolde-Georgis, and Peter W. Van Arsdale (1994).

2. Peter W. Van Arsdale's Ph.D. was awarded in 1975 by the Department of Anthropology of the University of Colorado at Boulder. Through early 1996 he served as Denver, Colorado, USA liaison for Tigray for the Water and Sanitation Consultancy Group (WSCG). He is a senior lecturer in the Graduate School of International Studies at the University of Denver, having retired in 2003 as the director of program evaluation at the Colorado Mental Health Institute at Fort Logan, Denver, Colorado. He is trained as an applied cultural and medical anthropologist and can be reached at the University of Denver, Graduate School of International Studies, Cherrington Hall, Room 102-G, Denver, Colorado, 80208 USA. His telephone number is 303-871-3281 and his e-mail is pvanarsd@du.edu.

3. M. Wray Witten's J.D. (Juris Doctor) degree was awarded by the School of Law of the University of Colorado at Boulder in 1979. He also holds an M.P.A. degree that was awarded by the Graduate School of Public Affairs of the University of Colorado at Denver in 1991. Through 1997 he served as Tigray-based representative for the Water and Sanitation Consultancy Group of Denver, Colorado, USA (WSCG). He also served as consultant to the Tigray Development Association (TDA) and, subsequently, participated in the development of Mekelle University while working in Ethiopia. He is a former visiting lecturer at Princeton University and start-up dean of the Mekelle University Faculty of Law and is trained as a water resource development attorney and public administration educator. He can be reached at his home office, 28 Thomson Street, Aberdeen AB25 2QQ, Scotland, United Kingdom. His telephone number is [0044](0)1224-658846 and his e-mail is wrayw2@yahoo.com.

4. As Christoph Rahbany (1996:1-2) correctly points out in his critique, neoclassical economic

thought accommodates a complete and internally coherent version of sustainable development theory.

[Neoclassical theory] asserts that development occurs simultaneously with economic growth . . . It is fundamental to this capitalist conception that development requires massive infrastructure improvements to provide maximum access to markets. Such infrastructure projects have traditionally included hydroelectric dams, conventional electrification projects. . . . As countries are provided the capital to industrialize à la the Post Industrial West, their take-off into the development fold is inevitable.

Our disagreement with the neoclassical paradigm, however, does not say that the economic costs of environmental change should not be addressed; indeed they must (Smil 1996). A recent incisive critique of the neoclassical approach has been provided by Thomas-Slayter (2003).

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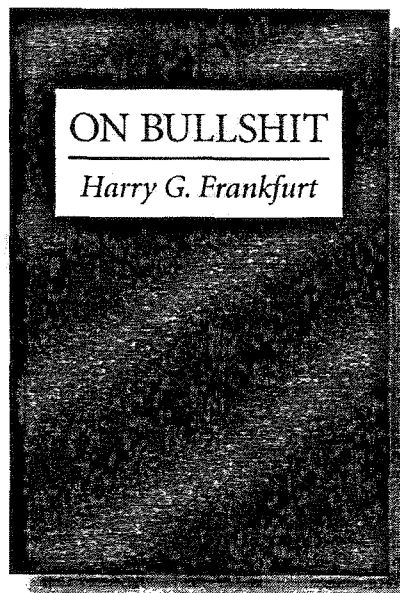
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On Bullshit

By Harry G. Frankfurt



A multi-review treatment by

Lawrence F. Van Horn

Pennie L. Magee

Barbara L. Scott

On Bullshit¹

By Harry G. Frankfurt²

Introduced and Reviewed by Lawrence F. Van Horn³

Harry Frankfurt never responded to my e-mail inviting him to participate in a multi-review treatment of his book *On Bullshit*. So my fellow reviewers and I decided to inaugurate a review-essay section in *The Applied Anthropologist* to appear from time to time. The idea is not only to indicate and evaluate the contents of a book, but also to express opinions freely about its anthropological context.

The anthropologist Carleton Coon (1904–1981) remarks that

in the academic world ... people will express much more awe and admiration for something complicated which they do not quite understand than for something simple and clear (Coon 1980:12).

Although Coon does not use the term *bullshit*, he certainly points to it as that which academics seemingly admire. We learn from Harry Frankfurt that traits of bullshit include slovenly craftsmanship (p. 23), lack of care in word choices (p. 31), and misrepresentation of thoughts and ideas (p. 12) to the extent that the person committing bullshit “misrepresents whatever he [or she] is talking about” (p. 13). Bullshit falls short of lying (p. 27) but “does not contribute to the purpose it purports to serve” (p. 43). Bullshit is pleonastic (p. 6) in that it is redundant, with more words being used than needed to express ideas.

Bullshit reflects an “indifference to how things really are,” which Harry Frankfurt regards as “the essence of bullshit” (p.34). Frankfurt considers committing bullshit to be worse than lying because to lie one must have an idea of what is true and then deviate from it (p. 46). Bullshit, “unconstrained by a concern with truth” (p. 38), considers not what is true, but only what is necessary to put forth the person’s “enterprise” (p.54) and “purpose” (p. 56) by way of self-promotion. To Frankfurt, “bullshit is a greater enemy of the truth than lies are” (p. 61). Part of “the essence of bullshit is not that it is false but that it is *phony* (p.47, italics Frankfurt’s).

The prime motivation for bullshit appears to be self-promotion for self-aggrandizement. And that may have something to do with Frankfurt’s observation that “one of the most salient features of our culture is that there is so much bullshit” (p. 1). Why is American culture so full of bullshit? Does it relate to what David Callahan calls *The Cheating Culture* in his book of that title, which is subtitled *Why More Americans Are Doing Wrong to Get Ahead* (2004)? We can only raise the question here. But when you are subjected to bullshit, do you not feel cheated? The writer of bullshit cares not to think logically and to speak straightforwardly to promote, in our case for the benefit of all concerned, simple and clear anthropology.

