

---

# The Applied Anthropologist

AN INTERDISCIPLINARY SOCIAL SCIENCE JOURNAL

---

*formerly* HIGH PLAINS APPLIED ANTHROPOLOGIST

---

HPSfAA

ISSN 0882-4894

Vol. 26, No. 2, Fall 2006

---

**Power, Praxis, and the Social Work of Anthropology**

Barbara Rose Johnston..... 97

**Spirituality in a Medical-Rehabilitation Hospital in the  
Urban Midwest of the United States**

Diane R. Pawlowski ..... 106

**Golden Ages, Ghost Dances, and the Work of Mourning:  
A Case Study of the Webs of Relationships in an  
Organizational Consultation**

Howard F. Stein..... 118

**Animals and the United States  
National Register of Historic Places**

Thomas F. King..... 129

**Social Suffering and Social Healing in Bosnia:  
A Holistic Study of Rape Warfare**

Laure Almairac and Peter W. Van Arsdale..... 137

**Peddling Paradise, Rebuilding *Serendib*:  
The 100-meter Refugees versus the  
Tourism Industry in Post-tsunami Sri Lanka**

Nandini Gunewardena..... 149

**"Between a Rock and a Hard Place":  
Rock Climbing and Traditional Cultural Properties**

David L. Kozak ..... 170

**The Past Supercedes the Future, for the Present,  
at Valmont Butte in Boulder County, Colorado**

Michael S. Burney and Barbara L. Scott..... 181

**Three Book Reviews**

***Ordeal of Change: The Southern Utes and Their Neighbors***

By Frances Leon Quintana, Afterword by Richard O. Clemmer.

Reviewed by Kathleen Van Vlack..... 203

Reviewed by Arthur L. Campa..... 205

Reviewed by Michael S. Burney..... 207

Reviews Counterpointed by Richard O. Clemmer ..... 215

**A Generalist's Approach to Applied Anthropology:  
For 2006, The 14th Annual Omer C. Stewart Memorial Award**

Lenora Bohren ..... 218

# 2005–2006 Board of Directors

## HIGH PLAINS SOCIETY *for* APPLIED ANTHROPOLOGY

President.....	Kreg T. Ettenger
President-Elect/Membership Chair.....	Richard W. Stoffle
Past President.....	Clare L. Boulanger
Secretary.....	Christina J. Dorsey
Treasurer.....	Merun H. Nasser
Members-at-Large.....	Arthur L. Campa Carla Guerron-Montero Pennie L. Magee
Publications Policy Committee Chair.....	Pennie L. Magee
Nominations and Elections Chair.....	Edward Knop
Editor, <i>The Applied Anthropologist</i> .....	Lawrence F. Van Horn
Editor, HPSfAA Newsletter.....	Clare L. Boulanger
List Server and High Plains Hotline Master.....	Reed D. Riner
Webmaster.....	Eliot Lee
Archivist.....	Carla Littlefield

[www.hpsfaa.org](http://www.hpsfaa.org)

### **Mission Statement of *The Applied Anthropologist***

*The Applied Anthropologist* publishes peer-reviewed articles, commentaries, brief communications, and book reviews on a wide range of topics. The journal's focus is on cultural change and adaptation in the modern world. The journal explores how humans approach, analyze, and develop solutions to cultural, ecological, economic, and technological problems.

### **Subscriptions/Memberships/Back Issues**

Annual subscriptions/memberships are \$40 US for individuals and \$75 US for institutions. Please go to our website, [www.hpsfaa.org](http://www.hpsfaa.org), and download the subscription/membership form. Please fill it out and send it along with your check on a U.S. bank or an international money order payable to the High Plains Society for Applied Anthropology to Dr. Merun H. Nasser, HPSfAA Treasurer, 2636 Grapewood Lane, Boulder, Colorado (CO) 80304-2406 USA; telephone 303-449-0278 and e-mail [merun@worldnet.att.net](mailto:merun@worldnet.att.net). For foreign subscriptions, please add \$25 US to the individual or institutional annual subscription/membership rate above for delivery of *The Applied Anthropologist* via global priority mail. For back issues, order through the editor at \$20 US per issue. Please note that special subscription/membership rates apply for students at \$25 US per year and for couples desiring a joint dual subscription/membership at \$50 US per year.

---

# 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, barb@finaleyes.net, www.finaleyes.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.

Lenora Bohren, Ph.D.

Mark A. Calamia, Ph.D.

Arthur L. Campa, Ph.D.

Kreg T. Ettenger, Ph.D.

Thomas F. King, Ph.D.

Edward C. Knop, Ph.D.

Edward B. Liebow, Ph.D.

Donna Rae Patrick, Ph.D.

Pamela J. Punttenney, Ph.D.

Jean N. Scandlyn, Ph.D.

Darby C. Stapp, Ph.D.

Howard F. Stein, Ph.D.

Peter W. Van Arsdale, Ph.D.

Lawrence F. Van Horn, Ph.D.

Deward E. Walker, Jr., Ph.D.

Frederick F. York, Ph.D.



# Power, Praxis, and the Social Work of Anthropology<sup>1</sup>

Barbara Rose Johnston<sup>2</sup>

## Abstract

*This paper discusses complaints against and appeals for participatory anthropological research with indigenous groups. Arguments criticizing collaborative efforts with indigenous groups to shape research goals, methods, and outcome are counterpointed.*

## Introduction

Calls for developing a fieldwork ethic that emphasizes participatory action research with indigenous groups have been met with complaints from many in the discipline who argue that participatory approaches—especially those that involve collaborative efforts to shape research goals, methods, and outcome—overly emphasize the social welfare needs of the study population. In doing so, such research runs the risk of compromising the objectivity and integrity of anthropological research, and transforms the role of anthropologist from scientist to social worker. I disagree and argue in this paper that collaborative and participatory approaches not only produce credible scientific data, but in many instances, such approaches reflect mandates codified in local, national, and international law.

This essay has its origins in the anthropological debate over Patrick Tierney's *Darkness in El Dorado: How Scientists and Journalists Devastated the Amazon* (2000) and the subsequent American Anthropological Association (AAA) inquiry into ethical issues surrounding anthropological and human population studies in the Amazon. Some of the Amazonian research examined by Tierney involved (1) tracking the nature, presence and effect of radioactive fallout in the environment, food chain, and people; (2) identifying human genetic effects of exposure to naturally occurring sources of radiation; and (3) determining the long-term consequence of exposure to high levels of radioactivity on groups of defined and controllable human subjects, including communities who depended upon the local environs for food, lived on traditional lands in tightly defined social groups, and lived in areas with high levels of naturally occurring radiation.

Tierney examined fieldwork praxis as well as what he saw to be the consequential

damages associated with fieldwork and the subsequent publication of books and movies depicting the lifestyles and violent traditions of Amazonian peoples. Within anthropology, and in broader public circles, a fierce controversy developed over the validity of Tierney's depictions of science, scientists, research motivations and relationships, and the consequential damages of conducting scientific research with isolated, indigenous subjects.

A number of professional organizations sponsored inquiries into the allegations raised by Patrick Tierney, and in several important instances his conclusions were scrutinized and discredited (American Society of Human Genetics 2002; International Genetic Epidemiology Society 2001). The American Anthropological Association established an El Dorado Task Force that produced a final report in May 2002 recognizing that some allegations lacked validity yet, at the same time, noting that others reflected serious violations of professional ethics. In their recommendations, the Task Force urged anthropologists to incorporate collaborative and participatory research models in the design and implementation of studies involving indigenous peoples (American Anthropological Association 2002). This report was accepted by the AAA Executive Board in May 2002.

In reaction to the AAA El Dorado Task Force recommendations, in November 2002, Daniel Gross, an anthropologist with the World Bank, and Stuart Platner, director of the National Science Foundation's Cultural Anthropology Program, published a commentary in the AAA *Anthropology Newsletter* (Gross and Platner et al. 2002: 4, hereafter referred to as Gross and Platner). The Gross and Platner commentary was on behalf of a signatory group of some 50 anthropologists criticizing the AAA El Dorado Task Force, in this instance, for its participatory rec-

ommendations contained in Section 2.3 of its *Final Report*. It was this commentary criticizing "Anthropology as Fieldwork" that originally prompted me to write this essay, delivered as a paper to the American Anthropological Association at its November 2002 meeting. The El Dorado Task Force report itself was later rescinded following a mail-ballot poll of its members in May 2005. The resolution to rescind charged that the El Dorado investigation and the resulting report violated the association's ban on adjudicating claims of unethical behavior and that the El Dorado investigation did not follow basic principles of fairness and due process for the accused (American Anthropological Association 2005). The final tally on the resolution was 846 to 338, with close to 90 percent of the AAA membership failing to return their ballot.

### **Criticism of Participatory Approaches to Research**

El Dorado Task Force recommendations of Section 2.3 are those:

- Noting that researchers "may encounter knowledge relevant to anthropological theory, but such interests may have to be set aside if they are not of equal concern to all collaborators."

- Urging that the anthropology of indigenous peoples and related communities move towards collaborative models where research is "from its onset, aimed at material, symbolic and political benefits for the research population, as its members have helped to define them."

- Defining collaborative research as "side by side work of all parties in a mutually beneficial research program" where all parties "are equal partners in the enterprise participating in the development of the research design" (American Anthropological Association 2002).

In their *Anthropology Newsletter* commentary, Gross and Platner raise the concern that

involving untrained community members in the definition of research questions is not likely to improve research design. The difference between a valid and invalid research design is a technical issue learned by studying social science and by acquiring field experience, ideally under the guidance of a seasoned expert. In their zeal to impose a

requirement of advocacy on anthropological research, the Task Force recommends a strategy that would weaken the anthropologist's primary claim to a legitimate role in the host community, that of skilled social scientist. As is well known, the advocacy role could conflict with the detachment required of an observer.

Gross and Platner note that combining research with advocacy can be arrogant as such actions necessarily involve the assumption that the anthropologist, who is typically foreign to a particular society and culture, is a legitimate advocate with the skills and ability to help solve problems. They suggest that advocacy research is highly problematic and raises troublesome questions, such as how to choose the "correct" faction to support in the event that the advocacy role requires choosing sides.

Gross and Platner see research excellence as the primary obligation of the anthropologist. They say anthropologists have "an obligation to explain the goals, requirements, risks and benefits of their research project to the community." Furthermore, they say, researchers may have the opportunity, though not the obligation, to place their skills at the service of the community, and may even elect to serve as an advocate for change. In short, they support "the idea of returning something to their research subjects" (Gross and Platner 2002).

However, Gross and Platner object to the involvement of untrained research subjects in defining the goals or methods of professional research. By defining anthropological research as social work and by demanding that field research designs be developed with non-anthropologists as equal partners, they fear that the AAA El Dorado Task Force endorsement of collaborative participatory research "virtually erases the role of training, expertise, theory and methodology in anthropological research." They maintain that arrogant, subjective, and dangerously incompetent research would be the result since in their view the "primary responsibility of a researcher is to do excellent research" (Gross and Platner 2002).

In rejecting a fieldwork ethic that prioritizes participatory methods, Gross and Platner seek to reassert the notion that scientifically sound

anthropology reflects research goals and methods developed with reference to disciplinary issues and theoretical concerns. The substantive “work” of anthropology is intellectual and the primary purpose of fieldwork is to collect data in a rigorous and objective manner. This interpretation of the social role of anthropology is one where anthropologists work *in* communities, not *with* communities. In the interest of securing the support and input of community members, the researcher may negotiate reciprocal favors. However, power to define the terms of research is in the anthropologist’s hands, and the nature of the researcher-subject relationship is necessarily hierarchical, rather than equitable. Clearly these views are dominant chords in our discipline, as evidenced by the lengthy list of commentary collaborators associated with Gross and Platner.

### Arguments for Participatory Approaches to Research

Sadly, the views expressed by these opponents of a participatory approach to anthropological research, do not reflect current and emerging laws, regulations, and norms with respect to human-subject research involving indigenous peoples. A relevant example is “Principles and Guidelines for the Protection of the Heritage of Indigenous People” that was first articulated in 1994 in a statement by United Nations Special Rapporteur Erica-Irene Daes (1995). It was revised in 1999 and adopted in 2003. Some of its principles are as follows:

- [Number 8.] To protect their heritage, indigenous peoples must also exercise control over all research conducted within their territories, or which uses their people as subjects of study.
- [Number 9.] The free and informed consent of the traditional owners should be an essential precondition of any agreements which may be made for the recording, study, use or display of indigenous peoples’ heritage.
- [Number 10.] Any agreements which may be made for the recording, study, use or display of indigenous peoples’ heritage must be revocable, and ensure that the peoples concerned continue to be the primary beneficiaries of commercial application.
- [Number 26.] National laws should deny to

any person or corporation the right to obtain patent, copyright or other legal protection for any element of indigenous peoples’ heritage without adequate documentation of the free and informed consent of the traditional owners to an arrangement for the sharing of ownership, control, use and benefits.

In Canada, by way of affirmation, these principles have been incorporated in the federal policy governing ethical conduct for research involving human subjects (Canadian Institutes of Health et al. 2005) which encourages researchers:

- To respect the culture, traditions and knowledge of the Aboriginal group;
  - To conceptualize and conduct research with the Aboriginal group as a partnership;
  - To consult members of the group who have relevant expertise;
  - To involve the group in the design of the project;
  - To examine how the research may be shaped to address the needs and concerns of the group;
  - To make best efforts to ensure that the emphasis of the research, and the ways chosen to conduct it, respect the many viewpoints of different segments of the group in question;
  - To provide the group with information respecting the following:
    - Protection of the Aboriginal group’s cultural estate and other property;
    - The availability of a preliminary report for comment;
    - The potential employment by researchers of members of the community appropriate and without prejudice;
    - Researchers’ willingness to cooperate with community institutions;
    - Researchers’ willingness to deposit data, working papers and related materials in an agreed-upon repository.
  - To acknowledge in the publication of the research results the various viewpoints of the community on the topics researched; and
  - To afford the community an opportunity to react and respond to the research findings before the completion of the final report, in the final report, or even in all relevant publications.
- Canadian universities and research institutes

have developed their own implementing guidelines, often as a result of consultative partnerships with local tribal councils. For example, the "Protocols and Principles for Conducting Research in an Indigenous Context" of the Faculty of Human and Social Development at the University of Victoria adopted in February 2003, recognizes that

researchers are knowledge brokers, people who have power to construct legitimating arguments for or against ideas, theories or practices. They are collectors of information and producers of meaning, which can be used for or against indigenous interests. ... Research that involves Indigenous people or Indigenous culture as a focal interest (subject matter), whether directly or indirectly, should ensure that research protocols uphold the principles of protection, partnership and participation (University of Victoria 2003).

And these principles inform the United States memorandum of President William J. Clinton, dated April 29, 1994, requiring open and candid government-to-government consultation with federally recognized American Indian tribes prior to taking any federal action (Clinton 1994). All parties, through environmental assessment, are made aware of the potential impacts on American Indian tribes and resources of a federal agency's plans, projects, programs, and activities. Through the consultative and assessment process, terms are negotiated to proceed, or not to proceed, in ways that reflect and respect tribal rights and resources. Consultative regulations relate to federally recognized American Indian governments and those of Alaska Natives and Native Hawaiians and, by courtesy, to non-recognized American Indian groups and other indigenous peoples associated with the United States of America. The consultative requirement has been expanded from the proposed actions of all federal agencies, to all actions conducted by any institution or individual receiving federal funds. That includes the economic development initiatives funded by the United States Agency for International Development, the World Bank, and the broad array of scientific research funded by the National Science Foundation (National Environmental Justice Advisory Council 2000).

The point here is that transparent, informed, collaborative, and equitable research partnerships between anthropologists and the indigenous peoples with whom they work is not only an ethical ideal, but also it is in many cases a legally mandated reality. Such efforts to strengthen local control over scientific research originated out of the need to insure that health research respected fundamental human rights. In recent years these have been expanded to protect intellectual property and cultural knowledge and to insure free, prior and meaningful informed consent (see World Health Organization 2003; implementing measures of the Convention on Biological Diversity, United Nations 1992). In the United States and Canada, many American Indian tribes and nations have adopted research evaluation tools to strengthen internal community capacity to evaluate and meaningfully participate in research (see American Indian Law Center 1999; Mohawk Council of Akwesasne 2006; Council of Yukon First Nations 2000).

### **A Personal Research Experience With the Participatory Approach**

By way of a personal example from research in the Marshall Islands, I respond in greater detail to the Gross and Platner concern that participatory-research collaborations lack objectivity and compromise the scientific integrity of our discipline. In November 1988, Bill Graham, public advocate for the Marshall Islands Nuclear Claims Tribunal invited me to assist the tribunal in conceptualizing the Marshallese value of land and the related damages and losses experienced by the people of Rongelap, Rongerik, and Ailinginae atolls as a result of the United States Nuclear Weapons Testing program. The public advocate was frustrated with the development of earlier claims for Bikini and Enewetak, which assessed damage and loss from a framework of western property rights. In the Marshall Islands, rights to use critical resources are socially constructed. They are typically determined according to maternal, matrilineal-descent relationships and legitimized according to fluid rather than fixed communal relationships. Existing appraisal documents considered only one aspect of land

valuation—the economic value of rights to use land by leasing.

I agreed to assist, with the caveat that I work in partnership with Holly Barker, a linguistic anthropologist of Seattle, Washington, and the Embassy of the Republic of the Marshall Islands, with several years of experience living and working with the Marshallese. In earlier publications, both Holly and I describe some of the traumas experienced by the people of Rongelap during the nuclear weapons testing program. Acutely exposed to radioactive fallout following the March 1, 1954 Bravo Test, the people of Rongelap were enrolled in a classified research study (Project 4.1) and over the next four decades they served, without informed consent, as subjects in research documenting the ways radiation moved through the environment, food chain, and human body. Biomedical examinations, sampling, and procedures focused on documenting the wide array of degenerative health effects of radiation exposure, while treatment was largely limited to specific radiogenic cancers (see Johnston 1994, Barker 1997).

We were keenly aware that the Marshallese had been studied for decades, but biomedical research was not developed according to their needs. Scientists repeatedly ignored or dismissed Marshallese personal experiences with radiation effects. And, while hundreds of research reports were eventually published, results were rarely reported back to the affected population. Thus, when we began intensive field research in the spring of 1999, we did so with a formal contract that included the code of ethics of the Society for Applied Anthropology and a clause protecting Marshallese intellectual property rights. We developed a research approach that was purposefully transparent. It involved participatory work with the people from Rongelap, Rongerik and Ailinginae in shaping research questions, suggesting knowledgeable informants to interview, conducting research, analyzing findings, and refining recommendations.

To consider the consequential damages associated with the loss of land from a Marshallese perspective, we identified a number of key questions: What does land mean to the Marshallese? Can one assign a value to land? Does a valuation that assumes *property* is terrestrial

space, that is, the dirt underfoot, adequately incorporate all that a *weto* represent, as a parcel of land extending from ocean side to and into the lagoon? How does one value damage to the ecosystem and loss of the wide variety of natural resources (marine, terrestrial, arboreal)? How does one value the loss of access and use of atoll resources and the meaningful interaction of people and their environment? How does one value the loss of a self-sufficient way of life? What sort of valuation strategies might be used to articulate the broader range of damage and loss suggested by a human environmental impact analysis of nuclear-weapons testing in Rongelap, Rongerik, and Ailinginae Atolls? In asking these questions we soon realized the limitations and difficulties of the term *value* and emphasized in our research and in our final report the meaning and consequences of the loss of a healthful way of life.

With testimony derived from ethnographic interviews, we wove together a narrative that was substantiated by quotes from the declassified records of fallout, human and environmental injuries, medical experiments, and policy documents. The case specific narrative was contextualized with reference to international precedents involving methods to assess and compensate indigenous peoples for damages associated with involuntary resettlement, compensation for loss of land and critical resources, natural resource damage, and loss of a way of life in the United States, Australia, and elsewhere (Johnston and Barker 1999). Our work was later refined in 2001 with additional fieldwork documenting the human environmental consequences of nuclear-weapons testing, distributed for interdisciplinary peer review and revised, and then formally submitted as part of our expert-witness testimony in the claim for consequential damages filed by the people of Rongelap (Johnston and Barker 2001; Johnston in press).

In October 2001, the Rongelap community assembled on Majuro to attend the tribunal hearing and submit additional witness testimony. They provided community record books and maps depicting land claims and land-use history for exhibits. Other exhibits included a series of ethnographic maps for each atoll depicting sacred sites and critical resources such

as springs providing drinking water, giant clam beds, and important reefs to demonstrate that *land* from a Marshallese perspective includes the lagoon and surrounding reefs. And, the Rongelap community prepared and submitted as evidence a list of names of those people who have died from radiation-related illnesses, and those people who suffered from a preventable epidemic of polio.

As anthropologists, we were asked to present and defend our expert-witness report. We proposed introducing and eliciting testimony from Marshallese witnesses that involved sensitive cultural information about land tenure, marine-resource rights, and sacred sites and other cultural resources. The testimony included that of elderly and female witnesses who recounted traumatic and abusive experiences associated with involuntary resettlement, radiation exposure, and human-subject experimentation. Other Marshallese witnesses testifying about current conditions, or recollections of a non-intrusive or traumatic nature, would be interviewed directly by the public advocate and the Rongelap Local Government counsel. All witnesses would be cross-examined by the defender of the Nuclear Claims Fund. The tribunal expressed concern that questioning of Marshallese witnesses by anthropological experts could violate procedural rules.

The public advocate defended our approach, using the notes I had prepared. He noted that many of the witnesses were elderly women whose experiences were very humiliating and painful and that the public discussion of these experiences in front of family members and a broader public broke numerous taboos. He asked the tribunal to recognize the cultural linguistic necessity of an anthropologist posing questions in ways that would minimize cultural sensitivities, respect taboos, and still elicit testimony. He argued that a female anthropologist, with a pre-existing relationship and with rapport with the informants, was necessary to present questions in an appropriate respectful manner that allowed the Marshallese witness the cultural space to respond. And he noted that ethnographic interviews represent the primary means by which anthropological knowledge is generated, that the posing of neutral and culturally respectful questions to elicit information repre-

sented a key element of our data gathering, and that this approach in the proceedings was a cultural and linguistic necessity. Counsel cited the Zuni Land Claims case as a relevant example where anthropologists deposed native experts, and this testimony played a central role in judicial proceedings (Hart 1994). The tribunal accepted these arguments and requested that the Rongelap counsel provide a post-hearing briefing citing the relevant case precedents.

As expert witnesses, we could have simply testified about the information collected in previous interviews. However, by questioning the Marshallese before the tribunal we were demonstrating our methodology, that is, the methodology upon which our written submissions are based. The purpose of conducting ethnographic interviews as part of our case presentation was to enable us to reconstruct our methodology for the tribunal. We wanted to demonstrate to the tribunal that our expert testimony (1) is based upon sufficient facts or data, (2) is the product of reliable principles and methods, and (3) results from applying the principles and methods reliably to the facts of the case. In the post-hearing brief, which I drafted with input from Paul Magnarella of the University of Florida and other anthropologist/lawyers, United States federal and state evidentiary rules were cited. They allow expert witnesses to question other witnesses. We provided references to procedures and evidentiary rulings in similar land cases involving traditional cultures and damage claims of indigenous peoples in the United States, Canada, and Australia.

As to the substantive complaint about compromised science, how does one explore these questions from a participatory research initiative and produce an anthropological study that is rigorous, defensible among peers and before a court? Our strategy was to first develop a research proposal containing key questions and evidentiary needs, methods, and techniques with input from a professional peer-review network, and then to utilize a Marshallese advisory committee on *land values*. The latter was to help refine fieldwork questions, tease out the missing elements, identify knowledgeable informants, and generate public interest and support for the project.

We conducted fieldwork with Marshallese assistants, conducted archival research, analyzed data, and developed a draft report that was then sent through another round of Marshallese and independent scientific peer review. We were hugely fortunate in having access to the declassified literature. Each and every bit of oral testimony was substantiated by the scientific documents and military records classified by the United States Atomic Energy Commission, Department of the Navy, Department of Defense, and the Department of Energy. This mix of collaborative and participatory anthropology and evidentiary analysis resulted in complete acceptance by the tribunal judges. In three days of hearings we did not receive a single critical question.

The end result was an assessment of the consequential damages of nuclear-weapons testing, human-subject experimentation, and involuntary resettlement. It not only demonstrated social, cultural, physical, economic and environmental effects, but also presented valuation assessments for each category of injury using United States standards and case precedents, as well as the community notion of a meaningful remedy. In doing so, we redefined the principle of *just compensation* employed in the court setting, from a model of economic compensation for damage and a loss of individual property rights, to a broader model of community damages and remedial needs associated with the loss of a way of life (Johnston and Barker 2001, Barker 2003). At this writing in August of 2006, the tribunal has yet to issue its findings. However, using our assessment as a planning tool, the local Rongelap government has developed plans and begun to implement many of the recommended remedies, especially those ideas that originated from within the Rongelap community.

## Conclusions

Anthropologists are citizens of the world who are scientists with the tools and training to document reality in ways that affect lives. We anthropologists not only have the ethical obligation *to do no harm*, but also to insure that we consciously structure our public forays with careful consideration of the nature of proposed work and the social contracts that structure this work.

Anthropological research conducted with the collaborative involvement of indigenous peoples has produced scientific findings recognized as competent and significant in countless peer-reviewed settings. The question of subjectivity and compromise in such research findings has been explored in numerous venues, and the role of anthropologist as scholar/advocate has been validated in legal forums and court cases in the United States, Canada, Australia, and as noted in this case, in the Marshall Islands.

Anthropological research shaped and conducted without the meaningful involvement of indigenous research subjects runs the risk of violating the rights of indigenous groups and those of individuals that are protected by national and international laws. Included are rights to self-determination, to meaningful informed consent in human-subject research, and to intellectual property and the control of cultural knowledge. ○

## Notes

1. An earlier version of this paper was presented to the invited session titled "Conducting Ethical Fieldwork among Vulnerable Indigenous Groups" held on November 20, 2003, in Chicago, Illinois, at the annual conference of the Committee on Ethics of the American Anthropological Association.

2. The Ph.D. in anthropology of Barbara Rose Johnston is from the University of Massachusetts at Amherst and was awarded in 1987. Her contact information is as follows: Senior Research Fellow, Center for Political Ecology, P. O. Box 8467, Santa Cruz, California (CA) 9506-8467 USA by regular mail, [bjohnston@igc.org](mailto:bjohnston@igc.org) by e-mail, and 831-459-4541 by telephone.



## References Cited

American Anthropological Association

2002 *Final Report of the AAA El Dorado Task Force*. May 18, 2002. Arlington, Virginia: American Anthropological Association. Accessed online on July 27, 2006, at <http://www.aaanet.org/edtf> and accessed July 28, 2006.

2005 "American Anthropological Association Executive Board Rescinds Acceptance of El Dorado Task Force Report, Media Advisory for Immediate Release, September 14, 2005." American Anthropological Association web site accessed on August 7, 2006, at [http://www.aaanet.org/press/ma\\_eldorado\\_rescinds.htm](http://www.aaanet.org/press/ma_eldorado_rescinds.htm).

American Indian Law Center

1999 *Model Tribal Research Code. With Materials for Tribal Regulation for Research and Checklists for Indian Health Boards*. Third Edition, September 1999. Albuquerque, New Mexico: American Indian Law Center, Incorporated. Accessed on August 7, 2006, at [http://www.ihs.gov/MedicalPrograms/Research/pdf\\_files/mdl-code.pdff](http://www.ihs.gov/MedicalPrograms/Research/pdf_files/mdl-code.pdff).

American Society of Human Genetics (ASHG)

2002 "Response to Allegations against James V. Neel in *Darkness in El Dorado*, by Patrick Tierney." *American Journal of Medical Genetics* 70:1-10.

Barker, Holly M.

2003 *Bravo for the Marshallese: Regaining Control in a Post-Nuclear, Post-Colonial World*. Scarborough, Ontario, Canada: Thomson Nelson Learning Division of the Wadsworth Publishing Company, Thomson-Wadsworth Publisher.

Canadian Institutes of Health Research, Natural Sciences and Engineering Research Council of Canada, Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada

2005 "Section 6: Research Involving Aboriginal Peoples." *Tri-Council Policy Statement: Ethical Conduct for Research Involving Humans*. 1998 (with 2000, 2002 and 2005 amendments). Accessed August 6, 2006 at <http://www.pre.ethics.gc.ca/english/policystatement/section6.cfm#6A>.

Clinton, William J.

1994 "Government-to-Government Relations with Native American Tribal Governments, April 29, 1994." Memorandum of President William J. Clinton to the Heads of Executive Branch Departments and Agencies. Washington: The White House.

Council of Yukon First Nations

2000 "Traditional Knowledge Research Guidelines: A Guide for Researchers in the Yukon." Whitehorse, Yukon Territory, Canada: Council of Yukon First Nations.

Daes, Erica-Irene

1995 *Elaboration by Special Rapporteur Erica-Irene Daes in conformity with resolution 1993/44 and decision 1994/105 of the Sub-Commission on Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities of the Commission on Human Rights*. New York: United Nations Economic and Social Council (E/CN.4/Sub.2/1995/26, GE. 95-12808 (E), June 21, 1995).

Gross, Daniel and Stuart Platner with input from Tom Abel, Peter Allen, Scott Atran, H. Russell Bernard, Bryan Byrne, David Casagrande, Douglas Caulkins, Garry Chick, Roy D'Andrade, Anna Lou Dehavenon, James Dow, Paul Durrenberger, Carol Ember, Michael Fischer, John Gatewood, Nick Gessler, Mark Glazer, David Guillet, Eugene Hammel, Terence Hays, Eugene Hunn, William Jankowiak, Allen Johnson, Jeffrey Johnson, Eric Jones, David Kennedy, David Kronenfeld, Lawrence Kuznar, Murray Leaf, F. K. Lehman, Barry Lewis, Stephen Lyon, Robert Maclaury, Maxine Margolis, Carmella Moore, John Moore, Emilio Moran, Lee Munroe, Peter Peregrine, Dwight Read, Kimball Romney, Norbert Ross, Alica Schlegel, Robert Schrauf, H. Sidky, Stephen Siemens, Susan Weller, and Douglas White.

2002 "Anthropology as Social Work: Collaborative Models of Anthropological Research." *Anthropology Newsletter* 43 (2, November): 4.

Hart, E. Richard, editor

1994 *Zuni and the Courts: A Struggle for Sovereign Land Rights*. Lawrence: University Press of Kansas.

International Genetic Epidemiology Society (IGES)

2001 "Commentary on *Darkness in El Dorado*, by Patrick Tierney." IGES Committee: M. P. Baur, P. P. Majumder, C. I. Amos, J. I. Feingold, T. M. King, N. E. Morton, M. A. Province, M. A. Spence, D. C. Thomas. *Genetic Epidemiology* 21:81-104.

Johnston, Barbara Rose

1994 "Experimenting on Human Subjects: Nuclear Weapons Testing and Human Rights Abuse" In *Who Pays the Price? The Sociocultural Context of Environmental Crisis*. Edited by Barbara Rose Johnston. Pages 131-141. Washington: Island Press.



In press. "More Like Us than Mice: Radiation Experiments

With Indigenous Peoples." In *Half-lives and Half-truths: Confronting the Radioactive Legacies of the Cold War*. Edited by Barbara Rose Johnston. Santa Fe, New Mexico: School of American Research Press. Johnston, Barbara Rose and Holly M. Barker

- 1999 *The Rongelap Property Damage Claims Study: Efforts to Seek Redress for Nuclear Contamination and Loss of a Way of Life*. Barbara Rose Johnston and Holly Barker, Expert Witness Report, November 1999. Majuro, Republic of the Marshall Islands: Republic of the Marshall Islands Nuclear Claims Tribunal, Office of the Public Advocate.
- 2001 *Hardships Endured by the People of Rongelap as a Result of the U.S. Nuclear Weapons Testing Program and Related Biomedical Research*. Barbara Rose Johnston and Holly Barker, Expert Witness Report, September 2001. Majuro, Republic of the Marshall Islands: Republic of the Marshall Islands Nuclear Claims Tribunal.

Mohawk Council of Akwesasne

- 2006 "Protocol for Review of Environmental and Scientific Research Proposals." Saint Regis, Quebec, Canada: Research Advisory Committee of the Akwesasne Task Force on the Environment, Mohawk Council of Akwesasne, Mohawk Nation. Accessed online on July 15, 2006, at <http://www.slic.com/atfe/Prot.htm>.

National Environmental Justice Advisory Council

- 2000 *Guide on Consultation and Collaboration with Indian Governments and the Public Participation of Indigenous Groups*, May 25, 2000. Prepared by the Workgroup of the Indigenous Peoples Subcommittee of the National Environmental Justice Advisory Council. Washington: United States Environmental Protection Agency. Accessed online on July 15, 2006, at <http://es.epa.gov/oeca/main/ej/docs/cons152.pdf>.

Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples

- 1993 *Appendix E: Ethical Guidelines for Research*. Report of the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples, Volume 5, *Renewal: A Twenty-year Commitment*. Ottawa, Ontario, Canada: Canada Communications Group.

Tierney, Patrick

- 2000 *Darkness in El Dorado: How Scientists and Journalists Devastated the Amazon*. New York: W. W. Norton and Company.

United Nations Convention on Biological Diversity

- 1992 "Article 8(j): Traditional Knowledge, Innovations and Practices. Instruments, Guidelines, Codes and Statements." Accessed online <http://www.biodiv.org/programmes/socio-eco/traditional/instruments.aspx?grp=GLN> on August 12, 2006.

University of Victoria

- 2003 "Protocols and Principles for Conducting Research in an Indigenous Context, February 2003." Faculty of Human and Social Development, University of Victoria, British Columbia, Canada.

Workgroup of the Indigenous Peoples Subcommittee

- 2000 *Guide on Consultation and Collaboration with Indian Governments and the Public Participation of Indigenous Groups*, May 25, 2000. Washington: Workgroup of the Indigenous Peoples Subcommittee of the National Environmental Justice Advisory Council, United States Environmental Protection Agency.

World Health Organization

- 2003 "Indigenous Peoples and Participatory Health Research." Accessed online at <http://www.cine.mcgill.ca/documents/english.pdf> on August 7, 2006.

# Spirituality in a Medical-Rehabilitation Hospital in the Urban Midwest of the United States<sup>1</sup>

Diane R. Pawlowski<sup>2</sup>

## Abstract

*Medical-rehabilitation institutes and hospitals treat survivors of major illnesses, accidental injuries, and domestic or urban violence. Patients are not hospitalized in hopes of a cure, but rather to learn how to adapt to permanent, major bodily change. They learn a whole set of cultural rules governing the conduct of changed bodies. Discourse on spirituality and religion plays an important role in everyday life of this social universe shared by staff and patients, raising questions about whether staff and patient needs are addressed in ways facilitating patient re-entry into family and community life. One finding is that, in contrast to acute care hospital life, visits by a patient's clergy or lay ministers rarely occurred, but that spirituality is a major staff and patient concern. This paucity of clergy visits and acquaintance visits from patients' congregations or parishes at this critical time in patient life became apparent when a Protestant minister was admitted to the brain injury unit and congregation members visited him daily. His visitors then extended their visits to other patients on the unit who were lonely or who had no visitors. This article also looks at staff reaction to patients' declarations of spiritual rebirth that patients in interviews claim to have experienced during the medical-rehabilitation process.*

## Introduction

**D**uring the six- to twenty-week period when post-acute care patients reside in a medical-rehabilitation hospital, patients encounter a plethora of ongoing cultural factors present within such an institute's social universe that are an integral part of patient and staff work and life. For instance, medical rehabilitation is one specialty where patient activity in treatment is required and regarded as work. Cultural factors directly and indirectly affect what happens during a patient's stay and, ultimately, a patient's successful survival after discharge. This article reports ethnographic results of studying what I call the The Body Shop hospital (Pawlowski 2001) and identifies salient aspects of spirituality and religious life as experienced by patients and staffers.

## An Intimate Picture

Several recurrent elements emerged from a content analysis of 88 interview transcripts and field notes to provide an intimate picture of this institution's patient and staff life. The study included an examination of texts found in archival material from the institute's history collection. Personal papers, publications, and other documents all contributed to the study. Also analyzed was a three-year daily log from a meditation room that staffers and patients filled with

scribbled comments, prayers, and prayer requests.

Emergent were the following:

1. the common experience of both patient treatment and staff work as a growth and maturation process;
2. the intrusion of urban social problems into staff and patient life;
3. the significance of medical, occupational, and organizational work and treatment routines as social rituals that give structure, meaning, and coherence to staff work and life; and
4. the role of spirituality and religion as an important aspect of the lives of patients and staffers.

This article examines only this fourth element, the spirituality of religious life. I found that medical, occupational, and organizational work routines and rituals give structure, meaning, and coherence to cooperative efforts of patient and staff working and living together. The element of spirituality is particularly striking because of how it emerged. Spirituality was not included in the study's broad specific aims lest it presumably detract from the prime medical and occupational focus of a Body Shop portrait. Questions about spirituality and religious life were not incorporated into interview protocols, and yet study participants seemed to inter-

ject spirituality into interviews and informal discussions whenever possible.

Anthropological holism supports the importance of this article. Spirituality of course is part of a holistic approach, especially in a setting where individuals are dealing with often radically life-altering events. Spirituality is what the participants and data showed so strongly. Academics it seems, and I obviously include myself here, often miss important variables in our research designs.

### **Spirituality: Operational Definition**

In the context of this article, the term *spirituality* will be operationally defined to include actions or discourse concerning relationships with a deity or supernatural greater power. These actions or discourse include prayers, the topics of praying, and study participants' expressions of moral or ethical concerns. The term spirituality, for the purposes of this article, also includes religious and philosophical questions as raised by study participants. In interviews and other spontaneously and naturally occurring discourse, they reflect on their own or others' actions and motivations that they perceived to be an unquestioned or unchallenged part of daily Body Shop staff and patient work life.

Spirituality emerged in the context of patients and medical-rehabilitation staffers finding, comprehending, and articulating meanings for the life-altering events or illnesses that bring patients to rehabilitation. Spirituality emerged during the interview process as patients and staffers offered reflections on lessons they felt they learned in the course of their shared daily life. Among these was the view that patient activity is physical work, that it involves learning to physically adapt to a changed body, and that life in such a place means working while watching one's peers work, be they fellow patients or paid co-workers. Both patients and staffers work along side one another in common areas such as gyms or nursing stations where staffers and patients engage in easy, informal conversation. Here lines separating patients and staffers blur in pursuit of a common goal.

Openly and freely, staffers frequently spoke about their work lives and the personal changes they, too, felt they had undergone once they

began working in a rehabilitation setting. This staff discourse was remarkably similar to the manner in which their patients talked about the personal changes they felt had occurred in their lives as they were working during this uncertain period of preparation and cultural re-orientation for their new lives. Both patients and staffers spoke of medical-rehabilitation work as a time of rebirth, and as a God-given second chance to reform from past indiscretions.

### **The Body Shop's Cultural History**

The ethnographic fieldwork that is the basis for this article occurred from 1993 through 1995 in an eight-story, urban medical-rehabilitation hospital, or institute, as these establishments are traditionally identified. Throughout this article the institute is called *The Body Shop* in order to preserve the confidentiality of patients, staffers, their families and all study participants.

The Body Shop was founded in 1951 with the active participation of a group of local and regional health department officials. At the height of a major polio epidemic, this group recruited the region's leading philanthropists and industry leaders to build a special rehabilitation facility to serve young adults now recovering after lengthy confinement in iron lungs. As these polio patients recovered, many needed to relearn to walk and to perform other basic life tasks. To provide a setting for this work, Body Shop founders used a pre-existing, small but highly regarded, holistic physical therapy institution as a model. Leading polio physicians, nurses, physical therapists, and expert craftsmen fashioned braces. Rehabilitation theory at the time required recovering patients to reside in institutes such as The Body Shop during recovery, usually for six months or longer. During this time, they underwent arduous, eight-hour days filled with physical and occupational therapy during which they learned to use braces and assistive devices invented and custom made by Body Shop staff. Records and personal recollections revealed that many Body Shop staff pioneered in what would become known as the field of *orthotics*, the specialty of treating ineffective muscles, bones, and joints with braces. These specialists were also polio survivors who continued to work at The Body Shop until retirement.

The goal of The Body Shop at the time of the polio epidemic was to return as many individuals as possible to their home communities where they could live and possibly rejoin the workforce.

After the polio epidemic subsided, The Body Shop and institutes like it adapted over time to meet changing needs of urban populations seeking help with new types of disabilities incurred in work, recreational, and traffic-related accidents. Research and financial pressures cut patient stays to days and weeks instead of months. Suburban hospitals built their own small but profitable multi-purpose rehabilitation units that complied with regulations determined by Medicare, Medicaid, and private insurance corporations. In competition, The Body Shop further cut patient stays.

Although at the time of the study it was licensed for 155 beds, the daily patient census showed that The Body Shop was consistently below capacity, usually averaging 100 patients or less. Higher admission rates occurred during the warmer weather months when rates peak for boating injuries and other outdoor sports accidents and from instances of urban violence. Informally, in-patient nursing staff often wryly commented that they could gauge how much overtime they would work in the weeks and months to come by watching the evening television news reports. Still, the daily census continued to fail to meet expectations. And by the time of the follow-up period described below, underpopulated portions of units were closed and darkened. Patients were discharged, and nurses and aides laid off.

Patients, whose average stay at the time of the study was approximately 19 days, were admitted to one of four specialty units—spinal cord; brain injury; stroke / geriatrics; and amputations, which included hip or knee replacements. The Body Shop also admitted patients requiring long-term hospitalizations for major illnesses including cancer. At the time of the study, The Body Shop annually admitted a total of 2,000 in-patients to its urban site while also serving an additional 7,505 out-patients at this and its two distant but expanding suburban satellites. The urban site alone employed a paid staff of 600 (Smith 1994), including 15 board-certified psychiatrists, who are physicians special-

izing in physical medicine and rehabilitation. In addition, a volunteer corps of 250 unpaid workers donated 22,000 hours of service annually (*Body Shop Annual Report*, June 1995).

The Body Shop has changed. During the study, Body Shop administrators laid the groundwork for much needed facility upgrades, such as eliminating unpopular and impersonal polio-era four to six bed wards in favor of double rooms. The number of private rooms grew. Some traditional hospital patient rooms were converted to apartment-like suites to give patients near discharge a chance to practice, with help and supervision, for the reality of life on their own once again. These badly needed changes began at the study's end, when the patient population was declining. It would be five years before major construction and renovation occurred.

## Methodology

This study grew out of an NIH-funded pre-doctoral training fellowship in physical medicine and rehabilitation designed to train social scientists and allied health professionals in research methods in medical rehabilitation. The National Institutes of Health (NIH) granted special permission for an anthropologist to participate in the program, and both The Body Shop and the National Institutes of Health approved an ethnographic study as the research activity. Following the approval of Wayne State University's Human Investigation Committee and Institutional Review Board, fieldwork commenced in 1993 and endured through 1995.

The approved research design and methodology included informal participant observations in semi-public, pass-through areas such as waiting rooms, communal recreation rooms, and open physical and occupational therapy areas. Also, I as the researcher took copious notes while attending weekly lectures, Grand Rounds, staff training functions, and seminars held for all medical staff, allied health professionals, and those serving internships and residencies. Because it is a teaching institution affiliated with a major medical center and university, attendance at these scheduled events was mandatory for many interns, residents and students. This cohort of professionals in training resembled patients in that the time they spent at The

Body Shop meant that, together with the patients, they engaged in a joint apprenticeship. The mix blended the work setting's socialization and learning processes that are required prior to both the individual patient's and the professional's entry into lives that would be new and different from what they had once known.

Life at The Body Shop for its own staff as well as any related allied health professional staff working in its home medical center included a unique obligation. In addition to work and educational requirements, all staff were asked via public address system announcements to accept invitations to attend a variety of late afternoon and evening recreational therapy activities with patients and their families that included informational and outreach sessions and publicity events. Supervisors told staffers that their presence showed support for patients. These events became part of a parallel cycle of mandatory hospital, unit, and departmental programs and meetings that began and ended with a celebratory Rehabilitation Week at the start of the academic year each fall. Consequently, attendance at staff and patient events was included as part of my research activities along with participation in the medical staff activities such as Journal Club and weekly Research Department seminars. The final research design also included two periods of structured observations during afternoon and night shifts on the Spinal Cord and Brain Injury Units to supplement informal ongoing observations on both of those units.

Besides the plethora of observational notes, field notes, and archival data, the study yielded a total of 88 interviews. Specifically there were 52 tape-recorded interviews of patients and staffers conducted during a two-year period of ethnographic study that began in 1993 and ended in October 1995. This original interview population included 28 full or part time staffers (54 percent), three retirees (6 percent), five former patients who regularly volunteered time and services (10 percent), and 16 patients (30 percent). In the following six months, from November 1995 through May 1996, Body Shop administrators allowed further interviews of staff during scheduled appointments. These interviews allowed the study to focus on staff. When they were completed, the interview population

included the full array of occupations found at The Body Shop. At the highest hierarchical level, The Body Shop's chief executive officer (CEO) as well as other managers allowed a "study-up" focus that included rank and file personnel down to the housekeeping aides and attendants at the lowest employee levels. Staff occupations in the study population included all management and supervisory levels, physicians, administrators, secretarial and unit clerks, rank and file nurses and physical, occupational, and psychological therapists. These 36 interviews concluded the research. In all, the 88 staff interviews contained an inventory of 64 staff (73 percent), three retirees (3 percent), five former-patient volunteers (6 percent), and the 16 patients (18 percent). Signed, informed consent was obtained from all participants in specific observations or interviews at all times.

### **Defining Medical Rehabilitation and Its Patient Population**

Medical rehabilitation is the one medical specialty that attempts to offset physical and cognitive changes in bodily function by teaching patients how to care for their new bodies and by retraining patients to use those altered bodies in new and different ways, incorporating, when needed, assistive devices or artificial limbs. Patients enter medical rehabilitation in- or out-patient programs after discharge from acute care hospitals to learn to adapt to bodily changes caused by debilitating illness, strokes, amputations, accidental injury, or urban or domestic violence. Staff with acute care experience prior to Body Shop work reported that potential rehabilitation patients were often a carefully screened and constituted a selected "chosen few." This situation could have added a mythical quality to the spiritual context of a place where both staff and patients might have considered themselves as a select group.

Unlike other biomedical specialties, medical rehabilitation promises no cures. Instead, the task of medical rehabilitation is to assist patients who must relearn simple, basic life skills: swallowing, eating, speaking, sitting, toileting, dressing, and walking. J. Madorsky and Corbett Madorsky (1995:61) explain that rehabilitation retrains, educates, and empowers people with

newly acquired disabilities to develop expertise in the use and care of their bodies—a task that no other medical specialty focuses on in this manner.