Frankfurt speaks fleetingly of *bull sessions* versus *hen sessions* (pp. 34–35). The latter refer to a “particular kind of informal conversation among females” that by implication are for real and are serious (pp. 35–36). The former

is in a certain respect not “for real” ... [because] the participants try out various thoughts and attitudes in order to see how it feels to hear themselves saying such things and in order to discover how others respond. ... [And] it is understood by everyone in a bull session that the statements people make do not necessarily reveal what they really believe” (pp. 35–36).

While hen sessions appear to be gender specific, according to Frankfurt, both men and women do enter into bull sessions. And the bullshit that he analyzes is of both genders. The question of whether men and women might bullshit differently is not raised. Works such as those of John Gray (1992) and Deborah Tannen (1990, 1993a,b, 1994, 2004), for example, indicate that there are gender differences in communication patterns. Again we can only raise the question of possible gender differences in bullshit. Is there a difference between *bullshit*, generated by men, and *cowshit*, generated by women? Or is it all *bullshit*? Either way, anthropology would be better served without it. ○

Notes

1. Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 2005. 67 pages, no chapters, no index, no illustrations, footnotes including bibliographic footnotes, about the author. Cloth, \$9.95 U.S.

2. Harry G. Frankfurt obtained his Ph.D. in philosophy in 1954 from The Johns Hopkins University. He is a moral philosopher and a professor of philosophy emeritus at Princeton. He may be contacted through the Department of Philosophy, Princeton University, Princeton, New Jersey (NJ) 08544 USA. His e-mail address is fraharg@princeton.edu, and his telephone number is 609-497-6409.

3. Lawrence F. Van Horn's 1977 Ph.D. in anthropology is from the Graduate Center of The City University of New York. He is a cultural resource specialist in the National Park Service and may be reached at the Planning Division, Denver Service Center, National Park Service, U.S. Department of the Interior, 12795 West Alameda Parkway, Denver, Colorado (CO) 80225-0287 USA by U.S. mail, at 303-969-2255 by telephone, and at larry_van_horn@nps.gov by e-mail.

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On Bullshit¹

By Harry G. Frankfurt²

Reviewed by Pennie L. Magee³

There is a deliciously guilty pleasure in owning this book. Small in size (4 inches by 6 inches) and short in length (67 little pages), it fits nicely inside a purse or a briefcase. Democratically priced at \$9.95 and published in cloth, it offers one the choice of a red cover or black or beige ones. Together, these features directly affect how one feels about toting a serious book with the pungent title of *On Bullshit*.

It looks harmless, if charmingly old-fashioned, and one can quickly slip it under a stack of papers if caught unawares. How many times we have all left a public event, watched a speech on television, or sat through a workshop, and muttered savagely under our breath, "that was total bullshit"? Yet, most of us are reluctant to be seen actually carrying a book that has the word *bullshit* printed proudly on its cover. But we as anthropologists have much to gain by reading this book.

Harry Frankfurt argues that American culture is full of bullshit. Perhaps because bullshit is ubiquitous, we have no theory of bullshit, no way to define what it is, no reason why it exists, or explanation about what its function is. He sets out to provide a framework for a theory. In true philosopher's fashion, Frankfurt walks the reader through various arguments in logic to arrive at what truly constitutes bullshit. By way of illustration, Frankfurt offers us a recounting of an incident between the philosopher Ludwig Wittgenstein (1889–1951) and a friend, Fania Pascal. Wittgenstein seems to have had a particularly well-honed sensibility regarding what he considered to be bullshit. Pascal writes, "I had my tonsils out and was in the Evelyn Nursing Home feeling sorry for myself. Wittgenstein called. I croaked: 'I feel just like a dog that has been run over.' He was disgusted: 'You don't know what a dog that has been run over feels like'" (p. 24).

Frankfurt goes on to tease out the various subtleties of what Wittgenstein meant by his remark. He concludes that Wittgenstein objected to Pascal's metaphor because

her statement is grounded neither in a belief that it is true nor, as a lie must be, in a belief

that is not true. *It is just this lack of connection to a concern with truth—this indifference to how things really are—that I regard as of the essence of bullshit* (pp. 33–34, italics mine).

Frankfurt elaborates on the nature of bullshit this way:

Since bullshit need not be false, it differs from lies in its misrepresentational intent. The bullshitter may not deceive us, or even intend to do so, either about the facts or about what he takes the facts to be. What he does necessarily attempt to deceive us about is his enterprise. *His only indispensably distinct characteristic is that in a certain way he misrepresents what he is up to*" (p. 54, italics mine).

But why should we care about bullshit? For surely it is insignificant compared to lying. Frankfurt disagrees. Here is how he sees liars, truth-tellers, and bullshitters:

Someone who lies and someone who tells the truth are playing on opposite sides, so to speak, in the same game. Each responds to the facts as he understands them, although the response of the one is guided by the authority of the truth, while the response of the other defies that authority and refuses to meet its demands. The bullshitter ignores these demands altogether. He does not reject the authority of the truth, as the liar does, and oppose himself to it. He pays no attention to it at all. By virtue of this, bullshit is a greater enemy of the truth than lies are (pp. 60–61).

Thus Frankfurt views bullshit as far from harmless. If we accept his argument, then we would each do well to examine our own tendencies to bullshit. Using Frankfurt's definition of bullshit, what sort of examples can we find in our work as anthropologists? Certainly we have all committed the act of bullshitting as he elaborates here:

Bullshit is unavoidable whenever circumstances require someone to talk without knowing what he is talking about. Thus, the production of bullshit is stimulated whenever a

person's obligations or opportunities to speak about some topic exceed his knowledge of the facts that are relevant to that topic (p. 63).

I leave it to the reader to compile his or her own list of situations in which he or she has spoken on a topic far beyond the scope of personal expertise and fallen into the bullshit trap.

Could we also argue that we are all in danger of bullshitting every time we write an academic article? Writing in academic code is rewarded, while writing simply and clearly is not. What does it mean to be able to write in code? It means that the writer can present him or herself to a finely defined audience in such a way that he or she will appear to have the right to also belong to that insular community.

We are thus predisposed to bullshit our way through some of our writing. We may present our research in a way that will be accepted, not necessarily in the way that reflects the truth of the research experience. This is not to say that we falsify the data, not at all. Rather it is a question of presenting an argument in a way that will achieve something—recognition, a promotion, acceptance, perhaps—independently of the relevance of the actual research

Or we may select a research topic not because we are drawn to its inherent value, but because the funding is available for it, or it is a sexy topic. Here we are truly in danger of committing bullshit, for there is no connection to one's core integrity when one develops the necessary relationships, carry out the research, and present the data and conclusions.

Another way in which we can commit bullshit according to Frankfurt's parameters is by falling prey to the skeptic belief that reality is ultimately unknowable. We then resort to writing about ourselves and our personal experiences as researchers and as anthropologists. We have all witnessed the proliferation of personal narrative as a result of deconstruction theory. In some cases, the new writing opened up new possibilities for thinking about how and why we do our work, and what it means to those we research. In a good number of cases, however, the new writing should never have been published, based as it was neither on merit nor on literary talent. Rather, it was confessional writing whose main focus was the effort to be sincere.

Frankfurt succinctly summarizes his view on sincerity:

There is nothing in theory, and certainly nothing in experience, to support the extraordinary judgment that it is the truth about himself that is the easiest for a person to know. ... Our natures are, indeed, elusively insubstantial—notoriously less stable and less inherent than the natures of other things. And insofar as this is the case, sincerity itself is bullshit (p. 67).

I wonder how much of our academic writing would survive if we truly applied Frankfurt's logic to it. If we were to eliminate writing that is bullshit because it is written in code; exceeds our area of expertise; is written for purposes other than to accurately represent an aspect of knowledge; or is merely sincere, would we have anything left?

On Bullshit is worth reading more than once. Whether one agrees with Frankfurt's point of view or not, one comes away with a clearer sense of where the pitfalls are. And he deserves the highest accolades for finding a way to end a book dissecting the nature of bullshit with the word itself—bullshit. ○

Notes

1. Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 2005. 67 pages, no chapters, no index, no illustrations, footnotes including bibliographic footnotes, about the author. Cloth, \$9.95 U.S.

2. Harry G. Frankfurt obtained his Ph.D. in philosophy in 1954 from The Johns Hopkins University. He is a moral philosopher and a professor of philosophy emeritus at Princeton. He may be contacted through the Department of Philosophy, Princeton University, Princeton, New Jersey (NJ) 08544 USA. His e-mail address is fraharg@princeton.edu, and his telephone number is 609-497-6409.

3. Pennie L. Magee's 1990 Ph.D. in anthropology is from the University of Florida. She is an independent scholar and may be contacted by U.S. mail at 398 Leonards Road, Boulder, Colorado (CO) 80302-9780 USA, by telephone at 303-473-9994, and by e-mail at pennie.magee@colorado.edu.

On Bullshit¹

By Harry G. Frankfurt²

Reviewed by Barbara L. Scott³

Each page of Harry G. Frankfurt's book-form essay *On Bullshit* offers a glimmering new facet on the subject of misrepresentation. But his most pithy observation falls on the second to last page:

As conscious beings, we exist only in response to other things, and we cannot know ourselves at all without knowing them. Our natures are, indeed, elusively insubstantial—notoriously less stable and less inherent than the natures of other things (p. 66).

This explains why, in my profession as an editor, I see so much writing that reflects incoherent thinking. Most of us don't know ourselves. Even fewer possess a viable worldview. How can it be possible to convey one's thoughts when they are so murky and slippery? Since we're on such shaky ground in terms of who we are, is it any wonder we make up stories to create a more flattering self-image, as reflected back to us from others?

Such a need to burnish our own image by impressing others extends from the spoken word to the written one. Most academicians will admit to falling into patterns of convoluted writing—where one heavily laden subject might be required to haul a train's length of noun, verb, and adjective strings. So accustomed are they to resorting to their argot, that they completely forget what it means to communicate clearly. They write for fellow academicians, presupposing a jargon fluency in what compares to a secret handshake. Consequently, they seldom gain a wider, mainstream audience, as Darby Stapp pointed out in his essay last issue (though I might argue with his title, "It's What We Write, Not How We Write"). And the poor reader, unless s/he is obliged to decipher the material for study or research (or for editing), is neither willing nor able to pin these writers accountable for their statements, since that reader is not actually able to untwine the bombast. "Baffle 'em with bullshit," we say here in the West; and the higher and deeper it's piled, the better.

Perhaps we can blame our academic system for churning out such writers. Students are seldom taught the skills of critical thinking and

analytical writing. Still, there are degrees of misrepresenting oneself in writing or otherwise, which Frankfurt discusses as the notion of "carefully wrought bullshit,"

... which involves a certain inner strain. The thoughtful attention to detail requires discipline and objectivity. ... However studiously and conscientiously the bullshitter proceeds, it remains true that he is also trying to get away with something (pp. 22–23).

Frankfurt methodically differentiates the bullshitter from the liar. The liar knows the truth but

defies that authority and refuses to meet its demands. The bullshitter ignores these demands altogether. He does not reject the authority of the truth, as the liar does, and oppose himself to it. He pays no attention to it at all. By virtue of this, bullshit is a greater enemy of the truth than lies are (p.61).

The author goes to meticulous lengths merely to define bullshit and bull. He painstakingly deconstructs Max Black's definition of *humbug* from *The Prevalence of Humbug* (1985), which follows:

Deceptive misrepresentation short of lying, especially by pretentious word or deed, of somebody's own thoughts, feelings, or attitudes (p. 6).