In the brief time spent in acute settings, especially with insurance-mandated shortened stays seeing patients discharged “quicker and sicker,” patients and their families have little chance to address the reality of the irreversibility of bodily or cognitive changes. Nursing and allied health staff report that, in their experience while working in other rehabilitation units and institutes as well as The Body Shop, they encounter many patients, regardless of injury, who believe that they will walk out of rehabilitation on their own, fully restored. True, some patients defy all odds and astonish staff with their achievements. But staff must help most patients and their families realize that a good outcome actually means nothing more than full acceptance and adaptation to their new bodily and cultural status.

During the comparatively longer stays, some insurance plans still allow for the medical rehabilitation process. Here patients have the luxury of the time, special facilities and services of trained staff to help them learn to adapt to physical changes. They often make needed psychological and cultural shifts of self-perception that will facilitate their survival after discharge into family and community life. In short, rehabilitation treats the effects on both body and psyche of the types of injury, chronic conditions, and disabilities that Sue Estroff characterizes (1993) as “I am” conditions. These are conditions that are highly disruptive of, and often involved with, cognition and the perceived self. Rehabilitation, then, is a period of time when, as Sue Estroff says, patients and their real or fictive kin may re-construct their world around the new reality of quadriplegia, paraplegia, or the irreplaceable loss of cognitive function.

During this time period, the very nature of inpatient medical rehabilitation work of patients, staff, and supportive family or significant others fosters self-assessment and deep personal reflection. In rehabilitation, all pretenses are stripped away or left behind. Patients, in the presence of others with similar conditions, confront the tangible reality of their basic beliefs

and values about their bodies and ability levels as well as beliefs about their social universe.

### **The Moral Mandate of Rehabilitation**

The idea of rehabilitation resonates with basic philosophical ideals prevalent in Western culture (Scherer 1993; Murphy 1987). These include notions about the potential for individual development and change (Stein 1979) and resistance in the face of adversity (Stein 1979). They also include the ethos of individual achievement and mobility (Gritzer and Arluke 1985; Murphy 1987; Scheer and Luborsky 1991; Luborsky and Pawlowski manuscript) and the concept of body as a repairable machine (Hobbes 1950; Sahlins 1976, 1995; Scherer 1993).

The dark side of this moral mandate is a negative view of the disabled body dating back to the Greek philosophers Plato and Aristotle. The chronically ill, infirm, and disabled are perceived, like females, to be something less than fully human. Augustine says so repeatedly in his much-cited work, *City of God*. Disability can be seen as evidence of God's punishment for evil, and therefore as evidence of an individual's sin or guilt. (Goffman 1986; Pagels 1989; 1994).

### **Medical Routines as Social Rituals**

The backdrop or cultural context of spirituality in this highly specialized setting, then, includes both cultural pressure and a spiritually laden moral mandate to undergo rehabilitation before reentering family and community life. This cultural pressure is coupled with the religion-like culture of scientific medicine and inpatient medical facilities that utilize daily medical routines operating as institutional social rituals utilized to maintain patient-staff work order. On in-patient units in a rehabilitation institute just as in an acute care hospital, medical routines provide a ritual context that contain, encapsulate, and define patient-staff interaction (Mattingly 1998). Staff members report a sense of unchanging timelessness and continuity that marks their work world. One nurse, ending a 16 hour shift said, “You loose track of the real world here. On patient floors, it feels like time outside of ordinary time. It's just like when you are in church.”

In-patient unit life is punctuated by highly

stylized interactions surrounding structured and prescribed cycles of work routines such as nurses and aides waking, washing and otherwise preparing patients for the day's cycle. Life for patients consists of schedules filled with a progression of feeding groups or treatments and psychological, occupational and physical therapies. In addition, aides' and nurses' processions into wards and rooms to take and record vital signs, to turn the paralyzed to prevent bedsores, and to toilet others mark time's passage more than any clock.

These interactions are a part of a repeated cycle of fixed social actions fitting Rappaport's definition of ritual as a set of words and actions, performed in exact sequence, not encoded by the performer (Rappaport, 1979). Added to this definition might be a verbalized or other acknowledgment by the performer of the ritual aspects of this behavior. One night shift nurse's comments show the power of these actions as ritual:

Some of what we do when we take vital signs could be changed or streamlined. We've tried, but we've never been able to make those changes. Nurses want to do things in a certain way. And they get upset if we ask them to change.

In this context small, ordinary aspects of life assume greater symbolic importance than they would if these actions occurred in any other setting. Also, there is an unspoken agenda that may help explain nurses' compliance with hospital rules. The rituals' meaning involves a "do-as-I-do" repetitious demonstration and giving of examples to patients to reinforce nurses' expectations that patients comply with demands that the unit and medical rehabilitation process exacts from patients. For example, there are demands for attendance at therapies, participation in unit and institutional social life, and continued interactions with staff during which new social rules and roles (with staff who may also be learning new rules and roles) are tested and rehearsed throughout a patient's stay.

Nurses, doctors, and aides teach compliance to institutional rituals by using and adhering to an unquestioned canon of institutional and social rituals. Additionally, staff may, by their own mental and physical compliance and sub-

mission to a hospital's or institute's rituals and subroutines, provide patients with their own bodily example, their own model that allows patients to learn the meaning and rewards of compliance. Patients' own casual participant observation of staff work and life is thus used to teach patients the meaning of compliance and importance of submission and adherence to a new way of life. Once released from rehabilitation, though, patient independence will include adherence to a regimen of treatment honed during instruction in body care designed to enhance future quality of life. Non-compliance could mean less than the quality of life that could be achieved through compliance.

Highly ritualized behaviors, matched with similar communication patterns between patients and staff that have been studied by anthropological linguists, are evident as each shift transfers responsibility for its charges to their colleagues on subsequent shifts, the next links in a care chain, during the ritual known as *report*. Report is an inter-shift staff meeting usually held in a conference-type room in the rear of the nursing station and only attended by nurses and aides. This round table, closed-door discussion includes transmission of information that is not always recorded in medical records and can incorporate a nurse's or aide's views on a patient's progress or lack thereof, and of the non-routine details and tales of unit life including relationships with family members or physicians. Following report, each new batch of nurses and aides repeats in detail their predecessors' actions, that is, they take and record vital signs, administer medications, conduct bowel and bladder training, procure supplies and medications, assist with meals and—on assigned days—permit or supervise patient showers or baths.

### Staff Spirituality

This highly ritualized setting nurtures, in some patients and staff, a distinct sense of spirituality. Unlike acute care hospitals, no structure exists to accommodate customary flocks of priests, rabbis, and ministers who descend on hospital-bound patients. In fact, during field work, clergy visits were so rare or unusual that their absence was not readily apparent. In acute care hospitals, on the other hand, pastoral visits



are such a part of the day-to-day routine that admissions departments print out patient lists indicating consenting patients' religious preference and room numbers for use by visiting clergy. At no time during field work was such a list ever in evidence. This striking contrast, and the realization that a routine important in similar institutions was missing, only became apparent when a male Protestant minister was admitted to the brain injury unit following an accident in which the minister was permanently injured while saving a passerby's life.

Each evening after supper, steady streams of members of his congregation trickled onto the unit, showering him with gifts and treats. Within a few days, though, congregation members also began bringing fresh fruit and other small, allowable treats approved by the nurses to other patients, especially those whose families were exhausted and no longer came for a daily visit. A small choir put on an enthusiastic, informal performance of gospel songs in the dining room for all patients and staff one evening during visiting hours.

Instead of seeming pleased, however, unit nursing staff reacted in a manner unexpected to me. Nurses behaved in nearly the same fashion as they had on other evenings when a supervisor ordered them to perform chores in addition to their normal duties, or on another occasion to stay and work late without overtime pay. Unit nurses and aides remained stiff and aloof during the concert and later as the congregation visitors fanned out to see neglected patients. It was almost as if staffers were angry about the attention their charges were receiving. Some staffers retreated to the nursing station chart room, with their faces and bodies turned away from the activity, ignoring food laid out for them. No slices of cake or tidbits slipped back to the chart room this night.

When asked why the staff seemed so unhappy, one aide explained that she felt her co-workers were upset because it reminded her and the other staff of another side to patient evening and weekend visiting hours. Over time, the aide explained, unit staff cared for many elderly patients. According to the aide, later confirmed by a nurse, time and again during the late afternoon and evening hours when visitors are

expected, elderly patients remain alone. According to the nurse and aide, patients often cried when nurses and aides on duty came to tend to them. According to the staff, the elderly patients complained that when they had been healthier and physically able, they spent years contributing money and hours of volunteer work and time to their churches and congregations. These elderly patients, who were often widows, the aide reported, in turn then were often neglected by their church during their Body Shop stay when they needed help and encouragement. Many never had visitors from their churches—although one occupational therapist reported working with a church group that did take an active role in some patients' therapies. According to the aides and unit nurses, they felt that some patients are often forgotten by ministers and congregation members once they have survived a crisis, been discharged from acute care, and entered rehabilitation. Seeing this congregation's visits and lavish attention on other patients thus upset some of the unit staff who recalled the time that they had spent, and would spend in the weeks to come, with less fortunate and lonelier patients.

### **Rituals and Spirituality in the Social Universe of the Staff**

Evidence of staff concerns about issues related to spirituality continually appears in public events and places. Unit, departmental, and Grand Round discussions address ethical issues on a regular basis, usually at the request of staff. Fundamentalist Christian religious brochures are openly displayed in lobbies and waiting rooms, found at tables in the cafeteria and patient lounges, and are replenished on a regular basis by anonymous staff. Nursing and dietary aides liberally sprinkle informal conversations during meals or bodily care with religious and scriptural references, mentions of faith and the efficacy of prayers, and belief in a loving and caring God. Not all patients welcome this kind of discourse. Some patients seemed to view this as unwelcome evangelization or preaching and an intrusion into a private area of self that patients would prefer remain undisturbed. The result was deteriorating patient-staff communication leading to friction and conflict that occa-



sionally resulted in a patient's premature discharge. One patient, for instance, openly regarded by staff as uncooperative and hostile, reported her annoyance and complaints about the religious talk of staffers. This patient said:

I am going to get kicked out of my psychology group therapy session for saying this, but I am sick of hearing about religion. I am tired of hearing that 'God loves me.' Every word they say is: "God loves you. God's going to take care of you." And I think, "Why didn't he? What am I doing here if God loves me and is taking care of me? I am ready to walk out of group therapy because it's hard to deal with some one else's spirituality and values when you have your own problems."

There were exceptions to the absence of clergy. Throughout field work, each Sunday morning two young, African American women volunteers arrived at the Body Shop to preside over an hour-long nondenominational service that was open to all. The service was held in one of the large, bright and airy patient dining rooms, often in the Brain Injury Unit. These two ministering women left when their service ended. The service itself consisted of scripture reading, commentary, songs, and personal stories from the ministers and the patients. As if to illustrate the integration of medical and spiritual rituals dominating staff life, the unstoppable medical rituals overran even this brief service. The steady stream of nurses and aides that usually ran through patient rooms was diverted, now continuing its trickling flow in and out of the dining room service as they administered medications, tubal feedings, measured and recorded patients' vital signs while patients prayed or sang.

Also, The Body Shop employed an elderly nun as chaplain during the Monday-through-Friday work week. She worked the day and part of some afternoon shifts and maintained an office and a non-denominational prayer and meditation room that was open while she was in the building. Sister reported that her goal was to visit each patient at least once during his or her stay. However, Sister Chaplain usually left the building shortly after the 5 p.m. when dinner trays were delivered to the patient floors unless there was an administration or medical staff

reception, Board of Directors meeting, or other formal event. Her leaving at 5 p.m. meant that she was not there during nights and on the weekends. The needs of patients nearing their discharge who were prepared for home leaves and those of the remaining, newly admitted and unsettled patients fell on the shoulders of a different group of nurses and aides who may have never had contact with Sister Chaplain. This group of staff worked the busy afternoon and skeletal night nursing shifts. In interviews, Sister Chaplain said that she recalled holding lengthy telephone conversations with patients in crisis at night only four or five times per year in her 16 years of work at the Body Shop.

Much of Sister Chaplain's time and energy was devoted to ministering to staff rather than to patients. This ministerial tactic is regarded as an innovative and much-needed approach to meeting staff needs for personal and spiritual support in work that can be emotionally draining. Working in an unstructured position, Sister Chaplain was free to sit on employee activity committees and administrative boards, often as a staff advocate in this non-union facility. She spoke at New Staff Orientation, at Resident Orientation, administrative functions, and at those activities planned to reduce staff stress.

Describing her work, Sister Chaplain reported in interviews with me that her routine is to start her daily morning rounds first by talking to top level administrators and their staff, as they are located in offices on the building's uppermost floors. Next, she travels down through the building's lower floors and hierarchical levels, talking to physicians, secretaries, therapists and then to patients in gyms and hallways and sometimes to aides. She stops at nursing stations on in-patient units not just to find out the room numbers of patients requesting a ministerial visit, but also to talk to unit staff about their personal needs and concerns, their illnesses, and the problems they face in and out of the workplace.

Given the inevitable emergency (Emergency Code Blue when someone is at immediate risk of dying), Sister Chaplain hovers in the hall waiting to see what her role in this crisis will be. However, as a United States Catholic nun, she adheres to her church's institutional rules and cannot

administer Last Rites or hear sacramental confessions. Still, she encourages and consoles staff in resuscitation attempts before accompanying patient and family to the emergency room of the adjacent acute care trauma center and hospital.

Sister Chaplain said that she defines her job as serving both as a guide and as a witness to individual patient's and staffer's search for inner faith, regardless of their affiliation to a religious group. She reported seeing anguish in church-going patients and their families as they fought to come to terms with their physical changes. Sister reported that these patients and their family members often told her that they felt betrayed by God, by circumstances, and by resultant bodily failure. They asked her, sometimes repeatedly: "Why me?" "Why the accident?" "Why the stroke?" "Why the illness?" After all, Sister Chaplain reported, the patients and their families told her that they went to church regularly. They said that they lived a good life before their traumatic accident or illness. Only now, instead of the good fortune and peace they felt they deserved as a reward for faithfulness to God, they found themselves facing uncertain and painful futures.

According to Sister Chaplain, she frequently observed male patients and members of specific ethnic groups. These were ones whose world and religious views of disability, illness, and injury were such that they as patients were almost frozen into inaction and unable to take part in any of the recommended therapies or treatments offered to them. Uncooperative patients are usually quickly discharged to make room for compliant patients who are willing to work. On occasion, reluctant patients could be seen sitting head down and motionless in wheelchairs in the hallways outside their rooms, parked there by staff hoping that they would participate in therapy after watching staff and other patients, and listening to their hopeful talk. But these individuals had been well taught, in the context of their denomination's religious instruction, that sickness and illness were signs of their own sinfulness and of God's punishment—even when they were innocent, so to speak, and had done nothing wrong to contribute to their injury. Sister also reported counseling patients who told her they were injured in drug or alcohol related

activities or because they acted recklessly or engaged in high risk behavior. In rehabilitation, these patients had to cope with guilt layered atop physical problems.

Reflecting on encounters with patients, Sister Chaplain said,

Patients say to me that they have never spent this much time alone with themselves, thinking about their bodies or their souls. My contention is that if you accept your body, you accept your whole being that God created you as. You might not like the way that some of it looks. I have to look at my face and say: I am me. I am the face of God. Nobody else has that image of God. You see, that's how the face of God is revealed.

Sister Chaplain's observation that rehabilitation is a time of reflection is borne out in all of the patient interviews that occurred during my study. Patients spoke about how they felt that God was giving them a second chance to correct some of the things that they had done wrong in their lives. These patients reported feeling that now that they had been given a rare second chance and could end old patterns of alcohol or drug abuse or stop engaging in the recklessness and risky behavior that had so affected their lives.

On the other hand, one doctor, a unit head, discounted patients' conversion stories and claims of reform because every day he treats, on one unit, both perpetrators and victims of violence, including some repeater survivors of street violence. In addition, like other staffers, he has heard through news reports and from individuals, of the sad fate of some former patients. He has few illusions about conversion stories, saying:

I don't trust people who say, "Now my life is different." People who say that they are going to use rehabilitation as an opportunity to change their life ... there is too much for them to learn when they leave. ... I'm not impressed by people who have an epiphany while they are here and then claim to look at the world in a new light. It just doesn't happen that way. But we do have people who draw strength from their religion while they are here.

My final interviews were on the Brain Injury Unit and may confirm this doctor's opinions. Late in the research, at a point when I had nearly stopped gathering data, one of the night nurses suggested that I pay attention to what was going on with three young adult patients on the Brain Injury Unit. The three often spent a considerable amount of time together after dinner. One patient was an 18-year-old woman who, later in a taped interview, told me how she ran away from a foster home for single mothers with a friend. That night, the pair ended their day at a drug house. The young women decided to spend the night there because they had nowhere else to go. After the two fell asleep, the house was attacked. The patient's friend and all but one other person in the house were killed. Wounded and left for dead, this young woman crawled out of a broken window and escaped with her life.

On the unit, after many counseling sessions, she said she wanted to go home to once again care for the baby she had left behind. She talked for a long time. On the audiotape, in a high-pitched, excited voice, she talks repeatedly about how she feels that God saved her. All seems well, and the recurrent theme in the final portions of the interview is her hope and firm intent to change, to take advantage of this so-called second chance.

The next morning after our interview, I went to ask her a follow-up question. But she was gone. On her white metal night-stand, her small treasures and pictures still sat waiting. New clothes criss-crossed her unmade bed and hung in her open closet. She had run away from the Body Shop, not by walking out a door with her belongings, but by jumping off a second floor patio balcony with nothing but the clothes on her back and nowhere to go. Her friend said that she ran off because she did not want to return to foster care. Although she might not have wanted to return to foster care and she still may have wanted to care for her baby, her irresponsible behavior seemingly precluded the latter. Demonstrated responsibility would presumably be the agent of change.

That night, I interviewed the woman she befriended on the unit, Angie (not her real name). This would be my last patient interview. Angie said she did not want to end up like her

friend, out on the streets running with no hope and no help and no one to turn to and no place to go. In her interview, Angie also talked about her own three small children, aged eight and six years, and five months. Angie said that she was admitted to The Body Shop because she had been beaten with a baseball bat, robbed, and left for dead. Someone found her and called the police, so she survived. Angie emerged from a coma after six days in an acute care hospital, and said that she felt that God had spared her life so that she could return home and care for her children. She spoke at length about how she felt that Body Shop nursing and counseling staff taught her to love herself, to save herself, so that she, in turn, could return home and to love and care for her children once again.

My fellowship and on-site field work ended a few days later, before Angie's discharge. After all those long talks, we had a cheerful and hopeful good-bye. I packed up the books, notes, interview tapes and other material from my cabinets and desk in the corner of a large physical therapy laboratory on that Brain Injury Unit that had been my workplace for 50 to 60 hours a week for the past two years. A month later, I began a final comprehensive round of follow-up staff interviews. After one appointment, a nurse I knew saw me in a hallway and invited me to stop by for a visit. Before leaving the building, I stopped at the Brain Injury Unit nursing station to chat with some of the nurses who had befriended me during my research stay. After talking for a time, one nurse pulled me aside and asked

Do you remember the very last woman you interviewed before you left? Angie? Did you hear? She didn't make it. She was found dead in the middle of a vacant lot. Drug overdose, I hear.

Apparently, at least in Angie's case, the doctor was correct in his assessment of the unlikelihood of spiritual rebirth and change.

## Conclusions

Anthropologists need to examine questions raised by patients and staffers in in-patient institutions, such as I studied, and in the more common out-patient rehabilitation hospitals and institutes as well as in veterans' hospitals. Erving

Goffman (1986), Robert.Murphy (1987), and Sue Estroff (1993), document some of the issues related to development of self in hospitals and institutions. But much more work needs to be done to examine the social universe and experiences of those whose work centers on socializing people with disabilities in hopeful preparation for a fulfilling life in the community. Researchers need to study the way in which spirituality grows in such institutions and is expressed in this distinctive setting that may, in fact, be largely neglected by organized religious groups. Religious groups also need to examine their relationships with their once active members during the rehabilitation process.

I detect that a distinctive spirituality is emerging in these places where staffers work with patients struggling to learn acceptance of new bodies and new selves. I would argue that the spirituality of disability and rehabilitation staffers serves to compensate for the lack of an adequate, wholesome theological view of the body. Organized religion continues to stigmatize people with disabilities to neglect those who may not be able to again serve and run the churches and congregations as they did in the past. These helpers are now in need of help.

Additional research by anthropologists would be useful. Specifically, anthropologists could examine clinical pastoral ministries and how those who voluntarily or as paid staff affect patient care. Anthropologists could examine and question chaplains' and ministers' roles in hospital staff work and life and in the occupational and organizational culture of rehabilitation hospitals and institutes. And they could look into the theology that staff in places like the Body Shop bring to their work.

A developing theology may be emerging from and centered around the distinct, lived experience of people with new physical disabilities. Is this happening in the lives of patients and staffers who participate in medical rehabilitation experiences? My study shows the need for more research. Is there a theology or spirituality evidencing itself in the lived experience and social universe of those who study, work with, and learn from the growing population of people with disabilities and chronic illnesses undergoing the medical rehabilitation process? ○

## Notes

1. This article examining spirituality and religious life in an urban medical-rehabilitation hospital, euphemistically called *The Body Shop*, is based on data drawn from 88 formal and informal interviews in addition to observations conducted during a two and one-half year ethnographic study. The hospital is in the midwest of the United States, and the study was funded by the National Institutes of Health (NIH). Fieldwork took place from 1993 to 1995 under NIH Medical Rehabilitation Research Training Grant 5732-HD-07421-02. The Thomas C. Rumble Fellowships Program of Wayne State University funded additional interviewing and initial analysis. The Dissertation Grants Program of the Michigan Blue Cross—Blue Shield Foundation, by way of Grant 230-SAP/96, and the U.S. Health and Human Services Agency for Health Care Policy and Research, by way of Dissertation Grant 1-R03-HS-09603-1, funded the final analysis and report writing.

2 Diane R. Pawlowski received her Ph.D. in anthropology in 2001 from Wayne State University. She is a research associate / research anthropologist with the Wayne State University Institute for Information Technology and Culture (IITC) working on a project in the Wayne State University Medical School Department of Surgery on breast cancer lymphedema at the Karmanos Cancer Institute. She also is a research affiliate of Wayne State University's Center to Advance Palliative-care Excellence. Her United States mail address is by way of the Department of Anthropology, 137 Manoogian Hall, Wayne State University, Detroit, Michigan (MI) 48202 USA. Her IITC telephone number is 313-874-7010 and her Department of Surgery number is 313-576-4448. Her e-mail address is [ac8359@wayne.edu](mailto:ac8359@wayne.edu). She presented a version of this paper during November 19–23, 1997, at the 96th Annual Meeting of the American Anthropological Association in Washington, District of Columbia, USA.

## References Cited

- Augustine  
[1467], 1984 *Concerning the City of God against the Pagans*. Translated by Henry Bettenson. London: Penguin Books.
- "Body Shop"  
1995 *Annual Report*. A midwestern city of the United States: The "Body Shop" Medical Rehabilitation Institute.
- Estroff, Sue  
1993 *Identity, Disability, and Schizophrenia: The Problem of Chronicity. Knowledge, Power & Practice: The Anthropology of Medicine and Everyday Life*. Eds: Lindenbaum and Lock-Berkeley: University of California Press, p. 247-286.
- Goffman, Erving  
1986 *Stigma: Notes on the Management of Spoiled Identity*. New York: Touchstone Books of Simon and Schuster Publisher. First published in 1963, Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice Hall Publisher.
- Gritzer, Glean and Arluke Gritzer  
1985 *The Making of Rehabilitation: A Political Economy of Medical Specialization, 1890-1980*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Hobbes, Thomas  
[1651] 1950 *Leviathan*. New York: E. P. Dutton Publisher.
- Luborsky, Mark and Diane R. Pawlowski  
2004 "Cultural Aspects of In-Patient Rehabilitation." Unpublished manuscript for a journal article. In possession of Diane R. Pawlowski at her address in **Notes** above.
- Madorsky, J. and Corbett Madorsky  
1995 "Physiatrists: The Disability Specialists." *New Mobility* (October): 45-61.
- Mattingly, Cheryl  
1998 *Healing Dramas and Clinical Plots: The Narrative Structure of Experience*. Cambridge, England, United Kingdom: Cambridge University Press, Cambridge Studies in Medical Anthropology 7.
- Murphy, Robert  
1987 *The Body Silent*. New York. Henry Holt and Company.
- Pagels, Elaine  
1987 *Adam, Eve, and the Serpent*. New York: Vintage Books. Random House.
- 1994 Lecture in guest course titled "Semester on Evil." Ann Arbor: Department of Anthropology University of Michigan.
- Pawlowski, Diane R.  
2001 "The Body Shop: Staff Work and Life in an Urban Medical Rehabilitation Hospital." Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation. Detroit, Michigan: Department of Anthropology, Wayne State University.
- Rappaport, Roy A.  
1967 *Pigs for the Ancestors*. New Haven, Connecticut: Yale University Press.
- 1979 *Ecology, Meaning, and Religion*. Berkeley, California: North Atlantic Books.
- Sahlins, Marshall David  
1964 "Culture and Environment." Edited by Sol Tax. Chicago: Aldine Publishing Company.
- 1976 *The Use and Abuse of Biology: An Anthropological Critique of Sociobiology*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.
- Scheer, Jessica and Mark Luborsky  
1991 "Cultural Context of Polio Biographies." *Orthopedics* 14(11): 1173-1181.
- Scherer, Marcia J.  
1993 *Living in the State of Stuck: How Technologies Affect the Lives of People with Disabilities*. Gilsum, New Hampshire: Brookline Books.
- Smith, Rich  
1994 "A Force for Change." *Rehab Management* (February/March): 95-99.
- Smith, Vernon K.  
1995 "Anthropology and the Disabled." Paper presented at National Invitational Conference on Primary Care for the Disabled, Dearborn, Michigan, April 6, 1995.
- Stein, Howard F.  
1979 "Rehabilitation and Chronic Illness in American Culture: Cultural Psychodynamics of a Medical and Social Problem." *Journal of Psychological Anthropology* 2(2, Spring): 153-176.

# Golden Ages, Ghost Dances, and the Work of Mourning: A Case Study of the Webs of Relationships in an Organizational Consultation<sup>1</sup>

Howard F. Stein<sup>2</sup>

## Abstract

*Building on a triad model of change, loss, and grief, I describe the ways in which I assisted the members of a mid-western American Jewish synagogue in dealing with potentially traumatic transitions affecting the life of the congregation. Would it, in fact, survive? As what? Could the members let go of their dearly held notion of an earlier "Golden Age"? An account of the consultation is presented, one that provides so-called touchstones that will enable skilled applied anthropologists to conduct similar organizational consultations. I describe my work with an organization in the throes of change. Specifically, I describe and analyze steps in discovering that the synagogue was attempting to enact a "ghost dance" in the service of restoring a "golden age" and in helping the organization begin to mourn its irreparable losses.*

## Introduction: Organizational Golden Ages and Ghost Dances

Historically, the Ghost Dance was a short-lived apocalyptic revitalization movement begun among the demoralized Walker River Paiute by the prophet Wovoka (Jack Wilson). On January 1, 1889, Wovoka had a vision that the whites would disappear and that the ancestors would return, a renewal that could be hastened by performing the ritual circle-dance. He preached that herds of buffalo, antelope, and wild horses would flourish and that their culture, too, would thrive again. The story of hope, and its associated songs and ritual, spread like a prairie grass fire beyond the Ute and Shoshone to the Lakota and widely in the western U.S. Each tribe modified it in the direction of its own culture. Since that time, the idea of a Ghost Dance has been transmuted into a metaphor of many attempts of groups to radically renew themselves in what La Barre (1972) called a "crisis cult" (Kehoe 1989; Saffo 2006). This paper continues that literary license.

This paper is an account of an organizational consultation, specifically, an application of anthropological method to organizational problem-identification and problem-solving. It explores the web of relationships—current, past, and remembered—that constitutes part of the problem and of a possible solution. With respect to theory, this paper is about (a) the difficulty in letting go of Golden Ages—organizational and cultural —, (b) the attempt to reenact and recreate

them via metaphorical "Ghost Dances" of unrelenting, frenzied ritual activity in the present, and (c) the process of acknowledging and mourning their loss. It is an exploration of organizational "Dream Time" in which past, present, and imagined future are hopelessly conflated, so that the only imaginable future is recurrence of the past (La Barre 1972; Stein, 1994a). It is a study of organizational and wider social change. More specifically, it is a study of what Alexander and Margarete Mitscherlich (1975) call "the inability to mourn" change.

Golden Ages, part real and part illusory, are the objects of nostalgia, yearning, and idealization. They are group embodiments of what Volkan (1991) has termed a "chosen glory," which is that part of the group self-representation that musters great pride in its past. Tribal, ethnic, and national cultures, no less than workplace and other organizational cultures in complex societies, often attempt to restore if not recreate moments of greatness their members cannot accept as irrevocably lost. They transform the work of imagination into historic "fact," rewriting history in the act of supposedly restoring it. Couched in the language of continuity, they are monuments to discontinuity and a sense of dislocation in time. Over a half-century ago, psychoanalyst and anthropologist Géza Róheim posited the edifice of human culture to be an elaborate defense against the danger of object loss (1943, 1950). This paper, then, identifies some of the unconscious functions culture serves.

Attempts to freeze or reverse psychosocial time have been the subject of numerous anthropological accounts (Mooney 1896; Burrige 1960; Worsely 1957; La Barre 1971, 1972; Wallace 1956; Kehoe 1989; Devereux 1955). The present paper studies this process through an examination of the largely unconscious dynamics that underlie the difficulties of organizational change in the life of a Conservative American Jewish synagogue congregation in the United States Midwest. It explores the "organization in the mind," that is, the religious organization as a mental representation (Armstrong 2005). Specifically, the shared ego ideal (Chasseguet-Smirgel 1985) that had incorporated the organizational ideal (Baum 1989; Schwartz 1990) had become frozen in time. This paper examines the triad of change, loss, and grief (Stein 1994b) as it applies to an organization. It also explores the role of the consultant's counter-transference as a tool in helping the organizational leaders to give conscious words to the process they were unconsciously enacting. Further, it examines the beginnings of a "collective working through" (Gould 2005) during which the process of memorialization could liberate the congregation from serving almost literally as a living memorial. Finally, it is hoped that it will contribute to the psychodynamically informed anthropological understanding of the "Brave New World" of relentless massive social dislocation in the face of globalization in the late 20th and early 21st centuries.

### A Methodological Overview

The present study is of my consultation with a Conservative American Jewish<sup>3</sup> congregation in the Midwest. I call the synagogue Congregation Beth El, and I call their spiritual leader Rabbi Jacob Gould. I have done my utmost to disguise the actual congregation. The consultation began in mid-2004 and has continued through this writing in April of 2006. Among the methods used in data collection and consultation were participant observation, open-ended interviewing, 360 degree consultation, and executive coaching of the rabbi, president, and president-elect of the congregation. I came to rely heavily on my own counter-transference; that is, I came to rely upon my emotional response during the consultation both as organizational data

and cues to how to respond (Stein 2004).

In mid-2004, the rabbi invited me to become a consultant to him and to the synagogue board members. Specifically, he wanted me to help them to think about the congregation's future in light of the present and past. He asked me to meet at various people's homes with a small, self-selected planning committee to help prepare for a workshop with the full board in, say, the spring of 2005. Although the format was to be like a retreat, the word *retreat* was specifically *not* to be used. I was told that many board members had attended retreats "where people talked on and on and nothing got done." I kept this taboo in mind as I met with the various groups. I said that I wished my role to be that of listener, open-ended interviewer, participant observer, and commentator and interpreter of group process at these various meetings. As progress ensued, I would present my findings on an ongoing basis. This negotiated role was acceptable to all.

Initially, I met individually with the rabbi, who had invited me to serve mainly as consultant on the process. During the fall of 2004 and winter of 2005, this one-on-one consulting was followed by three meetings with an *ad hoc* committee of four to five people, including the rabbi, the president-elect, an influential member of the older generation, and two other members of the board. This group met with the knowledge and approval of the president. At the end of January 2005, I also attended a full meeting of the synagogue board of directors, primarily as observer and listener. At the end of the meeting, I was asked to briefly describe my role in the forthcoming Board of Directors workshop in which I would serve as listener to "contain" (Bion 1970) and emotionally "hold" (Winnicott 1965) the group, while the president-elect officiated the meeting. In late spring 2005, the off-site, all-afternoon workshop took place with the entire board at a former president's home. In June of 2005, Rabbi Gould made a short speech/sermon at the annual business meeting of Beth El. I note this latter speech because I later analyze it as part of the consultation. In this case study, I intersperse group-process observations with more conventionally "factual" information about the past, present, and imagined future of congregation Beth El.



All of these meetings were interspersed by telephone calls and e-mails including telephone follow-up to the workshop. A future small-group meeting is planned. At my initial meeting with Rabbi Gould, he said that he could use my services as a psychodynamically oriented consultant to help him and the board members think through "where we are" in the life-cycle of the synagogue and to help them think about their future. He said that he sensed that the synagogue was somehow "stuck" but was unsure how and why. He was unsure how to help his congregation move ahead. This, in short, was the problem presented.

### Description of the Consultation Process

Early in our meetings, Rabbi Gould explained that he had been influenced by the work of the Alban Institute, in Herndon, Virginia. The Alban Institute is well known for its consulting activities with American religious institutions, first churches, and now synagogues. This provided his conceptual model for understanding the process of change in American religious institutions. Rabbi Gould asked me to read one of their publications, *Can Our Church Live?*, by Alice Mann (2000), which conceptualized American church history in the metaphor of organizational life-cycles. The rabbi's model of organizational life-cycle was the progression from birth to formation, stability, decline, and death. In particular, Rabbi Gould often expressed uncertainty as to whether the synagogue was in need of *revitalization*, which would restore it to its former functions and stature in Jewish life. Or was it in need of *reinvention/rethinking*, which would acknowledge decline and death, and work on re-thinking the entire enterprise from scratch, so to speak. In this view of revitalization, there is new energy, as in a new spiritual leader of the organization, but fundamentally the culture of the organization remains the same as before. In reinvention or rethinking, there is a refocusing of resources and energy for a completely new purpose, such as creating a new identity for the synagogue. The distinction is between changing the existing structure and creating a new structure.

One of the turning points in my working relationship with the rabbi and with the planning group was when he mused aloud that, up to

that point, he had been working on the premise that the congregation could be *revitalized*. But that from our discussions he was coming to have the conviction that a death needed to be acknowledged and the purpose of the synagogue needed to be *re-thought through* as if it were being created anew.

He began to distinguish, first in the small group, and later in comments to the full Board of Directors, between the *synagogue* as a physical building, and the *congregation*, as a group of Jewish people who assemble for various religious functions. He both observed and feared that many people in the congregation, especially the "old timers," had fused the two, and had even made the place more important than the people. He commented that several people had expressed to him their feeling that their sanctuary was the most beautiful they had ever seen and hoped that they never would have to move. In a similar vein, others had remarked to him that the sanctuary is beautiful, but that the congregation needed a new building in which to house it.

He remarked that, by contrast, Jews were well used historically to pulling up their roots and moving to new places. Still others thought that perhaps a reason that some of the members were so emotionally tied to their synagogue was precisely because, as Jews, they had been uprooted so much over their religious history, and at last had built a place they could call their own. The synagogue became a site in space which they could imbue with their desire for permanence and dread of exile. In short, definitions of identity were at stake and embodied in the congregation/synagogue distinction.

### Beth El's History

At this point, a brief history of Beth El will help put the consultation and its work in context. The following is a synopsis of the Beth El's history in the words of various board members woven into a single narrative:

Beth El was founded early in the 20th century of largely Russian and Polish Orthodox Jews. They formed their synagogue largely to practice their religion. The original synagogue membership was a largely mercantile community who lived in neighborhoods near



the city's downtown. They established a Jewish cemetery and had a *Shochet* (Kosher butcher). In forming a congregation, they were looking for familiarity and camaraderie. What drew them together? They had a common understanding of identity, not much discussion about it, not much introspection, not much sense of choice. They thought of themselves as *Yidn* (Yiddish, for Jews) and did what Jews did.

Their first synagogue was in an old building in the downtown district. For its first four decades, Beth El was an Orthodox Jewish synagogue.

After World War II, there was a schism between the more Orthodox members, who left, and the remainder of the more liturgically and culturally Americanized group who joined the Conservative movement. For instance, Conservative Jewish synagogues permitted mixed seating, that is, seating in which men and women sit together, in contrast to Orthodox synagogues in which they sit in separate sections of the synagogue. In 1947 a large, new building was built much farther out in a residential district. At the height of its growth in the 1950s and 1960s, Beth El numbered about 300 families or about 750 members. At that time it was the center of its members' lives.

In more recent decades, Beth El lost large numbers of members to the still more Americanized Reform Temple and to intermarriage and dropouts from religious affiliation. About twenty years ago, the Reform Temple built a large swimming pool and required membership in order to qualify for swimming. There was an exodus from the Conservative Synagogue at that time. Currently, that is circa the year 2005, Beth El has about 150 families and about 300 members. The overall Jewish population in this city of one million is estimated to be 2,500. The congregation had recently celebrated its centenary, which turned out to be both a blessing and a curse. It was a time of triumph, of basking in and remembering old glory. However, when they compared themselves as they were now with who they had once been, they fell far short of their ideal as embodied in the image and metaphor of a Golden Age.

Further, despite the reality of bitter conflict

and schism in the synagogue's history, congregants tended to remember that there had been a *single* Golden Age, that there had been continuity through the synagogue's distant history. There were many members in their seventies and eighties who could remember the old synagogue, for whom it had been a lived reality rather than only a story passed down to them. They tended to merge the Orthodox and early Conservative synagogue into a single Golden Age.

They continued during the board workshop at the end of March 2005:

Today, we are much more diverse than we were a hundred years ago. What holds us together? Religious identity, faith.

The rabbi corrected them:

We are not a faith community. We are a community of practitioners. ... How do we measure stability? Growth in numbers? Budget? Programs? Facilities? Does that make us safe, successful? What phase are we at? Stability? Decline? Death?

The rabbi introduced the relation between local Conservative Jewish communities and the national headquarters:

Official Conservative Judaism in the 1980's and 1990's was out of touch with the Jewish community. They thought they could disapprove the problem of intermarriage away. They emphasized to hold the line and the fad would pass. It was not a fad and it hasn't passed. How do you define the end of a congregation? When you turn the light out? Can we accept death? Can we have a transplant of purpose? We are dependent on the money from a few who are aging. Do we need to redefine our purpose as a congregation?

Even numbers do not tell the whole story, for dues-paying membership far outnumbers attendance at religious services. This is true not only for Sabbath and Festival services, but even on the "High Holidays" of Rosh Hashanah (New Year) and Yom Kippur (Day of Atonement) when participation is greatest. Many Conservative Jews who rarely attend services during the rest of the year do so on the High Holidays. The cavernous sanctuary of Beth El was once insufficient to seat

all participants during Rosh Hashanah and Yom Kippur. The giant doors separating the sanctuary and the social auditorium behind it had to be opened, and many additional rows of chairs placed in the auditorium to accommodate the needs during the 1950s and 1960s. Today, at most 150 are at these services. Despite various recruiting campaigns over the years, the sanctuary is conspicuous for its empty seats. Instead of members of the congregation attending virtually every activity during the year, various small groups of people attend specific functions. For example, one group attends Friday evening services. Another attends Saturday morning services. Still another attends daily morning *Minyan*, a religious quorum of at least ten adult Jews. There is some overlap between groups, but not much.

Many people who remained at Beth El—especially of the older generations, say 60 and older—have acted as if the vastly diminished number is only a temporary reversal, that the hundreds of members lost can be retrieved. They long for the days when there were 25 people in each year's Hebrew School confirmation class and think that it can be restored. Recruitment and fund-raising campaigns are ongoing. Yet there is never enough money to do all the renovation and sponsor all the activities that people would like. The current spiritual leader, Rabbi Gould, who has completed his second year as spiritual and ritual leader, has labored exhaustively to create innovative Sabbath services, to initiate new ritual and educational programs, to do community outreach and recruit new synagogue members, and so forth. Each year, the president and members of the synagogue board have organized fund raisers with only modest results. The large physical plant of the synagogue, built in the mid-1940s, shows its age and is in need of major renovation. It is far too large for the current and projected congregation. Major renovation or moving the congregation has been discussed for over twenty years.

The rabbi well realized that he had come to lead the synagogue at a time of decline. He had a sense of crisis that something new must be done. The new rabbi had come into a widespread *leadership vacuum* and *leadership crisis*. Members used these terms in the planning sessions. Synagogue membership was declining as was the financial

situation, and morale was generally low. The rabbi entered energetically, brimming with new ideas for doing things within the synagogue and building many bridges to the wider Jewish and non-Jewish community.

### A Modern Wovoka

In many respects, Rabbi Gould was a modern Wovoka because he formulated and led Beth El's metaphoric Ghost Dance. He could not initiate enough activities. He was always on the go, seemingly everywhere, resulting in innovative Sabbath services, new children's and adults' programs, frequent meetings, educational programs, and speaking appearances in the wider community. My impression was that the more he did, the more he saw needing to be done. He insisted that he was not tired. At a January 2005 meeting, a planning committee member said, "Rabbi Gould does not get discouraged by small turnouts to his programs." The president-elect replied: "He is running out of energy." Rabbi Gould, previously quiet and listening carefully, abruptly shifted in his chair, brightened and mused:

A light just came on in my mind! I just realized that what I'm doing is trying to recreate the past. That's what's driving the constant innovation in programs. I have to admit that I am getting tired. I realize that what I've been trying to do is impossible.

Early in the consultation process, I shared with Rabbi Gould my fantasy of the congregation bringing to him and unloading onto him their struggle with preserving continuity of the past in the face of actual great discontinuity—and his accepting the unstated assignment or errand (Apprey 1998). Later he said to me:

I had been trying to revitalize Beth El, but I realized that what was needed was renewal. The light went on in my head. I need to put energy in *new* loci of interest, not just keep propping up the *old* structures. It's a frightening thought that things at Beth El are very unstable. I know that we can't go back.

At a January 2005 planning meeting, a board member referred to a conversation she had had with one influential member of the congregation, who had said to her, "Programming is not going

to fix the basic problems. Programs aren't the solution." The president-elect shortly followed by reference to the life-cycle metaphor of congregations:

Do we revitalize? Rethink? Redefine? Reinvent? Where are we? Where do we go from here? The congregation is in mourning for our youth, what used to be.

I made a mental note that this was the first public realization that organizational loss had occurred and that the present was not the past.

He continued:

I keep hearing people say 'I remember when our Hebrew School had 25 in a confirmation class,' as if that should be possible today. ... The first step after a loss is defining what we've lost. What we're mourning [as a congregation] is not real, but embellished (that is, edited). The old days were not without problems.

Much of the imagined Golden Age had, in fact, been dysfunctional.

The president-elect's remarks raise the question: How can the congregation be in mourning, yet demonstrate an inability to mourn? I have two thoughts on this apparent contradiction. On the one hand, as a measure of the modest success thus far of the consultation, the president-elect was saying *with his own voice* ideas I had expressed in earlier small group meetings. On the other hand, the congregation was also *emotionally frozen in chronic mourning* for their romanticized past, which paradoxically signifies an *inability to fully mourn* and thus accept the finality of the loss.

In a subsequent meeting, the president-elect wondered aloud his hopes for the spring Board of Directors' workshop:

I hope there will be open and frank dialogue about where we are, where we are going, and how we get there. To go forward we have to understand where we are. ...What will be the outcome of this process of planning and of the board of directors' workshop? I hope it will be that we are purified.

He clarified his and my role in the spring workshop. He would lead the group and go through the agenda. I would keep the group

emotionally on track, so to speak, and comment on group process—including my thoughts on what we might be avoiding if the group got off track. On my drive back to my hotel that evening, I "heard" within me the chorus from Handel's oratorio *Messiah*, "And Ye Shall Purify." I took comfort from it, feeling that the process was in the direction of organizational healing, not through scapegoating, but through mourning who they had been and could no longer be, mourning the passing of at least some part of their group ego ideal. My counter-transference as a subjective response was a guide to what was beginning to happen in the organization.

Another frequent theme in the planning sessions was the widespread belief within the congregation that it was controlled by a small, powerful, wealthy group of people and families who ran things behind the scenes, an inner circle and shadow government. "People complain that the synagogue is run by the same power group." What may have been true or truer in the past continued to be accepted as the norm in the present. Many Board members as well as other members of the synagogue believed that nothing substantial could be changed because of the shadow government that ruled autocratically. By contrast, one venerable member of the congregation said:

I've heard the same story about secret leadership of the *Schul* [synagogue] for fifty years. It's an excuse not to get involved. People say, 'I have no power, because it's [the synagogue] a cliquish organization.' So they blame the secret leadership.

On various occasions during and after the planning sessions, participants would approach me individually to thank me for providing an atmosphere in which the unsayable, even the unthinkable, could be said and thought, as with what Bollas (1989) called the "unthought known." One woman said, for instance, "I'm so glad you're here. When I talk when you're here, I don't feel crazy."

I remember that on at least three occasions I brought up my fantasy of the entire congregation having a *Yizkor* or memorial service for the past. It would be about what people they had been and about whom they needed to imagine they had

become. The fantasy was a metaphor at once my own and a core feature in the Jewish ritual calendar, hence liturgical property of the congregation. I had brought it up in an early meeting with Rabbi Gould, later during a planning meeting, and finally at the Board of Directors workshop. During the Jewish ritual calendar, memorial services are held four times during the year, on Yom Kippur and on the last days of the three festivals of Succoth, Passover, and Shavu'oth. The focus of these special services is remembering *as a group* deceased family members and Jewish martyrs. My fantasy was a memorial not of others, but of *themselves*. After sharing this image, I let it go and wondered what the leaders and group might do with it and how they might *play* with it (Winnicott 1971).

All of the previous planning committee work and conversations with Rabbi Gould were undertaken to lay the emotional and conceptual groundwork for the Board of Directors' workshop, which was held at a former president's home at the end of March, on Easter Sunday. The question of "What is our purpose?" was a thread through the several-hour set of Power Point presentations and earnest discussion. The word "candid" was used at least a dozen times. I urged participants not only to speak, but to care enough for each other to listen, to try to understand others' points of view. I said that my *modus operandi* in groups was largely the approach of American radio news editorialist Paul Harvey, with whom most of them would be familiar. He would begin with a statement of the widely accepted account of some news story, unearth many details at variance with the conventional story, and at the end say, "And now you know the *rest* of the story." Now it is true that in anthropology and psychoanalysis there is no final "rest" of the story, only a deeper, more honest version of the story. I explained this, too. They understood, though, that we were exploring stories together. I was pleasantly surprised that at several points in the discussion, a speaker would refer back to me and encourage attentive listening. As time went on during the workshop, people gradually shifted from position-taking on issues to storytelling. The atmosphere changed from hard to soft, intimate.

At one point, Rabbi Gould asked "What

ties everything together? What ties everything together is *Tikkun Olam*, repair of the world [a central theme in the *Kabbalah*, the Jewish mystical writings]. That's our spirituality—concern for the world." The issue of Rabbi Gould's tireless efforts came up again, when he said "You can't keep up that energy for special events." Later in the workshop, the issue of decline at Beth El came up. Rabbi Gould said: "When did the decline start and who is to blame? Everyone and no one. Blaming only accelerated the decline. Many leave. Few join. It becomes a depressed congregation." He soon continued with a question everyone was avoiding: "How do you define the end of a congregation? When you turn the light out? Can we accept death? And then perform a transplant of purpose? We are dependent on money from a few who are aging. Do we need to *redefine* our purpose?" Participants began to speak compassionately toward each other, recognizing the various burdens that had been placed on them and that they had accepted as part of service to Beth El.

Three months later, at the synagogue's annual business meeting in June 2005, Rabbi Gould made public his new vision of the past, present, and future of Beth El. This occurred in a mini-sermon that indicated he had metabolized, so to speak, many of the thoughts and sentiments shared over the past months in the small meetings and at the Board of Directors workshop. I made some notes during his talk; the following synthesizes these notes:

Two words come to mind to think about our direction: *memorial* and *legacy*. Our congregation is 101 years old. We want to keep alive memories of other times. A community of memory is the Jewish way. Memorial is a reminder to the future of what took place in the past. We must have a memorial but not *be* the memorial. A legacy is what we give of the present to the future. Legacy is not the same as the building, but is wisdom, good will. We went through trying experiences and are healing from the experiences. The month of Elul, which is still several months ahead, is a month of forgiveness, when we recognize past failings. How do we increase our vitality as a congregation? Not fund raising, not a

new building, not new programs. But look into ourselves and acknowledge past mistakes and forgive. I suggest that we make this an Elul year, to make reconciliation among our congregation. It is traditional to blow the shofar at services during Elul. In that spirit I will blow the shofar now to inaugurate our Elul year here at Beth El. We need to become ambassadors for our synagogue. We need to build an atmosphere of *Hesed* (mercy) and *Shalom* (peace). We need to make Beth El a congregation of integrity. We are a synagogue in transition. I look forward to many future anniversaries of the synagogue.

In invoking *memorial* and *legacy* with respect to his congregation's past, present, and future, Rabbi Gould implicitly addressed how much their sense of history had been bound up with monolithic myth and legend. In fact, part of the congregation's fixity in space and time lay in their having tried to embody the myth and legend of Beth El. To use a different metaphor, Rabbi Gould tried to "un-freeze" the process of story-making and storytelling, freeing the congregation—and himself—to develop and narrate new stories.

The next phase will be a reconvening of the planning group and discussing where to go from here. It feels as if some heavy burden has *begun* to lift. It remains to be seen whether this working through will continue and how the future of Beth El is imagined. (For an extensive discussion of the role of traumatic loss and complicated and incomplete mourning in Jewish history, see Falk 1996).

### **Discussion: Anthropological Reflections on Organizational History and the Process of Consultation**

The history of Beth El and the various meetings and consultations of which I was a part are rich in psychodynamic processes. Their elucidation contributes, I believe, both to (1) an understanding of the history of Beth El and of current leadership / followership, and (2) clues as to how a psychodynamically informed anthropological consultant might be of help to the organization. To begin with, Beth El has both internal and external properties. Perhaps its most emo-

tionally salient feature is the persistent image of the Golden Age, embodiment of idealized, fused self and object representations. The image of the synagogue is paradoxical. At the conscious level, it almost personifies the Golden Age of Beth El, the era in which the congregation was most alive and vital. But at the unconscious level, it seemed to be a living memorial in which the group had located the past in the present, almost like a tomb in which to inter the dead representations. It was filled with undigested projections. At the beginning of the consultation, the organizational leader, Board of Directors, and congregation had been, out-of-awareness, engaged in an organizational Ghost Dance (La Barre 1972; Saffo 2005) in an effort to re-establish the Golden Age, metaphorically to bring the dead back to life.

Over the past several decades, Beth El seemed to have lost, if not abandoned its mission. It should be noted that this was the second time and thus not the first time that this had happened in Beth El's often tumultuous, discontinuous history. Change had taken place that could not be acknowledged. There had recently been many bold experiments to freshen up its product / service line, so to speak. But these occurred at the intersection of two very different, unarticulated understandings of Beth El's mission. One was for the members to serve the congregation according to the older mission, and the other was for the congregation to serve the members according to the more recent mission.

Over the course of the various meetings I attended there was a gradual loosening of the firmly held *paranoid-schizoid* perception of and action in the world, and an assumption of a more *depressive* understanding of and response to others (Klein 1946; Ogden 1989). That is, relationships between participants were less ruled by splitting, projection, rigid position taking, and mistrust, and were more governed by empathy, careful listening, and a desire to repair wounded relationships. Participants emerged as complex people with real feelings, rather than wooden figures.

The current rabbi and president-elect were clearly *reparative* leaders rather than narcissistically destructive ones (Volkan 1980). The rabbi's imagery of *Tikkun Olam* (repair of the world),

*Hesed* (mercy) and *Shalom* (peace) is poignant evidence of this. Leaders and group made emotional use of the comments and fantasies I shared with them, including that of memorial and mourning. On some occasions, they made conscious reference to my thoughts; on others, they incorporated and identified with them as entirely their own.

The rabbi came to understand that he had been appointed the container and agent of the vast projective identifications from the congregation to prevent organizational death by restoring the past. He and much of his congregation were engaged in a manic defense against experiencing loss and grief. Of this, Elisabeth Young-Bruehl writes:

Those in the Freudian tradition who developed Freud's ideas on mourning and melancholia—chiefly Abraham, Klein, and Riviere among the early circle—noted that mania follows mourning if the inner world disturbed by loss can be rebuilt, restored to order. (Manic defense is a desperate effort to bring this result about, or to leap over the painful mourning process.) (Young-Bruehl 2003: 282).

Both Rabbi Gould and the group(s) came to understand that they were unconsciously enacting a drama in which he was to be the group messiah / redeemer to avert the sense of loss—and that the task was impossible to fulfill. Part of the group process consisted of gentle interpretation of the action. Repeating gave way to remembering and working through (Freud 1914; Mersky 1999; Hirsch 1996). Frenetic action, enacting the *inability to mourn* (Mitscherlich and Mitscherlich 1975), was succeeded by reflection, mourning, and the beginning of reconciliation—not only with others in the congregation, but with who they currently were. The congregation was less imprisoned in a fantasy about the past as they became more liberated to deal with current reality.

## Conclusions

This paper has explored the dynamics of organizational change and of anthropological process consultation through the “lens” of a century-old American Conservative Jewish syna-

gogue. It has illustrated the role of the triad of change, loss, and grief in the experience of organization members. It has discussed the role of idealizing the past—the Golden Age of the institution—and of insisting that it can be recovered—via a Ghost Dance—as a defensive tool against recognizing irreversible loss and experiencing grief. I have argued that organizational and wider cultural discourse can serve as a social defense to contain the anxiety which in turn keeps the experience of loss and mourning at bay (Jaques 1955; Wastell 2003). More broadly, I have argued that organizations, no less than entire cultures, can undergo Ghost Dances to attempt to revive the glorified past (La Barre 1972; Saffo 2005).

I have shown how the *inability to mourn* often entails a single-minded frenzy to reverse time and to restore the past glory. I have described the consultation process during which at least some of the frozen time began to thaw, and the crucial role that *reparative* organizational leadership played in facilitating that thaw. I have also illustrated the use of observer / consultant countertransference in understanding and working with organizations. It is my hope that this psychodynamically informed applied anthropological process can be utilized by other organizational researchers and consultants, action researchers, and applied anthropologists in their work to understand and address the complexities of organizational change. Put philosophically, as Bill Moyers wrote, “We must match [modern science] to what the ancient Israelites called *hochma*—the science of the heart, the capacity to see and feel and then to act as if the future depended on us” (2005:10). ○

## Notes

1. On April 29, 2006, this paper was presented at the 26th Annual Meeting of the High Plains Society for Applied Anthropology at Estes Park, Colorado. An earlier version of this paper was presented at Professorial Rounds, Department of Psychiatry and Behavioral Sciences, University of Oklahoma Health Sciences Center, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma, USA on October 5, 2005. It was also presented at the 2005 Annual Colloquium of the Center for the Study of Organizational Change, University of Missouri, Harry S. Tru-

man School of Public Affairs, Columbia, Missouri, USA, October 28–29, 2005. I acknowledge with gratitude the helpful criticisms that Seth Allcorn, Ph.D., made on earlier drafts of this paper and the suggestions made by an anonymous peer reviewer for this journal.

2. Howard F. Stein's 1972 Ph.D. in psychological and medical anthropology is from the University of Pittsburgh. In the Department of Family and Preventive Medicine at the University of Oklahoma Health Sciences Center, he is a full professor and the special assistant to the chair. He may be reached there at 900 Northeast 10th Street, Oklahoma City, OK 73104 USA. At **howard-stein@ouhsc.edu** he may be reached by e-mail and by telephone at 405-271-8000, extension 32211.

3. Conservative Judaism is one of the three major branches of American Judaism, which consists of Orthodox, Conservative, and Reform Judaism. Broadly speaking, as a movement that began in Europe in the mid-19th century, Conservative Judaism seeks to conserve Jewish tradition rather than to reform it. For instance, Conservative Judaism retains a lengthy Hebrew liturgy and laws of dietary observance. Both Conservative and Reform Judaism evolved out of responses to the European Enlightenment (Haskalah). See [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Conservative\\_Judaism](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Conservative_Judaism); and <http://www.jewishvirtuallibrary.org/jsourc/Judaism/conservatives.html>; <http://www.jtsa.edu/about/cj/sacredcluster.shtml>.

## References Cited

Apprey, Maurice

- 1998 "Reinventing the Self in the Face of Received Transgenerational Hatred in the African American Community." *Mind and Human Interaction* 9(1): 30–37.

Armstrong, David

- 2005 *Organization in the Mind: Psychoanalysis, Group Relations and Organizational Consultancy*. London: Karnac Publisher.

Baum, Howell S.

- 1989 "Organizational Politics Against Organizational Culture: A Psychoanalytic Perspective." *Human Resource Management* 28(2): 191–207.

Bion, Wilfred R.

- 1970 *Attention and Interpretation*. In *Seven Servants: Four Works by Wilfred R. Bion*. New York: Jason Aronson, 1977.

Bollas, Christopher

- 1989 *The Shadow of the Object: Psychoanalysis of the Unthought Known*. New York: Columbia University Press.

Burridge, Kenelm O. L.

- 1960 *Mambu: A Melanesian Millennium*. London: Methuen Publisher.

Chasseguet-Smirgel, Janine

- 1985 *The Ego Ideal: A Psychoanalytic Essay on the Malady of the Ideal*. New York: W.W. Norton Publisher.

Devereux, George

- 1955 "Charismatic Leadership and Crisis." *Psychoanalysis and the Social Sciences* 4: 145–157.

Falk, Avner

- 1996 *A Psychoanalytic History of the Jews*. Cranbury, New Jersey: Associated Universities Presses.

Freud, Sigmund

- 1914 "Remembering, Repeating, and Working Through." In *The Standard Edition of the Complete Psychological Works of Sigmund Freud* 12: 145–156. James Strachey, translator from the German. London: Hogarth Press, 1958.

Gould, Laurence J.

- 2005 "Collective Working Through: The Role and Function of Memorialization." Paper presented at the Symposium of the International Society for the Psychoanalytic Study of Organizations, Baltimore, Maryland, June 17, 2005.

Hirsch, Irwin

- 1996 "Observing-participation, mutual enactment, and the new classical models." *Contemporary Psychoanalysis* 32: 359–383.

Jaques, Elliott

- 1955 "Social Systems as Defence Against Persecutory and Depressive Anxiety." In *New Directions in Psycho-Analysis*. Melanie Klein, P. Heimann, and R. Money-Kyrle, Editors. Pages 478–498. New York: Basic Books.

Kehoe, Alice B.

- 1989 *The Ghost Dance: Ethnohistory and Revitalization*. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston Publishers.



- Klein, Melanie  
1946 "Notes on Some Schizoid Mechanisms." *International Journal of Psycho-Analysis* 27: 99-110.
- La Barre, Weston  
1971 "Materials for a History of Studies of Crisis Cults: A Bibliographic Essay," *Current Anthropology* 12(1)(February): 3-44 ("Reply to Commentators," Pages 36-37).  
1972 *The Ghost Dance: The Origins of Religion*. New York: Dell Publishing Company.
- Mann, Alice  
2000 *Can Our Church Live?* Herndon, Virginia: Alban Institute.
- Mersky, Rose R.  
1999 "Falling from Grace"—When Consultants Go Out of Role: Enactment in the Service of Organizational Consultancy." Revised version. Paper presented at the International Society for the Psychoanalytic Study of Organizations. Toronto, June 1999.
- Mitscherlich, Alexander and Margarete Mitscherlich  
1975 *The Inability to Mourn: Principles of Collective Behavior*. New York: Grove Press. First published in 1967.
- Mooney, James  
1991 *The Ghost-Dance Religion and Wounded Knee*. New York: Dover Publications. First published in 1896.
- Moyers, Bill  
2005 "Welcome to Doomsday." *The New York Review of Books* 52(5, March 24): 8-10.
- Ogden, Thomas H.  
1989 *The Primitive Edge of Experience*. Northvale, New Jersey: Jason Aronson Publisher.
- Róheim, Géza  
1943 *The Origin and Function of Culture*. New York: Doubleday and Company. Reprinted in 1971.  
1950 *Psychoanalysis and Anthropology*. New York: International Universities Press. Reprinted in 1968.
- Saffo, Paul  
2005 "The Ghost Dances: Half the World Is Rushing Toward the Future and the Other Toward the Past; Both Have Weapons." *California Monthly* (September/October): 33-34.
- Schwartz, Howard S.  
1990 *Narcissistic Process and Corporate Decay: The Theory of the Organizational Ideal*. New York: New York University Press.
- Stein, Howard F.  
1994a *The Dream of Culture*. New York: Psyche Press.  
1994b "Change, Loss and Organizational Culture: Anthropological Consultant as Facilitator of Grief-Work." In *National Association of Practicing Anthropologists (NAPA) Bulletin* 14, *Practicing Anthropology in Corporate America: Consulting on Organizational Culture*. Edited by Ann Jordan. Pages 66-80. Washington: American Anthropological Association.  
2004 "Countertransference and Organizational Knowing: New Frontiers and Old Truths." *Free Associations* (United Kingdom) 11(Part 3, No. 59): 325-337.
- Stein, Howard F. and Robert F. Hill  
1977 *The Ethnic Imperative: Exploring the New White Ethnic Movement*. University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press.
- Volkan, Vamik D.  
1980 "Narcissistic Personality Organization and 'Reparative' Leadership." *The International Journal of Group Psychotherapy* 30(2): 131-152.  
1991 "On 'Chosen Trauma'." *Mind and Human Interaction* 3(1, July): 13.
- Wallace, Anthony F.C.  
1956 "Revitalization Movements." *American Anthropologist* 58: 264-281.
- Wastell, David G.  
2003 "Organizational Discourse as a Social Defense: Taming the Tiger of Electronic Government." In *Global and Organizational Discourse about Information Technology*. Edited by E. Wynn, E. Whitley E., M. D. Myers, and J. DeGross. Pages 179-195. Dordrecht: Kluwer Publisher.
- Winnicott, Donald W.  
1965 *The Maturation Processes and the Facilitating Environment*. New York: International Universities Press.  
1971 *Playing and Reality*. New York: Basic Books.
- Worsley, Peter M.  
1957 *The Trumpet Shall Sound*. London: MacGibbon and Kee Publishers.
- Young-Bruehl, Elisabeth  
2003 "Where Do We Fall When We Fall in Love?" *JPCS: Journal for the Psychoanalysis of Culture and Society* 8(2, Fall): 279-288.



# Animals and the United States National Register of Historic Places

Thomas F. King<sup>2</sup>

## Abstract

*Can culturally significant animals—as well as archaeological sites, old buildings, and places of cultural importance to an American Indian tribe or other community, be eligible for the U.S. National Register of Historic Places—and hence eligible for special consideration in project planning by federal agencies? Two recent cases have raised this seldom-if-ever-before considered question. Although several answers are viable, I think the most efficient approach is to consider animals as possible elements that contribute to the eligibility of places—districts, sites, buildings, structures, or objects—for the National Register of Historic Places.*

## Introduction

In two recent instances, questions have come to my attention about the relevance of animals to the United States National Register of Historic Places, and vice-versa. I think this issue—which I confess I had not realized was an issue until it came up in these cases—merits some discussion, particularly among cultural anthropologists who may apply their skills to evaluating the National Register eligibility of places and things valued by living communities. We are fairly often asked to perform such evaluations because eligibility for the National Register triggers legal requirements for community and official consultation during the planning of federal agency actions like construction projects and the issuance of licenses. Properties are defined in regulation as “districts, sites, buildings, structures, and objects” (36 Code of Federal Regulations 60.4) and are determined eligible or ineligible for the National Register through consultation between federal agencies and state or tribal historic preservation officers. Or in contested cases, the keeper of the National Register, who is the U.S. National Park Service, makes the determination of eligibility.

### Case One: The Klamath, A River in which Salmon Swim

One of the cases involves a river valued for its spawning salmon coming in from the sea, the Klamath River of Oregon and California. Salmon are tremendously important to the cultures and economies of the American Indian tribes that live along the river, and are deeply wrapped up in their spiritual lives—as are other fish and wildlife in and around the river, and

indeed the river itself. In the opinion of the tribes, and their cultural resource consultant (the author), the river is eligible for the National Register of Historic Places as a traditional cultural property under National Register criterion A (36 Code of Federal Regulations 60.4(a)). We argue that the fish, other wildlife, and plants native to the river, and particularly the salmon, are *contributing elements*, that is, elements that contribute to the river's significance, because without them the river's cultural integrity would be compromised (King 2004). Rather missing the point, the proponent of a project that affects the river has asserted that its effects on the river's fish need not be reviewed under Section 106 of the National Historic Preservation Act of 1966 (NHPA), as amended, because “animals are not eligible for the National Register.” This case is currently under review before the Federal Energy Regulatory Commission, but all involved appear currently to accept, if grudgingly, the tribal argument that the river as a whole, with its fish, is eligible for the National Register.

### Case Two: The Dugongs of Okinawa

The other case, argued before the U.S. District Court for the Northern District of California in San Francisco, is rather more complex. It involves application of Section 402 of the National Historic Preservation Act, which requires federal agencies to consider the effects of their actions on properties listed in a host country's *equivalent* of the National Register (16 United States Code 470a-2)<sup>2</sup>. The plaintiffs in the case, referred to as *Okinawa Dugong v. Rumsfeld*, argued that the U.S. Navy violated Section 402 by not considering the effects of a project in

which it is involved on Okinawa on a population of marine mammals that is listed on Japan's *cultural heritage registry*.

At issue, of course, was the equivalence of Japan's registry to the U.S. National Register of Historic Places. On March 2, 2005, District Court Judge Marilyn Hall Patel denied a motion by the U.S. Department of Defense to dismiss the lawsuit, which challenges plans to construct a new airbase in a bay on the eastern coast of Okinawa. The continuing concern is that the airbase would be built over a coral reef that comprises the remaining habitat of the endangered Okinawa dugong, a marine mammal that is a cultural icon of the Okinawan people and hence is listed in Japan's cultural heritage registry.

Supporters of the marine mammals, and their cultural resource consultant (the author), said the two lists are equivalent—that both were designed to identify aspects of the human environment to which their respective societies attach historical and cultural significance, but achieved this purpose in slightly different ways. We argued that to demand that every nation's register be a mirror image of the National Register would make Section 402 meaningless. We suggested

that if the marine mammals were in the United States, the National Register might very well recognize their cultural significance by listing the bay within which they make their home. The agency argued that the registers are not equivalent because “animals are not eligible for the National Register.”

In her 31-page decision, Judge Patel essentially found for the plaintiffs (*Dugong v. Rumsfeld* 2005).

I do not want to dwell on the particulars of these cases. Instead, I would like to work through the question of whether and how animals—living animals, that is, not animal remains in archaeological sites or animals represented in art and

architecture—can in any sense be eligible for the National Register.

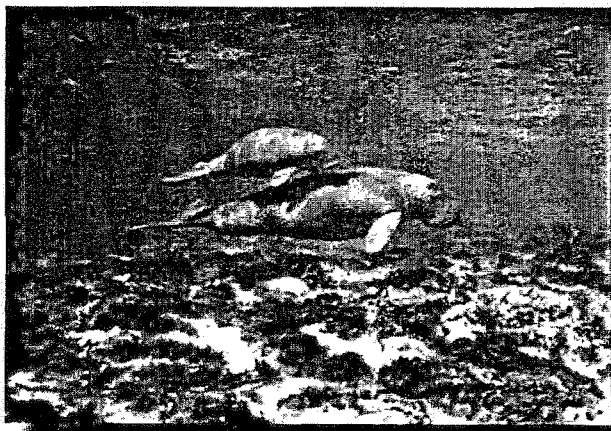
## A Cow for the Keeper

Let us begin by accepting the obvious fact that the National Register of Historic Places is, by name, a register of *places*. A *place* in National Register parlance can be a *district*, a *site*, a *building*, a *structure*, or an *object*. We can engage in clever arguments about whether an animal might fit into one or more of these categories. Surely an animal is a *structure* made up of bone, flesh, sinew and skin; surely a whole herd of them comprises a *district*. But, we can counter-argue, they are not made by human beings. But, we can counter-counter-argue, neither are many landscapes, but natural landscapes can still be eligible for the National Register because of events in history with which they are associated, the cultural freight they carry. The court in *Dugong v. Rumsfeld*

in fact concluded that in its view, an animal could meet the National Register definition of an *object*. The court pointed out that at least one tree had been regarded as eligible for the National Register, and suggested that what goes for a plant could go for an animal. But ...

Let's skip all that and accept as given that if I were to propose a cow

as eligible for the National Register, the keeper of the National Register would not accept it. This would be so even if it were the first artificially cloned five-legged cow, carried the reincarnated soul of Teddy Roosevelt, was over 50 years old, and had single-hoofedly apprehended Usama bin Laden. For good or ill, and unlike people in some other countries, we do not nominate animals to the National Register. What we *do*, I believe—though we do not usually give it much thought—is regard animals as elements that contribute to those historic properties with which they're associated, and hence as aspects of such properties that should be considered in planning.



Okinawa dugongs similar to this pair (which are actually Australian dugongs) are the subjects of litigation in *Dugong vs. Rumsfeld*. Courtesy of Great Barrier Reef Marine Park Authority.

## Contributing Elements and Their Kin

What is a *contributing element*? Although the term is widely used in an informal sort of way, I can find no published National Register definition. A search of the Internet on September 15, 2004, using the Google search engine for the terms *contributing element* and *National Register* yielded 608 combinations of the terms. In most cases, they involved sites and structures thought to contribute to National Register-eligible districts in the course of Section 106 review, tax credit certification, or actions by local historic district commissions.

The National Register does define a *contributing resource*—specifically with reference to historic districts—as “a building, site, structure, or object adding to the historic significance of a property” (National Register of Historic Places 1997). If we allow it, following this definition would take us back into debating whether a cow is a structure, or perhaps an object. But to generalize, it appears that a *contributing resource* in a historic district is an element of the district that helps make it the historical, architectural, or cultural entity it is. Various National Register bulletins provide direction that is generally consistent with this interpretation.

*National Register Bulletin 15, How to Apply the National Register Criteria for Evaluation* (Andrus and Shrimpton 2002) refers repeatedly to *important features* in discussing property integrity; this seems to mean the same thing as *contributing resource*, but is applied to a broader range of phenomena. Feature types alluded to in the bulletin include topographic features, vegetation, and specific elements of a building’s exterior or interior.

*National Register Bulletin 16A, How to Complete the National Register Nomination Form* (National Register of Historic Places 1997), directs nominators to list the *specific features* of a building, giving as examples porches, verandas, porticos, stoops, windows, doors, chimneys, and dormers. It also draws attention to *important decorative elements* like finials, pilasters, barge-boards, brackets, half-timbering, sculptural relief, balustrades, corbelling, cartouches, and murals or mosaics, and to interior features such as floor plans, stairways, functions of rooms, spatial

relationships, wainscoting, flooring, paneling, beams, vaulting, architraves, moldings, and chimney-pieces. With respect to historic districts, it directs the nominator to count contributing buildings, sites, structures, and objects. Something that contributes to a district

adds to the historic associations, historic architectural qualities, or archeological values for which a property is significant ... [because it either is eligible for the National Register in its own right or because] it was present during the period of significance, relates to the documented significance of the property, and possesses historic integrity or is capable of yielding important information about the period (National Register of Historic Places 1997).

*National Register Bulletin 40, Guidelines for Identifying, Evaluating, and Registering Battlefields* says that

contributing resources may include all buildings extant at the time of the battle (including buildings that served as headquarters, hospitals, or defensive positions); structures such as the original road network on the battlefield; stone walls or earthworks used as defensive positions, or bridges over important waterways, sites such as burial sites, or objects such as statues and markers (Andrus 1999).

*National Register Bulletin 30, Guidelines for Evaluating and Documenting Rural Historic Landscapes* (McClelland et al. 1999), discusses how a landscape displays *characteristics* that define its significance. Some of these characteristics are general influences on the landscape, such as *response to the natural environment* and *cultural traditions*, but others are more specific *components*, such as circulation networks, boundary demarcations, buildings, structures, and objects whether isolated or in clusters, archeological sites, and small-scale elements like footbridges and signs. Most relevant to the question of animals is this bulletin’s treatment of *vegetation related to land use*, also listed as a *component* that may help define a landscape’s character:

Various types of vegetation bear a direct relationship to long-established patterns of land use. Vegetation includes not only crops, trees, or shrubs planted for agricultural and ornamental purposes, but also trees that have grown up incidentally along fence lines, beside roads, or in abandoned fields. Vegetation may include indigenous, naturalized, and introduced species (McClelland et al. 1999).

While many features change over time, vegetation is, perhaps, the most dynamic. It grows and changes with time, whether or not people care for it. Certain functional or ornamental plantings, such as wheat or peonies, may be evident only during selected seasons. Each species has a unique pattern of growth and life span, making the presence of historic specimens questionable or unlikely in many cases. Current vegetation may differ from historic vegetation, suggesting past uses of the land (McClelland et al. 1999).

So in the case of a landscape, at least, living things can clearly be components that contribute to a property's character.

The relative importance of a property's different parts is often an issue in building maintenance and rehabilitation. Part II of the form used to apply for certification of a rehabilitation project for federal income tax credits requires that individual elements of a building to be rehabilitated be identified and described, including information about their relationship to the building (National Park Service n.d.). The applicant goes on to describe whether and how each such element will be modified by the rehabilitation work. The reason for this detailed treatment is not made very obvious by the instructions for completing the application form, but *Preservation Brief 32, Making Historic Properties Accessible* indicates that the rationale is to preserve that which contributes to the building's character. In this bulletin, Thomas Jester and Sharon Park (1993) emphasize the need to

identify which *character defining features and spaces* [italics mine] must be protected whenever any changes are anticipated ... [such as] ... construction materials, the form and style

of the property, the principal elevations, the major architectural or landscape features, and the principal public spaces.

Charles Birnbaum and Christine Capella Peters, in the *Secretary of the Interior's Standards for the Treatment of Historic Properties with Guidelines for the Treatment of Cultural Landscapes* (1996); also refer to *character-defining features*, defining such a feature as any "prominent or distinctive aspect, quality, or characteristic of a cultural landscape that contributes significantly to its physical character." Although the examples they go on to provide are all relatively static, and in some cases non-living, namely, "land use patterns, vegetation, furnishings, decorative details and materials," they define the term *cultural landscape* itself as

a geographic area (including both cultural and natural resources and the *wildlife or domestic animals* [italics mine] therein) associated with a historic event, activity, or person or exhibiting other cultural or aesthetic values (Birnbaum and Peters 1996:4).

In summary, then, whether the term used is *contributing element*, *contributing resource*, *character-defining feature*, *important feature*, or just *component*, it is widely recognized that some elements of a property help to define its significance, character, and integrity while others do not.

Examining my own use of the term *contributing element*, and the use of the same and similar terms by others, I think we're all talking about the same thing. Those aspects of a district, site, building, structure or object that help define its character contribute to its significance and integrity, and hence to its eligibility for the National Register. Those that do not help define the property's character do not contribute to its significance, integrity, and eligibility. We regularly discuss whether a given piece of a building, part of a site, or segment of a landscape contributes to the property's eligibility. Examples can be found occasionally in National Register nominations. More often they are found in eligibility documentation. Still more frequently they appear in rehabilitation plans and in arguments about what does and does not have to be attended to during review of project impacts. Does the elevator lobby help define the character of the court-

house? Does the disturbed 19th century component contribute to the archaeological site's research value? Does the southeast slope of the valley contribute to the character of the landscape? *Contributing element* is not always the phrase we use in identifying important parts of a property, but it is a widely used term and is as good a term as any.

### Can a Cow Contribute?

So, can an animal—or a herd, pride, pod, covey, or other group of animals—contribute to the eligibility of a property? Can it help define such a property's character? The answer, I think, is obviously “yes.” Consider a historic zoo—say, the National Zoo in Washington D.C. If you took away the animals, would the National Zoo lose an important aspect of its character? Certainly. Would it become ineligible for the National Register? Probably not because it would still have historical associations and architectural qualities that would make it eligible. But would it have lost an important degree of integrity? Certainly because the animals are an important and, indeed, central feature defining the zoo's character.

The same is obviously true of a landscape in which buffalo roam or deer and antelope play. This is why the *Secretary of the Interior's Standards for the Treatment of Historic Properties with Guidelines for the Treatment of Cultural Landscapes* defines the term *cultural landscape* to include *wildlife or domestic animals* (Birnbaum and Peters 1996:4). As an example, consider a bay in which a community has traditionally maintained a fishery. There are many specific features around the bay that are associated with the community's fishing practices—docks, wharfs, piers, boats, a cannery, a fish hatchery. Some of these might be eligible for the National Register in their own rights, but collectively they are the elements that contribute to—the properties that define the character of—the bay as a National Register eligible historic district. But there is another element that is crucial to the character of the district: *fish*. If the fish go away, fishing will cease and the district will lose a key aspect of its character. It will become a sort of ghost town, a museum display. It may regain vitality with the rehabilitation of its cannery as a shopping mall and the conversion of its piers into a theme park, but its char-

acter will be fundamentally changed from what it was as the living core of a fishing community. The fish are fundamental to the bay's significance. So are the fishermen, of course, but that is another topic.

This is not to say that the bay will be ineligible for the National Register if the fish all go belly-up. There are many former fishing communities that are on the National Register for their association with fishing, even though fishing is no longer very important to their existence. Cannery Row in Monterey, California is an obvious example. A place like Cannery Row can be eligible for the National Register because it evokes a past condition, but the character of such a place is very different from that of a place in which the past condition has continued into the present. Cannery Row and a living fishing community may both be eligible for the National Register, but the things we want to try to keep in one case are beyond being of concern in the other. In the case of Cannery Row, we may not be much troubled by changes in the local sardine population—the fish no longer contribute much to the Row's character. In the case of the living community, on the other hand, change in the fish population on which the community depends is a matter of serious concern to anyone who values the community's historic and cultural character. So, I think it is entirely appropriate to identify animals—as well as plants, of course—as contributing elements, or character-defining features, of a historic property, provided they actually do contribute to that property's historic or cultural character.

This conclusion may seem self-evident; indeed, it did to me until I had to think it through in connection with the cases alluded to at the beginning of this article. This is why *National Register Bulletin 38, Guidelines for Identification and Documentation of Traditional Cultural Properties*—the only bulletin with my name on it (Parker and King 1998)—does not discuss animals, or even contributing elements. It seemed self-evident that animals—just like plants, rocks, the water in a spring—could contribute to the eligibility of a traditional cultural property, provided they have something to do with that property's character.

It is true that “the National Register doesn't

list animals,” but this is a truth without meaning. The National Register doesn’t list cornices, either, or staircases, or fenestration, or stratigraphic levels in an archeological site, but all these features may contribute to the character, the significance, the integrity, and hence the eligibility of a place. So may animals, and it is as contributing elements or character-defining features that animals are appropriately included in the National Register of Historic Places.

### **But Why Bother?**

In discussing this issue with colleagues, I’ve been asked whether I didn’t have something better to do with my time. After all, there are lots of laws protecting animals as animals, and their habitats as habitats; what good does it do to think of them in National Register terms? I think there are three reasons to do so.

First, the fact that one law applies to something doesn’t make another law inapplicable. The fact that we review project impacts under the National Environmental Policy Act of 1969, as amended (NEPA), for example, does not excuse us from considering them under the National Historic Preservation Act of 1966, as amended (NHPA), as well. An animal may be a member of an endangered species and therefore have to be considered under the Endangered Species Act of 1973 (ESA), but this does not excuse us from considering it under NEPA, or under NHPA if it has something to do with a National Register eligible property.

Second, while the consideration afforded endangered species under ESA, NEPA, and some other statutes is substantial, the consideration afforded species that *are not* particularly endangered is pretty paltry. But such plain old garden-variety species can often be of considerable cultural importance. Beef cattle aren’t endangered, but they’re pretty central to the cultural character of a cattle ranch.

Third, the interests we’re likely to be concerned about with an animal under NHPA may be quite different from those that underlie biological protection laws like the Endangered Species Act. They may even be contrary to the interests of the mainstream natural resource conservation community. The cultural significance of an animal may lie in its being hunted,

for example, while biological interests or public sympathy for cuddly critters may discourage hunting.

Remember the Makah Tribe’s taking of whales, for example (Solomon n.d.), and the Hopi use of baby eagles for ritual purposes (Revkin 2000). Tribes are not the only ones whose cultural interests in animals may not be entirely in synch with those of biologists and animal welfare aficionados. It is easy to imagine a case in which the continuing existence of a sport hunting club, intimately and historically associated with a tract of animal-rich land, might conflict with conservationists’ desires to end hunting on the same tract. Or consider the conflict between environmentalists who want to return grazing land to natural conditions and multi-generational ranchers who want to continue grazing. Desires to hunt, gather, and graze do have cultural dimensions that are often not very thoroughly considered when we look at animals only through the lens of laws like NEPA and ESA. This situation is so however one feels about the relative merits of whale hunting versus whale conservation, eaglet gathering versus eagle conservation, recreational hunting versus letting the animals live, and grazing versus natural area restoration.

### **Conclusion**

While it is true that “the National Register does not list animals,” this does not mean that animals, and impacts on animals and their habitats, are not considered or should not be considered under NHPA. Animal populations may be culturally important elements or features of a historic property, and their presence may—by itself or in combination with other features—make a property eligible for the National Register. Cultural interests in the management of animals that contribute to a historic property’s character may coincide or conflict with those of environmentalists and other segments of the population. Particularly when dealing with rural landscapes and traditional cultural properties, where animals are likely to be involved in human use or perception of the land, the relevance of animals to National Register eligibility should be explicitly considered. Where animals are relevant to a place’s cultural significance and a

federal decision may affect them, such effects need to be addressed under Section 106 of the National Historic Preservation Act. ○

## Notes

1. Thomas F. King's 1976 Ph.D. in anthropology is from the University of California at Riverside. His past experience as a federal employee in cultural resource management now serves him in his practice as a consultant, teacher, and writer currently associated with SWCA Environmental Consultants. You may contact him at [tfking106@aol.com](mailto:tfking106@aol.com) by e-mail, at 240-475-0595 by telephone, or at P.O. Box 14515, Silver Spring, Maryland (MD) 20911-4515 USA by regular mail.

2. Rather confusingly, the statute includes another section, Section 404 (16 United States Code 470x), and comprises definitions pertaining to Title IV of the National Historic Preservation Act, which created the National Center for Preservation Technology and Training of the National Park Service in Natchitoches, Louisiana.

## References Cited

Andrus, Patrick W.

1999 *National Register Bulletin 40: Guidelines for Identifying, Evaluating, and Registering America's Historic Battlefields*. Revised edition. First published in 1992. Washington: National Register of Historic Places, National Park Service. U.S. Department of the Interior. Accessed on September 14, 2004, see <http://cr.nps.gov/nr/publications/bulletins/nrb40/> and see [http://cr.nps.gov/nr/publications/bulletins/nrb40/nrb40\\_5.htm](http://cr.nps.gov/nr/publications/bulletins/nrb40/nrb40_5.htm).

Andrus, Patrick W. and Rebecca H. Shrimpton

2002 *National Register Bulletin 15: How to Apply the National Register Criteria for Evaluation*. Revised edition. First published in 1990 and revised in 1991, 1995, 1995, 1997, and 2001. Washington: National Register of Historic Places, National Park Service. U.S. Department of the Interior. See <http://cr.nps.gov/nr/publications/bulletins/nrb15/> and see as accessed on September 14, 2004, [http://www.cr.nps.gov/nr/publications/bulletins/nrb15/nrb15\\_8.htm#defining](http://www.cr.nps.gov/nr/publications/bulletins/nrb15/nrb15_8.htm#defining).

Birnbaum, Charles A and Christine Capella Peters

1996 *Secretary of the Interior's Standards for the Treatment of Historic Properties with Guidelines for the Treatment of Cultural Landscapes*. Washington: National Park Service, U. S. Department of the Interior.

Dugong v. Rumsfeld

2005 *Okinawa Dugong (Dugong dugong)*; Center for Biological Diversity; Turtle Island Restoration Network; Japan Environmental Lawyers Federation; Save the Dugong Foundation; Dugong Network Okinawa; Committee Against Heliport Construction, Save Life Society; Anna Koshiishi; Takuma Higashionna; and Yoshikazu Makishi versus Donald H. Rumsfeld, in his official capacity as the Secretary of Defense; and U.S. Department of Defense; Civil Action No. C-03-4350 (MHP). For information on the case and its at least temporary resolution in favor of the plaintiffs, the dugongs and the equivalence of the Japanese and United States registers, see <http://www.commondreams.org/news2005/0302-08.htm>, accessed on April 18, 2006.

Jester, Thomas and Sharon Park

1993 *Preservation Brief 32, Making Historic Properties Accessible*. Washington: National Register of Historic Places, National Park Service, U.S. Department of the Interior. See, accessed on September 14, 2004, See <http://www.cr.nps.gov/tps/briefs/brief32.htm>.

King, Thomas F.

2004 *First Salmon: The Klamath Cultural Riverscape and the Klamath River Hydroelectric Project*. Hoopa, California: Klamath River Intertribal Fish and Water Commission.

McClelland, Linda Flint, J. Timothy Keller, Genevieve P. Keller, and Robert Z. Melnick

1999 *National Register Bulletin 30, Guidelines for Evaluating and Documenting Rural Historic Landscapes*. Revised edition. First published in 1989. Washington: National Register of Historic Places, National Park Service. U.S. Department of the Interior. See <http://www2.cr.nps.gov/nr/publications/bulletins/nrb30/>.

National Park Service

n.d. "Form for Certification of a Rehabilitation Project for Federal Income Tax Credits." Washington: National Park Service. U.S. Department of the Interior. See, accessed on September 14, 2004, <http://www2.cr.nps.gov/tps/tax/download/hpca-instructions.pdf>.



National Register of Historic Places

- 1997 *National Register Bulletin 16A: How to Complete the National Register Registration Form*. Appendix IV. Washington: National Register of Historic Places, National Park Service. U.S. Department of the Interior. See online, accessed on September 14, 2004: [http://www.cr.nps.gov/nr/publications/bulletins/nrb16a/nrb16a\\_appendix\\_IV.htm](http://www.cr.nps.gov/nr/publications/bulletins/nrb16a/nrb16a_appendix_IV.htm) and see <http://www.cr.nps.gov/nr/publications/bulletins/nrb16a/> and [http://www.cr.nps.gov/nr/publications/bulletins/nrb16a/nrb16a\\_III.htm#description](http://www.cr.nps.gov/nr/publications/bulletins/nrb16a/nrb16a_III.htm#description).

Parker, Patricia L. and Thomas F. King

- 1998 *National Register Bulletin 38, Guidelines for Evaluation and Documentation of Traditional Cultural Properties*. Second revised edition. First published in 1990 and first revised in 1992. Washington: National Register of Historic Places, National Park Service. U.S. Department of the Interior. See <http://cr.nps.gov/nr/publications/bulletins/nrb38/>.

Revkin, Andrew

- 2000 "U.S. Plan Would Sacrifice Baby Eagles to Hopi Ritual." *The New York Times*, October 29, 2000. Accessed September 14, 2004, see <http://www.stpt.usf.edu/~isokolov/divhopi.htm>.

Solomon, Daniel

- n.d. "My Moral Dilemmas over the Makah Whale Hunt." *Loblolly Environmentalist*. See <http://faculty.salisbury.edu/~jdhatley/loblolly.htm>, accessed September 14, 2004.



# Social Suffering and Social Healing in Bosnia: A Holistic Study of Rape Warfare<sup>1</sup>

Laure Almairac<sup>2</sup> and Peter W. Van Arsdale<sup>3</sup>

## Abstract

*Using the construct of social suffering, we analyze the practice of rape warfare. Material drawn from the Bosnian Civil War of 1992–1995 is featured. Social suffering is shown to bridge three themes essential to the study of this practice—health, human rights, and post-conflict development. The relationship between structural violence, which underpins rape warfare, and social suffering is demonstrated. From our perspective, society as a whole mirrors this suffering even more than do individuals. Social healing is introduced as an alternative kind of treatment paradigm for victims.*

## Introduction

An analysis of the ominous practice of rape warfare is a complex undertaking that transcends various fields and that benefits from the use of a systems approach in order to determine its causes, its social manifestations, and its political ramifications. For the purpose of this article, we selected a comprehensive social construct, namely social suffering, to guide our systems approach to understanding the practice of rape warfare. Indeed, social suffering is a construct that effectively integrates the theoretical and the practical. It bridges three cardinal themes essential to the study of this practice: health, human rights, and post-conflict development. In this article, we present our interpretation of rape warfare during the 1992–1995 Bosnian War as a set of behaviors associated with social suffering. First, we establish what relates the practice of rape warfare to the construct of social suffering. Second, we show how structural violence, which transpires in rape warfare, was a cause of this social suffering in the Bosnian War. Third, we interpret how the individual and, more relevant to our construct, the society mirrors the manifestations of social suffering. The analytic roles played by anthropologists are noted. Fourth, we introduce the concept of social healing as an alternative kind of treatment to overcome the social suffering caused by rape warfare. While intended to contribute to studies conducted on-site, in the field, the article also is intended as a contribution to concept development.

It is crucial to define operationally *social suffering*. Concerned with “the tendency to naturalize suffering on mass scale, or to medicalize

and bureaucratize the response to it” (Janzen 2002:106), anthropologists Arthur Kleinman and Robert Desjarlais coined the complex term social suffering to “show the connection between large-scale suffering and the institutions and power relations that bring about and perpetuate it” (2002:106). Because these institutions and power relations extend across the spectrum of human societies and experiences, Kleinman and Desjarlais agreed that “social suffering results [not only] from what political, economic, and institutional power does to people and, reciprocally, from how these forms of power themselves influence responses to social problems” (Kleinman, Das, and Lock 1997:ix), but also includes “conditions that simultaneously involve health, welfare, legal, moral, and religious issues” (1997:ix). These anthropologists argued that “while the trauma, pain, and disorders to which atrocity gives rise are health conditions, [they emphasize the fact that] they are also political and cultural matters” (1997:ix). Researchers must stress “drawing attention to the social as a possible cause of unnecessary forms of human suffering” (Chuengsatiansup 2001:31). Social suffering thus becomes a social construct that “collapses old dichotomies—for example, those that separate individual from social levels of analysis, health from social problems, representation from experience, suffering from intervention” (1997:x). The features of social suffering outlined in this section comprise the operational definition of this social construct as we apply it in this article.

This brief interpretation of social suffering illustrates why this construct is relevant for an encompassing analysis of rape warfare. Indeed, it

accommodates the anthropologists' ability "to cross the divide separating theoretical, applied, and advocacy anthropology" (Messer 2002:333). It is crucial to establish rape warfare as an example of violence, "a dimension of people's existence, not something external to society and cultures that 'happen[ed]' to people" (Nordstrom 1995:2), in this case during the Bosnian War. Examining the impact of rape warfare through the "interlocking lens" of health, human rights, and post-conflict development, with the support of anthropological findings, attests to the simple idea that "violence is not outside the realm of human society" (Nordstrom 1995:3). It amounts to understanding the political and social issues associated with the practice of rape warfare, as an example of terror warfare and structural violence.

### Relating Rape Warfare to Social Suffering

Rape warfare impacts individuals in the context of society as a whole. The definition of rape warfare, as Beverly Allen phrases it in her pioneering book *Rape Warfare: The Hidden Genocide in Bosnia-Herzegovina and Croatia* (1996), unambiguously links pervasive societal impacts to this practice. Allen refers to rape warfare—or genocidal rape—as

a military policy of rape for the purpose of genocide practiced in Bosnia-Herzegovina and Croatia by members of the Yugoslav Army, the Bosnian Serb forces, Serb militias in Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina, the irregular Serb forces known as Chetniks, and Serb civilians. Three main forms exist: (1) Irregular forces enter a village, take several women, rape them publicly, and depart, letting terrorizing rumors spread from villages to villages; (2) Concentration camp prisoners are chosen at random to be raped, often as part of torture preceding death; (3) Women are imprisoned in rape/death camps where they are raped systematically over extended periods of time (1996:62).

Even though Allen's definition only mentions the Serbs as the perpetrators of rape warfare, it is important to note that other parties to the conflict, the Muslims (or Bosniacs) and the Croats, also committed horrific atrocities, including

rapes, during the Bosnian War. Similarly, while Allen focuses on the victimization of women, some men also were victims of rape and sexual abuse during the war.