From that point, Frankfurt gets to the meat of what it means to misrepresent one's self, as only a perspicacious moral philosopher can.

The result of his work is that he managed to make me feel even more guilty than I already did for telling a lie when I was asked a point-blank question about my degree. Our esteemed editor-in-chief, Larry Van Horn, managed to reach me on my cell phone one day last fall as I was walking my dog in Taos. He asked, "What is your highest degree, school awarding it, year awarded, and discipline?" No one had ever before called into question my academic background when entrusting me with editing their work. Caught unprepared—and cognizant of the fact that my job is to edit Ph.D.s—I was too ashamed to say I never received one. I studied political science at

the University of Colorado at Boulder but was forced to drop out because my parents (who made too much money for me to qualify for financial aid) did not believe a college education was necessary, and I soon ran out of funds. I took it up as a mission to become self-educated—reading, writing, and researching on my own terms—not having had the luxury of a formal education. In 1991, I self-published *Threshold of the Millennium, a Worldview Journal*, and for the last 14 years have used its pages to write and reflect on global events from politics to religion and from technology to anthropology. Now, 28 years after leaving the University of Colorado, I am enrolled at the University of New Mexico at Taos—this term studying philosophy with author Mirabai Starr, and Latin and linguistics with Larry Torres, a gifted linguist—fulfilling a lifelong dream of building an educational foundation that can only be achieved by pressing oneself through the gristmill of our collegiate system.

So, according to Frankfurt, I wasn't bullshitting when I told Larry Van Horn I had a B.A. in political science. I knew the truth, and my shame put me in opposition to it. I was lying. Telling a lie is reprehensible. But revealing that you told a lie is excruciating. Perhaps that's why so few of us are willing to do it. And that reluctance inevitably requires a series of subsequent lies, the agony to which I am not willing to subject myself. So within these pages, my lie is publicly confessed before I am compelled to repeat it. As the author warns us, systematic lying "involves not merely producing one instance of bullshit; it involves a program of producing bullshit to whatever extent the circumstances require" (p. 51).

I hope my work editing the fall issue of *The Applied Anthropologist*, and laying out this one, will not be diminished by this admission. I ask that my abilities stand on their own merits, without being subjected to a standard that can only be qualified by a piece of paper I did not have the opportunity to receive.

Frankfurt's four-by-six book of 67 pages—small by any standard—holds enormous truths. Because of his careful examination of lying versus bullshitting, I was able to come to terms with the reason I had lied and to separate myself from feeling like a true liar:

The mode of creativity upon which [bullshitting] relies is less analytical and less deliberative than that which is mobilized

in lying. It is more expansive and independent, with more spacious opportunities for improvisation, color, and imaginative play (p. 51).

So even though I told a lie, I really cannot claim that I am a liar, because my lie was not a systematic approach but rather a defense. My error taught me an important lesson, and, thankfully, Harry G. Frankfurt's book illuminated it. ○

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3. Barbara L. Scott attended the University of Colorado at Boulder in 1971 and the University of Colorado at Colorado Springs in 1978, majoring in political science. She now attends the University of New Mexico at Taos. She is a professional editor and may be reached at Final Eyes, P.O. Box 2275, Taos, New Mexico (NM) 87571-2275 USA by U.S. mail, at 505-758-4846 by telephone, on the web at www.finaleyes.net, and at finaleyes@qwest.net by e-mail.

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Obstacles to Reconciliation: Can Indigenous and Non-Indigenous Australians Be Reconciled?¹

Cara Paddle²

Abstract

Reconciliation is a current movement in Australia that seeks to improve the relationship between indigenous and non-indigenous Australians, improve the living conditions of indigenous Australians, and to apologize for past wrongs done to them. This movement, breaking the tradition of prejudice and marginalization of Native Australians, is making huge strides, but it also faces disunity, fragmentation, and the Australian government's lack of commitment to the process and to indigenous concerns.

Introduction

In recent years, a movement to reconcile Native Australians and the descendants of European colonial settlers (or, indeed, all non-indigenous Australians) has gained momentum in Australia. The reasons for this movement are the current third-world living conditions and economic disadvantages of indigenous Australians, as well as the nation's sordid history of European Australian privilege, oppression of Native Australians and consequent cultural genocide.

Reconciliation by these two populations and an improvement of conditions for indigenous people is essential if Australians are to "move on together at peace with ourselves" (Gordon 2001: 135). At an indigenous level, the need for reconciliation is apparent in the cultural themes depicted in contemporary art and storytelling and during the interpretive nature walks given by guides at Aboriginal cultural centers (Van Horn 2006). Approaches to reconciliation are many, but the movement faces the critical problems of disunity, fragmentation, and the Australian government's unwillingness to make reconciliation a priority or to adequately listen to the concerns expressed by Native Australians. These obstacles must be surmounted if the Reconciliation Movement is to succeed and Australia is to move on from a legacy of marginalizing its own people, and from the "cultural and social genocide still happening in Australia today" (Heiss 2006).

History of Indigenous/Non-Indigenous Relations

In order to understand the problems inherent in the Reconciliation Movement, and also what is at stake, it is imperative to understand

the history of relations between indigenous and non-indigenous Australians. Indigenous Australians are a group comprised of both Aboriginals and Torres Strait Islanders (the people inhabiting the Torres Strait Islands, which lie between Australia and New Guinea). When Captain James Cook (1728–1779) first stumbled upon Australia in 1770, the population numbered approximately 750,000 (Mellor and Bretherton 2003:37). Despite this, the newly discovered continent was said to be *terra nullius*, which, as a legal doctrine, stated that Aboriginal populations were not "socially advanced" enough to have any claim to the land (McIntosh 2000:17). As a result of this doctrine, Aboriginal tribes and Torres Strait Islanders were not viewed as sovereign nations and a treaty was never made with them. All land belonged to the British Crown and could be settled and taken from indigenous populations with impunity.