The clearest reflection of social suffering in Allen's definition of rape warfare transpires in her emphasis on the mass and systematic features of the rapes. Considering Allen's definition as well as additional statistics reporting that between 20,000 and 60,000 women were raped and sexually tortured during the Bosnian War (Seifert 2002:284), rape warfare unequivocally represents linked events of mass suffering, as understood in the construct of social suffering. Regarding mass rape from the perspective of large-scale suffering allows us to depart from the dangerously narrow interpretation of "human suffering in terms of personal stake and individual accountability" (Chuengsatiansup 2001:31) and, instead, allows emphasis on the collective dimension of the practice. Following Howard Stein (2004:6), "... mass trauma is often partly the result of the courting, tempting, and provoking of reality. Culture always anticipates and rehearses for later reality, even for reality for which its members consciously feel unprepared." In turn, this collective dimension returns full circle to a cardinal theme pertaining to social suffering, namely to "the often close linkage of personal problems with societal problems" (Kleinman, Das, and Lock 1997:ix). Viewing rape warfare from a social suffering perspective dissuades analysts from regarding rape only as the problem of each victim but rather also as a collective problem of all the victims, comparable to the C.S. Lewis claim that "the Holocaust cannot accurately be described [only] as the suffering of a single Jew repeated six million times" (Morris 1997:38). Clearly, interpreting rape warfare as a *social* rather than *personal* experience affords a gestalt and suggests a fundamental reason as to why it can (and should) be explored as a set of behaviors associated with social suffering.

This approach is supported by the on-site findings of Roy Gutman and others in the Foča area of southeastern Bosnia. As reported in Van Arsdale (2006:76–77), a quasi-formal set of rape camps was established by Serbs midway through the war. The recruitment of victims followed a

set plan. Muslim men would be rounded up and brought in for questioning. This ruse allowed militiamen or paramilitary Chetniks to enter the neighborhoods where the women remained and begin "interrogations." Many of these encounters quickly turned into rape at gunpoint. Over a period of several months, large numbers of Muslim women were taken to the town's Partizan Sports Center; systematized gang rapes occurred there. In the analytic sense, this definitely can be seen as a social/collective experience.

### **Causes of Social Suffering: Rape Warfare and Structural Violence**

Rape warfare is not conceived as a behavior associated with social suffering solely on the grounds that it transcends the individual and the collective. Indeed, rape warfare engages several factors of a specific political nature as these relate to social suffering, namely *structural violence*. We contend that structural violence, which characterized rape warfare in the Bosnian War, is a fundamental cause for the extent of social suffering experienced in Bosnia. Several premises of Paul Farmer's theory of structural violence corroborate this, as summarized by Van Arsdale (2006:6-7, 77).

First, rape warfare in the Bosnian War brings to light an array of differential power relations. These differential power relations emerged in various contexts: in gender relations, chiefly (but not exclusively) in the dominating man—the rapist—versus the dominated woman—the victim; in faith relations, generally in the Orthodox follower versus the Muslim or the Catholic victim; and in ethnic relations often seen in the Serb perpetrator versus the Muslim or Croat victim. The role of differential power relations in the practice of rape warfare unambiguously establishes the reality of rape warfare as an example of structural violence.

Second, the institutionalization of violence, as Peter Van Arsdale studied it on-site, and the related, horrendous instances of human rights violations during the Bosnian War further corroborate the characterization of rape warfare as structural violence, as prescribed in Farmer's theory. Van Arsdale's work (2006) supports the link between rape warfare and structural violence. Atrocities occurring at the Omarska and

Foča concentration camps reflect underlying structural violence and manifest in spectacular violence. The existence of a quasi-formal set of rape camps like that at Foča corroborates the highly organized and institutionalized features of rape warfare. Moreover, the rape camps also clearly show that "it was not rape out of control; it is rape under specific orders" (MacKinnon 1994a:190). Spectacular violence in the form of rape warfare served as a means to perpetrate the underlying structural violence that was manifest as institutionalized tensions and oppressions related to the multi-ethnic Bosnian society and the Bosnian War emerged.

Following Farmer, the practice of rape warfare produces social injustice and thereby social suffering. Indeed, in his *On Suffering and Structural Violence* (1997), Farmer establishes a close tie between structural violence and social suffering in that structural violence incarnates behaviors that lead to overt suffering. These acts have ominous consequences. Adherents to Farmer's theory would thus argue that the differential power relations and the institutionalization of the rapes during the war clearly "were not the result of accident or of force majeure; they were the consequence, direct or indirect, of human agency" (Farmer 1997:271) associated with key social attributes, including gender, faith, and ethnicity, that were, all tragically, "structured risks for forms of extreme suffering" (Farmer 1997:262).

### **The Ramifications of Rape Warfare as Manifestations of Social Suffering**

Identifying rape warfare as an example of structural violence and structural violence as the underlying cause for the overwhelming suffering seen in the Bosnian War amounts to only part of our interpretation of rape warfare as a behavior contributing to social suffering. The second part of our interpretation calls for exploring the various ramifications of rape warfare in terms of social suffering. Building on the earlier words of Kleinman, Das, and Lock, in the context of social suffering, the trauma, pain, and disorders to which atrocities such as rape warfare give rise are not only *health conditions* but also *political, social, and cultural matters* (1997:ix). Thus, our analysis of the ramifications of rape warfare as a

manifestation of social suffering takes into account the effects of such an atrocity on the health of individuals, and therefore collectively on the well-being of the society as a whole.

### Health Ramifications

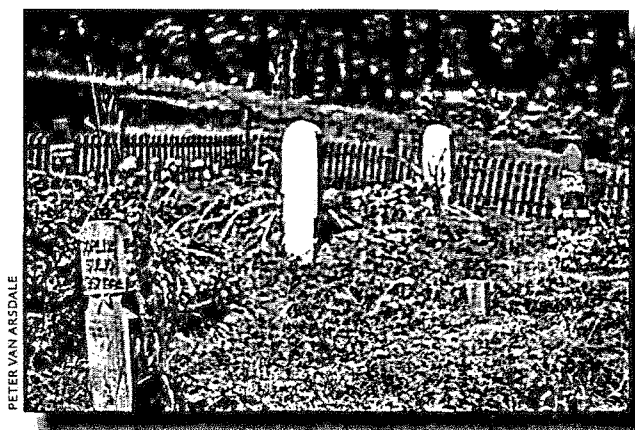
Because health is defined as a combination of the overall psychological, physiological, and social conditions of a being in a certain environment, interpreting the consequences of rape warfare on the health of an individual cannot be dissociated from the individual's social environment. In the rather narrow Western medical sense, victims of rape during the Bosnian War have almost automatically been diagnosed with acute stress disorder (ASD) and post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD). Evident symptoms of ASD and PTSD which lead to such (at times) hasty diagnoses included:

various forms of re-experiencing the trauma (like flashbacks and nightmares); various forms of avoidance, detachment, memory loss, psychic and emotional numbing and behavioral changes; and manifestations of increased arousal of the autonomic nervous system; [...]; anxiety, depression, dissociative phenomena, personality changes, self-destructive behavior, guilt, complicity, anger and fantasies of revenge and retaliation (Buus Jensen 2002:302).

This array of symptoms diagnosed for the victims of rape warfare in the Bosnian War, as established by Western medical experts, hardly differ from the symptoms diagnosed for any other adult victims of rape. When Barbara Gilbert summarizes the symptoms diagnosed for "everyday" adult victims of rape in her short essay "Treatment of Adult Victims of Rape," she, too, simply suggests that "the damage of sexual assault can be extensive, involving the victim's physical, emotional, cognitive, relational, sexual, and spiritual satisfaction or functioning" (1994:67). Those traditional diagnoses, while useful to a point, do not appropriately contextualize the problem.

The symptomatology must be expanded, with the structural features of the society taken more clearly into account. This fundamentally changes the manifestations of the symptoms as

well as of the suffering. By contrast to "everyday" victims of sexual violence, victims of rape warfare in the Bosnian War suffered tremendously from *traumatic events* and *stress factors* uniquely linked to the war environment of the 1990s. For example, some rapes at Foča were committed in public. Mass rapes, gang rapes, ethnic cleansing, torture, internment and related means of expressing xenophobia, nationalism, misogyny, and political oppression all fall into the various types of traumatic events outlined in Soren Buss Jensen's "Front Lines of Mental Health under War Conditions" (2002:296). These traumatic events, even though they undeniably caused profound trauma on individual target objects, also generated a social trauma impacting an entire section of the population and clearly reflecting social suffering, viewed collectively.



Nearly 13,000 people were killed or died under duress in the Bosnian capital, Sarajevo, during the course of the 1992–1995 civil war. Cemeteries became so crowded that the graves of recent victims (marked with wooden plaques) had to be placed between those of residents (marked with marble plaques) who had died before.

Moreover, victims of rape warfare were exposed to additional stress factors which do not generally apply to "everyday" rape victims and which transform the individual experience into social suffering. In the aforementioned essay, Buss Jensen also describes four specific stress factors that contributed to the development of PTSD syndromes in victims of rape warfare in Bosnia:

- Threat or injury to self, personality, identity, physical integrity or health;
- Threat or injury to others that is witnessed directly or indirectly;
- Threat or injury to the built or modified environment;

- Threat or traumatic bereavement/loss or injury to personal relationships, attachments and social networks of personal significance (2002:297).

While the first denotes an individual form of suffering, the other three of the stress-factor types illuminate how the suffering of the self is closely associated with suffering in the victim's social surrounding. It is contextualized. Traumatic events and contextualized stress factors highlight the profound distinction between "everyday" victims of rape and victims of rape warfare. In the latter case, individual suffering with ASD or PTSD easily translates into social suffering when structural violence, in the form of rape warfare, is the cause of this suffering. Social suffering thus has an established cultural context.

The treatment of victims of rape warfare also fundamentally differs from that of "everyday" rape victims as soon as it is put into a cultural context. As Barbara Gilbert suggests, "several models successful in the general treatment of trauma are applicable for work with adult survivors of rape" (Gilbert 1994:73). She mentions "focus on anxiety management during exposure to the traumatic memory" as well as "focus on release of emotion connected with the trauma and articulation of the meaning of trauma" (1994:73). She stresses practice of supportive treatments which "focus on providing a nurturing, safe relationship, which is believed to facilitate the naturally emerging processes of healing" (1994:73). This approach is utilized in the holistic treatment offered to survivors of war trauma by the Rocky Mountain Survivors Center, co-founded in Denver, Colorado, by Peter Van Arsdale and Dennis Kennedy. A medical anthropologist who adheres to social suffering as a social construct would, however, argue that this approach needs to be modified or adjusted, depending on the specific circumstances confronting each Bosnian rape victim.

Some victims of rape from the Bosnian War have expressed their need for an essentially different approach than Gilbert's suggested treatment of PTSD. In the course of an interview Laure Almairac conducted with a prominent scholar of rape warfare, the interviewee (who, in this context, must remain anonymous) stressed that

in the tradition of the Bosnian Muslims, silence rather than a physical or psychological interventionist treatment can be more effective in the healing process of a PTSD patient. Thus, many women who had been raped in the context of systemic rape events during the war and who consequently suffered from various PTSD syndromes found a healing solace in silence rather than in reviving the horrors of rape in the course of receiving an interventionist treatment (Almairac 2006:2).

Gilbert's suggested treatment (1994), which urges reanimating the memory of the trauma or seeking its meaning, would contravene what these women might best need. David Morris says in his "About Suffering: Voice, Genre, and Moral Community," that

suffering is voiceless in the metaphorical sense that silence becomes a sign of something ultimately unknowable. It implies an experience not just disturbing or repugnant but inaccessible to understanding (Morris 1997:27).

And Howard Stein (2004:3) stresses that "even trauma-language can be a flight from what occurred and continues to occur." In the Bosnian tradition, the events of rape warfare were as disturbing and repugnant as they were inaccessible to understanding. Or, as the interviewee put it, they were an anomaly (Almairac 2006:8). Yet, they become institutionalized and pervasive. The opening scene of the harrowing documentary on concentration camps in the Bosnian War, *Calling the Ghosts* (Jacobsen and Jelincic 1996), quotes Jadranka Cigelj, a victim of rape warfare, as she attempts to articulate the very dilemma of silence that many other victims also experienced as a symptom of PTSD:

There was a period of self-questioning before me. To stay silent or to speak? If I stay silent, how moral would that be? If I speak, how good is that for me? I would actually have to expose myself.

Thus, some victims may not need to reanimate their suffering, and silence may be the ultimate healing process conceivable for these women.

Peter Van Arsdale also was told this during the course of fieldwork conducted in Bosnia in the late 1990s.

The phenomenon of culture-bound syndrome, articulated by John Janzen as "the notion that affliction syndromes and treatments may be specific to a given cultural setting" (2002:40), supports the suggestion that silence may serve as a valid process of healing for some Bosnian women. We contend that institutionalized structural violence in Bosnia created a possible culture-bound syndrome of suffering, and that for some victims it is best dealt with in silence. For others, more traditional talk therapy is appropriate. Whichever form of therapy is advocated, it is crucial to interpret this kind of social suffering with cross-cultural sensitivity, while being wary not to get caught up in excessive medicalization (Janzen 2002:212). Social suffering is much more than a medical issue.

Differing from Gilbert's and Janzen's respective interpretations of health, Doug Henry, in his forthcoming article "Violence and the Body: Somatic Expressions of Trauma and Vulnerability During War," introduces another interpretation strongly corroborated by medical anthropology. Henry suggests that

idioms of power and terror attempt to transform individual bodies into political ones, using individuals as symbolic ways to express structural domination through tortures, interrogation, dismemberment, rape or scarification (Henry in press).

Henry's suggestion can be applied to the case of rape warfare in the Bosnian War. Powerful Serb forces, at times aided by Chetnik proxies, carried out a policy of rape warfare which harmed the psychological and physiological health of tens of thousands of terrorized individuals in order to symbolically taint Muslim Bosnia's societal and political well-being. Raping the body of one was a rape of the collective body of all. It was a rape of society; of course, of the women; but also of the men who had to witness the rape of their wives, sisters, and daughters; and of the children who were conceived during the rapes. Indeed, harming the body goes far beyond injuring limbs and flesh. Henry informs us

the body plays such a key role in the creative processes that shape culture and experience [that it is crucial] to understand the multiplicities of ways in which people interact with attacks to their personhood, family, community, and existence (Henry in press).

It is essential for the perpetrators to establish a link between raping a woman and terrorizing society, thus causing both individual suffering and overarching social suffering. The last scene of the aforementioned film *Calling the Ghosts* illustrates this link with the following quote:

Destroying a woman is destroying the essence of nation. When they were raping older women, they were raping history. When they were raping younger women, they were destroying future generations (Jacobsen and Jelincic 1996).

### Human Rights Ramifications

Addressing the political, social, and cultural aspects of social suffering holistically is essential to understanding the ramifications of rape warfare as a manifestation of social suffering and to eschewing the danger of excessive medicalization. A meaningful and encompassing way to describe these ramifications of rape warfare in the context of social suffering is in terms of human rights violations. In his theory of structural violence, Farmer (1997) proffers that structural inequalities foment human rights violations. Analogously, rape warfare, as an example of structural violence, represents a horrendous array of human rights violations. Because "human rights are a social practice" (Donnelly 2003:204), states that violate their citizens' human rights inevitably cause social suffering. This is precisely what happened in the Bosnian War, as rape became an implicit weapon used by one faction of the state against its citizens' rights. An analysis of which human rights were infringed shows how these violations, occurring at the individual level and mirrored at the group level, reflect the basic premise of the construct of social suffering. The result is that "pain and trauma can be both local and global ... [and] at the same time individual and collective" (Kleinman, Das, and Lock 1997:x).

Anthropologist Janet Chernela (2006) advocates this type of documentary-analytic approach. First and foremost, rape warfare in Bosnia was a violation of Article II of the 1948 UN Convention of the Prevention of the Crime of Genocide. This Article states that:

In the present Convention, genocide means any of the following acts committed with intent to destroy, in whole or in part, a national, ethnical, racial or religious group, as such: (a) Killing members of the group; (b) Causing serious bodily or mental harm to members of the group; (c) Deliberately inflicting on the group conditions of life calculated to bring about its physical destruction in whole or in part; (d) Imposing measures intended to prevent births within the group; (e) Forcibly transferring children of the group to another group (Brownlie and Goodwin-Gill 2002:108).

The perpetrators of rape warfare in Bosnia, primarily Serbs, used the following methods with the intent to cleanse the region of non-Serb populations: rape camps, forced pregnancies, individual killings, and massacres. All contributed to violating Article II of the Genocide Convention. Catherine MacKinnon reports in her *Turning Rape into Pornography: Postmodern Genocide* that

the world has never seen sex used this consciously, this cynically, this elaborately, this openly, this systematically, with this degree of technological and psychological sophistication, as a means of destroying a whole people (MacKinnon 1994b:75).

The violating of one individual's basic human right to bodily integrity, in the practice of rape warfare, became a tool to practice ethnic cleansing, an ultimate *violation of group rights*. Thus, this violation establishes a link between the individual and the collective suggested by the construct social suffering.

Our second point in the documentary-analytical approach is that rape warfare in Bosnia transgressed the Declaration on the Protection of All Persons from Torture and other Cruel, Inhuman, or Degrading Treatment or Punishment of 1975. It also transgressed its sequel, the Convention Against Torture and Other Cruel,

Inhuman, Degrading Treatment or Punishment of 1984. According to Lisa Kois, "there can be no question that rape by a state actor or agent is torture; state-sponsored rape unequivocally conforms to the Torture Convention's definition" (1998:94). Beverly Allen seemingly supports Kois' affirmation. In her encounters with many victims of rape warfare, Allen has gathered enough testimonies to establish a tangible link between rape warfare and torture. She even recounts how

male and female adults and children [were] raped as part of more extensive torture [but that] torture [was also] conducted with instruments. These include[d] commonly available objects such as wire, scissors, saws ... household appliances, such as irons, curling irons, and electrical wires used to inflict burns and electric shock. By far the most common instrument of torture, however, [was] the knife (Allen 1996:79).

The presence of wounds on the bodies of the Bosnian victims and in particular on the genitalia and on the reproductive organs provides evidence for the link between rape, sexual violence, and torture. Once again, this violation of yet another norm of international law relates to social suffering in that

torture [can be conceptualized] as a sophisticated institution that targets and undermines the individual as well as social structures through a systematic and deliberate campaign (Kois 1998:88). ... Long after arms have been set aside and peace accords signed, the consequences of these attempts to destroy the community reverberate throughout the community (Kois 1998:96).

The institutionalization of rape warfare and its ramifications in terms of *torture* thus directly mirror manifestations of social suffering.

Third, rape warfare in Bosnia infringes upon women's rights. In her powerful essay "Rape, Genocide, and Women's Human Rights," Catharine MacKinnon argues that

the sexual atrocities [of the Bosnian War] have been discussed largely as rape or genocide, not as what they are, which is rape as genocide, rape directed towards women



because they are Muslim or Croatian (2001:532).

As we contend, if rape warfare is indeed regarded as rape as genocide, then a gender-based dimension is added to the conceptualization of this practice. Although men, too, were sexually abused in the war, it was predominantly women whose basic rights were violated by rape warfare. Susan Brownmiller (1993) in her "Making Female Bodies the Battlefield," further interprets how women's rights are violated in rape warfare when she states that

rape of an object doubly dehumanized—as woman, as enemy—carries its own terrible logic. In one act of aggression, the collective spirit of women *and* of the nation is broken, leaving a reminder long after the troops depart. And if she survives the assault, what does the victim of wartime rape become to her people? Evidence of the enemy's bestiality. Symbol of her nation's defeat. A pariah. Damaged property (1993:181).

The integrity of a woman is violated time and again to the point that it destroys her own life of dignity and flourishing, the latter two terms reflecting what our colleague Jack Donnelly (2003) sees as the fundamental function of human rights. Brownmiller's explanation thus unambiguously speaks for the *violations of women's rights* caused by rape warfare transcending individual rights and entering the realm of collective rights, yet another manifestation of social suffering.

Anthropologists have argued that interpreting the ramifications of rape warfare as human rights violations from a mere legal perspective is narrowly incomplete. It is true that rape warfare violates a myriad of fundamental human rights, whether outlined according to the Universal Declaration of Human Rights or to the first and third generations of human rights discussed by Ellen Messer (2002). Even though it is further true that "human rights are designed to promote agency and protection of the body" (Merry 2006a:4), such a legal perspective does not fully allow an understanding of the practice in the context of social suffering. Indeed, as Messer explains, "in practical terms, human-rights

[analytic] activities of anthropologists build on, and are consistent with international principles, but not limited by them" (2002:333). Instead, anthropologists attempt to bring about an analysis of human rights rhetoric

that penetrates local parlance and governance and informs advocacy, social organization, and practice ... [as well as providing an] historical and cultural analysis of the conditions under which particular rights or responsibilities and notions of the community deserving rights or assuming accountability expand or contract (Messer 1993:241).

While still emergent, we contend that the anthropological approach to understanding human rights abuse powerfully translates in the case of rape warfare. It strengthens the argument that rights violations are analogous or reflective of social suffering. Indeed, while the legal perspective emphasizes the harm that is done to the individual, the anthropological viewpoint emphasizes the need to translate human rights ideas into local terms and to situate them within local contexts of power and meaning in order for them to be effective in changing lives (Merry 2006b:1). Analyzing the context in which rape warfare was practiced in Bosnia leads to the conclusion that the ramifications of such horrendous rights violations and the associated suffering reaches beyond the individual and spreads across the societal.

### Social Healing

In this section, we advocate a healing process aimed at overcoming social suffering in a post-conflict society like Bosnia. We suggest referring to this process as *social healing*. Just as suffering reverberates not only on the health of the individual but on society as a whole, a coming to terms with suffering should occur at both the individual and societal levels. Understanding and encouraging the process of social healing in a post-conflict environment is essential:

Though the survivors are very much individuals, the loss of moral order does not generally refer to psychological states writ large—as in discussions of frightened or traumatized populations, which are merely

aggregates of individuals [but rather] it refers to things that make sense at the societal level (Desjarlais 1994:10).

Our concept of social healing presses, in particular, for structural changes at the societal level. One such needed change is the *collective empowerment* of the victims. As Komatra Chuengsatiansup explains it, "the lived experience of suffering can attain a collective dimension and therefore be politically significant in forging the politics of empowerment" (2001:32). Building on Howard Stein (2004:2), such empowerment envisions an understanding of cultural boundaries: "... their permeability, their violation, their collapse, their reaffirmation ..." encourages the kind of structural change that will collectively empower yesteryear's victimized group. However, it is no easy task because "it inevitably runs the risk of individualizing 'social suffering' and resting the burden of solving the problems of suffering on the more docile bodies of individual victims" (Chuengsatiansup 2001:32). The healing process in post-conflict Bosnia must therefore unfold beyond the healing of individuals' psychological and physiological traumas. It must build upon the work of those organizations such as World Vision and Wings of Hope, which are contributing to the rebuilding of civil society, or of a Truth and Reconciliation Commission, which would be focused on the traumatic experience of survivors, including of rape warfare victims.

Collective empowerment as a recipe for social healing can come about in the form of *capacity enhancement*. Specific examples featuring the accomplishments of Bosnian women have been presented by Swanee Hunt (2004). Denis Goulet (cited in Thomas-Slayter 2003:12-13) proposes that capacity enhancement takes place by improving the life sustenance, self-esteem, and freedom of the victims. Goulet's three premises apply well to the Bosnian victims of rape warfare. Improving life sustenance could be supported by facilitative development schemes in which change agents facilitate indigenous opportunities, for example micro-credit projects or rural mixed strategy socio-economic projects, such as providing goats or chickens as long-term sources of revenues, as Peter Van Arsdale studied in Bosnia in 2004.

Raising self-esteem, a critical issue for victims of rape, could readily be supported within the society. Traditional Bosnian society, while patriarchal, has always been very respectful to women, and this tradition should by all means be pursued by groups such as Žena Ženama (Women for Women).

Improving the freedom of the victims (admittedly a noble yet nebulous good) could occur by promoting these victimized women to selected positions in the society such as university professors and NGO directors—professions that afford them a voice to express, share, and communicate issues in public circles. This would be a key step to escaping from the "unfreedom" that oppressed these women during the war. As Janet Chernela stresses, anthropologists participate in rescuing victims from "unfreedom" in that, by "work[ing] with local communities, they [can] contribute to expanding participation as well as to innovative means of extending inclusiveness" (2006:7).

These three premises of capacity building apply to the individual in the context of society as a whole. They reflect a psycho-social dynamic, which complements Barbara Thomas-Slayter's socio-economic perspectives on post-conflict development (2003). For instance, sustainable livelihood development featuring micro-credit activity run by women is also at the heart of capacity building. Such development can thus be seen as a mirror image for the psycho-social process of social healing. Socio-economic successes can promote healing, as a female respondent in rural Bosnia reported to Laure Almairac.

Collective empowerment and capacity enhancement should go hand-in-hand. Ideally, this would lead to an admirable exception to Paul Farmer and Carolyn Nordstrom's forecast that in post-conflict societies, a general worldview of pessimism and violence carries on for generations beyond the immediate time of spectacular violence. According to the interview data that Laure Almairac collected, the current post-conflict feminist civil society in Bosnia reveals hints of such strength and optimism and gives hope that the social healing process in post-conflict Bosnia is beginning to take place.

## Conclusions

Rape warfare has been analyzed from a variety of perspectives by a variety of authors, some more fully encompassing than others. We have chosen to interpret rape warfare as a set of behaviors associated with social suffering in order to bridge the most salient features of this atrocious practice, namely its impact on health, human rights, and post-conflict development in Bosnia. By showing social suffering as a construct central to the understanding of rape warfare, we have sought to illustrate some of the underlying causes, manifestations, and ramifications of this practice, while calling for an alternative process of healing, namely social healing. In this regard, social healing is presented as much more than traditional psycho-therapy, but potentially encompassing of it. It also is encompassing of silence.

An award-winning film about Bosnian victims of rape is proving to be a big hit among Bosnians of all ethnicities. Entitled *Grbavica*, Jasmila Zbanic (2006) directed it featuring the plight of Muslims raped by Serbs. As of April 2006, the commercial home version was the biggest-selling disc in the city of Banja Luka, a traditional Serbian stronghold, which indicates openness to cross-ethnic reconciliation and restoration.

Finally, the concept of victimization must be addressed. In the course of this article, we have repeatedly alluded to the thousands of individuals who suffered rape warfare as *victims*: The differential power relations proper to structural violence clearly distinguished the *victims* from the perpetrators; the health ramifications embodied the *victimization* of the physiological and psychological well-being; the human rights violations created *victims* of abuses; and the post-conflict development was designed to empower yesteryear's *victims*. Social suffering, then, might seem to impose the status of victim on the estimated 20,000 or more Bosnian women who experienced the horrors of rape warfare. In and of itself, suffering is linked to a negative, distressing, and painful experience, which initially can be translated as victimhood. However, it is vital to recognize that each living victim is also a survivor. Our notion of social suffering

mandates a return to hope by qualifying victims as survivors and by understanding the role this dichotomy can have on the very process of healing.

Even though the victimization of Bosnian women and, thereby of the Bosnian society, was the focus of this particular article, it is crucial to remember that countless other events of rape warfare have been recorded throughout the world (Van Arsdale 2006). Interpreting this practice in terms of suffering as a social construct bridging health, human rights, and post-conflict development applies far beyond the borders of Bosnia. The estimated 20,000 women who were raped in Nanking in 1937, the 120,000 in Berlin in 1945, the 200,000 in Bangladesh in 1971, and the 5,000 in Kuwait in the early 1990s all represented the devastating manifestations of social suffering as ramifications of rape warfare. There is no chance for a far-reaching social policy change in a country such as Bosnia as long as rape warfare is presumed "a mere aggressive manifestation of sexuality, as opposed to a sexual manifestation of aggression" (Seifert 1994:55). This situation remains true, too, as long as it is not considered a societal problem that causes social suffering and requires social healing. We believe that anthropologists can contribute by bringing forth the courageous and unfaltering voices of key women who can speak up for the thousands of victims of rape warfare, and for the advocates who work for survivors of social suffering. ○

## Notes

1. For helpful comments, thanks are expressed to Tommaso Diegoli of the University of Denver's Graduate School of International Studies and to Angela Thieman-Dino of Amnesty International and the Rocky Mountain Survivors Center, Denver, Colorado, USA.

2. Laure Almairac is currently a candidate for an M.A. in international human rights and for a certificate in conflict resolution at the Graduate School of International Studies of the University of Denver. She is on the staff of the school's Center On Rights Development. The University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill awarded her a B.A. in 2004. Her program, a double major, was in international studies and German through

the Curriculum in International and Area Studies and the Department of Germanic Studies. She can be reached by e-mail at [lalmaira@du.edu](mailto:lalmaira@du.edu) or by U.S. mail at 1871 South University Boulevard, Apartment 10, Denver, Colorado (CO) 80210-3432 USA. Her telephone number is 720-570-2660.

3. Trained as an applied cultural and medical anthropologist, Peter W. Van Arsdale earned a Ph.D. in 1975 from the Department of Anthropology of the University of Colorado at Boulder. He is a senior lecturer in the Graduate School of International Studies at the University of Denver, where he also serves as faculty advisor for the Center On Rights Development. He can be reached by U.S. mail at the Graduate School of International Studies, Room 102-G Cherrington Hall, University of Denver, Denver, Colorado (CO) 80208 USA. His telephone number is 303-871-3281 and his e-mail address is [pvanarsd@du.edu](mailto:pvanarsd@du.edu).

## References Cited

- Allen, Beverly  
1996 *Rape Warfare: The Hidden Genocide in Bosnia-Herzegovina and Croatia*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.
- Almairac, Laure  
2006 *Rape Warfare in the Bosnian War: An Experimental Approach from a Human Rights, Health, and Post-Conflict Development Perspective*. Unpublished manuscript, Graduate School of International Studies, University of Denver, Denver, Colorado.
- Brownlie, Ian and Guy S. Goodwin-Gill  
2002 *Basic Documents on Human Rights*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Brownmiller, Susan  
1994 "Making Female Bodies the Battlefield." In *Mass Rape: The War against Women in Bosnia-Herzegovina*. Edited by Alexandra Stiglmayer. Pages 180-182. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press.
- Buss Jensen, Soren  
2002 "Front Lines of Mental Health under War Condition." In *War or Health? A Reader*. Edited by Ilkka Taipale representing the Finnish Branch of Physicians for Social Responsibility, which endorses this book. Pages 295-311. London: Zed Books.
- Chernela, Janet  
2006 "A Call to Words." *Anthropology News* 47(4): 6-7.
- Chuengsatiansup, Komatra  
2001 "Marginality, Suffering, and Community." In *Remaking a World: Violence, Social Suffering, and Recovery*. Edited by Veena Das, Arthur Kleinman, Margaret Lock, Mamphela Ramphele, and Pamela Reynolds. Pages 31-75. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press.
- Desjarlais, Robert and Arthur Kleinman  
1994 "Violence and Demoralization in the New World Order." *Anthropology Today* 10(5): 9-12.
- Donnelly, Jack  
2003 *Universal Human Rights in Theory and Practice*. Second edition. Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press.
- Farmer, Paul  
1997 "On Suffering and Structural Violence: A View from Below." In *Social Suffering*. Edited by Arthur Kleinman, Veena Das, and Margaret Lock. Pages 261-283. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press.
- Gilbert, Barbara  
1994 "Treatment of Adult Victims of Rape." In *Assessing and Treating Victims of Violence*. Edited by John Briere. Pages 67-78. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.
- Henry, Doug  
n.d. "Violence and the Body. Somatic Expressions of Trauma and Vulnerability During War." *Medical Anthropology Quarterly*. In press.
- Hunt, Swanee  
2004 *This Was Not Our War: Bosnian Women Reclaiming the Peace*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.
- Jacobsen, Mandy and Karmen Jelincic, directors  
1996 *Calling the Ghosts: A Story about Rape, War and Women*, film produced by Julia Ormond. New York: Women Make Movies, 63 minutes.
- Janzen, John M.  
2002 *The Social Fabric of Health*. New York: McGraw-Hill.
- Kleinman, Arthur, Veena Das, and Margaret Lock.  
1997 *Social Suffering*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press.

- Kois, Lisa M.  
1998 "Dance, Sister, Dance!" In *An End to Torture: Strategies for its Eradication*. Edited by Bertil Dunér. Pages 85–108. London: Zed Books.
- MacKinnon, Catherine A.  
1994a "Rape, Genocide, and Women's Human Rights." In *Mass Rape: The War against Women in Bosnia-Herzegovina*. Edited by Alexandra Stiglsmayer. Pages 183–196. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press.  
1994b "Turning Rape into Pornography: Postmodern Genocide." In *Mass Rape: The War against Women in Bosnia-Herzegovina*. Edited by Alexandra Stiglsmayer. Pages 73–81. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press.  
2001 "Rape, Genocide, and Women's Human Rights." In *The Philosophy of Human Rights*. Edited by Patrick Hayden. Pages 526–543. St. Paul: Paragon House.
- Merry, Sally E.  
2006a "Fluidity of Human Rights in Practice." *Anthropology News* 47(5): 4–6.  
2006b *Human Rights and Gender Violence*. Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press.
- Messer, Ellen  
1993 "Anthropology and Human Rights." *Annual Review of Anthropology* 22:221–249.  
2002 "Anthropologists in a World with and without Human Rights." In *Exotic No More: Anthropology on the Front Lines*. Edited by Jeremy MacClancy. Pages 319–337. Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press.
- Morris, David B.  
1997 "About Suffering: Voice, Genre, and Moral Community." In *Social Suffering*. Edited by Arthur Kleinman, Veena Das, and Margaret Lock. Pages 25–45. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press.
- Nordstrom, Carolyn  
1995 "The Anthropology and Ethnography of Violence and Sociopolitical Conflict." In *Fieldwork under Fire: Contemporary Studies of Violence and Survival*. Edited by Carolyn Nordstrom and Antonius C. G. M. Robben. Pages 1–25. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press.
- Seifert, Ruth  
1994 "War and Rape: A Preliminary Analysis." In *Mass Rape: The War against Women in Bosnia-Herzegovina*. Edited by Alexandra Stiglsmayer. Pages 65–72. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press.  
2002 "Rape: The Female Body as a Symbol and a Sign." In *War or Health? A Reader*. Edited by Ilkka Taipale, representing the Finnish Branch of Physicians for Social Responsibility, which endorses this book. Pages 280–294. London: Zed Books.
- Stein, Howard F.  
2004 *Beneath the Crust of Culture: Psychoanalytic Anthropology and the Cultural Unconscious in American Life*. Amsterdam and New York: Rodopi Publishing House.
- Thomas-Slayter, Barbara P.  
2003 *Southern Exposure: International Development and the Global South in the Twenty-First Century*. Bloomfield, Connecticut: Kumarian Press.
- Van Arsdale, Peter W.  
2006 *Forced to Flee: Human Rights and Human Wrongs in Refugee Homelands*. Lanham, Maryland: Lexington Books.
- Zbanic, Jasmila, director  
2006 *Grbavica*, film produced by Tanja Acimovic. Vienna, Austria: Coop99 Film Production, 90 minutes.

# Peddling Paradise, Rebuilding Serendib<sup>1</sup>: The 100-Meter Refugees versus the Tourism Industry in Post-tsunami Sri Lanka<sup>2</sup>

Nandini Gunewardena<sup>3</sup>

## Abstract

*The December 26, 2004 tsunami killed nearly 40,000 Sri Lankans, left about half a million homeless, including 90,000 from fishing communities, and destroyed two-thirds of the country's fishing boats. The tourist industry was also severely affected, with the suspension of some 27,000 jobs in various tourism-related businesses. The national recovery strategy was to invest in rebuilding the tourism industry, and to create a 100-meter coastal buffer that essentially prevents artisanal fishing from regaining its livelihood. This paper examines how the strategic and symbolic significance of tourism for bolstering national pride, boosting development, and providing a source of foreign revenue has relegated to a secondary place the needs and concerns of disaffected low-income artisanal fishing communities. This paper shows that disasters never take place in a social vacuum, that vulnerability is socially produced, and that recovery efforts need to attack the root causes of vulnerability by avoiding the further impoverishment of those affected. Beyond the human toll, the tsunami provided a pretext for evictions, land grabs, unjustifiable land-acquisition plans and other measures designed to prevent homeless residents from returning to their original homes and lands. Thailand, India and other affected countries have restricted the right to return, but Sri Lanka stands out as the tsunami-affected country that has sought most dramatically to re-shape its residential landscape through a tourism reconstruction process (Leckie 2005:1).*

## Introduction: Resorts as Recovery

**T**he 2006 annual "Hotels" issue of *Travel and Leisure* (TL) magazine, with its worldwide circulation of nearly a million copies a month, proudly boasts the opening of a new high-end beach resort in Southern Sri Lanka in September 2006 called The Fortress and places it on the "It List" of tourist resorts that offer the ultimate in creature comforts. Concealing any reference to the shattered lives and livelihoods of tsunami victims, the new resort is one of two to open after the December 26, 2004 tsunami, and hailed as pivotal to the post-disaster recovery of Sri Lanka (Novogrod 2006:18). The second resort TL refers to is Amangalla, which opened on February 15, 2005, a mere two months after the tsunami. Both resorts are located in the southern coastal town of Galle and owned by Aman Resorts International, a hotel group that owns and operates a chain of luxury hotels catering to the super rich in France, French Polynesia, Indonesia, Mexico, Morocco, the Philippines, Sri Lanka, Thailand, and the United States.

The launching of these two resorts in the aftermath of the horrific devastation and displacement caused by the 2004 tsunami, and

the still unresolved resettlement struggles of low-income coastal communities, suggests a callous disregard of the plight of the people affected. As of this writing in April of 2006, the ongoing demand for humanitarian assistance has been considerable, with 350,000 individuals still needing food aid (provisioned under the United Nations High Commission on Refugees Vulnerable Group Feeding Program), and 54,000 families still housed in transitional shelters (World Bank 2006b), while others still remain in cramped and crowded temporary shelters, such as Buddhist temples and school houses. The manner in which tourism has been reestablished throughout the tsunami-ravaged region illustrates the superior financial resources at the disposal of the global tourism industry, deployed for profit even in the face of disaster. Inequities set in motion by the globe-spanning leisure economy allow indulgence for some but augurs indigence for others, aggravating the vulnerabilities of socially and economically marginalized populations, and further entrenching the root conditions that compound such vulnerability.

In what appears to be a dismissal of the hardship endured by these communities, alluring marketing descriptions make sweeping refer-

ences to history and nature in gestures of erasure that gloss over their poignant implications for local populations.

Sri Lanka's post-Tsunami renaissance has been propelled by the recent opening of two Aman properties. The Fortress, in Galle, 70 miles from the capital of Colombo, is sure to add to the already building buzz. The sprawling resort pays homage to the UNESCO-preserved Galle fort and promises to bring modern sophistication to the misty 2,000-year-old merchant's port town. ... Singapore's C&C design [firm] chose a soothing aesthetic: simple lines, Burmese teak-paneling, a Dutch vaulted entrance, and expansive garden colonnades that draw the eyes toward panoramic vistas of stilt fishermen casting their lines in to the Indian Ocean (*Travel and Leisure* 2006:272).

Suggestive of a protective barricade, the resort, with its euphemistic name of The Fortress attempts to recreate history, albeit by romanticizing the implications of colonial history, as it claims to duplicate the architecture of the famed 17th-century Dutch fort in the southern city of Galle. A brochure describing the sister resort of Amangalla provides an unabashed and uncritical account of the colonial history of Sri Lanka:

In 1640, the Dutch captured the fortress of Galle and, to protect their presence, they needed a garrison—hence the fort. Galle Fort was built by 1663 with great ramparts and bastions, but not fully completed until 1715. In 1684, the headquarters for the *commandeur* were built on the corner of the present Church and Middle Streets, the start of what now comprises Amangalla (Kershaw 2006).

Tourist brochures entice prospective visitors with the well-manicured “verdant gardens,” seven-by-seven-foot super-king beds, state-of-the-art entertainment systems, spa treatments, yoga, water sports, a gym, and other fitness/sports/leisure excursions. Yet, this advertising material makes no hint of the contrasting post- as well as pre-tsunami deprivation evident in the living conditions of surrounding low-income communities. Consider, for example, that garden spaces are rarely available to low-income coastal com-

munities, and that in nearby rural areas many home gardens augmenting meager local diets have been destroyed by the inundation of tsunami-driven salt and marine sediment. Consider that the entirety of the dwellings of local low-income populations measure seven feet by seven feet, the same as the beds in the resorts that await well-heeled visitors, and how many of these shacks were reduced to matchsticks by the force of the waves. Consider locals' virtual lack of access to amenities such as electricity, water and sanitation systems prior to and long since the tsunami, and finally, that none of this seems to be of any consequence to the tourist industry.

In a country where less than 60 percent of the population have access to safe water and sanitation systems, tsunami damage has aggravated the situation by destroying water wells and latrines, and by contaminating many sources of fresh water. That the ocean is represented as a pleasing and placid canvas spread across the horizon, solely to be imbibed by the tourist, avoids any reminder of the violence it has wrought months before. Such depictions obscure the pragmatic meanings and relationships vested in the ocean for artisanal fishing communities who wage a daily battle with the sea in an effort to secure their livelihoods.

Tourism as a boon to national revitalization is an idea that was expressed well before the 2004 tsunami. In 2002, a representative of the Sri Lanka Tourist Board, referred to the purchase of the former site of The Fortress as “one of the biggest investments in this sector since the peace initiative of 2001” (BBC News 2002).

This paper focuses on the concerted effort to reposition tourism as a disaster recovery strategy in the aftermath of the December 26, 2004 tsunami that struck the island nation of Sri Lanka—one of the worst hit places along with Banda Aceh, Indonesia. My concern is to examine its problematic implications for low-income coastal communities, many of whom at this writing in April of 2006, were still languishing in transition camps, uncertain of their future many months after the disaster. While the tsunami caused direct damage to housing, infrastructure, and the loss of lives, many consider the relief and resettlement strategies of state and donor agencies akin to a subsequent and far more destruc-



rive wave. The purpose here, then, is to examine how the strategic and symbolic significance of tourism for bolstering national pride, boosting development, and as a source of foreign revenue has relegated to a secondary place the needs and concerns of disaffected low-income, subsistence-oriented, artisanal fishing communities. Since global tourism operations are concentrated primarily along the southwestern coastline, and since much of the worse ravaged eastern coastal belt is still within inaccessible war-torn territory, my paper is limited to an examination of the southern region (see Figure 1 for a map of Sri Lanka, its major regions, and referenced towns). I explore the implications of the preeminence accorded to the tourist industry, framed within neoliberal conceptualizations of national development. I discuss the controversial benefits the latter confers, as it caters to the global leisure class in the face of a dramatic decline in the livelihood base and an unraveling of the social fabric of low-income coastal communities.

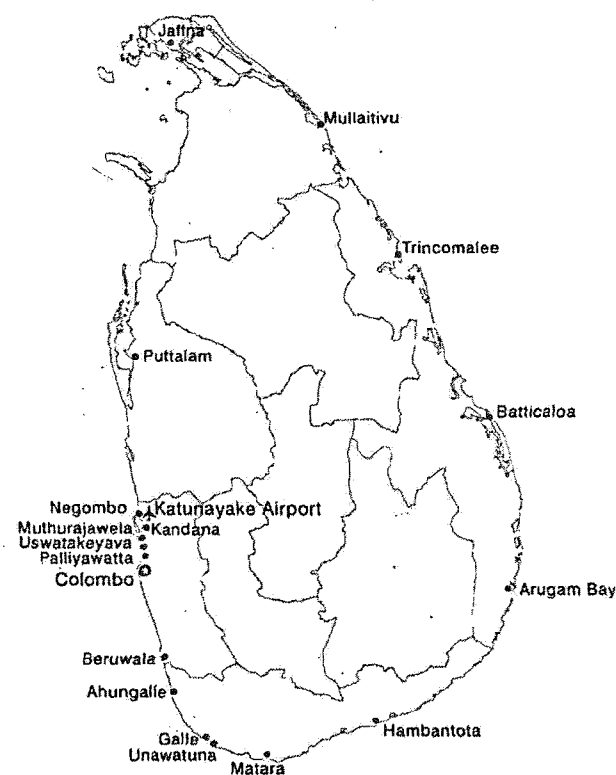


Figure 1. Sri Lanka has a population of more than 20 million people living in an area slightly larger than the state of West Virginia. Map illustrated by Ravi Gunewardena, Escher-Gune-Wardena Architects, Inc.

Critical to my discussion is the 100-meter buffer-zone, introduced by the government in the aftermath of the tsunami. The tourist industry has largely been exempted from this rule and granted “economic immunity” from its stipulations, while artisanal fishing communities barred from rebuilding their homes along the coastline, recently dubbed “the 100-meter refugees,” experience the buffer zone policy as an intrusive and constraining verdict. Presented as a protective device to prevent a similar calamity in the future, the 100-meter rule appears to have hastened a second wave of displacement for socially and economically marginalized coastal communities effectively suspended in the limbo of personal tragedy and bureaucratic indifference. As a point of illustration, in December 2005 a year after the tsunami most displaced families were still living in makeshift camps. While the marine fishing industry has made some recovery, of the planned construction of 32,000 permanent houses paralleling the coastline, only 4,299 have been completed, with 10,707 under construction. By contrast, local and global business news reports and the United Nations World Tourism Organization (UNWTO) reports about an 80 percent recovery of the hotels in Sri Lanka (Cropley 2005). Meanwhile, media portrayals of the Buddhist calm and resignation displayed by grief-stricken individuals from coastal communities downplay their struggle to rebuild and reclaim their lives.

Disasters represent a multitude of dilemmas for humanitarian agencies, national and local governments as well as affected communities. As analyses inform us streaming in from recent national disasters such as Hurricane Katrina impacting New Orleans, Louisiana, USA, disasters bring to light the often hidden interplay of preexisting social and economic marginalities that aggravate the vulnerabilities of those most adversely affected by such calamities (Oliver-Smith 2005). In addition to the terror, grief, disorientation, and loss of loved ones individuals often experience in a disaster, the immediate aftermath poses a range of daunting challenges. These include survival needs, uprooting, displacement, loss of shelter, fragmentation of the social fabric, livelihood losses, and the culmination of these factors in social and economic

disempowerment, particularly for impoverished communities.

The anthropological literature on disasters has long moved away from conceptualizing disasters solely as acts of nature, and a concern with tracing the interactions between human behaviors and natural events is now commonplace (Hewit 1983, Oliver-Smith 1986, Emel and Peet 1989, and Blaikie et al. 1994). Political economy approaches to disaster generated in the 1970s (see Meillasoux 1973, Baird et al. 1976) emphasized the inequitable power relationships between the developed and developing world that propelled processes of impoverishment, exacerbating the vulnerabilities of marginal populations in the global south. In an effort to overcome the determinism implicated in these arguments, Blaikie and others (1994) put forward the *pressure and release* model (PAR) as illustrative of

the intersection of two opposing forces: those processes generating vulnerability on one side, and physical exposure to a hazard on the other (Blaikie et al. 1994:22).

This vulnerability model identifies the interaction between root causes, such as economic, demographic and political processes, and what they refer to as *dynamic pressures*. They define these as

processes and activities that 'translate' the effects of root causes into the vulnerability of unsafe conditions (Blaikie et al. 1994:24).

As Anthony Oliver-Smith says,

this more complex understanding of vulnerability enables researchers to conceptualize how social systems generate the conditions that place different kinds of people, often differentiated along axes of class, race, ethnicity, gender, or age, at different levels of risk from the same hazard and suffering from the same event (Oliver-Smith 2006:3).

Fishing communities in Sri Lanka are for the most part affiliated with the *Karave* or fishing caste. Although all *Karave* are by no means socio-economically marginal, individuals engaged in artisanal fishing are among the most impoverished in the community, often repre-

sented the urban underclasses. Thus, the social contours of Sri Lankan coastal communities encountering the 2004 tsunami are shaped by the vulnerabilities induced by their caste and socio-economic marginality.

Two additional forces unforeseen in the cited literature above compound these root causes. They are globalization and associated policies of structural adjustment that Sri Lanka has been entangled in over the past three decades. These entail the incursion of transnational corporations as part of the recipe of foreign direct investments (FDIs) imposed by the International Monetary Fund (IMF) for privatization and trade liberalization that have meant drastic cuts in the social sector budgets for health, education and welfare. In addition, deepening national debt has trapped the state in arduous repayment obligations. In effect, this macro-economic situation burdens the government with the task of generating foreign revenue, and hence its reliance on the tourism sector as a source of potential lucrative earnings. Regardless of whether the tourism sector has in fact been able to generate the needed foreign exchange earnings, the confluence of the above-mentioned processes in combination have further compromised the subsistence security of low-income populations. Implicit in the over-reliance on the tourism sector for economic recovery is the unintended consequence of replicating colonial hierarchies, placing foreign tourists' concerns over those of marginalized locals.

### Mining the Myth of Paradise Isle

Sri Lanka, resplendent isle, serendipitous, the new Bali, call it what you will, Sri Lanka is one of the most beautiful countries on earth. This pearl at the end of the Subcontinent's necklace offers culture, history, friendly people and some of the most magnificent and empty beaches on earth (Kershaw 2006).

Since time immemorial, the island of Sri Lanka has enchanted travelers from Arab mariners, Portuguese voyagers, and British planters to millennial voyagers with its unsurpassed natural beauty and serene, unhindered vistas of endless, tropical, green and gold colors of sea and sand. Euphemistically referred to as *Paradise Isle*, Sri

Lanka is often heralded as reminiscent of the Biblical *Garden of Eden*. This image has been instrumental in marketing a fantasy of escape that caters to human desires for exotica. That reference of course has been tainted in recent years by the brutal violence of civil war that has marred the nation's social and physical landscape, and, perhaps equally violently, overturned by the tsunami that struck on December 26, 2004. The imperialist appeal of travel has been replaced in the 20th century, and now the 21st century, by the emergence of tourism as an indulgence for the elite and an escape for the middle and working classes harried by the pace and pressures of capitalism's demands. Yet, the events unfolding in post-tsunami Sri Lanka and elsewhere are instructive of another deployment of empire—the extension of capital as beneficence in redressing disaster situations.

### Paradise Disrupted: The Impact of the First and Second Waves

In commemoration of the birth, enlightenment, and death of the Buddha which occurred on a full moon day, such days (*Poya*) are observed as sacred by Buddhists in Sri Lanka. Because it was a Sunday and a Poya day, the so-called 'panoramic vista of stilt fishermen casting their lines into the Indian Ocean' (mentioned in tourist brochures) was absent along the southern coastal belt on December 26, 2004, as many were busy with visits to local temples.

Nonetheless, locals concerned with avoiding the heat of the mid-day sun had made early morning visits to the beach. They were swept away violently by the two 30-foot waves (5- and 6.5-meter wave surges) (United Nations Environmental Program 2005). The tsunami had begun traveling at a speed of 500 miles per hour from the site of origin, Banda Aceh, Indonesia and struck the island nation of Sri Lanka at 8:40 in the morning (United Nations Environmental Program 2005). It crashed in with an apocalyptic effect on two-thirds of the coastline from the northeast to the southwest as well as portions of the southern coast ravaging 1,000 kilometers of the 1,585 to 1,660 kilometer-long Sri Lankan coastline.

Estimates range from 31,000 to 39,000 people killed by drowning and the sheer force

of the water or debris thrown against them as the waves crashed in and receded. Of the dead, 107 were tourists. Another 6,000 people went missing, of whom 65 were tourists. The majority of fatalities were among low-income fishing communities residing along the coastline. About 20,000 were from the predominantly ethnically Tamil north and east, while low-income Muslim communities along the southeast coast were also severely affected.

In addition, the number of individuals displaced by the tsunami is estimated at half a million people, of which 90,000 are from fishing communities. The United Nations Environmental Program (UNEP) estimates the tsunami destroyed 99,500 houses and damaged another 46,300, in the affected districts, considering the typically flimsy, makeshift, cajan-palm-thatched homes fishing communities occupy (United Nations Environmental Program 2005:11).

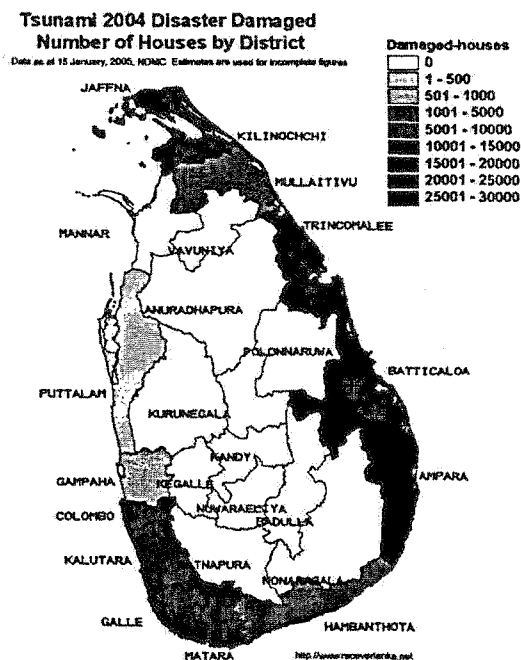


Figure 2. Tsunami damage to Sri Lankan homes was concentrated in the east coast's central and southern districts. Map courtesy of The Foundation for Environment, Climate and Technology, Digana Village, Sri Lanka. Accessed online at <http://www.recoverlanka.net/>.

Other damage included destruction of town marketplaces and transportation networks such as roads and a railway line that straddles the coastline. A passenger train heading south was overturned, killing most of its 1,400 passengers. The damage to banks and other commercial

buildings, public institutions including 44 hospitals, clinics, dispensaries, and healthcare-delivery vehicles. In addition, an estimated 182 schools and four university campuses were severely damaged.

When the tsunami struck, there were 17,000 tourists on the island with 6,000 holidaying along the affected coastal areas. Fifty-three out of the 242 large hotels were destroyed, and 248 small hotels and lodges were in a shambles. Of the 242 star-class hotels along the southern coast, 48 were badly damaged, 31 of which are again operational, partly courtesy of a duty-free importation scheme established by the government allowing such facilities to be reconstructed or refurbished (Sharma 2005). By contrast, an estimated one million of the 5.32 million coastal population (approximately 28 percent of the country's total 19 million population) were offered no such concessions. The majority of the affected communities reside within 1 kilometer of the sea in makeshift housing that is perennially vulnerable to tropical storms. This was evidenced by the fact that half of the tsunami damaged housing was within the 100-meter buffer zone (International Labor Organization 2006), as shown in figure 2.

In terms of the impact on the national economy, the worst-affected sector in Sri Lanka was the marine fishing industry, including related small-scale food processing facilities. The total damage to the marine fisheries, including marine structures and service facilities is estimated at \$97 million (Asian Development Bank et al. 2005). About two thirds (65 percent of 29,700) of the country's fishing boats were destroyed or significantly damaged. This number includes 594 multi-day boats, 7,996 motorized day boats, and about 10,520 traditional non-motorized boats (United Nations Environmental Program 2005:14). The tourist industry was also severely affected, incurring an estimated suspension of 9,500 directly related jobs and the suspension of some 27,000 jobs associated with the industry. The estimated damage to tourism property was in the amount of \$30 million.

Although the direct damage to the tourist industry was less than to the marine fishing industry and its coastal communities, the government's perception of tourism as a major

source of foreign revenue contributed to the uneven and inconsistent application of recovery measures. According to many reports, thousands of Sri Lankans are still living in temporary camps and dwellings facing an uncertain future amidst slow and poorly coordinated progress for resettlement. One recent source, the February 10, 2006, Hansard Text of the United Kingdom Parliament (the record of the floor proceedings in the House of Lords) notes with concern that only 10 percent of those who lost their permanent homes have regained permanent accommodations (Lords Hansard Text 2006). These discussions reflect the concern registered by many global leaders about the displacement of fishing communities not only because of the havoc created by the tsunami, but also about the way the needs of fisher folk were pushed aside in favor of promoting tourism development. Related concerns include the fact that although an estimated 9,000 boats have been repaired and more than 12,000 have been replaced, those without their tools, equipment and crafts, not to mention other essentials have been unable to return to their previous occupations (Lords Hansard Text 2006). Furthermore, some transitional shelters have been covered with tin roofs, holding unbearable heat under the searing tropical sun. Termite infestation is apparent in some of the wooden homes built by some non-governmental organizations (NGOs) and through donor funds, adding to the health risks in these shelters. Field visits by Refugees International document at additional concern:

Some housing sites are in areas that normally flood during the rainy season, which is about to start in the east. The fear is that the monsoon season in the east will create secondary displacement due to the poor quality and location of some of the shelters. (Refugees International 2005:1).

The loss of personal documentation has further encumbered the recovery process. These include birth certificates, national identification cards, marriage certificates, land deeds, and bank books essential for not only affirming one's formal identity, but also for reestablishing one's place in society, and reconfirming a sense of self. However, the policy that the affected populations

have regarded as the greatest encumbrance in restoring self-worth and community identity has been the introduction of the conservation buffer zone that prohibits home rebuilding within a 100-meter zone along the coast.

### **Peddling Paradise?**

#### **The Formula of the 100-Meter Rule**

The government formulated the 100-meter rule as a protective effort in the immediate aftermath of the tsunami, at a moment when high-level government officials hastened to address the multiple dimensions of devastation the nation faced. However, contrary to its intended effect, the 100-meter rule has been experienced as yet another devastating "tsunami wave" by a nation shaken with shock and grief. Its social psyche fragmented by nearly three decades of a long and protracted civil conflict, an already traumatized nation struggled to comprehend the gravity of the situation. Pondering the enormity of relief and shelter needs, the daunting task of cleanup, and the long-term strategies for recovery, civic groups and local philanthropic organizations mobilized to launch collective efforts.

Amid the confusion over which administrative/institutional mechanisms would be established, questions were also raised about the absence of an *in situ* early warning system. According to the Sri Lanka Meteorology, Oceanography and Hydrology Network and the Earth Institute at Columbia University, the earthquakes that set off the tsunami could not have been predicted in advance. But once the earthquake had been detected, it would have been possible to give about three hours notice of the approaching tsunami, if such a warning system had been in place in the Indian Ocean as it is across the Pacific Ocean. Perhaps as a way of dissipating the charges surrounding this serious oversight, the 100-meter buffer zone was presented as a no-resettlement, no-reconstruction policy necessary for "protecting the coastal regions and the residents who live there from Tsunamis" (Rice and Haynes 2005). Essentially, the 100-meter rule prohibited construction of homes and businesses within 100 meters of the average sea level (in some areas 200 meters). Attempting to project an image of protective, yet forward-looking "constructive development,"

this rule also included clauses that appeared to be sensitive to the socio-cultural and environmental implications of tourism. For example, that a sustainable form of tourism development would be ensured and that coastal conservation would be assured. Nonetheless, the brunt of the 100-meter rule would be borne by low-income fishing communities, who for generations had been residing along the coastline, albeit as squatters without any legal title to the coastal land, and now would be unable to rebuild their homes within 100 meters from the beach. Moreover, this rule represents a survival dilemma for fishing communities who find that compliance imposes serious impediments to their subsistence activities, since artisanal fishers tether their fragile crafts along the coast for convenient castoff at dawn.

As such, this hasty device of the 100-meter rule appears more to be a face-saving measure for the state, seemingly meant to redeem its credibility in the eyes of the nation, the donor community, and the world at large. It may also be interpreted as a tactic to circumvent the mounting questions about the lapses in government response. Furthermore, it appears that the enormous outpouring of support by the global public (i.e. private individuals) and pledges for relief and resettlement by the international development community had lulled the state into a level of complacency. Hitherto unseen amounts of support were committed for these efforts by NGOs and other non-profit and humanitarian agencies such as Doctors Without Borders, Save the Children, and various United Nations agencies. Paradoxically, donor agencies and international financial institutions, seemingly poised for just such a moment, have devised long-term recovery formulas framed within the logic of neoliberal economic rationale that contravene the immediate concerns of resettlement.

In the wake of these developments, local community groups and NGOs have brought allegations that tsunami rehabilitation is being used to promote big business and tourism at the expense of the local communities. They have argued that the buffer-zone measures are not aimed at ensuring the safety of the fishing communities but are intended to clear land for large hotel complexes. In fact, the construction of new

hotels within the buffer zone has continued unabated as with the Aman properties. Other international hotel chains such as Sheraton, Hyatt, and Banyan Tree are proceeding with new coastal hotel developments. Damaged hotels have been allowed to rebuild, and the reconstruction of popular tourist spots, such as Unawatuna (another famed tourist site along the southern coast) has occurred without hindrance (Kurusulasuriya 2005).

Meanwhile, tens of thousands of displaced coastal residents have been pressured to relocate away from the coast, often by heavy-handed methods. Several instances of police intervention to prevent house rebuilding 75 meters inland by fishing communities have been reported by Herman Kumara, founder and coordinator of National Fisheries Solidarity (an organization of over 7,000 fisher-people around the country). The challenges of finding unoccupied land have narrowed the options available for resettlement and confounded the resettlement prospects of these further impoverished and displaced coastal communities, as discussed in the next section.

### **Poverty in Paradise: The Hidden Face of Serendipity**

Fishing communities in Sri Lanka have long settled on stretches of beach sandwiched in between the sea and a railway track built in the British colonial era that runs along the western coastline. Since much of the coastline is considered freehold government land, few in these communities hold legal title to the land, further complicating their resettlement prospects. Their homes are typically flimsy, cadjan-roofed (coconut palm thatched) makeshift homes that are severely compromised each monsoon season, while few, if any, of the communities have safe water and sanitation systems. Many use the beachfront and the rolling sea waves for toiletry purposes. Residents of these poor coastal communities rely extensively on kin networks for social and economic support. Given that large portions of extended families have been wiped out by the tsunami, the emotional toll on these communities is inestimable, not to mention the economic implications of the loss of the mutual financial support that would have been available from extended family members for their long-

term survival. In the wake of the tsunami, the social fabric of these communities has come unraveled by yet another factor. Vague promises of resettlement, uncertainties about relocation to rural or forest sites further inland, disinformation campaigns, and the inconsistent and uneven distribution of aid have created tensions and rivalries among community members.

The majority of the coastal communities are made up of non-commercial, small-scale fishermen who eke out a living from selling their daily catch. Often referred to as artisanal fishing, this type of fishing is undertaken in small wooden boats, usually family-owned and operated, by populations who are amongst the poorest communities in the South Asia region. By contrast, industrial fishing is based on large-vessels, often using trawlers, heavy-duty equipment, and salaried crews. Many artisanal, small-scale fishermen in Sri Lanka, and elsewhere in South Asia, still do not even have motorized boats. They navigate the rough seas of the Indian Ocean in hand carved *oru*, precarious wooden boats whose design dates back thousands of years. The sea is their livelihood. This is so despite their vulnerability to monsoon rains and winds that shape the precarious nature of their existence. They have few assets other than their boats, nets and other tools of the trade, now lost to the tsunami. Most individuals also lack any form of equity, savings, financial reserves and formal banking arrangements that would allow them to cope with this kind of disaster.

The day begins at dawn in these fishing communities, when fishermen push off in their narrow boats, moored at night aside their equally precarious one-room dwellings on the beach. They return by mid-morning if the catch is good. If not, they remain on the water, venturing further off to sea, only returning by late evening. Proximity to the sea is critical to enable the fishing expeditions with ease, as well as to secure the safety of their boats. Some communities are engaged in salting and drying fish—typically women's work—requiring access to the beach where the salting and drying operations take place. Fishing is not merely an occupation, a source of livelihood, but also a way of life for these communities with its own traditions and values.

Poverty is endemic among coastal fishing communities in Sri Lanka, as with other coastal fishing populations in the South Asia region. According to United Nations estimates, between 25 and 33 percent of the people in the affected districts live below the poverty line (Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs 2005:104). As an urban underclass, many in these low-income communities also face various forms of social exclusion, as a result of their social (caste) and economic marginality. Most Sri Lankan fishing communities are affiliated with the *Karave* caste (*Karaiyyar* in Tamil), that holds a secondary position to the agricultural (Govigama among the Sinhala, and Vellala among the Tamils) in the caste structure. Unlike elsewhere in South Asia, caste hierarchy is not as entrenched in contemporary Sri Lanka where caste mobility as well as caste elasticity is common. For example, some *Karave* groups thrived during colonial rule, are credited for their entrepreneurial skills, and are economically well off. Yet, for the most part, small-scale fishing communities in particular tend to be at a low-income level. The rate of alcoholism is high, and gender violence is a common problem. In this context, their vulnerability has been heightened not only by the direct impact of the tsunami, but also by the indirect effects of ineffective recovery strategies, as elaborated in the next section.

### **Recovering *Serendib*: The Tourism Industry's Bounce-Back Strategy**

No more than a month after the 2004 tsunami hit Sri Lanka, while traumatized coastal communities were filtering through the rubble of homes and other community buildings, shuttling back and forth between temporary shelters and camps, attempting to comprehend and come to terms with the tsunami's devastation, the Sri Lankan Ministry of Tourism launched a *Bounce-Back* campaign. Underscoring the ironies of prioritizing the tourism sector, rather than focusing on restoring livelihoods and infrastructure to displaced fishing communities, together with the Sri Lanka Tourist Board, the Ministry of Tourism outlined restoration plans aimed "to rebuild Sri Lanka as a world-class tourism destination" (Sri Lanka Board of Investment 2003). Funded partly by a USAID grant of \$3 million, the

Bounce-Back campaign targets key international markets in the United States and the European Union to woo tourists back to Sri Lanka with assurances of safety (United States Agency for International Development 2006). USAID funding was specifically for a geared-up advertising campaign, euphemistically called the Tourism Communications Project, to help counter the misperception that Sri Lanka was so overwhelmed by the tsunami that its tourism industry would not be able to accommodate vacationers. Managed by USAID subcontractors Nathan and J.E. Austin Associates, this project exemplifies the quandary of "tied-aid"—the reality that aid dollars disproportionately benefit donor countries as projects are contracted out to donor country subcontractors. The Sri Lankan Tourism Board and Sri Lankan Airlines launched their own advertising campaign of \$2.1 million in late May of 2006. They are partnering with the Tourism Communications Project on this campaign in something that the firm of Nathan and Associates (n.d.) claims "will result in a 60 percent increase in media coverage, penetration, and frequency."

Echoing the sentiments that have accorded it a pre-eminent place in the national economy, one Tourist Board director, in his appeal for the return of tourists, described tourism as a lifeline for the nation, an ironic pun under these circumstances. To provide some perspective, tourism ranks fourth among the sources of foreign revenue generation in the country, over \$350 million in 2004 in foreign exchange earnings, accounting for about two percent of gross domestic product (GDP). This is slightly less than the fisheries sector, which contributes 2.8 percent to GDP. Yet, given its symbolic role in bolstering national pride, albeit within what I will call neo-orientalist caricatures of island exotica, tourism holds a favored place in the national imaginary. The Bounce-Back campaign was not only framed as a recovery measure, but also cast as an opportunity in the face of tragedy. One posting on the Tourist Industry web site brazenly declared the following:

In a cruel twist of fate, nature has presented Sri Lanka with an unique opportunity, and out of this great tragedy will come a world



class tourism destination. The Sri Lanka Tourist Board has requested and received approval from the Sri Lankan Government for various duty concessions to be offered to the hoteliers and tour operators who are rebuilding their businesses (Sri Lankan Tourist Board n.d.).

The manner in which the tourism sector took this first Bounce-Back step is indeed revealing of its superior financial resources. This is in contrast with low-income fishing communities consisting of independent, small-scale fisheries entrepreneurs who barely bring in incomes above the poverty line, and subsistence-fishing individuals who hover along the national poverty line of approximately 4000 Sri Lankan Rupees (the equivalent of about \$400) per month.

Notwithstanding the 100-meter rule, pre-tsunami plans to develop luxury tourism in Sri Lanka have proceeded at full speed, including a spa, multi-national hotels, a yacht marina and other facilities catering to up-market clients, as per the tourism master plan. The redevelopment of the tourism sector moreover, has been facilitated by special mechanisms to enable access to capital and imports of refurbishing material by registered hoteliers and tourism businesses. Underscoring the position of the favorite assumed by the tourist industry, the then minister of tourism pledged to provide 'all possible relief and concessions to hoteliers,' including low-interest loans. These included a post-tsunami loan scheme of LKR 10 million (the equivalent of \$95,000) at a concessional interest rate of seven percent with a one-year grace period, that have only been made available to registered hoteliers and tourism businesses. A tax waiver scheme for imported goods has been established that would also enable these hoteliers to bring in furnishings and other necessities to restore hotels, at a 100 percent duty waiver. Ironically, these concessions are only available to the larger tourism outfits that had the sufficient capital to register their businesses, but not to small, unregistered hotels unable to access any commercial loans. A further irony is that the insurance coverage secured by the tourist industry allowed most of the tsunami-damaged hotels to submit claims to recover most of their losses. But low-income

fisher people have only each other as social insurance and cannot rely on any savings given their marginal cash reserves, while the only assets they relied on (their boats and equipment), were destroyed by the tsunami.

In this manner, the tourism sector in Sri Lanka has benefited disproportionately via the extension of government support and capital. As elsewhere in the region, the tourism industry has been able to overcome the tragic blow dealt by the tsunami fairly quickly. Its vast entrepreneurial know-how about tapping into global markets, sophisticated technological access, communications infrastructure (reflecting the digital divide), and organizational capacity have contributed to its recovery successes. It now appears that the tourism industry in fact perceived this moment as a golden opportunity not only for rebuilding, but also for expanding its footing along the coast. To understand the differential application of the 100-meter rule, it is instructive to examine the symbolic significance of the tourist industry for bolstering national pride, and furthering national development.

### **Regaining Serendib: Tourism as Symbolic Terrain**

In 2003, a year before the dreaded Tsunami, the Government of Sri Lanka (GOSL) made a bid to reposition itself as the ideal tourist destination by launching a *Regaining Serendipity* campaign that harked back to Sri Lanka's mythic role as *paradise island*, the legendary Garden of Eden. Recalling the magical qualities attributed to this island nation in legend and myth, and referring to the ancient name *Serendib*, given to the island by Arab mariners, signifying a sudden, accidental, and fortunate discovery and experience, the Regaining-Serendib campaign entailed a process of restructuring Sri Lanka's tourism sector. The primary task was to develop "a new strategic initiative that would make Sri Lanka the most sought after destination in the Indian Ocean," as stated by Mr. Hari Selvanathan, chairman of the committee appointed by the prime minister to restructure Sri Lanka's tourist industry:

While offering authentic experiences in a unique setting, we will leverage our human

and natural resources to transform Sri Lanka into the region's centre of excellence. We are home to a cultural rainbow of humanity living ordinary life in extraordinary ways. This new approach to tourism will restore pride in local culture, raise living standards and promote social contentment. In so doing, Sri Lanka will become a recognized up-market destination catering to niche markets. This new face of Sri Lankan tourism presents a dazzling array of possibilities. World Heritage sites, vibrant Buddhist culture, tropical wildlife, unspoiled beaches, traditional healing therapies, wind surfing, whale watching, diving, fashionable shopping and dining are just a few of the attractions that distinguish Sri Lanka as a destination for our visitors (Sri Lankan Tourist Board, n.d.).

Scholars who characterize nation states in the global south as post-colonies discuss the dilemmas inherent in moving beyond the territorial claims of the state (see Appadurai 1996). At the same time, as many have documented, while allegiances to the nation-state as a bounded territorial and symbolic unit intensify, we also see efforts by new (post-colonial) nation-states to project themselves as homogenous and unified entities. This is part of the task of asserting historical and political legitimacy. The Sri Lankan state is no exception, as evidenced, for example, in its intense opposition to the claim for a separate Tamil homeland. More relevant for this paper is its effort to craft and disseminate a particular image of an idyllic and exotic island nation of immense appeal to the escape fantasies and consumption capacities of North American and European audiences. The images of exoticism projected by the state make a spectacle of the indigenous in promotional photos, as shown in figure 3, echoing a Gauguin painting. This image was used in a promotional presentation by the chairman of the committee appointed to restructure Sri Lanka's tourist industry.

Such images of exoticism betray the orientalist stereotypes to which the Sri Lankan elite subscribe. They also suggest an unquestioning acceptance of neoliberal development formulas that rely on sectors such as tourism that put

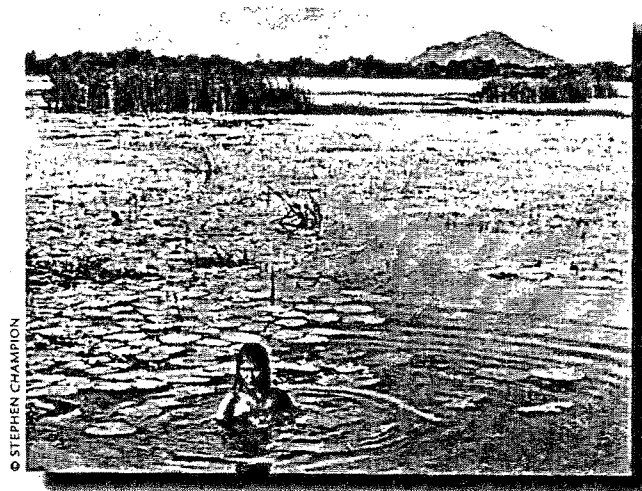


Figure 3. Girl immersed in village tank depicted in tourism promotion campaign. Courtesy Stephen Champion, who has been documenting the lives of rural Sri Lankans for over two decades and does not concur with the interpretation of this image as used by the *Regaining Serendipity* campaign.

foreign investors' interests first while marginalizing and exploiting indigenous populations for their very supposed backwardness.

Tourism and the promotion of tourism permits the nation, in my view, to accomplish the following. It is a way to affirm the value of Sri Lanka in the schema of global consumption as a desirable commodity, appealing to a transnational class of individuals who wish to imbibe in their escapist fantasies. Unfortunately, this also entails peddling indigenous/native culture and heritage. Marketing the country as a tourist destination relies on advertising that crafts an idyllic image of the country able to capture the imagination and desires of a transnational consuming class. This approach avoids any references to the poverty, strife, and social marginality experienced by many local communities. The prioritization and promotion of tourism for the sake of national development accrues benefits to foreign investors, while the seemingly banal, but tragic socio-economic realities of local communities remain unresolved.

### **Reclaiming *Serendib*: The Tourism Industry's Role and Appeal for National Development Agendas**

According to a 1999 report produced jointly by the World Travel and Tourism Council and the International Hotel and Restaurant Association (WTTC and IHRA respectively), the travel and tourism industry is the largest generator of

jobs within and across national and regional economies (1999:2). It accounts for 200 million jobs in the world economy across a range of sectors, including retail, construction, manufacturing, telecommunications, and direct work in the hospitality sector itself. It also claims tourism as one of the most effective drivers of development for regional economies, albeit shouldered largely by the work of populations of color, primarily women and youth. Critics of the hospitality industry (see Gray 2004, Katz 2003) note the concentration of racialized and marginalized groups in the low-wage ends of this sector. They cite by contrast how white males or lighter skinned individuals are placed at the sought after *front-end work* that requires interaction with clients. They also document the increased pattern of income polarization in the service sector. Yet, the World Travel and Tourism Council and the International Hotel and Restaurant Association continue to brag about tourism's tremendous successes in creating jobs and wealth.

Sri Lanka's efforts to rely on tourism as a development strategy dates back to the 1960s when the first tourism plans were drafted. There were speculations about its possibilities as "an export industry of enormous proportions, offering unlimited prospects as a growth resource" (Ceylon Tourism Plan 1967:27, quoted by Crick 1994:28). The rising number of tourist arrivals and the revenue generated during the decades that followed (Crick 1994:37) confirmed that the tourism industry was a viable source for generating revenue for public expenditure (Crick 1994:38). One source notes that Sri Lanka ranks currently as the seventh best tourist family holiday attraction in the world (Fernando n.d.). Nonetheless, the tourism industry in Sri Lanka bears witness to many of the conflicting patterns in the operations of global/corporate capitalism. As Crick illustrates, expectations about the growth generating possibilities of the tourism sector in Sri Lanka were over-optimistic and led often to contradictory outcomes.

As with other developing nations that rely on tourism, disproportionate benefits have accrued to countries of tourist origin (the First World), while existing structural inequalities between the Global North and

the Global South and within the latter are reinforced or in many instances exacerbated (Crick 1994:94).

Local elites aligned with the interests of international/corporate capital have benefited most from tourism, further aggravating socio-economic inequities and divisions in the society. By contrast, those who have not been able to benefit from tourist cash flows have grown increasingly frustrated (Crick 1994:65-66), complicating local social cleavages.

The tourist industry has piggy-backed on the state's expectations and has carved out its vision and mission statement in the following words:

[Vision] To become the foremost Tourist Destination in Asia. [Mission] To build up Tourism as an industry capable of playing a significant role in the economic advancement of the country whilst preserving the country's cultural values, ethos and its rich natural endowment thereby winning the hearts of both the local populace and the international community (Sri Lank Board of Investment 2003).

### **Paradise Displaced: Symbolic Upstaging of Local Communities in the Aftermath of the Tsunami**

To better understand the motivations that bolstered the significance of the tourist industry in the Sri Lankan state's post-tsunami interventions, while the priorities of local, low-income communities were downplayed, I provide an uneasy contrast. The intense and profound meanings and emotions invested in the ground where the twin towers once stood in New York City in the aftermath of the 9/11 twin towers destruction serves as an instructive comparison. *Ground Zero* has been invested with symbolic capital as a site of memory and mourning in the national and global imaginary. Interestingly, unlike *Ground Zero*, tsunami stricken areas have not been invested with such symbolic load. Instead, as the tourist industry's Bounce-Back campaign suggests, the focus has been more on *moving on* rather than lingering long in the memory of loss and displacement. The political and economic import of the twin towers as the

emblematic site of the pinnacle of capitalism may be one reason that Ground Zero has continued to hold the attention of the nation and remain a public spectacle (see Sturken 2004). By contrast, the coastal fishing communities affected by the tsunami have largely stood at the margins of the society, and as such, outside the short-term empathy it generated, without long-term rituals of grief and mourning, except by surviving community members.

The political capital offered by the World Trade Center site has far more "official" value for the United States as a nation than its emotive value as a place of residence and work, as Sturken suggests. Likewise, its central role in the Sri Lankan state's national development plans confers a similar value to the tourism industry. Simultaneously, it offers an arena for the display of a peculiar form of neocolonial nationalism, one that feeds into orientalist versions of island exotica as an idyllic getaway paradise. The latter relies on romanticized depictions that gloss over the realities of the grueling life led by artisanal fisher communities, and other grim, unresolved dilemmas facing the nation (i.e. the ethnic conflict). As such, it is the tourism industry that has been imbued with credibility for grief and loss on the global stage as the saga of losses of life to tourist families is played out on the international media, where local mourning only forms a mere blurred backdrop. McLagan clarifies this tendency in the following way: "In today's globally mediated world, visual images play a central role in determining which violences are redeemed and which remain unrecognized" (2006:191).

As suggested earlier, long before the tsunami, prime beaches along the southern coastline had been fenced off, privatized, and developed for tourist consumption, overlooking their importance as a livelihood resource for coastal communities. The displacement of artisanal fishermen from the coastal areas thus dates back many decades prior to the 2004 tragedy. As such, the only contender to low-income coastal residence in Sri Lanka, the tourism industry, because of its capital-intensive nature, and its symbolic power on the global stage has upstaged the significance attached to place by poor fishing communities. With its conversion to a tourist landscape, the coastline's importance in sustaining the liveli-

hood needs of poor fishing populations has thus been subverted. The sandy beaches, the coconut trees and the warm currents of the Indian Ocean are placed at the consumption beck and call of the tourist, while the local as a figure whose historical presence along the coastline is replaced, and often erased has become constructed as the intruder. For example, when the occasional, itinerant peddlers of seashells, hand-dyed batik sarongs, and other tourist consumables wander on to the beach area bordering a tourist hotel, the staff and clientele of tourist hotels react with a general sense of unease and discomfort. Large hotels post a security guard at the edge of the waterfront, primarily to "protect" tourists from robberies and other threats to the escape fantasy of an idyllic landscape of leisure marketed by the tourist industry. Local flavor is introduced to tourists only in a structured manner via the pre-arranged and highly managed cultural programs that bring occasional classical dance troupes or by popular local calypso-style *baila* musicians. The tourist industry as a whole thus casts the local landscape of ordinary life in to the shadows, rendering them invisible and immaterial.

### **Paradise Compromised: The Role of International Financial Institutions in Promoting the Tourism Sector**

The neoliberal policy doctrines promoted by international financial institutions, such as the World Bank and the International Finance Corporation, along with the donor community, emphasizes economic growth as the primary strategy for improving development prospects for Sri Lanka. This formula is predicated on the adoption of free markets, liberalization of trade, emphasis on export production, foreign direct investment, and privatization. Tourism is considered a vital part of the growth strategy, based on calculations of the foreign exchange it is expected to generate. Often considered a mainstay of the nation's economy, a key industry, and a major employer, the tourism industry generates foreign exchange revenue to the tune of \$340 million a year (in 2003). It provides employment for approximately 46,633 individuals, although some estimates, as in those quoted at the beginning of this paper are more conservative (United

States Agency for International Development n. d.). By contrast, artisanal and small-business fishing operations provide livelihood operations for up to 100,000 individuals (International Labor Organization 2006).

Key stakeholders in the development industry, such as the United States Agency for International Development, subscribe wholly to this formula, and have stepped in to restore the tourism industry in Sri Lanka, while fishing communities are left to be helped by charitable, humanitarian organizations. Two USAID programs illustrate the ironic contradictions in the prioritizing of restoring tourism rather than restoring livelihoods for low-income fisher communities. One, the Tourism Communications Project, discussed above, and the other, a cash-for-work beach cleanup program pays workers \$3.50 per day to restore a 15-square kilometer area of beach in Beruwela, a scenic and desirable tourist destination. Beruwela has approximately 75 hotels and guest houses with more than 4,000 rooms to accommodate tourists. Comments by project director David Dwyer on the "project's goal as one intended to speed [or hasten] the industry's recovery" further betrays the marginality accorded to low-income fishing communities within the framework of a neoliberal economic rationale. Echoing the litany of prophecies about the tourist industry, he has also commented, "the disaster provides the opportunity to move Sri Lanka's development forward, in this case through tourism, a key industry" (United States Agency for International Development 2006).

An even greater irony is USAID's self-serving and apocryphal assertion concerning the protective role of tourism outfits during the incursion of the tsunami:

The big tourist hotels literally saved many residents of the surrounding villages. Their multi-storied u-shaped configurations bore the brunt of the Tsunami, protecting the homes of hundreds of hotel servers, housekeepers and gardeners who live in nearby neighborhoods (United States Agency for International Development 2006).

One indication of USAID's faith in the significance of macro-economic strategies in Sri Lanka's disaster-recovery process, (including the lead role

assigned to the private sector) is the funding provided for the Bounce-Back campaign in the tune of \$3 million. USAID has also facilitated major policy reforms that "essentially gave the industry a free hand in plotting its own destiny" (United States Agency for International Development 2006). As noted in the USAID news brief on the latter, the increase in tourism arrivals is expected to lead to "more investment and more employment for Sri Lankans in the growing tourism sector" (2006). This is credited to a USAID-sponsored initiative, The Competitiveness Program (TCP), which is claimed to have

planted the idea for more self-reliance and private sector leadership, leading to the new legislation and convincing the government of the benefits of private sector leadership and professional accountability for promotional spending (United States Agency for International Development 2006).

### **Peddling Paradise: Government Interventions in Tourism Promotion**

One example of the government's disregard and detrimental action toward low-income fishing communities prior to the tsunami is evidenced by the 2001 events surrounding an expressway from the Katunatyake free-trade zone to Colombo harbor, financed by World Bank loans. Despite a previous pledge by the state highways department and Kiangnam and Boskalis, a Dutch construction company, no compensation has been paid to local fishermen whose livelihoods have been disrupted by the operation. Police are reported to have killed three persons in the process of dispersing protestors of the large-scale excavation of sand from the local beach. The charge raised by the protestors was that the removal of sand disrupted fishing activity by destroying fishing gear, including broad nets, driving out fish, killing fish spawn, and damaging the environment along a six-kilometer beach from Uswatakeyyava to Palliyawattta. The government has suppressed a report on the damage by the state-run institute that studies environmental effects that notes a two-year lapse before conditions for coastal fishing are partially restored. Local residents have also been affected by the operations of oil giant Shell, which pumps

gas and petroleum to storage tanks in nearby Muthurajawela from four kilometers offshore, violating an agreement with the government not to pump from less than nine kilometers.

It appears thus that the state, the tourism sector and key players in the international development community are colluding in the task of capitalizing on catastrophe in Sri Lanka. Post-tsunami reconstruction in Sri Lanka has furthered the ambitions of neoliberal development agendas shared by the Sri Lankan state, the donor community, and the international financial institutions who are ever-ready to finance capital-intensive ventures. The extent to which marginalized indigenous communities suffer further social, economic and political disenfranchisement is immaterial to these ambitions. As such, the end result of the 100-meter rule is a reshaping of the local social and cultural landscape as prized coastal zones are palmed off to the tourism industry.

### Summary and Conclusion

In the aftermath of the tsunami, the critical unresolved issue that has beleaguered state authorities, civil society organizations, and the disaffected populations has been the issue of resettlement. Even under ordinary circumstances, development related involuntary resettlement has entailed excessive human costs as induced, for example, by the construction of large dams such as the Narmada Dam in India, the Three Gorges Dam in China, and the infamous Gezira scheme in the Sudan (Scudder 1982; Colson 1971). Scholars who have studied these processes discuss the socio-cultural stress evident among resettled populations by virtue of the disruptions to the local social organization, the alteration of local leadership structures, and the emergence of new forms of dependency as government officials become the new source of community authority. Scudder (1982) has documented the immense trauma that resettlement represents for populations in the throes of that process as manifested by what he calls the "grieving for a lost home" syndrome. The associated physiological stress, he argues, has led to altered morbidity and mortality rates, complicated by the risks of epidemic diseases like dysentery and malaria as population density is increased in resettled villages.

Populations in many social contexts facing impending resettlement have thus shown tremendous resistance to relocation, associating it with hardship and death. Cernea (1997) has identified eight risks associated with resettlement encountered by populations subjected to this process: landlessness, joblessness, homelessness, marginalization, increased morbidity and mortality, food insecurity, loss of access to common property, social disintegration. Oliver-Smith (2005) provides insights on the sense of displacement, loss of identity, impoverishment risks, and the resulting decline in living standards involving economic, social, health, nutrition, and cultural-alienation variables that resettlement has wrought. The failure to consider the social dimensions of resettlement in past efforts, and mechanistic planning approaches that attempt to match people to places may be identified as part of the problem. For example, studies focusing on post-disaster recovery processes, primarily from a policy and planning perspective, (Haas et al. 1977, Rubin et al. 1985, Johnson 1999) put forward strategies useful for city and national planners involved in community recovery (see the phases of recovery outlined by Haas et al.). Yet, their lack of coordination and collaboration with affected communities has led ultimately to the application of such strategies in ways that are detrimental to the success of resettlement projects.

If resettlement processes unassociated with a calamity raise such a bewildering array of concerns, disaster situations present even graver resettlement challenges, as previous events have illustrated. These include the challenge of verifying the legitimacy of claims for relief, as populations other than disaffected ones may attempt to garner some of the benefits of disaster assistance. Determining the amount of cash or in-kind compensation poses its own challenges, apart from the establishment of channels for distributing compensation in a manner that prevents funds from being diverted to those who are not affected by a disaster. Other concerns include the illicit appropriation of relief consignments (see Dommen 1996), the need to establish mechanisms and measures for equitable distribution of assistance and just compensation, the related issue of eminent domain, and questions sur-



rounding how best to determine the capacity of affected households/populations to bear some of the expenditure related to resettlement.

Eminent domain represents one of the tricky aspects of resettlement since it entails a legal framework for determining eligibility for just compensation. On previous occasions, sudden increases in the population deemed eligible for just compensation has occurred when people learn of the sizeable compensation package, and somehow find a way to establish themselves as a part of the population eligible for just compensation.

Lewis (1999), for example, cites the 1982 instance of rehousing projects in Tonga after hurricane Isaac when the requirement of a 25% financial contribution by recipients clearly exacerbated pre-existing vulnerabilities, further marginalizing those unable to participate. While participatory approaches to development have been heralded in the ethnographic literature as a means to mitigate some of the more dire consequences of resettlement (see Oliver-Smith 1986, Berke et al. 1993, Scudder 1982), little in the way of avoiding the personal and social disruption human beings encounter in circumstances calling for forced relocation has been identified to date.

In this paper, I have focused on yet another dimension of resettlement that has imposed further stresses and strains for disaster-affected populations—disaster recovery interventions that are constructed in such a way as to promote the interests of corporate capital, whether intentionally or not. I have argued that the preoccupation with restoring the tourism industry, and the emphasis on tourism earnings as a source of foreign revenue has convoluted the priorities of disaster recovery in Sri Lanka. The absence of collaboration with civic organizations and participation by community representatives in the discussions on the recovery planning process, coupled with that responsibility charged to a group of prominent national business leaders has transformed the restoration process in to a corporate venture. In May 2005, for example, a Development Forum meeting convened by the government to discuss post-tsunami reconstruction included around 200 delegates from government ministries and other bodies, international donor agencies, including JICA (Japan Bank for

International Cooperation), the IMF (International Monetary Fund) and the World Bank, and major international NGOs (non-governmental organizations) such as OXFAM and World Vision, but failed to include representation from local civil society organizations except for one national NGO, Sewalanka, whose work has been allied with World Bank funded projects.

Civic organizations have charged the government with overlooking the needs of small-scale fishing enterprises and similar subsistence oriented ventures while favoring high-end tourism, large-scale and export oriented fisheries and agriculture (see for example the comments by Sarath Fernando, secretary general of Sri Lanka's movement for National Land and Agriculture Reform (MONLAR) in Rice and Haynes 2005).

The differential application of the 100-meter rule to coastal communities as compared to tourism outfits is but one example of this trend. The concessions made to the tourism industry in the form of low-interest loans (in the absence of credit extended to coastal populations), the efforts to push pre-tsunami plans to develop high-end tourism (international spas, luxury resorts and a yacht marina along the southern coast) have combined to leave local community members feeling doubly victimized.

The plight of Sri Lankans affected by the 2004 tsunami must also be viewed in the context of a nation scarred by political and ethnic violence for over three decades, as well as the symbolic violence inherent in processes of social subordination and political domination. The past three decades of conflict in Sri Lanka involves the "political" violence enacted in the two youth insurgencies, including the state responses that entailed brutal means of suppression, and the violence that has occurred as a part of the ethnic conflict between the Tamil and the Sinhala populations. The massive displacement caused by the ethnic conflict was further exacerbated as the tsunami added an estimated 570,000 to the existing number of those internally displaced living in refugee camps, temporary shelters, and among host groups. While the tendency to highlight their resilience resonates in many essays on the daily lives of those affected by these forces, this analysis finds no comfort in the glossing over of various forms of terror they



have experienced by citing instances of so-called Buddhist calm or rituals of solace (see Lawrence 2003).

In assuming such a stance, my concern is that we may be abdicating our responsibilities and absolving the accountability of the state and the international community to those whose lives have been destroyed. Resolving the resettlement and livelihood-restoration dilemmas faced by those affected by the 2004 tsunami requires an analysis of the various forms of vulnerabilities they have been subjected to over time. This task also calls for strategies that would reduce such vulnerability in the long run. As Sen (1994) argues, vulnerability is conferred not merely by the onset of a disaster, but is more a condition rooted in the deprivation of capabilities. Such deprivation amounts to the inability to attain various components of a decent quality of life, given societal mechanisms that rob them of the *potential* to attain these capabilities. As such, vulnerability to a disaster is clearly different for populations at different socio-economic levels.

Sen (1994) formulates the fullest attainment of human capabilities as the proper criterion for gauging the effectiveness of social welfare and the objective of policy interventions. In his view, capabilities allow substantive human freedoms or opportunities. Sen's concept of capabilities is thus parallel to those outlined by Blaikie and others (1994) in formulating their understanding of root factors. For Sen, the capability perspective allows us to look not only at the means to achieving a quality of life (e.g., income), but also to look beyond income to the ends that one is able to achieve. These include freedom from hunger, freedom for high literacy and educational attainment, and freedom for longevity.

Individuals whose social positioning is marginal because of their income levels, ethnicity, gender, race, caste, indigenous origin etc. may find themselves more vulnerable in times of natural disasters because of their limited access to formal mechanisms and assets/capital to cushion them from such a crisis. They live close to the margin of survival and their vulnerability is thus aggravated in disaster situations. Moreover, in addition to the emerging evidence from the tsunami stricken areas of the disruption of social networks resulting from the loss of

extended family members and displacement, it is important to consider the pre-existing factors that may have already set in motion a dismantling of such systems of social support. As Field (1993) reminds us, traditional redistributive mechanisms and social supports are often eroded as social relationships become defined and shaped increasingly by market-based transactions, particularly as a result of economic globalization. The challenge in post-disaster assistance is not only to reckon with the differential levels of vulnerability that influence the varying extents to which a disaster impacts diverse populations, but also to honor the principle objective of social equity outlined in Agenda 21 of the 1992 Rio Declarations.