Due to mistreatment, disease, and massacre, the population of indigenous Australians was reduced to 25 percent of its former numbers by 1900 (McIntosh 2000:18). Beginning in 1910, a policy began of taking Aboriginal children from their families (memorialized in the film, *Rabbit-Proof Fence*), especially racially mixed children. These "stolen generations" of children were raised in institutions and in European Australian foster families with the express goal of erasing their aboriginality (Australians for Native Title and Reconciliation 2005). This policy continued until 1970 (Heiss 2006), with 45,000 to 55,000 aboriginal children being removed in order to "[wipe] out indigenous families, communities, and cultures" (Mellor and Bretherton 2003:46).

Today, Indigenous Australians make up 2 percent of Australia's population and own or

control about 16 percent of the land. Living conditions of Native Australians resemble those of the world's poorest countries. Life expectancy of indigenous men and women is 20 years shorter than that of their non-indigenous counterparts, and their babies are twice as likely to be of low birth weight. Additionally, indigenous Australians are 11 times more likely to be imprisoned than non-indigenous Australians, make approximately \$221 per week less than the mean weekly income of the rest of the population, and experience higher rates of unemployment and employment in low-income and low-level jobs. Aboriginal children experience a lower rate of participation in the education system, are under-represented in higher education, and 84 percent of children (as opposed to 45 percent of non-indigenous children) read below grade-level. Many indigenous persons, especially in remote areas, have inadequate housing, water, electricity, and sewerage, which contributes to the much higher hospitalization rates of Native Australians and a rate of communicable disease that is five to ten times higher than that of the general population (Commonwealth of Australia 2004b).

Reform and Reconciliation

Indigenous fortunes began to change in the 1960s, and although civil rights movements based on non-violent protests had been present earlier (Heiss 2006), the Reconciliation Movement began in earnest in the early 1990s. An important change in legislation relating to Indigenous Australians occurred in 1967, when a national referendum finally gave Australian citizenship to Aborigines and Torres Strait Islanders. Before the passing of the referendum, which gained the support of almost 90 percent of Australia's population, Native Australians were under the jurisdiction of state and local governments (Gordon 2001:24–25). Aboriginal affairs now came under federal legislature (Merlan 2005:482), but in spite of this, little changed for indigenous populations, as the federal government “responded as if the vote had been overwhelmingly ‘no’” (Gordon 2001:24–5). Three years later, in 1970, Prime Minister Gough Whitlam proposed a land reform scheme in which Native Australian populations would have the power to determine their own futures on their own lands and would not

be expected to give that land up for the so-called common good. Unfortunately, conservative European Australians opposed the idea and nothing became of it (McIntosh 2002:5). The next big change in indigenous fortunes did not occur until the beginning of the Reconciliation Movement in 1991. In this year, the Council for Aboriginal Reconciliation was formed by the Australian government in order to research and propose ways to best reconcile the Native Australian and European Australian communities, and was given a ten-year lifespan (Commonwealth of Australia 2004a).

It was not until 1993 that Aboriginals and Torres Strait Islanders were finally able to petition the government for title to their native lands (Commonwealth of Australia 2005). The landmark Mabo court case of 1992 was largely responsible for this. In response to a challenge of crown ownership of his homeland by Torres Strait Islander Eddie Mabo, the high court of Australia

establishe[d] that pre-existing land rights (‘native title’) survived the extension of British sovereignty over Australia and may still survive today, provided (a) that the relevant Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander group still maintain sufficient traditional ties to the land in question, and (b) that the title has not been extinguished as a consequence of valid governmental action (Nettheim 1994:8).

As a result, the Native Title Act of 1993 was written, overturning the traditional doctrine of *terra nullius* (Howitt 1998:2). This act gives First Australians the right to claim native title to their lands as long as a traditional connection to the land has been maintained and government acts have not removed it, through sale or grants of the land (Commonwealth of Australia 2005: *Australian National Native Title Tribunal*). This new right to the land was expanded in 1996 with the significant Wik court case, in which it was shown that native title could co-exist with pastoral leases granted by the crown. This court decision opened up 70 percent of Australia to native title claims (McIntosh 2000:20). It did not, however, prove to be as influential as hoped, as the government of Prime Minister John Howard severely limited the Wik decision by amendments passed

in 1998 (McIntosh 2000:133). The 1998 amendments so limited and subverted Native Australian title legislation that they were found by the United Nations Committee for the Elimination of Racial Discrimination to be a breach of Australia's international human rights obligations (Australians for Native Title and Reconciliation 2005).

Criticism of Removal Policy and Howard's Response

The response by the Howard government to Reconciliation efforts betrays an unfortunate lack of commitment to the issue. The National Inquiry into the Separation of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Children from Their Families was created in May of 1995, and the Inquiry's final report, entitled *Bringing Them Home*, recommended to the Howard government that a national apology be made to individuals and families affected by the government's policy of removing children from their homes. The non-governmental organization, Australians for Native Title and Reconciliation, states that

members of the Stolen Generations have indicated that recognition by the Government that the policies were wrong would help in addressing the trauma and suffering that they have experienced (Australians for Native Title and Reconciliation 2005).

The Howard government responded, however, first by asserting that there never had been stolen generations and that any removal of Aboriginal children from their homes was done so "for good reason" (Gordon 2001:72). Later, John Howard flatly opposed the idea of apology, calling it a "black arm-band view of history" and expressing the view that people today should not be made to accept blame for events of the past (Gordon 2001:103-104; Merlan 2005:486). Another recommendation to the Howard government, stated in the final report of the Council for Aboriginal Reconciliation, was that legislation be put into place to unite Indigenous and non-Indigenous Australians in the form of a treaty (Gordon 2001:132). The government did not accept the final report of the Council for Aboriginal Reconciliation and Prime Minister Howard refused to discuss the idea of a treaty, saying that

it would be divisive to do so (Altman 2004: 307; Australians for Native Title and Reconciliation 2005). Clearly, as Gordon states, "the question of formal apology and treaty will not be resolved until there is another prime minister" (Gordon 2001:131), and some would even argue that this issue cannot be resolved until there is a fundamental change in both the values of Australian government and in the Australian constitution (Behrendt 2006). Currently, the Howard government is pursuing a policy of "Practical Reconciliation," which is focused on improving economic disadvantages and poor living conditions without addressing the past or broader issues of social justice and Indigenous rights (Altman 2004:307).

The entire government's approach to indigenous affairs was changed as of March 16, 2005 with the abolition of the Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Commission (ATSIC), the government department under which Indigenous affairs previously fell. The new approach of "Practical Reconciliation", as documented in the August 2004 government document *New Arrangements in Indigenous Affairs*, places Aboriginal affairs under the supervision of mainstream federal and state programs, rather than under the direction of ATSIC, which "combin[ed] political representation and advocacy with program administration" (Altman 2004: 306). The government, according to this document, aims to attain

a whole of government approach which can inspire innovative national approaches to the delivery of services to Indigenous Australians, but which are responsive to the distinctive needs of particular communities (Commonwealth of Australia 2004c).

One of the good things about this new approach is that it includes the creation of a National Indigenous Council that will advise the Government of Australia on indigenous issues and strategies. However, this council is not a representative body and is comprised of Aboriginal chief executive officers (CEOs), business people, and sporting heroes, rather than elders or members of rural communities most disadvantaged by the continued delay of reconciliation (Commonwealth of Australia 2005). In addition,

there is concern that indigenous matters will get lost in mainstream government departments and that this will mean a loss of indigenous self-determination as non-indigenous heads of government departments make decisions for indigenous persons (Australians for Native Title and Reconciliation 2005). As the Howard government advocates "Practical Reconciliation" and takes concrete steps toward improving the livelihoods of indigenous persons, reconciliation is not a top priority on the national agenda, and the ideas of reconciling history and past injustices are rejected outright.

Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs) and the People's Movements

While the Howard government focuses on practical means to reconcile indigenous and non-indigenous Australians and on means to improve Native Australian livelihoods, a myriad of non-governmental organizations (NGOs) and grassroots movements are bent on reconciling with the past. Ways are by improving relations between indigenous and non-indigenous Australians, and addressing emotional wounds of indigenous people. Due to the Howard government's failure to address these issues seriously, a vast people's movement has emerged, promoting reconciliation and justice for indigenous persons. The deputy chairman of the Council for Aboriginal Reconciliation states that reconciliation is "quintessentially a people's movement" and the council estimated in 2000 that there were 396 reconciliation groups and over 1500 local groups meeting to study reconciliation (Merlan 2005: 485, 487). One of these groups is ANTaR, Australians for Native Title and Reconciliation. An outpouring of support for ANTaR is demonstrated by the "Sea of Hands" project. This is a chance for non-indigenous Australians to say, "I put a hand up for reconciliation," or "I support reconciliation," by signing their names on hands in the color of the Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander flags. These hands are then set up in parks throughout the country, creating Aboriginal shapes and designs that can be seen from above (Australians for Native Title and Reconciliation). Other groups promoting reconciliation include Ambassadors for Reconciliation, a group encouraging prominent Australians to

speak for reconciliation and related awareness campaigns (Merlan 2005:487).

Public support for reconciliation is also evident through the multiple marches for reconciliation that have taken place and during the Sydney 2002 Olympics, which have been labeled the "Reconciliation Games." In 2000, an estimated 250,000 people took part in a walk across the Sydney Harbour Bridge in support of the Reconciliation Movement while around one million people were involved in similar marches across Australia, and in December of that year, approximately 400,000 people marched in Melbourne (Gordon 2001:viii, 120; Australians for Native Title and Reconciliation 2005). Two years later, reconciliation became the central issue at both the opening and closing ceremonies of the Olympics in Sydney. The beginning sequence of the opening ceremony featured hundreds of Aborigines dancing together—the largest number of groups ever to dance as one on the national or international stage. Later in the ceremony, Cathy Freeman lit the Olympic cauldron. A famous Aboriginal runner, coming from a family legacy of stolen children and police brutality, she later went on to win the gold medal in the 400-meter race and ran her victory lap carrying both the Aboriginal and Australian flags (Gordon 2001:23–24, 111–113). Popular endorsement of reconciliation showed in the audience as non-indigenous Australians waved Aboriginal flags (Gordon 2001:117). The closing ceremony of the games featured several Australian bands, including Midnight Oil, Savage Garden, and Yothu Yindi, singing about and advocating reconciliation and indigenous justice (Gordon 2001:118–199).

Support for the Reconciliation Movement is nowhere more emphatically shown than in the observance of National Sorry Day, May 26, which is unrecognized by the Australian government (McIntosh 2000:132). A National Sorry Day Committee was formed, and the first Sorry Day was held in 1998, with over half a million Australians signing Sorry Books to express their regret for past injustices and commemorate the *Bringing Them Home* report (Australians for Native Title and Reconciliation 2005; Merlan 2005: 487). These outpourings of popular sentiment clearly show the Australian people's commitment to

reconciliation. The formation of grassroots movements and NGOs has allowed non-indigenous Australians to express their feelings of regret and support to the indigenous community. Unfortunately, however, these movements have done little to improve the lives of Aborigines and Torres Strait Islanders, and like the response of the Howard government, address only one facet of the issue—emotional and historical reconciliation.