This paper has attempted to show how post-disaster assistance and interventions couched in the logic of neoliberal economics employed in Sri Lanka in the aftermath of the 2004 tsunami have contributed to the further disempowerment of impoverished coastal communities. As argued in the literature on natural disasters (Sen 1994, Blaikie et al 1994, Oliver-Smith 1986, 2006) low-income coastal populations in Sri Lanka who have long survived at the margins of subsistence security have been made even more vulnerable by the tsunami as the worst natural disaster the nation has experienced. Their vulnerability has been exacerbated by a combination of factors. Their limited access to capital and other resources is one. Other factors include the erosion of social support networks, particularly in a social context where the incursion of globalization processes has subjected even social life to the dictates of the market, while the specific recovery strategies employed in the aftermath of the tsunami have favored corporate interests over those of local, low-income communities. These factors in concert have compromised their ability to overcome the effects of the disaster. Oliver-Smith notes that the outcome of a disaster "is usually not the result of the agent alone, but rather government response" (2006:7). By focusing on the revitalization of the tourism industry, recovery strategies have advanced the interests of corporations over those of the restoration of the livelihoods of affected low-income communities. In this case, since the tourism industry relies extensively on the idyllic beaches that the island

nation of Sri Lanka has to offer, it has also meant the conversion of its natural resources to a commodity form. Nature is being increasingly produced and marketed as a commodity (Castree 1995; Harvey 1996; Haraway 1997; Katz 1998), and I would add that nature is increasingly being *consumed* as a commodity. The challenge ahead of us is how to avert the pauperization of local communities inherent in making nature a commodity. How do we safeguard the relationships of local communities to nature as a means of subsistence, security, and survival? ○

## Notes

1. The term *serendib* is an Arabic word from which the English *serendipity* is derived and is used here to refer to Sri Lanka as a sudden, accidental, and delightful discovery.
2. The appearance of Nandini Gunewardena's article here in *The Applied Anthropologist* represents an effort symbolic of possible future cooperation between the National Association for the Practice of Anthropology (NAPA) and the High Plains Society for Applied Anthropology (HPSfAA) in the publication of this journal.
3. Nandini Gunewardena's Ph.D. in anthropology is from the University of California at Los Angeles. She is a member of the faculty of the Department of Human Services at Western Washington University. She may be reached there care of her department at 1600 Chester Avenue, Bremerton, Washington (WA) 98377-1699 USA. She may also be reached at 360-475-7265 by telephone and at **Nandini.Gunewardena@www.edu** by e-mail. Her work in applied anthropology spans action-research, project implementation, monitoring and evaluation, beneficiary assessments, and policy reforms. She has worked with a number of agencies, including the Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA), the Danish International Development Agency (DANIDA), the United States Agency for International Development (USAID) and the World Bank. Her ongoing work focuses on various aspects of poverty in Sri Lanka.

## References Cited

- Appadurai, Arjun  
1996 *Modernity at Large: Cultural Dimensions of Globalization. Public Worlds Series 1.* Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.
- Asian Development Bank, Japan Bank for International Cooperation, and the World Bank  
2005 "Sri Lanka 2005, Post-Tsunami Recovery Program: Preliminary Damage and Needs Assessment." Draft report. Colombo, Sri Lanka: Asian Development Bank, Japan Bank for International Cooperation and The World Bank. Accessed online on August 1, 2006, at <http://www.adb.org/Documents/Reports/Tsunami/sri-lanka-tsunami-assessment.pdf>.
- BBC News (British Broadcasting Corporation)  
2002 "Posh hoteliers return to Sri Lanka." News report, September 11, 2002. Accessed online on July 18, 2006, at <http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/business/2250776.stm>.
- Balachandran, P. K.  
2005 "Lanka's Post-tsunami Reconstruction Shows Mixed Results." *Hindustan Times*, December 26, 2005. Accessed online at <http://servesrilanka.blogspot.com/2006/01/lankas-post-tsunami-reconstruction.html>.
- Berke, Philip, J. Kartez, and D. Wenger  
1993 "Recovery after Disaster: Achieving Sustainable Development, Mitigation, and Equity." *Disasters* 17(2): 93-109.
- Bernal, Victoria  
1997 "Colonial Moral Economy and the Discipline of Development: The Gezira Scheme and 'Modern' Sudan." *Cultural Anthropology* 12(4): 447-479.
- Blaikie, Piers, T. Cannon, I. Davis, and Ben Wisner  
1994 *At Risk: Natural Hazards, People's Vulnerability and Disasters.* London: Routledge Publisher.
- Castree, Noel  
1995 "The Nature of Produced Nature: Materiality and Knowledge Construction in Marxism." *Antipode* 27(1): 12-48.
- Cernea, Michael  
1997 "The Risks and Reconstruction Model for Resettling Displaced Populations." *World Development* 25(10): 1569-1587.

- Charny, Joel and Sarah Martin  
2005 "Sri Lanka: Tsunami Survivors Yearn for Permanent Housing and Employment." Web article dated September 29, 2005, on Refugees International web site at <http://www.refugeesinternational.org/content/article/detail/6906/?PHPSESSID=5ce00f92779c166324e1d>.
- Colson, Elizabeth  
1971 *The Social Consequences of Resettlement*. Manchester, England, United Kingdom: Manchester University Press.
- Cropley, Edward  
2005 "Tourists Return, But Full Tsunami Recovery Years Away." *The (London) Daily Mirror*, December 20, 2005. Accessed online at [http://www.mirror.co.uk/news/latest/tm\\_objectid=16503949%26method=full%26siteid=94762-name\\_page.html](http://www.mirror.co.uk/news/latest/tm_objectid=16503949%26method=full%26siteid=94762-name_page.html).
- Dommen, Edward  
1996 "Humanitarian Aid in the Cycle of Armed Conflict." *United Nations Department of Humanitarian Affairs (DHA) News* 19 (June/August): 31-32.
- Emel, Jody, and Richard Peet  
1989 "Resource Management and Natural Hazards." In *New Models in Geography, Volume 1*. Edited by Richard Peet and Nigel J. Thrift. Pages 49-76. London: Unwin Hyman Publisher.
- Fernando, Tilak S.  
2006 "Face to Face with Punya Weerasinghe." *Infolanka*, London Diary (online column). Accessed online on July 18, 2006, at <http://www.infolanka.com/org/diary/165.html>.
- Field, John O.  
1993 *The Challenge of Famine: Recent Experience, Lessons Learned*. West Hartford, Connecticut: Kumarian Press.
- Gray, Mia  
2004 "The Social Construction of the Service Sector: Institutional Structures and Labour Market Outcomes." *Geoforum* 35: 23-34.
- Haas, J. Eugene, Robert. W. Kates, and Martyn J. Bowden, editors  
1977 *Reconstruction Following Disasters*. Cambridge: Massachusetts Institute of Technology (MIT) Press.
- Haraway, Donna  
1991 *Reinventing Nature: Simmians, Cyborgs, and Women*. New York: Routledge Publisher.
- 1997 "Mice into Wormholes: A Comment on the Nature of No Nature." In *Citadels and Cyborgs: Anthropological Interventions in Emerging Sciences and Technologies*. Edited by Gary Lee Downey and Joseph Dumit, Pages 209-244. Santa Fe, New Mexico: School of American Research Press.
- Harvey, David  
1996 *Justice, Nature, and the Geography of Difference*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Blackwell Publisher.
- Harchell, Brian  
2005 "Clean Water Makes Communities Healthier in Sri Lanka." American Red Cross news brief, May 31, 2006. Accessed online at [http://www.redcross.org/article/0,1072,0\\_312\\_5414,00.html](http://www.redcross.org/article/0,1072,0_312_5414,00.html).
- Hewitt, Kenneth  
1997 *Regions of Risk: A Geographical Introduction to Disasters*. Harlow, Essex, England, United Kingdom: Longman Publisher.
- International Labor Organization (ILO)  
2006 "ILO Response to Sri Lanka Crisis." Report accessed online at <http://www.ilo-mirror.cornell.edu/public/english/employment/recon/crisis/download/tsunamisrl.pdf>.
- Johnson, Laurie A.  
1999 "Empowering Local Governments in Disaster Recovery Management: Lessons from Watsonville and Oakland in Recovering from the 1989 Loma Prieta Earthquake and Other Recent Disasters." In *Lessons Learned Over Time. Volume I*. Report by the Cascadia Region earthquake Workgroup CREW). Oakland, California: for the Earthquake Engineering Research Institute (EERI). Also available online at: [www.crew.org/Papers/lessons.html](http://www.crew.org/Papers/lessons.html).
- Katz, Cindi  
1998 "Whose Nature, Whose Culture? Private Productions of Space and the Preservation of Nature." In *Remaking Reality: Nature at the Millennium*. Edited by B. Braun and N. Castree. Pages 46-63. New York: Routledge Publisher.
- Kershaw, Roger  
2006 "Sri Lanka." *Custom Travel Design Newsletter*, February 2006. Accessed online on July 18, 2006, at <http://www.rogerkershaw.com/newsletters/2006Feb.htm>.

- Kurukulasuriya, Lasanda  
2005 "Sri Lanka: Fishing for Tourist Dollars." *New Internationalist* 377 (April 1). Online publication. Available at <http://www.newint.org/issue377/currents.htm>.
- Lawrence, Patricia  
2003 *The Ocean Stories: Children's Imagination, Creativity, and Reconciliation in Eastern Sri Lanka*. Colombo, Sri Lanka: International Centre for Ethnic Studies.
- Leckie, Scott  
2005 "The Great Land Theft." Unpublished report. Colombo, Sri Lanka: Center on Housing Rights and Evictions (COHRE). Also available online at: <http://www.fmreview.org/text/FMR/Tsunami/05.doc>.
- Lewis, James  
1999 *Development in Disaster Prone Places: Studies of Vulnerability*. London: Intermediate Technology Publications, Limited.
- Lords Hansard Text, United Kingdom Parliament.  
2006 "On the Aftermath of the Tsunami." *Lords Hansard Text*. House of Lords record of proceedings of the parliamentary debates on February 10, 2006, in the United Kingdom Parliament. Column 978. Accessed online at <http://www.publications.parliament.uk/pa/ld199900/ldhansrd/pdvn/lds06/text/60210-23.htm>.
- McLagan, Meg  
2006 "Making Human Rights Claims Public." *American Anthropologist* 108(1): 191-195.
- Meillasoux, Claude, editor  
1973 *Qui Se Nourrit de la Famine en Afrique?* Paris: Maspero Publisher.
- Nathan Associates, Incorporated  
n.d. "Sri Lanka Gets Help on PR Campaign to Restore Tourists' Confidence." Announcement. Accessed online at <http://www.nathaninc.com/news/index.asp?bid=751321>.
- Novogrod, Nancy.  
2006 "Editor's Note." *Travel and Leisure*, June 2006, page 18. Accessed online on August 4, 2006, at <http://www.travelandleisure.com/articles/editors-note-june>.
- Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs (OCHA)  
2005 "OCHA in 2006: Activities and Extra-Budgetary Funding Requirements." New York: United Nations. Accessed online at [http://ochaonline.un.org/ocha2006/OCHAin2006\\_low.pdf](http://ochaonline.un.org/ocha2006/OCHAin2006_low.pdf).
- Oliver-Smith, Anthony  
1986 "Disaster Context and Causation: An Overview of Changing Perspectives in Disaster Research." In *Natural Disasters and Cultural Responses. Studies in Third World Societies Number 36*. Edited by Anthony Oliver-Smith. Pages 1-34. Williamsburg, Virginia: College of William and Mary Press.  
2002 "Theorizing Disasters: Nature, Culture, Power" In *Catastrophe and Culture: The Anthropology of Disaster*. Edited by Susanna M. Hoffman and Anthony Oliver-Smith. Pages 23-48. Santa Fe, New Mexico: School of American Research Press.  
2005 "Communities after Catastrophe: Reconstructing the Material, Reconstituting the Social." In *Community Building in the Twenty-First Century*. Edited by Stanley Hyland, Pages 45-70. Santa Fe, New Mexico: School of American Research Press.  
2006 "Disasters and Forced Migration in the 21st Century." In *Understanding Katrina: Perspectives from the Social Sciences*. Online discussion. Accessed at <http://understandingkatrina.ssrc.org/Oliver-Smith/>.
- Rice, Alison and Kelly Haynes  
2005 "A Report on Post-tsunami Reconstruction and Tourism. A Second Disaster?" London: Tourism Concern.
- Roberts, Michael  
1982 *Caste Conflict and Elite Formation, The Rise of the Karava Elite in Sri Lanka 1500-1931*. Cambridge, England, United Kingdom Cambridge University Press.
- Rubin, Claire B., Martin Saperstein and Daniel Barbee  
1985 *Community Recovery from a Major Natural Disaster. Program on Environment and Behavior. Monograph Number 41*. Boulder: Institute of Behavioral Science, University of Colorado at Boulder.
- Refugees International  
2005 "Field Visits to Sri Lanka." Washington, D.C.: Refugees International.

Scudder, Thayer

- 1982 *No Place to Go: Effects of Compulsory Relocation on Navajos*. Philadelphia: Institute for the Study of Human Issues (ISHI).

Sen, Amartya

- 1999 *Development as Freedom*. New York: Anchor Books.

Sharma, Aabhas

- 2005 "Tourism: Sri Lanka Is Back in Business." *Rediff*, December 1, 2005. Mumbai, India. Accessed online on August 4, 2006, at <http://www.rediff.com/money/2005/dec/01lanka.htm>.

Sri Lanka Board of Investment

- 2003 "Sri Lanka: A Paradise Destination for Investment." Promotional leaflet. Colombo: Sri Lanka. Accessed online at: [http://www.boi.lk/pdf/Leaflet\\_tourism1.pdf](http://www.boi.lk/pdf/Leaflet_tourism1.pdf).

Sri Lanka Tourist Board

- n.d. Announcement. Accessed online at [www.srilankatourism.org/bb\\_slrebuilds.htm](http://www.srilankatourism.org/bb_slrebuilds.htm).

Sturken, Marita

- 2004 "The Aesthetics of Absence: Rebuilding Ground Zero." *American Ethnologist* 31(3): 311-325.

Travel and Leisure

- 2006 "The 'It' Hotels." Accessed online at [http://www.travelandleisure.com/invoke.cfm?objectid=142AB01F-22A8-40E8-A128E4C685639FA7.ASIDEBARS\[1\]](http://www.travelandleisure.com/invoke.cfm?objectid=142AB01F-22A8-40E8-A128E4C685639FA7.ASIDEBARS[1]).

United Nations Environmental Program (UNEP)

- 2005 *After the Tsunami: UNEP's Rapid Environmental Assessment*. Nairobi, Kenya: UNEP Publications Office. Accessed online at <http://www.unep.org/Documents.Multilingual/Default.asp?DocumentID=424&ArticleID=4733&l=en>.

United States Agency for International Development (USAID)

- n.d. "Creating Competitiveness in Sri Lanka: The Tourism Cluster." Accessed online on August 1, 2006, at <http://www.competitiveness.lk/tourism.htm>.
- 2006 USAID elicits 'real reform' of tourism: *New law puts budget in hands of private sector. News report posted on the USAID-Sri Lanka mission website, available online at* <http://www.usaid.gov/lk/news/tos/jan06-tourism.html>.

World Bank

- 2006a *Sri Lanka: Country Assistance Strategy*. Washington. The World Bank.

- 2006b *Sri Lanka, Note on Post-tsunami Recovery and Reconstruction*. Washington: The World Bank. Accessed online at: <http://web.worldbank.org/WBSITE/EXTERNAL/COUNTRY>.

World Travel and Tourism Council (WTTC) and the International Hotel and Restaurant Association (IHRA)

- 1999 *Into the New Millennium*. Paris: World Travel and Tourism Council and the International Hotel and Restaurant Association.

# **"Between a Rock and a Hard Place": Rock Climbing and Traditional Cultural Properties**

David L. Kozak<sup>1</sup>

## **Abstract**

*Is rock climbing a right? Some rock climbers would seem to think so when asked not to climb at certain times out of respect toward Native American sacred rock formations that now happen to be on public lands and have the status of traditional cultural properties (TCPs). Regarding self-limiting climbing access, climbers are often sympathetic to a Native American community's TCP links or to those of other Native Americans, such as Alaska Natives or Native Hawaiians. Climbers have made accommodations to Native American requests. And they have honored those of federal land-managing agencies for the same reason of showing respect to Native Americans for their beliefs by not climbing. However, there is a precept in the climbing community of an individual climber's right to climb as spiritual activity. This paper examines climbers' perspectives regarding their TCP relations and reviews two promising alternatives to more contentious forms of problem resolution on climbing access.*

## **Introduction**

David Brower, the famous environmentalist and the most well known of Sierra Club members, made the first ascent of Shiprock in New Mexico in 1939. It was a technically challenging rock climb, ranking as one of the more difficult climbing accomplishments of its day. The ascent has been said, perhaps apocryphally and presumably by some Native Americans, to have rendered Shiprock spiritually inert, dead, for the Navajo people (McPherson 1992; Roberts 1998). Shiprock's imposing visage is found on the Navajo Nation reservation in northwestern New Mexico, on land held in tribal trust by the federal government.

Two years prior to Brower's historic accomplishment, a team of rock climbers ascended Devils Tower (Mateo Tipi or the Bear's Lodge) in northeast Wyoming, an equally imposing monolith and featured attraction at Devils Tower National Monument. The historic ascents of Shiprock and Devils Tower by non-Indians demarcate a crossing-of-paths with Native Americans regarding this activity as more climbers became aware to the seemingly limitless possibility of ascents of other equally imposing monoliths and formations that stand on both Native American and public lands. It also alerted Native Americans to a new kind of threat to places they hold culturally and historically important or sacred. Some see rock climbing as an intrusion into their tribal autonomy and as having an adverse impact on cultural integrity.

Ensuing decades brought the ascents of the imposing Totem Pole, Spider Rock and El Capitan on Navajo land and Baboquivari on Tohono O'odham land, in addition to countless ascents of other culturally significant formations on public land. The growth in popularity of *sport climbing* during the 1980s and 1990s and into the present has led some Native American communities to intensify their opposition on the basis that it is tantamount to disrespect and desecration to their sacred sites.

Climbers on the other hand view the very same rock formations as media to test their technical skills and endurance abilities via a legitimate recreational activity, which some even consider to be a spiritual one as well. The activity of course requires direct access.

Such differing perspectives and perceptions about rock formations have, on occasion, led to negotiations and sometimes to conflicts and litigation over access. And while climbing on tribal lands is not always prohibited by the tribes themselves, a much more complex picture emerges when access is sought to designated traditional cultural properties (TCPs) (Parker and King 1987; King 2003) that are within, not Indian lands, but rather state or federal public lands. Please note that traditional cultural properties are ethnographic resources that are eligible for or listed in the National Register of Historic Places. An ethnographic resource is a site to which cultural meaning has been attributed, the knowledge of which has been passed down

between successive generations as part of a group's cultural heritage and social identity.

In the early 1960s, the Navajo Tribal Council formally prohibited climbing on the Totem Pole and Spider Rock, and by 1970 Shiprock was included in the climbing ban. Many traditional cultural properties located off of the reservation, that is, on public land, such as those in the Valley of the Gods and Canyonlands country in particular and across the Colorado Plateau in general, were left open to recreational or other visitor-use activities. The distinction in land use between tribal and public highlights cultural differences that are grounded in religion, history, and the Establishment Clause of the First Amendment to the Constitution. The public debate over climbing access is often couched in an either-or conflict between climbers and Indians (Roberts 1998; McLeod 2001). This either/or representation oversimplifies a complex and varied ethnographic situation.

Much has been reported on Native American opposition to extractive industries, other commercial enterprises and recreational access to traditional cultural properties on public lands such as the ones mentioned above. Far less is known about Native American accommodations to non-Indian TCP users, or of the rock climbing community's perceptions of the reasons for climbing restrictions and varying attitudes toward accommodation. While Native Americans often perceive climbing on traditional cultural properties as disrespectful, and as desecration of their sacred sites, this is not always the case. Nor is it the case that Native Americans categorically oppose access by non-Indian outsiders to traditional cultural properties they define as sacred. For instance, the Navajo grazing permit holder to the land near Shiprock regularly grants climbers permission to climb the rock. I found in my research that recreational rock climbers strongly object to the characterization of their activity as being disrespectful or as the desecration of another culture's religion. In fact, it is only a minority of climbers who knowingly climb against the wishes of Native American communities.

What emerges from this research is that climbers are often torn between two competing value systems. By one, climbers say they value

Native American cultures in a general, if often romantic sense, but by another, climbers also highly value their individual right to climb, especially on public lands. They do not see their climbing activity as being substantially different than that of Native Americans with regard to their reverence for the land. For instance, some climbers say they make a personal connection to the environment that is not too dissimilar to what they perceive is a Native American person's predisposition toward topophilia. In many ways climbers express being caught in a double-bind, a Catch-22, or as one climber put it, "between a rock and a hard place." Climb? Or show deference by not climbing? That is the question.

## Methods

This article presents an overview of the contemporary rock climbing community, one often viewed as at best insensitive to and at worst disrespectful of Native Americans, with regard to TCP access. The rhetorical and politicized context of TCP access disputes has often characterized the climbing community in an unflattering manner. An example of this can be viewed in the film *In the Light of Reverence*. And while it may be true that some vocal and adversarial climbers have helped to perpetuate this unflattering perspective, my research suggests that most climbers are willing to compromise. They desire to be respectful of others and wish to make accommodations to the cultural and spiritual needs of Native American communities. From an applied anthropological perspective, this research may on first blush appear antithetical to the goals of advocacy and land-use rights negotiations in favor of Native American communities. Yet, in terms of evidence-based evaluation and fostering good-will mediation, I think that this research offers a largely overlooked perspective of TCP access issues, and it does so in a manner that moves beyond the facile either-or, good-bad, and Native American-climber rhetoric.

This article stems from extensive interviews with sixteen climbers. The interviews were conducted at Devils Tower National Monument and Grand Teton National Park in Wyoming and Red Rocks State Park in Nevada. They took place during the summers of 2004 and 2005 with less formal discussions conducted with climbers at



Red River Gorge in Kentucky and the New River Gorge in West Virginia during the summer of 2001. Interviews with ten climbers from Durango, Colorado, supplemented the main research. Interviews varied from 20 minutes to two hours in length. To cross-check these data I spoke informally with approximately 30 other climbers in various climbing areas to check my understanding of what I had learned in the in-depth interviews. Lastly, I consulted with several individuals and climber-activists who have been instrumental in negotiating climbing access to certain Native American traditional cultural properties. As the Native American perspective has already been documented (Jostad, McAvoy and McDonald 1996; McDonald and McAvoy 1996; McPherson 1992; Redmond 1996), I did not seek Native American interviews. Supplemental background derives from several web sites, such as those of Devils Tower National Monument, the United States Department of Agriculture Forest Service, the Access Fund, and various environmental assessments, environmental impact statements, newspaper articles, climber magazines, the archives of the Advisory Council on Historic Preservation, and the *Federal Register*.

### Project Background

The published literature is expanding with regard to TCP access on public lands and their management, and land claims with competing recreational or commercial interests. The literature derives from research in law (Burton 2002; Gonzalez 1996; Trope 1996; Wilkinson 1988), cultural preservation (Jenkins et al. 1996) history (Gulliford 2000), forest management (Dustin et al. 2002), and anthropology (King 2003; Ortiz 1996). Much of it focuses on a handful of seminal cases in the United States such as Taos Blue Lake (Bodine 1978), Devils Tower (Dustin et al. 2002), the Bighorn Medicine Wheel (Price 1994), Mount Shasta (McLeod 2001), Mount Graham (Carmichael et al. 1994), the San Francisco Peaks (Carmean 2002) among a few others (please also refer to *Cultural Survival Quarterly*, Winter 1996 issue). Much of the published work examines, for instance, legal challenges, indigenous cultural perspectives, American Indian Religious Freedom Act (Moore 1991), the

Establishment Clause of the First Amendment, or Section 106 of the National Historic Preservation Act (NHPA). However, my work here focuses on the climbing community's mixed reaction to what is often legally their constitutional right of access to public lands.

As recreational rock climbing continues to expand in popularity, and as climbers seek out and develop new climbing areas, in hindsight it was only a matter of time that climbers' land-use activities abutted Native American ones. And while the vast majority of climbers obey climbing restrictions on tribal lands, there are fewer competing access restrictions on public lands. Land managers have a difficult task in mediating land-use claims and priorities. Of interest to all parties for negotiation purposes are laws related to traditional cultural properties such as Section 106 of the National Historic Preservation Act, *Bulletin 38* of the National Register of Historic Places, and the First Amendment of the Constitution (Grimm 1997) among others. Together they provide guidance in assisting in the mediation of competing-use claims. The idea of climbers' promoting grassroots efforts is a viable alternative to governmental or legal intervention. The idea is to mediate use by introducing cross-cultural education and thus hopefully appreciation to achieve climbers' access. That approach has proven fruitful in resolving differences between differential land-use perceptions and practices.

Two case studies, those of Devils Tower in Wyoming and Cave Rock in Nevada provide contrasting and illuminating examples that have led to very different outcomes. Devils Tower offers a good lesson regarding the National Park Service's efforts in mediating a conflict that arose among climbers, tourists, and various Plains Indian communities who believe lands there to be sacred. While the land-use conflict encompassed more than the climbing community, it is the climbing community that I focus on here. In 1993, the Dakota Summit V Resolution (Number 93-11) states the following with reference to climbing:

WHEREAS, the Dakota, Lakota, Nakota spiritual teaching has always included the MEDICINE WHEEL in Wyoming, DEVILS

TOWER in Wyoming, BEAR BUTTE in South Dakota, and HARNEY PEAK in South Dakota, as primary and significant sites to our religion, and ...

WHEREAS, the Devils Tower has been subjected to similar damage from an onslaught of rock climbers and now has hundreds of steel pins pounded into the face of this sacred site, and ...

WHEREAS, these sites and many others are vital to the continuation of our traditional beliefs and values, and ...

WHEREAS, it is our legacy to protect these sites for future generations, so they too, may be able to enjoy these holy places for prayer and revitalization of Mother Earth, now ...

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, that this assembly does not support efforts by Federal Land Managers to allow further destruction to these sacred sites by tourists, hikers or rock climbers (Dakota Summit 2004).

Beginning in the late 1970s several Plains Indian communities made it clear to the National Park Service (NPS) that they wished to resume holding ceremonies at or near Devils Tower, including an annual sun dance. As climbing visitation increased in the 1980s the National Park Service began drafting a climbing management plan in 1992. By then, the National Park Service was aware of Native American discontent with climbing and other tourist activities at the tower. A draft climbing management plan was opened for a public comment period that included six public meetings. As a result, the National Park Service first proposed a ban on commercial or guided climbing for the month of June, but this was contested by rock climbers and found to be unconstitutional. The National Park Service then proposed a voluntary closure for June for all non-Indian climbers and that has since been adopted. These climbers are informed upon NPS registration of Native American religious practices, that their recreational climbing activities disturbs such practices, and they are encouraged to show their respect by avoiding

climbing during the month of June. While the National Park Service was sued over this measure as well, the courts upheld this accommodation for Native American interests. The voluntary closure has proven acceptable with an estimated 80 percent drop in climbing during the month of June (<http://www.nps.gov/deto/climbing.htm>. Accessed February 16, 2004).

A very different result was reached in the Cave Rock dispute that pitted recreational climbers against the United States Forest Service, Lake Tahoe Basin Management Unit (LTBMU), and the Washoe Tribe. Here climbers believe that they have been the target of the LTBMU for limiting their access since hikers, picnickers, fishers, and other recreational users have not been so affected (<http://www.achp.gov/casearchive/casesum01NV.html>. Accessed May 4, 2004).

In 1996, the Lake Tahoe Basin Management Unit determined that Cave Rock was eligible for inclusion in the National Register of Historic Places, and the Nevada state historic preservation officer (SHPO) concurred in a formal determination of eligibility on October 23, 1998. After a public comment period, discussion, negotiation, attempts at compromise, an environmental impact statement, the development of a Forest Service climbing plan, and Nevada state court appeals, Cave Rock was placed permanently off limits to climbers on January 28, 2005, allowing the Forest Service to implement its management plan. As climbing had not occurred here until the mid-1980s, later than other recreational uses, climbing was singled out as not having a historic presence or significance at Cave Rock and therefore did not justify protection under the National Historic Preservation Act. Climbers and the Access Fund, a non-profit climbing advocacy group, are contesting the court's decision by Judge Howard D. McKibben of the Federal District of Nevada as unconstitutional. The basis is that the government (LTBMU) and the court are favoring the Washoe religion, a violation, they say, of the Establishment Clause of the First Amendment. As of this writing, the Access Fund has appealed Judge McKibben's decision to a higher court.

## Voices of the Climbing Community

I now turn to the words of climbers who have an interest in TCP/sacred site claims. Their words express the frustrations, complications but also the accommodations that permeate land-access issues from their cultural perspective.

While certainly not a homogenous community, rock climbers do share some demographic and perceptual characteristics. For one, climbers I interviewed on the whole tend not to practice one particular religion, nor are they a dedicated church-going group. These climbers are predominantly male (18–45), Caucasian and middle to upper-middle class. They are largely college educated, professionals, lean significantly toward liberal ideas and political positions and think of themselves as sensitive to the environment. Their self-defined environmentalist stance comes closest to describing their stated connection to and identification with what they perceive to be a Native American reverence of nature. There is a belief among some climbers that climbing offers a direct link to nature that is often equated or compared with what they think of as the basis of Native American spirituality. These points are evidenced in an ethical framework that values individual initiative, self-reliance, mental and physical strength, personal responsibility, and respect for *rock* as a non-renewable and precious resource.

Because of their self-identification with Native American's sensitivity to the environment and spirituality, some climbers are defensive and offended when Native Americans or those who sympathize with their position say that climbing is an act of desecration. At Cave Rock, for instance, one Washoe elder said that "It's a sacred site and we don't want people climbing on it and desecrating the rock. It's a place of meditation" (DeLong 2003). Some climbers counter by saying that in fact they help maintain the sacredness of the site in the face of assaults by other resource users. One simultaneously hears voices of respect but also of contempt for this Washoe community's demands for exclusive access. For instance, one climber stated that

removing the climbers from Cave Rock is like taking away the only chance of it ever being kept sacred. Climbers cleaned up Cave Rock

and have been doing so for a very long time ... As any climber knows, the public is dirty and we've been cleaning up after them for years. Cave Rock will turn to an area full of bud cans if climbers are banned. I've never once seen a person from the tribe pick up trash, tail lights, cigarette butts, etc. ... that aren't left behind by climbers (Petition On Line 2004).

Or, as another climber views things, the accusation that climbing is singled out as an act of desecration is responded to as

Politics man politics. Man you know what happened? Some words were exchanged between an ol' fellow climber and a Washoe Tribe member ... which in turn created some static and brought up some useless controversy. Get over it; do what's best for the cave. Oh, are the holes [highway tunnels] in the cave sacred too? I was just wondering if the cars that honk their horns while driving through interrupt sacred practices (Petition On Line 2004).

Another climber takes offense at being excluded from Cave Rock because of gender. She finds the gender bias disturbing, antithetical to American civil liberties and problematic because she finds the Forest Service has taken away her ability to practice her "religion." She states that since the decision of the Forest Service is to ban all climbing and remove all of the bolts at Cave Rock this

might be one of the last times I'm allowed to climb there. Why? Because I'm a woman, and my very presence in the Cave is disturbing to a group of people, the Washoe Indians, who see my climbing there as a desecration ... Of course, the Forest Service couldn't put up a sign that says, "No girls allowed." ... So instead, the Forest Service proposes ... to close Cave Rock to all climbers. But wait, since when did the Forest Service have jurisdiction to determine what public areas should be closed to aid in the practice of a specific religion? ... To me climbing is a religion, and if I am on public land I should be allowed to wear a cross, say a prayer or climb a rock. ... (Rives 2003: 20–21).

While these sentiments may not represent a majority of climbers, they do rise up in the climbing community. This is especially so when climbers think that their activities are misunderstood or misrepresented and when they perceive themselves as the unfair target of decisions by land managers who single out climbing while ignoring the impacts of other recreational activities. What is a common perspective among climbers with whom I spoke is that there is a substantial amount of stated respect for Native American TCP claims. In many cases that respect is based on the individual's sense that climbing could or should be considered a sacred, religious, meditative, and pious act, not merely an athletic one. Rather than being classified primarily as recreation, some climbers make an argument not too dissimilar from the various Native American communities who claim a sacred connection to a location. For instance,

I respect Native American ancient ways and traditions. I am very fortunate to have met a Kiowa medicine man who leads sweat lodges. I have been to countless sweats over the last few years and have developed a deep respect for the old ways. But I am also a climber. For me, going to places like Cave Rock is a sacred ceremony. It is not just gymnastics. It is a place where modern man can go to get in touch with the old ways ... to be a warrior, to observe the beauty and seasonal changes of the natural world, and to honor and respect the powers that created such beautiful places as Cave Rock. I hope the Washoe can understand our modern efforts to connect with the natural world, and that we, climbers, can come to understand the subtle appreciation and respect for the wonders of the natural world that the elders of these ancient ways have always had (Petition On Line 2004).

Another stated that

I feel it's our right to climb, for sure, but as conscientious people, we need to at least understand and respect the wishes of those who see value in the rock besides sick [very difficult] lines [named routes or paths up the rock] (LaGasse 2004: 12).

Among those I spoke with, the sentiment

that climbing is itself a spiritual activity seems to be somewhat common. For example, climbers say that

to me, climbing is my religion. When I climb I feel a sense of oneness with the rock. It is the most natural way that I have to get in touch with the sacred.

Another climber put it this way:

Climbing is a spiritual activity. It's my religion. I am connected to nature like no other thing that I do.

One person argued that he experienced something spiritual in a way that felt similar to Native Americans. He said that

by placing Devils Tower off limits to climbers means that I am being excluded from my church. I don't understand how the Park Service can tell me that I can't experience my "church" but that the Indians can. Don't get me wrong, I respect their need to have their ceremonies at the Tower. And I can live with the June voluntary closure on climbing. It just makes me mad to think that my experience is viewed as less important.

Another climber suggested that he thought that many climbers

go to Devils Tower because it is a sort of rite of passage for them. When they come from Minnesota or other Midwestern places Devils Tower represents a huge step up in challenge and commitment. It is a rite of passage because it is a way for them to test themselves, prove themselves.

Still another kind of response was articulated by some of the climbers with whom I spoke, who were aware of the historical, political, and overall mistreatment that Indian peoples have endured at the hands of the United States government and business interests. But they are also climbers who value their sport as part of their lives and who are conflicted over what they view as a difficult-to-resolve contradiction. One put it this way:

Climbing is a way of life for me. I love it. I can't live without it. If someone were to tell

me that access to my local climbing area was going to be closed down due to it being a Native American sacred site I'd be really bummed by that. I don't know what I'd do. I hope that I never have to face that one. I know other climbers have had to. I guess that my respect for Indian culture and beliefs are strong. I just don't know what I'd do. I guess you could say that I'd be stuck between a rock and a hard place.

Another climber stated that

my belief is that it is important for climbers to not be hypocrites. If a tribe has a long history in an area then a sacred rock is more important than my weekend climbing. Would I like it? Definitely not!

Still another climber articulated that

access issues in relation to sacred rocks puts me in a difficult position: I don't want to "dis" another culture's beliefs but nor do I want to give up my climbing. And if a sacred place is on public land then I have a right to do it. That's a hard question.

Many climbers cite the constitutionally mandated separation of religion and state for why restricting climber access because of Native American religion is legally problematic. While climbers continue to climb Devils Tower in large numbers during the months of May, July, and August, there has been a significant drop in climbing activity during the voluntary closure during the month of June as an accommodation by climbers to Plains Indians because of their religious practices. It is an accommodation not demanded by law, but is fostered by a cross-cultural awareness, conscientiousness and education (Dustin et al. 2002). And while the voluntary closure is imperfect in the sense that Plains Indian communities still must tolerate climbers, and climbers agree to forego climbing during a prime climbing season, the solution is also successful in that two very different user groups are being accommodated to greater or lesser degrees.

The negotiations, outcomes and ongoing management of Devils Tower and Cave Rock do not exhaust the possible methods and outcomes

of the TCP-climber access divide. I think that the climber's narratives recounted above suggest a ripe third option of climbers reaching out proactively to Native American communities to explain their sport and to negotiate and accommodate access. This third option is demonstrated in the following two examples that promise a potentially more fruitful dialogue for generating mutually satisfying accommodations resulting from direct and open communication between affected communities and cultures.

### **Two Climber-Initiated Approaches Seeking Accommodation**

In 2004 an Access Fund representative introduced a proposal to be negotiated with resident extended families of the Monument Valley community and Tribal Park on the Navajo Nation Reservation. Six discussions with the tribal park superintendent and two community meetings with elders were held to explain climbing culture to the Navajo residents of the park and to present an economic development and access plan to benefit these residents and grazing permit holders. The proposal was intended to boost tourism income and to tightly regulate climber access via a TCP permit system to such spectacular rock formations like the Totem Pole. The permitting system, use of local guide services, and access oversight were to reside in the community's hands. The Access Fund proposal was overwhelmingly accepted by Monument Valley residents with representatives of 12 families in agreement and two against. Nevertheless, the proposal eventually fell through when Navajos who live outside the Monument Valley community voted against the proposal. Their stated reason for rejecting it was that climbing would be an invasion of privacy.

Notably, rejection did not specifically relate to the sacredness of the rock formations, although presumably their sacredness did factor into some of those deciding against. Others close to the negotiations said the proposal was rejected because of differences over the permitting system and the allocation of new adventure tourist income. And while the formations in Monument Valley are considered sacred many of the residents were still willing to compromise and to allow limited and regulated climbing

access. Part of the reason for some Navajo families agreeing to the proposal was that these very same sacred rock towers have long been commercialized via television and print advertising, used as movie backdrops, climbed on for the 1970s Clint Eastwood film *The Eiger Sanction*, and commoditized as tourist attractions in a more general economic sense.

A second example comes from the Lost Rocks formation in Humboldt County in northern California where a local climber sought out and fostered negotiations with officials of the local Wintu and Yurok Tribes and with National Park Service personnel at Redwood National Park. His forthright approach all concerned has generated open discussion and the start of negotiation and accommodation. Examples of successful dialogue thus far include the name change of a rock named by climbers and listed in a guide book that Yurok elders found offensive, the "Crack House." This climber formed the Bigfoot Country Climbers Association (BCCA) and formalized his contacts with tribal and NPS representatives alike presenting an informational meeting regarding climbing culture. To that end he visited the Yurok Cultural Committee comprised of Yurok elders and discussed climbing on NPS land that is culturally important to the tribe. Most recently BCCA members have continued their dialogue on access issues, hiking trails, signage, and the like.

Climbers of the area have never climbed on Split Rock, out of respect for the Yurok, understanding that it is culturally significant to them, even though it is the largest seacliff in California on public land. They plan to dialogue further regarding removal of bolts, which are ring-like metal devices that climbers hammer into the rock face as permanent fixtures to attach ropes and gear as climbing aids when ascending and descending, from Natural Bridge on Wintu land. Currently there is a voluntary closure in effect since Natural Bridge is a particularly important historic Wintu traditional cultural property, recognized as a 19th-century massacre site of the Wintu tribe as well as a sacred site. The Access Fund provided a grant to erect a sign at Natural Bridge to convey to the public the significance of the site and the voluntary climbing closure in effect. BCCA discussions are also underway with

the Wiyot community about similar Native American concerns.

This insightful climber's approach to finding common ground is reflected in his climbing philosophy when he told me that

I climb for the holistic experience. The place is crucial. ... I firmly believe that some places should not be climbed, and that it is not a right but a privilege and responsibility [to climb].

## Discussion

The narratives speak to an internal competition of values that many climbers experience when faced with Native American TCP access issues. This research can be summarized as follows. First, in the most general sense, climbers are open to making accommodations to other cultures' traditional needs. This is not to say that such accommodation is always 100 percent. Rather, it appears that the climbing community is willing to negotiate to strike a balance between their own and others' needs. A second generalization is cultural in that climbers often view their recreational activity as a spiritual rather than merely a sporting or athletic activity. This finding was surprising to me because few if any other adventure recreational pursuits, such as skiing, kayaking, mountaineering, and canyoneering, are thought of in quite this manner to my knowledge. And while my data are highly subjective, it appears that many of the climbers I spoke with considered climbing a spiritual activity. Third, climbers' voices make clear that they are bound by a set of ethical principles that is grounded in respect for nature and Native peoples. Lastly, climbers, as staunch individualists, are sensitive to perceptions of fairness. If they sense that they are being discriminated against, being treated unfairly by land managers or the courts, and being deprived of their perceived constitutional rights, they are reluctant to accommodate, empathize or sympathize with Native American land-use needs.

Climber access to Native American TCPs, including sacred sites, raises significant questions regarding constitutional, religious, cultural and historic-preservation issues, not to mention the definition of *traditional cultural*

*property* itself. As the journalist Rick Curtis has articulated, the “sacred site or climbers’ right” controversy strikes at the heart of the citizen’s right to recreate on public (state and federal) land versus the restricted use and preservation of locations deemed historically and culturally important or sacred by Native Americans. The issue is contentious because not only are there legal implications, but ethical and moral questions as well. Given the wide range of use-interest it does appear that TCP-user compromise, dialogue, and negotiation offer the best way to deal with the various concerns of interested parties. This is so because the zero-sum, win-lose game where either a Native American community takes all or the climbing community takes all implicitly ignores one set of values for another. What works for mutual accommodation is the positive-sum, win-win game where each side understands and acknowledges the values of the other.

This research also raises questions as to the conventional definition of TCP. According to Thomas King (2003), one of the architects of the National Historic Preservation Act and the TCP definition, traditional cultural properties share the five attributes of spiritual power, customary practice, explanatory stories, therapeutic qualities, and remembrances related to social identity. He states that “Not all traditional cultural properties reflect all five; probably a few do. But every TCP reflects at least one” (King 2003: 100). As King’s definition reflects a gold standard regarding TCP negotiations, to what extent does this open the door for the climbing community to use the TCP definition to their benefit in securing access in future negotiations? In my experience, climbers seem to approach climbing areas with the attributes of practice, stories, and perhaps spiritual power in mind. That use does not have the same degree of historical depth as Native American communities do, but who is to say what constitutes cultural authenticity? How are we to define culture? On the other hand, how do we ascertain the significance and meaning of the climbers’ statements that they perceive spiritual significance in the act of climbing? Are climbers consciously or unconsciously adopting a spiritual discourse as a strategy and as a way to legitimize their activities? If unconsciously, is this discourse a product of 19th-

century romantic ideas of nature and indigenous peoples in harmony with nature? Does the climbing community represent a “genuine” or “spurious” culture? I offer no answers or conclusions to these questions but suggest that they will more than likely need to be addressed in future TCP access negotiations.

Land managers are in an unenviable position. With whom do they side in an access controversy? Where do their responsibilities lie? To what extent do operating procedures or laws determine an appropriate response? Which cultural value or historical ethic receives priority? How is this decided? Legal regulations offer the bedrock for making decisions regarding access, but mutual respect and cross-cultural education and understanding provide a humane way to address what is at best a difficult and emotion laden experience.

Applied anthropologists are also in a delicate position, if as advocates of specific cultures or communities they must take a stand or support a side. How do we make ethically informed choices? Applied advocacy can be bolstered through the understanding and appreciation of both cultures in conflict, not only the one for whom they advocate. For anthropologists, who customarily advocate for Native American rights, and those of other indigenous peoples, this paper suggests that compromise is a useful and tenable strategy when it comes to TCP/sacred sites negotiations.

## Conclusion

The days are long since gone when climbers such as David Brower or actors like Clint Eastwood could scale rocks on public, private, and Indian reservation land at will. Rock climbers, like other public-land users and interest groups, must contend at times with the fractious competition over a scarce or culturally significant resource. In this case, on the one hand, traditional cultural properties are a finite and non-renewable cultural resource to Native American communities. On the other hand, climbing areas are held in esteem in that climbing is often treated in a spiritual sense. Accommodation, cross-cultural education and mutual respect must be central to current and future access discussions. The Lost Rocks case study, for instance, offers an encouraging example where



these fundamental principles are currently being used to a positive conclusion. Neither climbers nor indigenous communities can afford to view their position as primary or exclusive, because legal, cultural, historical and ethical issues confound attempts at prioritizing legitimate if conflicting claims to access.

If we consider the examples of the Monument Valley and Lost Rocks negotiations, the periodic voluntary climbing ban at Devils Tower, and the voices of climbers recounted above, combined they suggest a diverse and generally less confrontational and more accommodating picture than is frequently assumed to be the norm. Both the Native American communities and the climbing community appear willing to talk and compromise. And symbolic of these findings, according to one climber's statement that

there are many more crags than I have time to visit or climb. If one of those crags is taken out of circulation, then so be it. It's a small price to pay. It's a big country, history hasn't been kind to Indians, I think stopping climbing at one area is a small price to pay for doing the right thing.

In the end, cross-cultural tolerance gained through education about the reasons, desires, history, and culture of those who hold countervailing positions to their own can lead the way in TCP access to climbing on public lands. O

## Notes

1. David L. Kozak was awarded his Ph.D. in anthropology by Arizona State University. He is an associate professor in the Department of Anthropology, Fort Lewis College, 1000 Rim Drive, Durango, Colorado (CO) 81301-3999 USA. He may also be reached at 970-247-7498 by telephone and at [kozak\\_d@fortlewis.edu](mailto:kozak_d@fortlewis.edu) by e-mail. An earlier version of this paper was presented at the 65th Annual Meeting of the Society for Applied Anthropology in Santa Fe, New Mexico, during April of 2005.