Indigenous Responses to Reconciliation

It is extremely important to understand Indigenous feelings about their own history, the pain that they have endured, and the current movement toward reconciliation if it is ever to be achieved. Recognition is one of the main things desired by Native Australians: "A lot of white people go about their business and they don't even realize that they are standing on people's freedom, that they are hurting people" (Mellor and Bretherton 2003:44)³. They would like "non-Aboriginal people to put themselves in the Aboriginal position, 'to be a blackfella for a day, and to feel the hurt and the emotion and the stuff we know goes on. We don't want them to love us or whatever, just to understand what it's like'" (Gordon 2001:11)³.

An Aboriginal interviewee of Mellor and Bretherton says, "You only have to read through there, and anything about Land Rights ... you know, 'they shouldn't get that'. The children have been taken away—'they shouldn't worry about that'. But they don't go back and know the effects of what happened" (Mellor and Bretherton 2003: 47). Another interviewee is upset that "The schools aren't ... teaching children about the true history and just, you know, our worth as a people. It's not there in the history books. I mean the curriculum doesn't say this is part of your learning or part of the teaching. They're electives. They can elect to know about us if they feel inclined" (Mellor and Bretherton 2003:52). Apology and acknowledgment of the past are essential to a reconciled relationship between Indigenous and non-Indigenous persons because, although white Australians do not feel an individual connection to the past, the Indigenous perspective of history "is experienced *as if* autobiographically" (Mellor and Bretherton 2003:52). Additionally, the way in which white Australians,

as colonizers, remember and record history is very different from the way in which the colonized (Indigenous Australians) remember it (Heiss 2006). As a result of these differences of perspective, Aborigines and Torres Strait Islanders are still waiting for an apology for hurts that they feel they have experienced individually, but European Australians express the opinion that "It wasn't my fault, I wasn't there, I don't need to apologize for something I didn't do."

Native Australians are also upset by the government's lack of understanding and their inconsistency. One Aborigine expresses frustration at the government's policies and priorities in reconciliation, saying, "I mean the government today, they just don't understand that we, as indigenous people, really, all we want is to be recognized that we are true Australians! They should give us, you know, that dignity that we are the true, well they say, the true dinkie-die Aussies" (Mellor and Bretherton 2003:44–45). Indigenous Australians also feel that the government is inconsistent, making promises that they fail to keep (McIntosh 2000:30). Eighty-three year-old Peter Fischer of the Kuku Yalanji people sums it up well: "Reconciliation? We don't understand this thing. They keep changing it. We don't change it" (Gordon 2001:42).

Aborigines and Torres Strait Islanders have their own ideas of what reconciliation means and what they want it to achieve. Many Native Australians feel that what is most needed is a return to traditional values and morals (Gordon 2001:16, 47). Others feel that the emotional well-being of the people must be addressed first, or that a new economic deal is necessary, or that the best way to break the cycle of poverty and hopelessness in Aboriginal and Island communities is to empower and encourage the young (Gordon 2001:11, 33, 47). On a more practical note, indigenous Australians seek the ability to manage their own lands and to have the final say in development of their lands. Native Australians also desire a voice within national and international politics. Schooling for their children is important, so that Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander children can grow up speaking their own languages (McIntosh 2000:23, 29, 49–50, 133).

Currently, there are Aborigines and Torres Strait Islanders working to promote reconcilia-

tion and bring positive change to their communities. Kerry Arabena wants to see more focus on communities' current assets, Noel Pearson advocates economic self-sufficiency and traditional subsistence economies, and Delena Foster runs a women's center that services more than 1000 on Palm Island (Gordon 2001:32, 35–37, 45–49). The arts also provide a political voice for Australia's Indigenous peoples, offering both a platform for political issues and a source of employment. Over 50% of the revenue generated from the visual arts in Australia come from Indigenous art (Heiss 2006). There are also programs such as the Australian Indigenous Leadership Centre, a non-profit organization whose aim is to “focus on supporting leaders and potential leaders [within the Indigenous community] and providing opportunities for skill and knowledge development” (Aboriginal Leadership Centre 2005). It is true, however, that “the responsibilities that Aboriginal people must assume for their own communities are heavy and complicated ones that cannot and will not be mastered soon” (Austin-Broos 2004:310–311). In light of this, many more indigenous leaders are needed within communities (Aboriginal Leadership Centre 2005) in order to bring about a Reconciliation Movement from within that is not merely another scheme conceived and imposed by European Australians.

Can Reconciliation Be Reached?

If reconciliation between indigenous and non-indigenous communities is ever to be reached in Australia, there are several obstacles that must first be surmounted. First, there is no clear consensus as to what reconciliation actually means. As stated earlier, Indigenous persons find the idea confusing and inconsistent. Within the Indigenous community also, there is marked fragmentation and rivalry (Beckett 2004: 305). The government describes reconciliation as “a long-term process of social and economic realignment” (Commonwealth of Australia 2004a), while one non-governmental organization (NGO) states that it is “a process whereby Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples, non-indigenous Australians, and the nation of Australia can forge a new relationship” (Australians for Native Title and Reconciliation 2005).

Ian McIntosh, an anthropologist who is a reconciliation scholar, argues that there are at least seven definitions of reconciliation, any one to which a person or organization may be referring when the term is mentioned (McIntosh 2000:8). As it is, the government sees reconciliation as a practical goal focused on statistical results in Aboriginal communities, while non-governmental organizations promote an understanding of and respect for indigenous culture and history. Native Australians see reconciliation as a means by which they can reclaim self-determination, control over their lands, and, more importantly, their dignity and status as Australia's original people.

Unfortunately, these very different views have led to a second hurdle on the road to reconciliation. Each group pursues its own goals with little or no inter-group consultation. NGOs promote national movements to increase awareness of indigenous issues and to develop goodwill flowing from European Australian toward Native Australian communities, but they are less focused on concrete issues of indigenous livelihoods. The government, on the other hand, seeks to ameliorate conditions of poverty and economic dependence in Aboriginal and Torres Strait Island communities, but has made its negative position on the issues of a treaty and apology painfully clear. It is “skeptical about supporting social practices and cultural concepts divergent from, or in opposition to, the mainstream” (Merlan 2005:488). Indigenous communities themselves seek management of their lands and their lives, but are easily caught up in a cycle of hopelessness and powerlessness, as “maintaining local Aboriginal well-being requires local practice *and* national policy” (Austin-Broos 2004:311). In regards to inter-group consultation, NGOs do consult with indigenous groups (Australians for Native Title and Reconciliation 2005) and the government presumably listens to the appointees on its new National Indigenous Council, but there is next to no dialogue between the government and NGOs. This situation, of course, leads to two very divergent and incomplete approaches to reconciliation—working for a purely emotional reconciliation, or working only for “statistical equality” (Altman 2004:307).

A third obstacle to reconciliation is the

government's unwillingness to really listen to indigenous Australians. Native Australians want the government to recognize that "White Australia has a black history" and to "cherish the oldest surviving culture in the world" (Mellor and Bretherton 2003:45; Heiss 2006). They are impatient with government-conceived plans that are culturally insensitive and leaders who put their own prosperity above the needs of indigenous people. Historically, "the accountability of both government and higher tiers of ATSIC to Aboriginal people at the 'grass roots'" has been lacking (MacDonald 2004:322). As Noel Pearson said, "Aboriginal affairs is littered with scenes of horses without saddles, of cows with bridles" (Gordon 2001:4). The government is unwilling to respond to the needs that Native Australians see as most pressing and implement appropriate solutions. Finally, there is a continuing and ongoing need to address the cycle of powerlessness and hopelessness exhibited in Aboriginal and Torres Strait Island communities. As in all poverty-stricken communities, the people must be empowered, be convinced that they are worth something and that they can effect change in their communities. Leaders like Noel Pearson and Kerry Arambena are leading the way in this area, but more community leadership and initiatives, along with programs that promote self-sufficiency and pride in traditional cultures, are necessary. Also, non-indigenous Australians have to be at the forefront of combating their own beliefs, held for so many generations, in the inferiority and powerlessness of the culture of their indigenous counterparts.

Recommendations and the Role of Applied Anthropologists

These obstacles can be overcome; however, it will take a real commitment on behalf of all three groups. A clear definition of reconciliation, definable goals, and inter-group consultation will be imperative. A possible solution is the creation of an advisory council comprised of Aboriginal representatives from each major region in Australia, government representatives, and representatives from each of the major reconciliation NGOs. In addition to consultation among the three groups, this council must also be in close contact with individual Indigenous

communities at the local level, as "there is no such thing as pan-aboriginality" (Heiss 2006). The council would be an open forum for all involved in the reconciliation process—discussions would create a clear consensus of what reconciliation is, what its goals are, and how to achieve these goals. Once reconciliation and its goals are defined, the movement, and all involved, will be able to move forward in bringing about the changes in government policy and in the lives of indigenous individuals.

Applied anthropology has an important role to play in the area of reconciliation, both in facilitating inter-group dialogue, and in the current climate of practical reconciliation created by the Howard government. Applied Anthropologists can serve as advocates of Indigenous Australians, promoting Indigenous interests and understandings of reconciliation. They also, as outside observers, can hold each group accountable to the goals they have set and provide unbiased feedback on the progress of the movement. While anthropologists "continue to be viewed as unquestioning advocates of Indigenous positions," in the past they have also had a hand in influencing policy development and implementation (Finlayson 2004:316). Both of these roles should be continued under the new policy of practical reconciliation. Although practical reconciliation leaves less room for social justice and Indigenous rights, it does open doors to concerned anthropologists, as "Anthropology has an opportunity to contribute because bureaucracies are increasingly interested in evidence-based policy making to achieve objectives" (Finlayson 2004: 318). Thus, applied anthropologists can use their expertise both to influence government policy in this new era of practical reconciliation and to promote Indigenous interests, inter-group cooperation, and unity within the Reconciliation Movement.

Conclusion

As Australia moves into the twenty-first century, reconciliation should be a top national priority. Only by addressing both the social and practical aspects of Indigenous disadvantage can reconciliation hope to be achieved. Practical aspects cannot be divorced from more idealistic goals. The Reconciliation Movement cannot

move forward without addressing the emotional needs of Indigenous Australians, and that means apology and a treaty. Non-governmental organizations, Indigenous leaders and the Australian government need to come together to agree on a definition of reconciliation that incorporates both social and economic aspects, acting upon this definition to establish and work toward attainable goals. The government must lead the way in pursuing a well-rounded approach to reconciliation, based upon the desires of Native Australians, as nation-wide institutional and social change is impossible without government support. Above all other obstacles facing reconciliation as a movement then, looms the question: is the government willing to make reconciliation a top national priority or is it content to pursue its own goals of statistical equality, leaving Aborigines and Torres Strait Islanders in the margins of society? ○

Notes

1. A version of this paper was prepared for the Spring 2005 course of Deward E. Walker, Jr., titled *Applied Cultural Anthropology* that the author took at the University of Colorado at Boulder. Cara Paddle presented an oral version on April 23, 2005, at the 25th Annual Meeting of the High Plains Society for Applied Anthropology, Estes Park, Colorado.

2. Cara Paddle is an undergraduate student at the University of Colorado at Boulder currently writing a senior honors thesis on Christianity in Polynesia. Her graduation date with a B.A. in anthropology is May 2006. She plans to attend graduate school in anthropology at the University of Melbourne, Australia, her country of origin. She can be reached by U.S. mail at 4927 Thunderbird Circle, Number 17, Boulder, Colorado (CO) USA 80303-3942, by e-mail at cara.paddle@colorado.edu and by telephone at 303-506-2416.

3. Names of the speakers quoted here were not given in either Gordon (2001) or in Mellor and Bretherton (2003), referenced below.

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