## References Cited

- Bodine, John  
1978 "Taos Blue Lake Controversy." *Journal of Ethnic Studies* 6 (1): 42-48.
- Burton, Lloyd  
2002 *Worship and Wilderness: Culture, Religion, and Law in Public Lands Management*. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press.
- Carmean, Kelli  
2002 *Spider Woman Walks this Land: Traditional Cultural Properties and the Navajo Nation*. Walnut Creek: Altimira Press, A Division of Rowman and Littlefield, Publishers.
- Carmichael, David, Jane Hubert, Brian Reeves, Audhild Schanch (Editors)  
1994 *Sacred Sites, Sacred Places*. London: Routledge Press.
- Curtis, Rick  
2003 "Sacred Site or Climbers' Right." Web article at <http://www.outdoored.com/articles/Article.aspx?ArticleID=169>. Accessed July 10, 2003.
- Dakota Summit V Resolution* (Number 93-11)  
2004 [http://www.nps.gov/deto/deto\\_climbing/detosumm.html](http://www.nps.gov/deto/deto_climbing/detosumm.html). Accessed on February 16, 2004.
- DeLong, Jeff  
2003 "Rock Climbers Banned from Cave Rock." *Reno Gazette-Journal* (July 10), <http://www.rgj.com/news/printstory.php?id=46660>. Accessed May 4, 2004.
- Dustin, Daniel, Ingrid Schneider, Leo McAvoy, and Arthur Frakt  
2002 "Cross-cultural Claims on Devils Tower National Monument: A Case Study." *Leisure Sciences* 24 (1): 79-88.
- Gonzalez, Mario  
1996 "Black Hills: The Sacred Land of the Lakota and Tsistsisas." *Cultural Survival Quarterly* 19 (4): 63-69.
- Grimm, Lydia T.  
1997 "Sacred Lands and the Establishment Clause: Indian Religious Practice on Federal Lands." *Natural Resources and Environment* 12 (1): 19-24.
- Jenkins, Leigh, Kurt E. Dongoske, and T.J. Ferguson  
1996 "Managing Hopi Sacred Sites to Protect Religious Freedom." *Cultural Survival Quarterly* 19 (4): 36-39.

- Jostad, Patricia, Leo McAvoy, and Daniel McDonald  
1996 "Native American Land Ethics: Implications for Natural Resource Management." *Society and Natural Resources* 9 (6): 565-582.
- King, Thomas F.  
2003 *Places that Count: Traditional Cultural Properties in Cultural Resource Management*. Walnut Creek, California: Alta Mira Press, A Division of Rowman and Littlefield, Publishers.
- 2005 "What Are Traditional Cultural Properties?" *The Applied Anthropologist* 25 (2, Fall): 125-130.
- LaGasse, Brendan  
2004 "Sacred Ground." *Rock and Ice*. 130 (December): 12.
- McDonald, Daniel and Leo McAvoy  
1996 "In Countless Ways For Thousands of Years: Native American Relationships to Wildlands and Other Protected Places." *Trends* 33 (4): 35-39.
- McLeod, Christopher, Producer and Director  
2001 *In the Light of Reverence*. Videotape. La Honda, California: Sacred Lands Film Project.
- McPherson, Robert  
1992 *Sacred Land Sacred View*. Salt Lake City: Brigham Young University Press.
- Moore, Steven C.  
1991 "Sacred Sites and Public Lands." In *Handbook of American Indian Religious Freedom*. Edited by Christopher Vescey. First Edition. Pages 81-99. New York: Crossroads Press.
- Ortiz, Alfonso  
1996 "American Indian Religious Freedom: First People and the First Amendment." *Cultural Survival Quarterly* 19 (4): 26-29.
- Parker, Patricia and Thomas F. King  
1987 "Intercultural Mediation at Truk International Airport." In *Anthropological Praxis: Translating Knowledge into Action*. Edited by Robert W. Wulff and Shirley J. Fiske. First Edition. Pages 279-291. Boulder: Westview Press.
- Petition On Line  
2004 [http://petitiononline.com/mod\\_perl/signed.cgi?savecave&51](http://petitiononline.com/mod_perl/signed.cgi?savecave&51). Accessed May 4, 2004
- Price, Nichol  
1994 "Tourism and the Bighorn Medicine Wheel: How Multiple Use Does Not Work for Sacred Land Sites." In *Sacred Sites, Sacred Places*. Edited by David Carmichael, Jane Hubert, Brian Reeves, and Audhild Schanche. First Edition. Pages 259-264. London: Routledge Press.
- Redmond, Louis  
1996 "Diverse Native American Perspectives on the Use of Sacred Areas on Public Lands." In *Nature and the Human Spirit: Toward an Expanded Land Management Ethic*. Edited by B.L. Driver, Daniel Dustin, Tony Baltic, Gary Eisner and George Peterson. First Edition. Pages 127-133. State College, PA: Venture Publishing.
- Rives, Melanie  
2003 "Gender Politics." *Rock and Ice* 126 (July): 20-21.
- Roberts, David  
1998 "When Cultures Collide: Climbers Versus Native Americans Conundrum." *Climbing* 181 (88): 89-95, 163.
- Trope, Jack F.  
1996 "Existing Federal Law and the Protection of Sacred Sites." *Cultural Survival Quarterly* 19 (4): 30-35.

# The Past Supercedes the Future, for the Present, at Valmont Butte in Boulder County, Colorado<sup>1</sup>

Michael S. Burney<sup>2</sup> and Barbara L. Scott<sup>3</sup>

## Abstract

*When does sustainability justify destruction? That was probably the central question in a dispute between the City of Boulder and the pioneer community of Valmont, with specific regard to Valmont Butte, the signifying landmark of that rural portion of Boulder County. For the community of Valmont, it was a classic case of NIMBYism (not in my back yard), combined with a sincere longing to save what is left of their pioneer heritage dating back to the late 1850s. For the City of Boulder, it was an opportunity to combine two valuable public-works projects into one location, which was convenient, accessible to utilities, and concealed from public view. But a third component, the butte's plausible use as a past and present Indian sacred site, rotated the kaleidoscope to an even more complex dimension.*

## A Clash of Good Intentions

**T**he story of progress colliding with contentment is not new. Across America, public and private developers continue to reshape lands, neighborhoods, and cities. Whether citizens moved to or were born into a community, their natural feeling is to preserve the quality of place that originally captivated them. But the inexorable push of development, fueled by growing populations, all too often must destroy existing foundations—whether physical, architectural, historical, or archaeological—razing that which exists to clear ground for newer constructs. In the late 20th and early 21st centuries, unbridled progress began to feel the reins of social and political considerations that began fomenting in the '60s. Today, developers no longer are allowed simply to clear-cut and rebuild. They must undergo, either voluntarily or acquiescently, a public process, whereby all interested parties—even those without a financial stake in the outcome—are offered the opportunity to participate.

The Valmont conflict erupted in 2000, when the City of Boulder initiated a CEAP (community and environmental assessment process) after three city departments jointly purchased a 101.6-acre parcel of land on Valmont Butte for roughly \$2.5 million. The tripartite of purchasers included the Public Works Department, the Boulder Regional Fire Training Center Board, and Open Space and Mountain Parks. The land would serve three purposes:

- A biosolids facility for converting human waste into compost for agricultural use

- A county fire-training facility, needed because the current one long ago outgrew its capacity

- Open space for the most visible portion of the butte

Residents of rural historic Valmont responded with ferocity.

The community of Valmont—a stunning contrast to fully developed, bustling Boulder—still consists of unspoiled stretches of rolling land and historic structures in varying stages of restoration.

This is a small town at the confluence of the North and South Boulder creeks, four miles out from the base of the mountains, and is distinguished by the butte at that place, an upheaval of igneous rock, several hundred feet in height, making it the most prominent landmark in all the valley landscape. Valmont is on the line of the Boulder Valley railroad and is the center of a wide scope of the best farming lands in the state, early settled, and now improved by the most intelligent class of people (Baskin 1880:420).

Baskin would notice changes in the landscape—paved roads, scattered housing developments, and some industrial installations (a Public Service Company power plant is already nicely concealed behind the butte)—but he would also recognize the similarities between 1880 and 2006 Valmont. The land opens and undulates to meet the sky in exactly the same way it did when Indians and white settlers hunted, camped, fought, and planted there.

The contemporary community of rural Valmont, in an effort to stave off further industrialization of the butte, enlisted the aid of one of the authors (Michael Burney) to investigate the historic and prehistoric anthropology and archaeology of the area. They wisely cobbled together a coalition among disparate groups who had an interest in seeing the butte remain untouched: community activists, organic farmers, and urban Indians (who, by the way, weren't urban until European-Americans immigrated there and urbanized their lands), who still use the site for sacred practices, including a sweat lodge.



*A gathering of early citizens on Valmont Butte in 1913. Courtesy the Keeter/Sawhill Family, Valmont, Colorado.*

Most of the information for this article is a distillation of research initially gathered through efforts on behalf of that community's struggle to preserve its heritage. Soon after the project began, however, the data assumed a force of its own, inspiring simple curiosity in the authors to see what this information might yield. It also serves as a repository for a section in the forthcoming volume "American Indians and Native Sacred Sites: An Ethnohistory of Colorado's Front Range" (Burney, Scott, and Fresquez, in prep.). More than action anthropology, the strictly volunteer effort was community action in the spirit of

...Sol Tax's populist-inspired action anthropology, which renounced the employment of practitioners by government or any large organization in favor of voluntary academic projects engaging in intensive intervention in the problems and needs of local communities" (Bennett 1996:23).

Our commitment to this project was based on a number of motivations. Paramount was the sheer love of and interest in history, anthropology, and the Indians of Colorado. Very close on the heels of those pursuits was a sense that the butte and surrounding area had never received the consideration it deserves, in light of the absence of a comprehensive multidisciplinary study of its history, anthropology, and archaeology. Third, both of us had lived, worked, and/or studied in Boulder at varying times throughout our lives. Fourth, the community of Valmont, with few resources, seemed to be up against insurmountable odds. And not least, from past experience working with Indians tribes, Burney and Associates had witnessed first hand the loss of investment and good will when a government entity or corporation begins to develop an area or remove resources before committing to meaningful tribal and/or community consultation and extensive archaeological investigation. In this case, we refer to consultation as not just telling the tribe or the community what is going to take place, but listening to what the people who are affected have to say—and actually absorbing what is said. From past experiences, we were aware that the danger of not undertaking a true risk analysis far outweighs the danger of finding information that might prohibit development.

## The Setting

Boulder County's western alpine boundary is defined by the Continental Divide and Indian Peaks Wilderness showcasing Arikaree Peak (13,150 feet), Kiowa Peak (13,276 feet), Navajo Peak (13,409 feet), North Arapaho Peak (13,502 feet), South Arapaho Peak (13,397 feet), and Shoshoni Peak (12,967 feet). The county's eastern limits are near Broomfield, Lafayette, Erie, and Berthoud at about 5,000 feet in elevation. With an approximately 8,000-foot rise in elevation from the grasslands of eastern Boulder County to the treeless alpine tundra of the Indian Peaks Wilderness, the Front Range transitional zone provided Indians with a great diversity of floral and faunal species, fresh cold and hot water, and shelter from severe weather. The Ute and Arapaho made their winter camps in the Boulder and Denver foothills (Coel

1981:9), just as native bands and tribes had done for thousands of years before them. In 1853, Thomas Fitzpatrick, Upper Platte and Arkansas Indian agent, noted that "...the mountain front zone north of the Arkansas ... renders it the favorite resort of the Indians during the winter months, and enables them to subsist their animals in the severest seasons..." (Fitzpatrick 1853:365).

### Indians in Boulder County

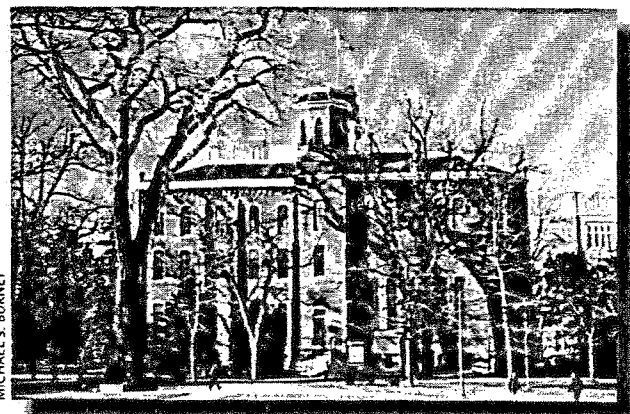
The Ute and Arapaho lived in the Boulder area because it was one of their usual haunts along the Front Range, as was the nearby Denver Basin—especially the confluence of Cherry Creek and the South Platte River, also well-documented village locations of the Apache, Arapaho, Cheyenne, and other tribes. Colorado is undisputedly aboriginal Arapaho territory, although they were relatively new arrivals toward the end of the 1700s or very early 1800s. "If one could see the mountains [Front Range and Continental Divide] he was in the land of the Arapaho" (Cropley 1951:49).

There were also a number of Apache groups that included the Jicarilla and Navajo, as well as Ute, Shoshone, Comanche, Kiowa, Cheyenne, Pawnee, and Sioux (principally the Sicangu/Brulé and Oglala). These are just several of the better known Colorado native bands and tribes. As many as 74 native groups have been identified with ancestral ties or a legacy of occupation in Colorado (Colorado Tribal Contacts List, revised, April 22, 2004; on file, Office of Archaeology and Historic Preservation, Denver).



*Buckskin Charley, center, and his band of Southern Utes were brought in from Ignacio to drum up support for the University of Colorado/Colorado School of Mines football game in 1909. Courtesy Carnegie Branch Library for Local History, Boulder, Colorado.*

The Southern Ute ("first settlers" or "first citizens" of Boulder), including Headsman Buckskin Charley, lived and hunted in the Boulder area. Arriving in Boulder from Ignacio on the Colorado and Southern train for Boulder's 1909 semi-centennial celebration, Buckskin Charley and a delegation of 16 Southern Ute tribal members from Ignacio recognized "Boulder



*Old Main on the University of Colorado-Boulder, campus; constructed in 1877.*

Junction," where the Ute undertook a losing battle with an Arapaho band (Fine 1939:75-76). Boulder Junction is about one mile south of Valmont Butte on the north side of Arapahoe Road southwest of the Public Service Company of Colorado Power Plant.

During the week the Southern Ute were in Boulder for the semi-centennial celebration, Buckskin Charley gave a speech to faculty and students in Old Main on the Boulder campus. Constructed in 1877, the year after Colorado achieved statehood, Old Main was the first building on the University of Colorado campus and at the time the only building, housing classrooms and living quarters for students and faculty, including the president and his family. The Utes led a parade and sang and danced at the entrance to Broadway Park in Denver to elicit support for the University of Colorado versus School of Mines football game on that Thursday in 1909 (Fine 1939:76-77). Boulder's "first citizens" would not see the game, however; they were hastily shuffled back to Ignacio rather than risk any undesired "incidents."

It was not the Utes, however, that Captain Thomas Akins and the Nebraska City gold seekers party encountered in the fall of 1858 while camped at "Red Rocks" at the mouth of Boulder

Canyon. It was the Arapaho. Niwot, or Left Hand, as he is interchangeably known, and several other prominent Arapaho leaders were, in turn, camped at the mouth of the South St. Vrain Canyon. In his letter dated Sunday, December 19, 1858, Captain Akins stated, "We stayed two days and nights with the Arapahoes, and partook of Indian hospitality in true Native American style." Akins said Indians were camped on a hill a short distance to the north. Abner Brown, Boulder's first school teacher, related "...the Indians were camped in back of Red Rocks where the city reservoir now stands" (Stewart 1948:3), or above Memorial Hospital.

The City of Boulder has identified this historic spot at the mouth of Boulder Canyon as "Settlers Park." A red sandstone sculpture of Niwot by Thomas Meagher-Miller, 1985, is located on the north side of Boulder Creek, just west of the Ninth Street Bridge. Stewart (1948:16) notes that:

The first settlers crossed the creek at Seventeenth Street before there was any bridge. The Indians found the spot where the Seventeenth Street Bridge now rests, and where the high school building stands, a favorite camping ground. The buffalo are said to have used that locality as a convenient place to get down to the creek for a drink.

The mouth of Left Hand Canyon was thought to be a favorite camping spot for Niwot's Arapaho band, complete with a burial ground. Schnucker (1983:45-46) provides a photograph of the purported burial area although he "...promised the remnant of the Arapaho Nation not to disclose the exact location for fear that white men will desecrate the graves in search of artifacts as they have done so often in the past."

Oral history tells how Niwot with a group of hunters were confronted by a Ute party where Lee Hill Road meets Left Hand Canyon or where Glendale Gulch intersects the canyon. Niwot negotiated the use of the canyon without further difficulties. Niwot's band camped at Haystack Mountain north of Boulder with tipi rings in the vicinity still visible in the early 1970s (School-land 1972:10). At the time of the Sand Creek Massacre in 1864, Niwot's band was camped

between the old town site of Pella near Hygiene and present-day Niwot (Schnucker 1983:40-41).

Ruth Dodd McDonald remembered her grandfather plowing a field in the Niwot area when Chief Niwot protested because he wanted the land saved for the wild game to live on. Because of the relationships between Niwot's band and early settlers, Ruth said "I think there're some Indians buried in the Niwot Cemetery" (Rogers 1995:7). The same could be speculated of the old pioneer cemetery on Public Service Company's Valmont Plant property and the private Valmont Cemetery located on Valmont Butte.

Completed in October 1860, Boulder's second school was located at Walnut and Fourteenth streets, across the street from the south entrance to Boulder's downtown post office (Smith 1981:30). Repplier (1959:10) describes Elizabeth and her brother, J.E. Hubbard, riding into school from their ranch on east Arapaho and picketing their horses along Boulder Creek:

The Indians were still around. There were two bands of Arapahoes, one camped at Valmont and a smaller group at Seventeenth Street ford. It was their custom to pass back and forth between the two camps, and in so doing one day a group of seven invaded the school room. They found considerable amusement in the attitudes and positions of the surprised and probably frightened children, but were soon intrigued by the water pail and the common drinking cup hanging on it. For some time, as the children stared, they entertained themselves by drinking water from the cup, by scooping water from the pail and pouring it back. Eventually they departed, chattering amiably.

In 1934, Boulder hosted a powwow on the courthouse lawn on Pearl Street consisting of a picnic between the miners of the mountain communities and the ranchers and farmers of the eastern flatlands. This was the same year the "Loveland Stone Age Fair" had its debut "...at Cornish, Colorado, a small settlement 20 miles northeast of Greeley in Weld County where the grammar school pupils staged the First Stone Age Fair, showing collections of products of Indian manufacture" (*Southwestern Lore*, September 1951, 17(2): inside back cover). In 1936,

the powwow included a parade "...with the hunter and trapper back in the early days, then the Indians, covered wagons, and the farmers and whatnot..." (D.M. "Dock" Teegarden and Lyndon Switzer, quoted in Rogers 1995:111).

[Michael Burney]: *In the 1990s, annual summer powwows were held in Chipeta Park in Nederland (Weil 1991:1A, 3A), but I don't remember seeing any powwows in Boulder during the 23 years I lived there (from 1974 to 1997). There was the Halloween "mall crawl," but that too became history after becoming disruptive and destructive. It's not that there weren't plenty of American Indians in Boulder. There were. The Native American Rights Fund (NARF) began in 1970, and the University of Colorado was variously involved with native peoples. Presently, there are estimated to be about 1,787 native residents in Boulder County (Colorado Commission of Indian Affairs, Denver, "Colorado Directory of American Indian Resources, 2004–2005").*

*During the early 1980s, while living in Boulder on Pennsylvania Avenue west of The Pioneer Cemetery where Tom Horn is buried, I became mildly acquainted with an elderly neighbor who told me she moved with her family to Boulder by covered wagon from Missouri. I vividly remember thinking how profound it was that my neighbor came to Boulder in a covered wagon! I came to Boulder in 1974 in a 1971 Dodge Polera: power windows, power bucket seats, and an AM/FM radio! One morning, my neighbor's equally elderly sister arrived at my doorstep letting me know she thought her sister had passed away in her sleep. "Would you please go in the house and check on her?" she asked. Indeed, this dear pioneer woman, who had begun her new life in Boulder so many years ago, was gone. I was grateful for the opportunity she had given me to sit on her front steps and listen to her stories whenever she was in the mood to share them. Her oral history had now reached its end.*

*Years later while attending a friend's wedding in the mid-1990s at an old cattle ranch near the mouth of Lee Hill Road in North Boulder I had an opportunity to visit with an elderly gentleman who still owned what was left of the original spread. He told me this was the "Wine Glass Ranch," and it had been here many years. As a young boy, he and the other cowboys would ride their horses to Denver, where they and their horses would board the train headed to El Paso, cross the Mexican border, and purchase their cattle. The next several months, these Boulder cowboys would be occupied with adventure and responsibility, moving the herd*

*north to the Wine Glass Ranch. "The annual cattle drive was pretty exciting times for a young man. Boulder was a much different place then. Hell, there was a Ute Indian camp on that small rise just across Lee Hill Road there. See where I'm talking about?" he asked pointing to a small rise across the road. It was close enough that I couldn't miss the campsite he referred to. This old cattleman of the Wine Glass Ranch is gone now and the Ute Indian campsite covered with new homes. The cowboy and Indian beer joints, like "Walt and Hanks" at the west end of what is now "Pearl Street Mall," or "Peggy's Dance Hall Saloon" on the Longmont Diagonal are distant memories.*

### **The Front Range: From Natural Paradise to Urban Corridor**

With an ever-accelerating pace, the results of non-native historic activities have altered Boulder County's indigenous landscape. The year 1858 "...marked the initial alteration of the virgin landscape" (Stoeckly 1938:1). Eliza Buford Rothrock, wife of John R. Rothrock, one of Boulder County's first permanent settlers, said in the early 1860s, "...wild grass grew as high as her waist in the [Boulder] valley..." (Brown 1946:212). Native short grasses making up Boulder County's grassland habitat once included prolific amounts of wheat-stem, bluestem, blue-grama, and buffalo grass—a paradise for beast and man. Game was bountiful. Ute Headsman Buckskin Charley, in his 1909 speech before CU students and faculty recalled that when he lived in Boulder "...buffalo, elk, deer, and antelope were plentiful on the plains and mountains, while beaver and trout were plentiful in the streams" (Fine 1939:77).

In 1858, "Elk, deer, antelope, and mountain sheep were still plentiful throughout Boulder Valley—one gold seeker that winter counted five hundred elk grazing on the bluff where the University of Colorado now stands" (Coel 1981: 83). Large herds of deer and elk are said to have wintered along South Boulder Creek in Eldorado Canyon south of Boulder, and mountain sheep were hunted while feeding with grazing cattle (Crossen 1963:32). Stewart (1948:16) reported: "For several years after the town of Boulder was surveyed, elk roamed the streets at will." Frank Hornbaker, an early Boulder County pioneer who ranched on Left Hand Creek, reminisced:



Indians used to come through, goin' out from the mountains to hunt buffalo and fight and goin' back. Down here on my place is a low spot with a lot o' brush on it. They'd hunt small game down there, rabbits and such like. We've found lots of arrowheads down there (Crossen 1963:76).

Antelope were said to be particularly numerous in the Valmont area, and plenty of buffalo and antelope once grazed on Gunbarrel Hill (Schoolland 1972:33). The Arapaho and Cheyenne undertook a large communal hunt in 1860 or 1862 when hunters of both tribes dispatched a large number of antelope on the north side of Valmont Butte, where the present-day community of Valmont now sits (Kindig 1987). An elk herd escaped by running into the mouth of Boulder Canyon (Bixby 1880:380; Schnucker 1983:43).

But by 1864, development along Colorado's Front Range had become reality as noted by Keller (1987:55): "In 1864 ... prospectors and mining companies ... had reduced the front range of the Rockies to squalor and rubble with incredible speed." Allen (1937:195) stated that, "In 1871 there was not a shrub higher than a sage bush or soapweed on the prairie between St. Vrain and Little Thompson, and only scrub cottonwood or box elder trees on either stream." And, by the very early 1900s, most of the three-to-five-feet-in-diameter cottonwood trees along Boulder Creek and the South Platte River had been cut down.

Archaeological and historical sites, human burials, sacred sites, traditional cultural properties, and the like ("nonrenewable cultural resources") are inevitably lost every day along the Front Range to development—primarily housing, commercial districts, and transportation corridors. Accommodating Colorado's growing population is reality-driven. Eastern Boulder County has a stunning view of the Front Range, a small piece of the larger urban corridor being rapidly developed between Fort Collins and Pueblo. Even 23 years ago, Butler (1982:9) well-understood the dramatic loss of archaeological sites along Colorado's Front Range:

The Front Range Urban Corridor—Fort Collins to Colorado Springs—is seen as the top priority area for archeological investigations. *All other areas for work must be of second-*

*ary consideration.* With the exception of some "open space" being preserved by enlightened state, county and city governments [e.g., Valmont Butte], the rest of the Front Range is going to be covered with houses, shopping centers and parking lots. We can expect the increased population (ca. 1.5 million more people by the year 2000) to not only result in the bulldozing of the landscape, but increased predation on archaeological sites. Once disturbed, an archaeological site is gone forever. Investigations in the Front Range Urban Corridor commands our increased and concentrated attention before what is left is gone.

Today, little of the natural prairie vegetation Captain Aikins and his group encountered survives, and the wild game is only a memory. Still, the sun rising from the eastern plains continues to splash its light of varying color and intensity across the Flatirons, Devil's Thumb, Eldorado Canyon, and Boulder Canyon. Regardless of the season, the magical views can still generate a sense of awe, power, timelessness, and spiritual acknowledgment, much like it did for the hundreds of native generations before us.

Early one Boulder morning while watching the late Anthony Sitting Eagle, Northern Arapaho elder from Arapaho, Wyoming, slowly smoke his hand-rolled cigarette, I asked him if he could tell me of any nearby sacred mountains. Anthony paused, looking at me with his timeless clear eyes, quietly and slowly asking me to understand, "Michael, the whole Colorado Front Range is Sacred" (p.c., October 2, 1993). Anthony went back to enjoying his cigarette, the morning sun, and the beauty that surrounded him.

It is easy to see why people have chosen this area over the many thousands of years. The pristine view shed must have been spectacular. Even now, from a high point in the Lyons area north of Boulder, one can clearly see Pikes Peak at 14,110 feet elevation about 100 miles to the south, as the crow flies. Also visible at times are the Flatirons and Devil's Thumb, about 15 miles distant. And the view of Longs Peak (14,251 feet elevation) from the west side of Rabbit Mountain is breathtaking.

## Sacred Land, Sacred Places

Benedict (1991:21) notes, "The importance of sacred geography in the Front Range is only beginning to be recognized by archeologists." Unfortunately, however, this fascinating field of research has received little attention. An early exception, however, was the insightful work undertaken by Oliver W. Toll (1962) to record numerous Arapaho place names in Rocky Mountain National Park. In July 1914, Toll invited a couple of Arapaho Indians, Gun Griswold and Sherman Sage, on a horse-pack trip in the park. The group was accompanied by interpreter Tom Crispin and guided by Shep Husted. Toll recorded invaluable information from these Arapaho consultants about the names of many mountains, passes, and other topographic features within the park as well as other valuable



*The 1914 tour of the Estes Park. Left to right: Shep Husted, Gun Griswold, Sherman Sage, Tom Crispin, Oliver Toll, and David Hawkins (seated). Courtesy National Park Service, ROMO-11207.*

oral history regarding language, customs, battles, songs, and legends that may otherwise never have been recorded. In his wonderful little book *Arapaho Names and Trails: A Report of a 1914 Pack Trip* he wrote:

The Indians arrived in Longmont, Colorado, on Tuesday, July 14, 1914, about noon. As they got off the train, Tom Crispin was carrying his suitcase with an air of considerable sophistication, Sage in his blue cloth chief-of-police uniform, rather baggy at the knees, had a roll of blankets under his arm, and Gun Griswold was fanning himself embarrassedly with some eagles' feathers, his share of the luggage.

Of course we became at once public characters to the citizens of Longmont; and in fact throughout the trip were accorded a place in the estimation of the public somewhere between that of a governor and a theatrical troupe.

From Longmont we went to Estes Park by automobile, in the machines of Mr. C.F. Hendrie and Mr. F.O. Vaille, arriving at Longs Peak Inn in the latter part of the afternoon. There, with the help of Enos Mills, general plans for our camping trip were made. Our idea was to cover a good deal of country, and as far as possible to get views from high elevations, so that the Indians could see as much of the geography of the region as possible (Toll 1962:2).

Native American religions tend not to involve the use of major physical constructions. Rather, places of worship and veneration may be mountains, trees, rocks, lakes, and other natural features. For American Indian religions and sacred geography in the central Rocky Mountains, examples of places that tend to be sacred for all groups include geologically distinct points such as the tops of hills, buttes, mesas, and mountains, confluences of streams, creeks, and rivers, trails, hot and cold springs, waterfalls, caves, mountain passes, and other natural features (Walker 1985:2; 1987; 1988:245-253; and 1991:108).

For American Indians, plants and animals, mountains and rivers, deserts and running water are endowed with protective powers. Elevated points are sacred places and "Rock formations are places of power in which spirits reside..." (McPherson 1992:25). Scott (1907:559), when talking in sign language with Left Hand in 1897, was told: "We used to have a great many medicine places; any place where there is a high hill or water by itself is a place where one can be helped by the medicine. We worshipped the earth also, but nothing beneath it." Mountaintops, buttes, hills, mesas, or other prominent points, especially, perhaps, "geomorphologically unusual features" are often considered sacred and used for vision questing and other activities (e.g., rock art, sweat lodges, piercing trees) (Parks and Wedel 1985:167-172). Unless the site has been used repeatedly over years, these solitary

activities may yield little archaeological evidence.

Certain places on the landscape are considered sacred because of events that occurred there. There is always a mythological and/or historical story associated with the landscape. The National Park Service long ago acknowledged that "A site may be a natural landmark strongly associated with significant prehistoric or historic events or patterns of events, if the significance of the natural feature is well documented through scholarly research" (National Park Service 1982:6). Several examples include the point where a group is said to have originated (e.g., Pikes Peak for the Ute); burial areas; pictographs and petroglyphs; gathering areas for plants, stones, clay, and other natural materials; fasting and vision-questing places; sweat-lodge locations; battle areas; and sites of historical significance.

Deward E. Walker Jr., long-time friend of Indian people and champion of their religious rights, wrote in "The Arkansas Mountain Ceremonial Complex": "Boulder County and the Front Range are believed to still possess a variety of sacred sites, including medicine wheels"; and yet, "One of the most distressing problems for tribal members visiting the Front Range is the desecration and destruction of American Indian sacred sites" (Walker 1993:12-13 and 16). Northern Arapaho and Lakota tribal elders and spiritual people told Walker (1993:16) that they will continue using sacred sites in Colorado's Front Range, including sacred mountains, medicine wheels, and other sites of traditional ceremonial significance. Valmont Butte is alleged to be one such site.

Local resident and community advocate Carol Affleck acknowledges Boulder County's early native residents writing in her October 30, 2000, letter, "We [Rural Historic Valmont Association] are aware that the area [Valmont] is rich in Native American activity." Similarly, Gary Brown, Northern Arapaho, felt "Valmont Butte may have been the location of American Indian ceremonial activities" (Mead and Bunyak 2001:8); and "Valmont Butte has been the site of numerous prayers for many generations. Native Americans climbed 200 feet to its top, which gave them spectacular views in any direction" (Gallegos 2004:A5). Lee Ann McGinty, local resident and descendent of a pioneer family, provided in a

February 13, 2005, letter her recollections of Indian stories, archaeology, and prayer ties (ceremonial bundles or flags):

I am a fourth-generation Valmont resident. My family has lived on the same property ... since the turn of the last century, almost 100 years ago. Four of my family members, my great-grandparents, my grandmother and my mother, are buried in the Valmont Cemetery.

There were always stories about Indians living and gathering here. It was part of our local lore and was always a given. There were stories about the Arapaho having large gatherings at the confluence of North and South Boulder Creeks. I don't know if it was a camp for ceremony or trade. I only know that it was a well-known fact with the locals. ... I know that there have been artifacts (arrowheads) and possibly teepee rings found around the confluence, as well.

There were also stories and legends of Indian camps, hunts and burials on the butte. It is certainly an ideal place for Indians to camp, to search the valley below for game or foe, and it most certainly would have been the perfect place for religious ceremony. As you now know, the views are quite spectacular. ...

I spent almost every day of my childhood on the butte. It was always a fascinating and, frankly, quite spiritual place to be. In the 1960s and '70s, I saw tiny red bundles or flags on the bushes on the ridge of the butte. Somehow I knew to leave them alone, though I didn't know what they were. It wasn't until I met Nick Halsey, a Native American, that they were explained to me as being ceremonial bundles or flags. I do not recall if the bundles were new or old, I just remember that they were mostly red, and were tied onto the short brush or bushes at the top of the butte.

Sweat lodges have been used by North America's native peoples for centuries. Taylor (1963:8D) noted that "Tanned buffalo hides were stretched over wooden frames to hold the steam inside the sweat lodge." Such a sweat lodge was observed by Richardson (1867:193) when watching Little Raven and seven other Arapaho participating in a sweat bath while in their Denver encampment:

Little Raven was not only brave, but devout. One day seeking him in his own village, I discovered that with several other warriors he was shut up in a low lodge, by which two young sentinels kept guard. The weather was intensely hot; the lodge without a single aperture and covered with masses of buffalo robes. Beside it upon a little mound of fresh earth were the skin of a wolf and the horns of a buffalo. Soon eight perspiring, naked braves emerged and threw themselves upon the ground, utterly exhausted. They had been taking a vapor bath, to propitiate their "medicines."

A sweat lodge on the south side of Valmont Butte has been in use for several years now by Indians and non-Indians alike. A sweat lodge ceremony conducted by Mr. Robert Cross, an Oglala Lakota spiritual advisor who conducted weekly sweat lodge ceremonies atop Valmont Butte, was shut down by law enforcement on New Year's Eve 2003. The City of Boulder later issued a written apology, agreed to compensate participants for any expenses incurred in conducting the ceremony, undertaking cultural-competency training, and creating a permanent *American Indian Advisory Council*, the latter two requiring action by the city council (Avery 2004a, b; Hebert 2004a, b). The authors observed several individuals preparing for a sweat ceremony on Sunday, February 13, 2005.

According to local Indian and non-Indian testimony spiritual activities like vision questing, prayers, and pipe and sweat lodge ceremonies have been conducted on Valmont Butte during the recent past as they have for many years. Nick Halsey, a Boulder resident and Lakota filmmaker, commented, "...the area surrounding Valmont Butte holds spiritual significance for many Indian nations," and "...the butte was traditionally used for a variety of ceremonial reasons, including vision quests. The site currently hosts a sweat lodge used by American Indians from as far away as South Dakota and Arizona for *inipi* ceremonies" (White 2004:10).

In fact, igneous rocks are collected at the butte for their ability to hold heat during such activities. At a meeting held in eastern Boulder County, Tuesday evening February 15, 2005, one

native participant testified that people have been coming to Valmont Butte for many years from many different places specifically to gather the basalt rocks highly desired for use in sweat lodges. The basalt rock found at Valmont Butte is still highly sought after by those using the sweat lodge on the butte and elsewhere.

Robert Cross, a Lakota spiritual leader, said he and his uncle "...found the kind of rocks they needed for a sweat-lodge ceremony at the foot of the butte when they were trying to revive native ceremonies in the Denver area." Nick Halsey, who lived at the bottom of Valmont Butte as caretaker of this sacred place, said he came to know the butte through his grandfather on the Rosebud Sioux Reservation, South Dakota (Morson 2004).

### The Archaeological Evidence

Although documented accounts of Indian peoples using Valmont Butte are sparse, sufficient archaeological evidence, historic accounts, and oral history firmly establish that American Indians have lived in Boulder County, Colorado, for thousands of years (Wedel 1964; Gleichman 2004). Clovis and Folsom chipped-stone points beautifully manufactured by PaleoIndians clearly indicate native peoples were enjoying the abundance of natural resources found in this part of northern Colorado's Front Range for at least 12,000 years and, most likely, longer, as suggested by pre-Clovis archaeological sites such as the Lamb Springs site near the Denver suburb of Littleton.

Several archaeological sites in Boulder County illustrate this 12,000-plus-year indigenous record from PaleoIndian times to the recent historic period. The Rock Creek site near Lafayette is an aboriginal campsite dating from between 6,000 B.C. and A.D. 1500. Indian Mountain is an ancient stone-circle site west of Rabbit Mountain. Excavations located the earliest and westernmost occurrence of Plains pottery in Colorado, with the extremely early date of 410 B. C.-A.D. 25 (Cassells and Farrington 1986:32, 37). And a deeply stratified site sits north of Boulder, between Indian and Rabbit mountains, dating between A.D. 100 and A.D. 1000. Many sites could have been occupied as late as the mid-1800s (Burney 1989). Kittie Hall Fairfield related how she and other young students discovered a

"mummy" from a Indian tree burial and the excavation of an Indian skeleton with a can of beads from the bank of Coal Creek (Isaac 1959:295).

An ancient Indian trail over Arapaho Pass went through Eldora and then down Boulder Creek to Nederland. From here the trail continued along Boulder Creek "...to Boulder and thence to the White Rock Campsites." Another Indian trail from Nederland passed through Eldorado Gap "...and joined the ancient trail connecting the Coal Creek and Boulder camps" (Ives 1942:461-462). Trails and the confluence of trails are considered sacred by native peoples.

Ives (1942:458) observed an abundance of chipped-stone artifacts for Boulder and relates how Charles Moore of Eldorado Springs describes

...a series of camps lining the north bank of Coal Creek for several miles and extending, some distance northward over the mesas ... Tepee circles, fireplaces, and fragments of artifacts made of local materials are plentiful, despite stripping by collectors and obliteration of much evidence by recent aqueduct construction. Fragments of imported artifact materials, particularly obsidian and white quartzite, are numerous. Buffalo bones in quantity have been reportedly found nearby; hence, this was probably a hunting camp.

Archaeological excavations on Valmont Butte may yield undisturbed buried sites despite the extensive disturbance to the prominent landform. Ground-and-chipped-stone and ceramic Indian artifacts have been found on the surface around Valmont Butte over many years by local residents and professional archaeologists. Collecting Indian artifacts is nothing new as brought to light by Low (1935:143):

Friendly Utes came often to camp along Cherry Creek, and I recall vividly seeing old Chief Washington with his tribe—and Colorow was a visitor on one occasion. These Indians were always a source of much interest and some apprehension; although I do not remember that they ever molested anyone. *After they had broken camp and departed the settlers would visit the spot, looking for arrowheads and other possible souvenirs* (italics ours).

Jeri Andrus Schricker, in a letter, dated October 30, 2000, to Rural Historic Valmont (courtesy of Irene Eggers) reads:

My grandparents, Bert and Mattie Andrus, owned the farm and mesa at 61st and Andrus Road in Valmont. My parents, Dick and Geneva Andrus, later sold the mesa and some of the farmland in the early 1980s to the City of Boulder as open space. When I was a child, I remember my grandfather showing me the collection of Indian arrowheads that he had found on the mesa. I also remember that we found a stone with a hollow in it that Indians had used as a mortar to grind corn. There was never any doubt in our family that the Indian population and culture had once flourished on that Valmont mesa (letter on file, Rural Historic Valmont, Niwot).

Wilfred Marston Husted (b. 1928) collected artifacts from Valmont Butte in 1959, the year he graduated from the University of Colorado-Boulder with this B.A. in anthropology. A number of rock features have recently been recorded on the butte, although their cultural affiliation and temporal placement is unknown. The seemingly unexplained sudden appearance of abundant various colored interior chipped-stone flakes scattered over several features was cause for accusations of unethical behavior and foul play.

Despite this disagreeable possibility, Charlie Cambridge, Ph.D. (Diné), believes Archaeological evidence clearly shows numerous tribes have visited the butte over the course of time (Gallegos 2004:A5). Cambridge, who earned his doctorate at CU, characterized Valmont Butte as an ideal location from which to spot herds of animals, say prayers and ask permission to conduct the hunt (Morson 2004). A 45/70 cartridge was found on the north edge of Valmont Butte. The 45/70-caliber weapon was the official U.S. military service weapon from 1873 until about 1892, when it lost favor to the 30/40 Krag.

However, few artifacts would remain on the surface at Valmont Butte, in large part due to the collecting and disturbance that has taken place there since the 1870s. The historic artifacts resulting from the Culbertson or Pennsylvania Mill are an exception. Intact buried cultural deposits may be discovered providing there are

suitable undisturbed areas on Valmont Butte amenable to controlled excavation.

### Historic Accounts

Historic accounts of early pioneers and settlers about their observations and encounters with Colorado's native peoples are invaluable when reviewing protohistoric and early historic periods of Indian occupation. The Protohistoric period dates between about A.D. 1650 and 1800 and was coined to identify the time when Euro-American settlement and trade indirectly influenced Northern Plains native peoples before direct contact took place. The Historic period encompasses the time between about 1800 up to the present. Northrup (1938:169) notes:

In the records of the Colorado Plains Indian a number of pioneers of this plains area have left, as a contribution to Colorado history, true stories of actual happenings or incidents in their lives in contact with the Indians, which give a better insight into the personal lives of these natives.

Renaud (1927:40) early recognized "Again, too many pioneers have disappeared without leaving us sufficient accounts of the early days in this region, their struggle against the elements and their relations with the Indians." Nevertheless, a wealth of information can be found from early historic pioneer and settler accounts reporting their experiences with native peoples. Northrup (1938:169-179) titled Chapter 8 of her M.A. thesis, "True Stories of the Indian as Told by Pioneers."

Ever since man first came upon Valmont Butte (or "monadnock," a geological term indicating an isolated hill or mountain rising above a peneplain) many thousands of years ago, this elevated feature—rising over 230 feet from the eastern Boulder County landscape and nearby confluence of Boulder and South Boulder creeks—has provided a place to camp, hunt, harvest edible and medicinal plants, undertake ceremonies, and bury the dead.

Hwang and Heasler (1970:9, 20) observe that the Valmont Butte area "...was originally used by the Arapahoes and the Utes as a campground, hunting area and burial site"; and the "Valmont Dike and its environs have a rich his-

torical background." The burial site refers to an account describing a burial ground with 15 to 20 mounds located south of Valmont Butte (Larkin and Mitikv 1968). Mr. Larkin reminisced that the source of the 15 to 20 mounds may have originated from Forest Crossen (Carol Affleck, p.c., December 2003).

This well-recognized landmark would serve as a lookout for large herds of animals and hostile visitors traversing the "Great War Road" along Colorado's Front Range, a place of refuge from stampeding buffalo or marauding packs of prairie wolves, and a signal point for communication purposes.

Its sweeping views of the Flatirons and the plains inspired man before the area was settled by whites in the 1860s. According to historical accounts, the region was used by the Arapahos and Utes as a campground, hunting area, spiritual center and burial site (Barge 2001:4A).

During his stay in Boulder Valley, Morse H. Coffin camped on the banks of Boulder Creek on July 18, 1859, noting "...a large Indian village on the flat between the buttes [Valmont] and where the White Rock grist mill was later built" (Coffin 1911:13). Another author notes,

An uneasy peace existed in the [Boulder] valley until 1867 when Charles Pancost "tree claimed" two sections of land on the banks of Valmont Lake, part of which included the winter campground of the Arapaho. The Indians objected to this transaction but eventually compromised with Pancost, who agreed to allow them use of his land around the butte east of the present Valmont Cemetery for their winter campground (Dyini 1989:3).

### Valmont and Valmont Butte/Dike

Early settlers combined "valley" and "mountain" to make Valmont, or "Vale Mount," for the butte and the valley (Dawson 1954:50). The community of Valmont (Valmont) and Valmont Butte share an inseparable history, since Valmont was platted in 1865. Intent on providing a sermon to the area's inhabitants, Bayard Taylor visited Valmont on July 14, 1866. He pro-

vided an interesting description of his approach to Valmont Butte and the community, as well as a story of Indians in the area, in his publication *Colorado: A Summer Trip*, originally published in the *New York Tribune* in 1867 (reprinted in 1989, Niwot University Press of Colorado):

I had an engagement for the evening at the new town of Valmont, some eight or ten miles down the Boulder Valley ... On approaching the isolated hill which had been pointed out to us as indicating the position of Valmont, we were surprised to find no sign of a village. The dark wheat-plains swept up to its base, masses of rock looked down from its summit, and the rosy ridges toward St. Vrain lay beyond. ... But of these cabins one was a store, one a printing-office, and one a Presbyterian church. So it was Valmont.

I was introduced to one of the original eight squatters in Boulder Valley. He tells a singular story of their experience with the Indians, when they first settled here, in 1859. Where the town of Boulder now is, was one of the favorite camping-grounds of the former (Taylor 1989:157-159).

During the mid-1860s Valmont was a serious rival of Boulder as the commercial center of the valley. "Boulder soon was threatened by a new neighbor to the east. Valmont had started up in the spring of 1865 ... Its citizens even had the audacity to advocate establishing the county seat there instead of in Boulder" (*Daily Camera* 1991:3-4).

Many of the community's earliest residents are buried in the Valmont Butte Cemetery on Valmont Butte, including Captain Thomas Akins and Alexander P. Allen. Captain Akins, who participated with Colonel John M. Chivington at the Sand Creek Massacre in 1864, died in 1878. Fort Chambers, built in 1864 about a mile and a half north of the Tommy Jones Stage Stop and Hotel by the Burlington Home Guard and Boulder City's Home Guard, is where Captain Akins and other volunteer militia trained before engaging in the massacre at Sand Creek. Alexander P. Allen was one of the original platters of the community. The well-maintained Valmont Cemetery is available for visits by family members.

"It's sacred to me. It's my connection to the past, to my family," says LeeAnn McGinty, referring to the Valmont Cemetery where several of her family members are interred, including Frank A. Polzin, a blacksmith and Spanish-American War veteran who died in 1933 (Morson 2004).

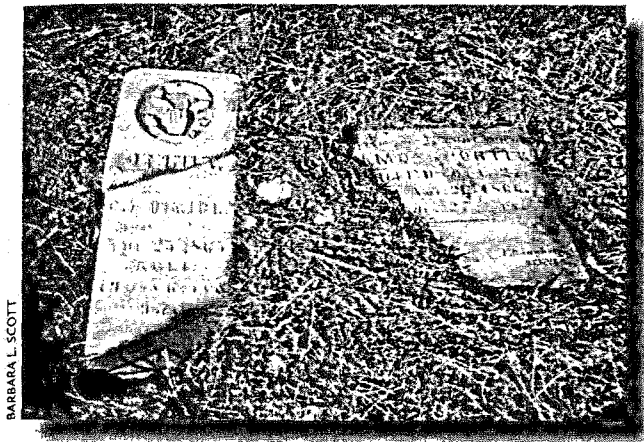
Clint (1969:31) provides this interesting description of the Valmont Cemetery: "The cemetery is fenced with woven wire and is approximately two acres in size. There are many sunken areas that appear to be grave sites but have no markers." Barker (1970) claimed at the time of her writing there were "seventy-nine unmarked graves, fifty-eight of which are of unknown occupancy." In 1996, Chuck Howe, funeral director of Howe Mortuary in Boulder, said: "It's the oldest official cemetery in Boulder County, and there are a lot of unmarked graves." Valmont native Tim Smith was of the opinion that there could be "mass graves" in the Valmont Cemetery area (*Boulder Planet*, October 2-8, 1996). A stone monument erected in 1961 by Arthur G. and Millie Chambers Gallagher in the Valmont Cemetery is dedicated to the memory of Boulder County pioneers (Wendt 1964:24).

The unmarked cemetery, which lies adjacent to the pioneer cemetery and sits on Public Service Company property, is too old and weathered to receive many visitors. Barker (1970) writes:

One of the most historically fascinating areas lays a couple of hundred yards south of the Valmont Cemetery. Because it is on State Fish and Game goose nesting land, it is not open to the public. It contains, however, some of the first white graves in Boulder County. There are only five or six headstones (none of which are standing), but it is evident from piles of stones, that there are a number of other graves also.

Inscriptions on the stones tell stories of their time. "Hattie N. and Little Willie, Wife and Infant Son of Amos Porter, Died October 27, November 26, 1866." "Frank E. Robinson, Died May 5, 1869." "Mary Etta Robinson, Died April 30, 1869. 2 years, 1 month, 28 days." "Elva Robinson, Died July 20, 1869. 7 months and 4 days." Jennie Dimick, Wife of C.A. Dimick, Died April 25, 1865. Age 19 years, 6 months, 9 days."





The authors observed several headstones lying on the ground; and a large rectangular-shaped feature of medium-sized stones was observed within the fenced area of gravesites. Unmarked graves were also fairly well discerned by the rectangular depressions resulting from the subsidence of the grave itself over the past 145 years. Additional unmarked gravesites are highly probable outside the current fenced-in burials. American Indians might possibly be interred in this cemetery as well.

The earliest graves most likely would not have included milled-lumber coffins or durable headstones that are commonplace today. The deceased may simply have been wrapped in blankets or animal robes and interred with little to mark the burial other than several stones or a vertically placed marker of some sort. In time, more substantial burial boxes of milled-lumber and headstones of etched stone would appear better marking the grave's location, providing the headstone had not severely weathered or been vandalized or taken for garden art and landscaping.

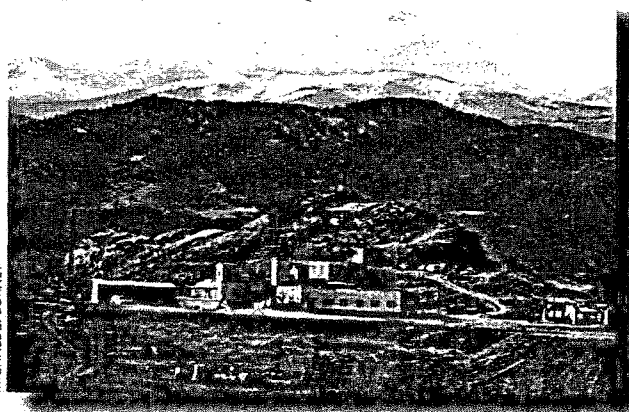
In addition to the cemeteries, the standing ruins and tailings ponds from the St. Joe Mining and Milling Company are still in evidence. The company operated the gold and fluorspar processing mill from 1935-1970 (commonly referred to as the "Valmont Mill") (Hoefer and Bunyak 2001). And the Culbertson or Pennsylvania Mining and Milling Company constructed a mill in 1898 south of Valmont Butte overlooking what was then called Owen's Lake (now, Leggett Reservoir). At least two brick cottages housed executive personnel.

Little remains of the Culbertson Mill, with

the exception of an abundance of assorted historic artifacts in several refuse dumps and concentrations of red bricks and angular Valmont Butte stone suggesting where the two cottages may once have stood. Traces of the narrow-gauge railroad that served the mill, crucible fragments from its assay lab, rusty metal containers and vessel glass fragments were found upon investigation of the area. Metal containers included the hole-and-cap and soldered vent-hole types; and vessel glass fragments included solarized purple glass (between 1880 and 1915), decorative ware, porcelain-like pieces, and utilitarian stoneware crockery (See Burney, Neal, and Scott 2005: 73-81 for color photos of artifacts).

The Culbertson Mill is a fantastic historic archaeological site that should continue to be protected and left in place. Otherwise, the mill deserves the most careful examination to the highest archaeological and historical standards available. The historic database (archaeological and architectural) is sufficient to stimulate several M.A. theses and Ph.D. dissertations. Encouraging such graduate studies would support a conclusion made by a University of Colorado Department of Geography class when they investigated the Valmont Butte/Dike in 1970 as a "potential natural study area":

Valmont Dike and its environs have a rich historical background. When this background is combined with the natural attractiveness of the area, and its proximity to the rapidly growing city of Boulder, the idea of transforming this site into a natural area becomes justified (Tripp, Callihan, and Hwang 1970a:1, 20).

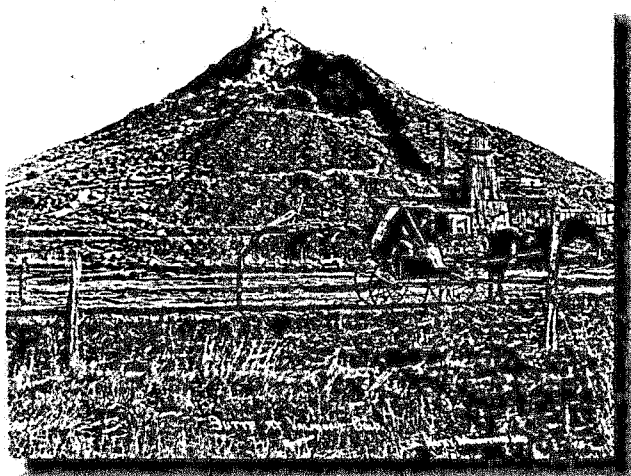


*Historic Valmont Mill, 2005.*

Because of the butte's unique geological structure, varied vegetative zones, and vantage point of the surrounding landscape, the University of Colorado investigators conclude that

*...Valmont Butte's "highest and best use" is to remain in a relatively undeveloped state, being always available to interested parties and study groups from various University departments as well as to others similarly oriented" (Tripp et al. 1970a; 1970b:1) (italics ours).*

Regrettably, the University of Colorado recommendation has gone largely ignored, with the exception of Valmont Butte being designated a Boulder County Landmark in 1978. The butte itself continued to be whittled down and its materials fashioned into a host of products and uses ranging from building stone, monuments, bricks, topsoil, street construction, housing foundations, and railroad car ballast. Basalt



View east showing basalt being removed from Valmont Butte's west end. Photograph by "Rocky Mountain" Joe (Joseph Bevier Sturtevant), courtesy of Carnegie Branch Library for Local History, Boulder, Colorado.

began to be removed from the butte's west end between the 1870s and early 1900s. During the 1870s, a large tower—quite visible on top of the butte—was utilized to lower the quarried basalt by overhead cable to a crushing tower below. Railcars then transported the rock to its intended destination. In the late 1800s one author described Valmont and Valmont Butte this way:

This is a small town at the confluence of the North and South Boulder Creeks, four miles out from the base of the mountains, and is

distinguished by the butte at that place, an upheaval of igneous rock, several hundred feet in height, making it the most prominent landmark in all the valley landscape.

Valmont is on the line of the Boulder Valley railroad, and is the center of a wide scope of the best farming lands in the state, early settled, and now improved by a most intelligent class of people (Baskin 1880:420).

Lucy Davis Holmes, a longtime Valmont resident, recalls how in the early 1900s her family, the Davises' and the De Backers'

...regretted the removal of the original lofty rock formation in the Valmont country. Twenty-eight feet of stone was removed from the butte, most of which went for the paving of Blake Street in Denver" (Jenkins 1959:8).

The sheer volume of natural resources extracted from Valmont Butte these last 145 years is truly astonishing: the earth-filled dams required of Public Service Company of Colorado's coal-fired Valmont power plant, constructed in 1924, were built from rock and soil taken from the south-edge of Valmont Butte. And an estimated 400,000 cubic yards of soil was used as road base for Foothills Parkway. Disfigured, reduced, modified, and poisoned, Valmont Butte still stands like its nearby colleague to the north, Haystack Mountain, as they have for millions of years. One Boulder company went so far as to encourage local governmental officials that the best way to deal with Valmont Butte was to level the west end and use the 11 acres for an industrial site.

Valmont Butte's condition and appearance became so dismal that Gibson (1981:6) had reason to write "As a result of more than a century of activity, Valmont Dike is a hodgepodge of rock, dirt piles, gravel quarries and sheer cliffs." Deloria (1998:4E) described the butte in equally poor terms, describing Valmont Butte as "Kinda trashed, in fact"; furthermore, "The landscape around the butte is littered with old Christmas trees and rusting industrial remnants. It's a place that has received a lot more trash than respect and attention." Battered, gauged, scrapped, and bruised, Historic Boulder identified this Boulder County Natural Landmark as "...a historically

endangered place..." (Neff 2004:1A).

Despite these 145 years of cumulative adverse impact to the butte, the views even today remain dramatic from the abused and tortured west end, especially to the south, west, and north. The Flatirons and Sugarloaf Mountain are clearly visible, adding to the panoramic view of this incredible part of Colorado's Front Range. One perspective:

To American Indian eyes, the butte offers a special place to pray, not only because it is a high spot on the relatively flat plains, but because it stands above the confluence of two rivers [Boulder Creek and South Boulder Creek], which is spiritually significant ... the dike [butte] runs east to west, pointing directly toward another Indian sacred site, Sugarloaf (White 2004:10).

Information drawn from archaeology, history, ethnohistory, oral history, and contemporary testimony supports Valmont Butte not only as a Boulder County Natural Landmark but as (1) a historic district, first identified by Weiss (1981) in "The Boulder County Historical Site Survey"; (2) an agricultural type of rural historic district; (3) a sacred site; (4) a site with intangible spiritual attributes; (5) a contemporary prayer and offering locale or contemporary-use area, and (6) a traditional cultural property or TCP (King 2003 and 2005; Parker and King 1990).

### Relevant Preservation Law

Although Valmont Butte is a Boulder County Landmark, there appears to be little protection for such designated sites. The City of Boulder's Valmont Butte project was not a federal undertaking, which would have initiated the legal requirement of the city adhering to federal historic preservation statutes, primarily Section 106 and 110 of the National Historic Preservation Act of 1966, as amended. The city did, however, undertake various cultural-resource inventories of Valmont Butte, as well as consultations with several tribal members in Boulder affiliated with the United Tribes of Colorado (UTC). These efforts were welcome additions to the Valmont Butte database. However, short of a thorough investigation of archaeological potential—suggested by oral history, contemporary testimony,

and historic accounts—the likelihood of inadvertently discovering unmarked human burials during construction activities remained problematic.

The authors have identified the potential for the presence of unmarked human graves in the vicinities of both the Valmont Butte Pioneer Cemetery and the equally old historic cemetery on Public Service Company's property. The Historical, Prehistorical, and Archaeological Resources Act of 1973 (CRS 24-80-401 to 410) gave the office of the state archaeologist (OSAC) in the State Historical Society of Colorado "...explicit authority to promulgate rules and regulations defining how the duties prescribed by the Act were to be carried out. The 1990 Act ... adds a new statutory section, part 13, pertaining to unmarked human graves."

Section 11, "Lands not owned by the state of Colorado" reading, in part: "Upon the request of any municipality, county, or governmental agency, the state archaeologist shall undertake the powers provided for in Section 24-80-405 to 24-80-407 of the Act, with respect to historical, prehistorical, or archaeological resources on private or public lands, owned by the entity so requesting, within the boundaries of Colorado. Upon the request of any corporation or private individual, the state archeologist may at his/her discretion undertake these powers with respect to archaeological or paleontological resources on private lands, except that the excavation of unmarked human burials requires a permit on all nonfederal lands in Colorado."

Section 13, "Unmarked Human Graves" reads, in part, "On all nonfederal lands in Colorado, the discovery of unmarked human graves more than 100 years old shall cause the procedures defined in part 13 of the Act to take effect. Disinterment of human remains from such graves will require an excavation permit as provided for in Sections 4 through 8 of these regulations" (Office of Archaeology & Historic Preservation 2004; see also, Carnett 1995:9).

### Conclusion

The authors submitted their report to the Colorado Office of Archaeology and Historic Preservation, the City and County of Boulder, Valmont residents, the University of Colorado

Museum on the Boulder campus, and the Carnegie Library in Boulder in May 2005. In August of that same year, the Boulder City Council voted to move the biosolids facility to a different location. Debate on the proposed fire-training facility continued until February 2006. Despite the best intentions of City of Boulder staff, the anthropological record—along with community outcry—in this rare case took precedence. On February 21, 2006, the Council voted to locate the fire-training facility at a different site. City of Boulder Planning Director Peter Pollock admits that he trusts the public process: “The City committed to an open dialog with the community about issues and concerns. The goal was to surface the material so that City Council could make the best decision” (Scott, p.c., May 30, 2006).

The problem remains that the land must be sold, and the danger is that it will be sold to a less sensitive buyer than the City of Boulder. “The Native American interest on the site and the historic interests on this site could well be worse off,” commented Councilman Andy Schultheiss, who voted with two others to locate the fire-training facility at Valmont. The 6–3 decision, however, dictated a location other than Valmont Butte (Morgan 2006). A consortium of nonprofit groups, including the Trust for Public Lands, has expressed an interest in purchasing the land, but no offer is expected to reach the table anytime soon. While the City of Boulder is anxious to recoup its losses, it has graciously offered to allow a year from the February 2006 council meeting for TPL to present a viable purchaser. Doug Newcomb, from the open space department, agreed that the best use of the property would be as a historic-preservation site, one that perhaps would include a cultural resource center for Native Americans. The site requires remedial cleanup of its contaminated area, i.e., the tailings pond that remains from the milling and mining era. And prairie dogs will need to be relocated off the mildly radioactive area to another portion of the butte, though testing has shown that the creatures themselves have not been harmed. A group of botanists is meliorating and testing the soil to determine its health; once remediation is complete, low-water native grasses will be planted.

The City of Boulder is involved in the process with TPL to come up with funding to buy the butte. If TPL is not able to broker a purchase of the land, the property will become available for sale to the general public. However, it is hard to imagine that any potential developer would disregard the political baggage that is intrinsic to this culturally sensitive site. The unanimous voice at the final City Council meeting was that the entire process had been “exquisitely painful.” But the heritage of a people—of several peoples—was at stake here. And for now, the longing to preserve that heritage trumped money and political will. ○

## Notes

1. Much of this material for this article was distilled from two larger reports titled “A Class I File and Literature Search: Indians and Native Sacred Sites, for the Valmont Butte Area, Boulder County, and Northern Colorado Front Range” (Burney, Danenberg, and Affleck 2004) and “The Valmont Community and Valmont Butte: Evidence for the History of Boulder County, Colorado,” submitted May 20, 2005 (Burney, Neal, and Scott).

2. Michael S. Burney received his M.A. from the Department of Anthropology at the University of Colorado at Boulder in 1991, with an emphasis on western American prehistory. Co-author of *Tribal Cultural Resource Management: The Full Circle to Stewardship* (Stapp and Burney 2002), he is currently researching and assembling a bibliographical resource tool for Native and nonnative students and researchers. He can be reached at [michaelsburney@yahoo.com](mailto:michaelsburney@yahoo.com), at 505-737-9497, and at Burney & Associates, P.O. Box 2329, Taos, NM 87571-2329.

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, at [www.finaleyes.net](http://www.finaleyes.net) on the web, and at [barb@finaleyes.net](mailto:barb@finaleyes.net) by e-mail.

## References Cited

- Allen, Alonzo H.  
1937 "Early Days in Longmont." *The Colorado Magazine* 14(5):191-198.
- Avery, Greg  
2004a "Boulder: Misunderstanding Led to Sweat Lodge Breakup." American Indian Group Has Standing Permission to Use Property. *Daily Camera*, Saturday, January 3, 2004, pp. 1C, 2C. Boulder, Colorado.
- Avery, Greg  
2004b "State May Look into Ceremony Disruption. American Indian Movement Asks Attorney General to Investigate." *Daily Camera*, Wednesday, January 21, 2004, p. 3A. Boulder, Colorado.
- Barge, Chris  
2001 "Residents Foresee Town's Doom: Government Projects Threaten Historic Community's Character." *Daily Camera*, Sunday, September 30, 2001, pp. 1A, 4A. Boulder, Colorado.
- Barker, Jane  
1970 "Over the Shoulder." *Daily Camera, Focus*. August 23, 1970. Boulder, Colorado.
- Baskin, O.L.  
1880 *History of Clear Creek and Boulder Valleys, Colorado: Containing a Brief History of the State of Colorado from Its Earliest Settlement to the Present Time, Embracing Its Geological, Physical, and Climatic Features; Its Agricultural, Stockgrowing, Railroad and Mining Interests; An Account of the Ute Trouble; A History of Gilpin, Clear Creek, Boulder, and Jefferson Counties, and Biographical Sketches*. Chicago: O.L. Baskin & Company, Historical Publishers.
- Benedict, James B.  
1991 "People of the Shining Mountains: High-Altitude Cultural Ecology of the Colorado Front Range, U.S.A." Ms. submitted to *Acta Archaeologica Carpathica* (Krakow, Poland) for publication in a 1992 volume commemorating the 500th anniversary of Columbus's voyage to America.
- Bennett, John W.  
1996 "Applied and Action Anthropology: Ideological and Conceptual Aspects." *Current Anthropology* 37 (Supplement): 23.
- Bixby, Amos  
1880 "History of Boulder County" in *History of Clear Creek and Boulder Valleys, Colorado: Containing a Brief History of the State of Colorado from Its Earliest Settlement to the Present Time, Embracing Its Geological, Physical, and Climatic Features; Its Agricultural, Stockgrowing, Railroad and Mining Interests; An Account of the Ute Trouble; A History of Gilpin, Clear Creek, Boulder, and Jefferson Counties, and Biographical Sketches*. Chicago, IL: O.L. Baskin and Company, Historical Publishers.
- Brown, Seletha A.  
1946 "Eliza Buford Rothrock, Colorado Pioneer." *The Colorado Magazine* 23(5):212-215.
- Burney, Michael S.  
1989 "A History of Archaeological Investigations and Inventory of American Indian Resources of Dowe Flats, Including Indian Mountain to the West and Rabbit Mountain to the East, Northern Boulder County, Colorado." Prepared for the Reservoir Companies, Longmont, Colorado. On file, Office of Archaeology and Historic Preservation, Denver, Colorado.
- Burney, Michael S., Barbara L. Scott, and Anna Fresquez  
In Prep. "American Indians and Native Sacred Sites: An Ethnohistory of Colorado's Front Range" ("Foreword" by Barbara L. Scott). Prepared for the United Tribes of Colorado, Colorado's Native Community, and the State of Colorado. Barbara L. Scott, editor. On file, Burney and Associates, Taos, New Mexico.
- Burney, Michael S., Joyce Danenberg, and Carol Affleck  
2004 "A Class I File and Literature Search, Indians, and Native Sacred Sites, for the Valmont Butte Area, Boulder County, and Northern Colorado Front Range" ("Foreword" by Alden B. Naranjo). Prepared for Rural Historic Valmont, Niwot, Colorado. On file, Office of Archaeology and Historic Preservation, Denver, Colorado.
- Burney, Michael S., Teresa D. Neal, and Barbara L. Scott  
2005 "The Valmont Community and Valmont Butte: Evidence for the History of Boulder County, Colorado," Barbara L. Scott, editor. "Foreword" by Lee Ann McGinty. Prepared for the Community of Valmont and Boulder County, Colorado. On file, Office of Archaeology and Historic Preservation, Denver, Colorado. Available at the Carnegie Public Library on the campus of the University of Colorado
- Butler, William B.  
1982 "Research Design for Eastern Colorado." On file, Burney and Associates, Taos, New Mexico.

- Carnett, Carol L. Esq.  
1995 "A Survey of State Statutes Protecting Archeological Resources." Preservation Law Reporter Special Report. *Archeological Assistance Study* Number 3. U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, Cultural Resources, Archeological Assistance Division; and National Trust for Historic Preservation, Washington, D.C.
- Cassells, E. Steve, and Robert Noel Farrington  
1986 "Excavations at the Indian Mountain Site, 5BL876: A Multi-Component Stone Circle Site in Colorado's Northeastern Foothills." *Plains Anthropologist* 31(112):29-39.
- Clint, Florence Runyan  
1969 *Boulder County (Colorado), Area Key: A Study of the Genealogical Record Sources of Boulder County, Colorado, Including Maps, History, Addresses, Special Helps, Etc. A Companion Volume to the Colorado Area Key*. A product of the Flak Survey. USA: Eden Press.
- Coel, Margaret  
1981 *Chief Left Hand, Southern Arapaho*. Norman, OK: The University of Oklahoma Press.
- Coffin, Roy Gregg  
1911 "Early Days in Boulder County." *The Trail* 3(11):12-17.
- Cropley, George I  
1951 Impressions of the Indians Gained by Early American Explorers of Eastern Colorado. *Southwestern Lore* 16(4):49.
- Crossen, Forest  
1963 *Western Yesterdays: Cheyenne Raid of 1878 and Other Stories* (Volume 1). Fort Collins, Colorado: Robinson Press, Inc.
- Daily Camera*  
1991 "In the Beginning" in *100 Years of Newspapering: The Daily Camera Takes a Fascinating Look Back at Its Community*, pp. 3-10. *Daily Camera* Centennial Edition, Sunday, March 17, 1991. Boulder, Colorado.
- Dawson, J. Frank  
1954 *Place Names in Colorado: Why 700 Communities Were So Named, 150 of Spanish or Indian Origin*. Lakewood, CO: The Jefferson Record.
- Deloria, Phil  
1998 "Understand Boulder's History, Look East Toward Valmont." *Daily Camera*, Sunday, July 12, 1998, p. 4E. Boulder, Colorado.
- Dyni, Anne Quinby  
1989 *Pioneer Voices of the Boulder Valley: An Oral History*. Boulder, CO: Boulder County Parks and Open Space Department.
- Fine, Eben G.  
1939 "The Utes and the Boulder Semi-Centennial Celebration." *The Colorado Magazine* 16(2):72-78.
- Fitzpatrick, Thomas  
1853 "Report of Agent Thomas Fitzpatrick." Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for 1853. Washington, D.C.
- Gallegos, Christopher  
2004 "Sacred Sites a Place of Healing, Remembering: Native American Rights Fund to Observe National Prayer Day Monday." *Colorado Daily* 112(120):A5, A6.
- Gibson, Daryl  
1981 "Firm Extracting Dirt for Roadbed From Landmark." *Daily Camera*, Monday, July 6, 1981, pp. 1, 6. Boulder, Colorado.
- Gleichman, Peter J.  
2004 "The Archaeology and History of Valmont Butte, 5BL44, Boulder County, Colorado." Prepared by Native Cultural Services, Ward, Colorado. Prepared for ERO Resources, Denver, Colorado. On file, Colorado Office of Archaeology and Historic Preservation, Denver, Colorado.
- Hebert, Amy  
2004a "Police Cut Short New Year's Lakota Prayer. Group Angry About 'Disrespect,' But Officers Say They Lacked Permit." *Daily Camera*, Friday, January 2, 2004, p. 3B. Boulder, Colorado.
- Hebert, Amy  
2004b "Boulder Leaders Apologize. American Indian Movement Will Get Written Apology, Guarantee for Using Valmont Butte." *Daily Camera*, Saturday, January 24, 2004, pp. 1A, 8A. Boulder, Colorado.
- Hoefler, Ted III, and Dawn Bunyak  
2001 "Historic Overview of the Valmont Mill, Boulder County, Colorado." Prepared by Foothill Engineering Consultants, Inc. (now, RMC Consultants, Inc., Lakewood, CO), Golden, CO. Prepared for the City of Boulder, Colorado, Fire Department [FEC Project No. 01-603]. On file, Office of Archaeology and Historic Preservation, Denver, Colorado.

- Hwang, Manik and Gary A. Heaslet  
1970 "Chapter 3. History and Land Use." In *Valmont Dike Natural Area Study*, Michael R. Tripp, William G. Callahan, and Manik Hwang, editors, pp. 9-20. Department of Geography, University of Colorado, Boulder.
- Isaac, Margaret  
1959 "Childhood Memories of Kittie Hall Fairfield." *The Colorado Magazine* 36(4):293-303.
- Ives, Ronald L.  
1942 "Early Human Occupation of the Colorado Headwaters Region: An Archaeological Reconnaissance." *Geographical Review* 32:448-462.
- Jenkins, Jewel Maret  
1959 "Early Days of Valmont Recalled by Mrs. Lucy Holmes Who Has Lived in the Area for Seventy-Five Years." *Daily Camera*, Friday, April 24, 1959, p. 8. Boulder, Colorado.
- Keller, Robert H.  
1987 "A Rocky Mountain Expedition in 1864: William Crawford's Journey to Middle Park." *Essays and Monographs in Colorado History* 5:53-66. Denver: Colorado Historical Society.
- Kindig, Jean Matthews  
1987 "An Evaluation of an Ethnohistoric Account of a Plains Indian Communal Hunt in the Boulder Valley, 1862." *Southwestern Lore* 53(4):17-27.
- King, Thomas F.  
2003 *Places that Count: Traditional Cultural Properties in Cultural Resource Management*. Walnut Creek, California: AltaMira Press.
- King, Thomas F.  
2005 "What Are Traditional Cultural Properties?" *The Applied Anthropologist* 25(2):125-130.
- Larkin, Robert P. and Befakaou Mitikv  
1968 "Resource Analysis of the Valmont Dike and Adjacent Area." Unpublished report prepared for Geography 530, "Problems in Conservation," University of Colorado, Boulder.
- Low, Edith Parker  
1935 "History of the Twenty-Mile House on Cherry Creek." *The Colorado Magazine* 12(4):142-144.
- McPherson, Robert S.  
1992 *Sacred Land Sacred View: Navajo Perceptions of the Four Corners Region*. Charles Redd Center for Western Studies, *Charles Redd Monographs in Western History* No. 19. Salt Lake City, Utah: Brigham Young University.
- Mead, Earl S. and Dawn Bunyak  
2001 "A Cultural Resource Inventory of the Valmont Mill, 5BL796, and Associated Properties, Boulder County, Colorado." Prepared by RMC Consultants, Inc., Lakewood, Colorado. Prepared for the City of Boulder, Fire, Open Space & Public Works Department, Colorado. On file, Colorado Office of Archaeology and Historic Preservation, Denver, Colorado.
- Morgan, Ryan  
2006 "Training Center Not on Butte." *Daily Camera*. Retrieved online February 22, 2006.
- Morson, Berny  
2004 "Boulder Butte's Future at Stake: City to Decide what to Do with Site Loved by Indians, Others." *Rocky Mountain News*. Monday, March 15, 2004. Denver, Colorado. Retrieved online February 22, 2005.
- National Park Service, U.S. Department of the Interior  
1982 "How to Apply the National Register Criteria for Evaluation." *National Register of Historic Places Bulletin* 15 (draft). Washington, D.C.
- Neff, Todd  
2004 "Group Sets Sights on Arapahoe Road: Historic Boulder Working to Save Onetime Main Entrance to City." *Daily Camera*, Friday, February 20, 2004, pp. 1A, 7A. Boulder, Colorado.
- Northrup, Maxine Burnett  
1938 "The Plains Indian in the History of Colorado." M.A. thesis, College of Education, Colorado State College (now, University of Northern Colorado), Division of Social Studies, Greeley.
- Office of Archaeology & Historic Preservation  
2004 "Number 1308b, 8CCR 1504-7, Rules and Procedures, Historical, Prehistorical, and Archaeological Resources Act" (rev. 1/04). Office of Archaeology and Historic Preservation, State Historical Society of Colorado, Denver.
- Parker, Patria L. and Thomas F. King  
1990 "Guidelines for Evaluating and Documenting Traditional Cultural Properties." *National Register Bulletin* 38. USDI National Park Service, Interagency Resources Division, Washington, D.C.
- Parks, Douglas R. and Waldo R. Wedel  
1985 "Pawnee Geography: Historical and Sacred." *Great Plains Quarterly* 5(3):143-176.



- Pollack, Peter  
2006 Personal communication with Barbara Scott, May 30.
- Renaud, Étienne Bernardeau  
1927 "The Indians of Colorado" in *Colorado: Short Stories of Its Past and Present*, by Junius Henderson, E.B. Renaud, Colin B. Goodykoontz, Joe Mills, James F. Willard, H.M. Barrett, and Irene Pettit McKeehan. *University of Colorado Semi-Centennial Series* 4:23-41. Boulder, Colorado: The University of Colorado Press.
- Repplier, F.O.  
1959 *As a Town Grows: The Schools of Boulder, Colorado, in the Pageant of the Years 1860-1959*. Boulder, Colorado: Boulder County School District No. 3.
- Richardson, Albert D.  
1867 *Beyond the Mississippi: From the Great River to the Great Ocean, Life and Adventure on the Prairies, Mountains, and Pacific Coast, 1857-1867*. New York: Bliss and Company.
- Rogers, Maria M.  
1995 *In Other Words: Oral Histories of the Colorado Frontier*. Golden, Colorado: Fulcrum Publishing.
- Schnucker, Calvin  
1983 *Glendale: Jewel of Left Hand Canyon*. Boulder, Colorado: Autsy Press.
- Schoolland, John B.  
1972 *A Pioneer Church: Being a Reverently Realistic Account of the First Presbyterian Church of Boulder, Colorado, in Its Total Pioneer Origin 1872-1972*. Boulder, Colorado: Johnson Publishing Co.
- Scott, Hugh Lenox  
1907 "The Early History and the Names of the Arapaho." *American Anthropologist*, n.s., 9:545-560.
- Smith, Phyllis  
1981 *A Look at Boulder: From Settlement to City*. Boulder, Colorado: Pruett Publishing Company.
- Stapp, Darby C. and Michael S. Burney  
2002 *Tribal Cultural Resource Management: The Full Circle to Stewardship*. Walnut Creek, California: AltaMira Press.
- Stewart, Jennie E. [compiler and editor]  
1948 *Boulder County Pioneers*. Prepared for the Arapahoe Chapter Daughters of the American Revolution, Boulder, Colorado (1946-1948).
- Stoeckly, Erika  
1938 "Boulder: A Study in Historical Geography." M.A. thesis, Department of Geology and Geography, University of Colorado, Boulder.
- Taylor, Bayard  
1989 *Colorado: A Summer Trip*. Niwot, CO: The University Press of Colorado (originally published in 1867, G.P. Putman, New York).
- Taylor, Ralph C.  
1963 Indians Harassed Settlers Along Huérfino. *Pueblo Chieftain (Pueblo Star Journal)*, Sunday, March 17, 1963, p. 8D. Pueblo, Colorado.
- Toll, Oliver W.  
1962 *Arapaho Names and Trails: A Report of a 1914 Pack Trip*. Tolland, Colorado: self-published.
- Tripp, Michael R., William G. Callahan, and Manik Hwang, editors  
1970a "Valmont Dike Natural Area Study." Department of Geography, University of Colorado, Boulder. On file, Carnegie Branch Library for Local History, Boulder, Colorado.
- Tripp, Michael R., William G. Callahan, and Manik Hwang  
1970b "Chapter 1. Introduction" in *Valmont Dike Natural Area Study*, M.R. Tripp, W.G. Callahan, and M. Hwang, editors, pp. 1-3. Department of Geography, University of Colorado, Boulder.
- Walker, Deward E. Jr.  
1985 "Synopsis of Comments on Native American Religions and Sacred Geography in the Central Rocky Mountains." Prepared for the USDI National Park Service Conference, October 29, 1985. On file, Deward E. Walker Jr., Department of Anthropology, University of Colorado, Boulder, Colorado.
- 1987 "Protection of American Indian Sacred Geography: Toward a Functional Understanding of Indian Religion Focusing on a Protective Standard of Integrity." Paper presented at the Workshop on Sacred Geography, Harvard Center for the Study of World Religions (May 5 and 6), Cambridge, Massachusetts.
- 1988 "Protecting American Indian Sacred Geography." *Northwest Anthropological Research Notes* 22(2):253-266.
- 1991 "Protection of American Indian Sacred Geography" in *Handbook of American Indian Religious Freedom*, Christopher Vecsey, editor, pp. 100-115. New York: Crossroad.

1993 "The Arkansas Mountain Ceremonial Complex." Prepared for the District Ranger, Arapaho and Roosevelt National Forests, Boulder Ranger District, Boulder, Colorado [October 22, 1993]. On file, Deward E. Walker Jr., Department of Anthropology, University of Colorado, Boulder, Colorado.

Wedel, Waldo R.

1964 "Primitive Man in the Boulder Area" in *Natural History of the Boulder Area*, Hugo G. Rodeck, editor, pp. 90-96. University of Colorado Museum *Leaflet* No. 13. Boulder, Colorado.

Weil, Jonathan

1991 "Indians Come from Near, Far: 1,000 Watch Dancing, See Crafts, Sample Native American Food." *Sunday Camera*, June 23, 1991, pp. 1A, 3A. Boulder, Colorado.

Weiss, Manuel M.

1981 "The Boulder County Historical Site Survey." U.S. Department of Interior Heritage Conservation and Recreation Service and the Boulder County Historical Society, Boulder, Colorado. On file, Office of Archaeology and Historic Preservation, Denver, Colorado.

Wendt, Charles

1964 "Valmont—Home of State's Oldest Church." *Daily Camera*, "Focus" section, Sunday, September 13, 1964, p. 24. Boulder, Colorado.

White, Pamela

2004 "American Indians Join the Descendants of Pioneers to Protect a Piece of Shared History on Common Ground." *Boulder Weekly*, Thursday, January 22, 2004, pp. 10, 11. Boulder, Colorado.

*Ordeal of Change:  
The Southern Utes and Their Neighbors<sup>1</sup>*

By Frances Leon Quintana<sup>2</sup>

With an afterword by Richard O. Clemmer<sup>3</sup>

A multi-review treatment by

Kathleen Van Vlack

Arthur L. Campa

Michael S. Burney

Counterpoint by Richard O. Clemmer

# *Ordeal of Change: The Southern Utes and Their Neighbors*<sup>1</sup>

By Frances Leon Quintana<sup>2</sup>

With an Afterword by Richard O. Clemmer<sup>3</sup>

Reviewed by Kathleen Van Vlack<sup>4</sup>

Indian people are survivors of survivors" (Luna-Firebaugh 2004). Since their arrival in the New World, European Americans subjected Native Americans to harsh colonial policies. European Americans attempted to eradicate Indian peoples and their cultures through encroachment, relocation, and acculturation often forcibly administered. Despite the hardships placed upon them, Indian peoples found ways to prevail and thrive. There is a growing body of literature that discusses American Indian persistence and strength. One book that does so is Frances Leon Quintana's *Ordeal of Change: The Southern Utes and Their Neighbors*. This book is not an ethnography, but rather a detailed ethnohistory that analyzes the impacts of European American acculturation and assimilation policies and practices on Southern Ute culture and society. How the Southern Utes were able to overcome such cultural assaults as a people is the book's fascinating story.

Frances Leon Quintana seeks to answer two questions in particular (Quintana 2004:3):

- How did the Utes survive the first fifty years of reservation life—years during which they were constantly impeded from the way they were living before and in which they were obliged to cope with a new set of rules imposed upon them?
- What conditions did the Utes face, and in what ways did these conditions change over the years?

The book draws on documents located in the Federal Records Center (FRC) in Denver, Colorado, USA. These data were first uncovered when she was working on a project at the University of Colorado at Boulder with anthropologist Omer Stewart who was known for having long standing relationships with many Indian tribes on the Colorado Plateau. FRC files consist of a series of letters, field notes, journals, interim reports, and other government documents from Indian agents, other Indian Affairs officials, and settlers. These sources provide important insights into an extremely difficult period for

the Southern Utes in particular and American Indians in general.

Quintana uses different types of data to demonstrate change and persistence among the Ute people. She effectively uses two maps as a way to demonstrate spatial change. One map shows traditional Ute territory prior to European contact. The second map depicts the contemporary Southern Ute reservation in Colorado. The comparison of the two maps shows that Ute lands were significantly reduced following contact. Also, Quintana employs statistics to emphasize the main theme in the book that the Ute people are survivors. She has an entire chapter devoted to economic change using statistical analysis. The numbers show how the Ute tribes dealt with United States allotment policy when people received land in their own names as individuals. They raised livestock, grew crops, and pursued education as in the dominant society. A table in this chapter puts forth an important difference between those who were self-sufficient and those who were still heavily dependent on government assistance. Between 1905 through 1921, 75 percent of the Ignacio Utes were considered self-supporting, so to speak. Quintana cites such a figure as evidence that the Utes continued to fight for survival and to regain control over some of their resources and their lives.

One of Quintana's strongest points is that land allotment under the Dawes Act of 1887 was very difficult for American Indians throughout the United States. Anti-Indian sentiment was high, and there was a push to force Indian people to adopt a more European American lifestyle. European American ideas of land ownership often conflicted with the more communal cultural beliefs of Native Americans. Quintana documents this struggle for the Southern Utes by getting at the core of the problems the Utes faced. She lays out the events so the reader can truly understand that the Utes were in a no-win situation, they either had to relocate or accept land loss through allotment.

The book concludes with an afterword by Richard O. Clemmer. The afterword picks up where Quintana's story ends by chronicling Southern Ute resilience into more modern times. Clemmer does an excellent job delineating Southern Ute history after the termination period associated with President Dwight Eisenhower whereby efforts were made to legally extinguish American Indian status and lands. Clemmer details the Indian Reorganization Act of 1934 and the related Self-Determination Era. Clemmer also includes a discussion on President Lyndon Johnson's Great Society program. Seemingly overlooked in other arenas that focus on American Indian federal policy, the Great Society effort had many beneficial impacts on Indian Country. Great Society programs tended to make reservations more attractive places to live and to slow down the out-migration of Indian people to urban areas. The programs were designed to reverse the effects of termination. With the implementation of the Johnson era programs, the Southern Utes were given opportunities to gain control over their own economic development and growth. Clemmer says that the Utes are trying to hold on to traditional practices and mentions their resurgence in recent years.

Missing from this book is a discussion of the effects of the disease epidemics and pandemics. Diseases had major impacts on the tribes of North America and are considered the most devastating impact of colonization. Diseases were responsible for the deaths of at least 50 percent of the populations of many tribes in North America, including the Southern Utes, and continued to impact Native American populations up until the end of World War I.

In conclusion, this book presents an empowering story. Complemented by Richard Clemmer, Frances Quintana successfully answers her two main research questions by detailing Ute hardship and poverty and the intrusion by the United States government into the Ute way of life. This book contributes to the literature on the Southern Utes and to that on the post-European contact survival of Indian peoples. It reveals a great deal of thievery and appalling behavior by the government. It reiterates the notion that the Southern Utes and other Indian peoples are *survivors of survivors* (Luna-Firebaugh 2004). The Utes

not only overcame devastating difficulties but also came to thrive as a people. The Southern Ute story shows that people can rise up and triumph over attempts at cultural genocide. ○

## Notes

1. Lanham, Maryland: Alta Mira Press, A Division of Rowman and Littlefield, Publishers, 2004. 173 pages, dedication, maps, photographs, tables, abbreviations, preface, acknowledgments, eight chapters, afterword, notes, bibliography, index, about the authors. Cloth, \$72.00 and paperback, \$24.95 U.S.

2. Frances Leon Quintana received her Ph.D. in anthropology in 1966 from the University of Colorado at Boulder. She is retired and may be reached through Richard O. Clemmer, contact information below. She served as curator of ethnology at the Museum of New Mexico, Santa Fe, New Mexico, USA.

3. Richard O. Clemmer's 1972 Ph.D. in anthropology is from the University of Illinois. He is a full professor and chairperson, Department of Anthropology, University of Denver, 146 Strum Hall, 2000 East Asbury Street, Denver, Colorado (CO) 80208-2406 USA. He may also be reached by e-mail at [rclemmer@du.edu](mailto:rclemmer@du.edu) and by telephone at 303-871-2476. He is a former Southern Ute tribal employee.

4. Kathleen Van Vlack's 2004 B.A. in anthropology was awarded by the University of Arizona at Tucson. She may be reached at the Anthropology Building, Room 319, Bureau of Applied Research in Anthropology (BARA), University of Arizona, P.O. Box 210030, Tucson, Arizona (AZ) 85721-0030 USA, at [kvanvlas@u.arizona.edu](mailto:kvanvlas@u.arizona.edu) by e-mail, and at 520-621-2462 by telephone. She is a graduate research assistant at BARA and attends graduate school in anthropology at the University of Arizona.

## References Cited

- Luna-Firebaugh, Eileen  
2004 "Development of Federal Indian Policy," American Indian Studies Course Number 584. Lecture given on August 24, 2004, by Professor Eileen Luna-Firebaugh. Tucson, Arizona: University of Arizona.

# *Ordeal of Change: The Southern Utes and Their Neighbors<sup>1</sup>*

By Frances Leon Quintana<sup>2</sup>

With an Afterword by Richard O. Clemmer<sup>3</sup>

Reviewed by Arthur L. Campa<sup>4</sup>

In her book *Ordeal of Change: The Southern Utes and Their Neighbors*, Frances Leon Quintana documents the abusive treatment experienced by the Southern Ute in the American Southwest resulting from federal Indian policies as well as from the actions of European American settlers from 1877 through 1926. The Ute endured and survived this generally unjust treatment and successfully adapted to change. The federal government's attempt to assimilate the tribe and to force boarding school attendance of Ute children, occasionally resulting in death, failed to shake the foundations of Ute culture. Indeed, we see what Quintana refers to as the persistence and elasticity of Ute culture during this period. Quintana provides a statistical survey to measure and analyze the brunt impact upon the Southern Ute of relocation efforts and land redistribution. Even the compulsory relocation and forced allotment of their land failed to break the spirit of the Ute people.

Such federal Indian policies in effect for what amounts to a half-century caused severe hardships and loss of life among the Ute. The unkept promises and failure to deliver even the minimum food rations characterized these Indian policies during the period of 1877 through 1926. Part of this effort was expressly intended to "civilize" the Ute culture by replacing it with Anglo-American culture, though without citizen status. The plan was to erase the Ute nomadic hunting life by the imposition of Western landownership and farming practices. Yet, the federal government was neither consistent nor organized in its attempt to forcibly change the Ute way of life. Nor were the Ute reticent and inactive during this period. They sought out allies among the local southwestern Hispanic populations and other American Indian tribes in the region to support and maintain an overall united effort to preserve their culture and society.

During this ordeal of change, the Ute acquired valuable experience in interacting with

federal representatives and settlers despite the deprivations and arbitrary nature of the federal Indian policies. The Ute with the support of neighboring groups managed to gain political, economic, and educational advantage concerning their fate. The skill and adaptive efforts of the Ute to survive throughout these years led to greater future security for themselves.

As a consequence of past actions, there are ongoing legal efforts today to recover billions of dollars of tribal funds misappropriated or mismanaged by the federal government. This financial phase is seemingly the final episode of the ordeal of change. It is an insult, if you will, to the Ute in the context of decades of government efforts seemingly systematically to undermine, defraud, and strip the Ute of their culture, their pride and dignity, and lastly their income by way of their wealth and property.

In his afterword to the book, Richard Clemmer succinctly analyzes events from 1926 to the present in terms of a wider national context compared to Quintana's more detailed focus on the transitional period of the Ute under late 19th century and early 20th century Anglo-American contact and manipulation. Together Quintana and Clemmer offer a carefully researched and thoroughly enlightening book to understand the Ute experience with the western expansion of the United States. Through it, we can better appreciate the fortitude and resiliency of this American Indian tribe to survive in the face of persistent opposition, deception, and forced relocation. ○

## Notes

1. Lanham, Maryland: Alta Mira Press, A Division of Rowman and Littlefield, Publishers, 2004. 173 pages, dedication, maps, photographs, tables, abbreviations, preface, acknowledgments, eight chapters, afterword, notes, bibliography, index, about the authors. Cloth, \$72.00 and paperback, \$24.95 U.S.

2. Frances Leon Quintana received her Ph.D. in anthropology in 1966 from the University of Colorado at Boulder. She is retired and may be reached through Richard O. Clemmer, contact information below. She served as curator of ethnology at the Museum of New Mexico, Santa Fe, New Mexico, USA.

3. Richard O. Clemmer's 1972 Ph.D. in anthropology is from the University of Illinois. He is a full professor and chairperson, Department of Anthropology, University of Denver, 146 Strum Hall, 2000 East Asbury Street, Denver, Colorado (CO) 80208-2406 USA. He may also be reached by e-mail at [rclemmer@du.edu](mailto:rclemmer@du.edu) and by telephone at 303-871-2476. He is a former Southern Ute tribal employee.

4. Arthur L. Campa was awarded his Ph.D. in anthropology in 1980 by the University of Colorado at Boulder. He may be reached at 498 Burland Drive, Bailey, Colorado (CO) 80421-1809 USA, at [arthur.campa@att.net](mailto:arthur.campa@att.net) by e-mail, and at 303-556-6231 by telephone at his office. He serves as a full professor of anthropology at the Metropolitan State College of Denver as well as co-director of its College Assistance Migrant Program (CAMP). He also directs Peruvian Eco-sustainable Research and Understanding (PERU), a non-governmental organization (NGO) to help peasant farmers in Peru become more self-sufficient. He has worked with the Southern Utes during his career.



# *Ordeal of Change: The Southern Utes and Their Neighbors*<sup>1</sup>

By Frances Leon Quintana<sup>2</sup>

With an Afterword by Richard O. Clemmer<sup>3</sup>

Reviewed by Michael S. Burney<sup>4</sup>

I accepted the invitation to review *Ordeal of Change: The Southern Utes and Their Neighbors*, by Francis Leon Quintana without hesitation for several reasons. I am a former student of the late Omer C. Stewart, a distinguished anthropology professor at the University of Colorado at Boulder; I have worked with a variety of Indian tribes since 1987; and during the early 1990s, I worked with the Southern Ute, Ute Mountain Ute, Northern Ute, and Jicarilla Apache. My good friend, colleague, and the previous historian for the Southern Ute Tribe, Alden B. Naranjo, authored the foreword for a recent work undertaken on behalf of Valmont Butte, Boulder County, Colorado (Burney, Danenberg, and Affleck 2004). Lastly, I have lived in Taos, New Mexico, for the past nine years—in the country of the Taos and Picurís Pueblos, Ute, Jicarilla Apache, and Navajo Reservations, and certain communities of Hispanic ethnicity. Cimarron, New Mexico, a short distance east of Taos, was one of the Indian Agency headquarters for the Utes and Jicarilla Apache. This short, beautiful drive takes you over Palo Flechado Pass and across the Moreno Valley past Angel Fire and Eagle Nest, through Cimarron State Park, and, finally, into the small, historic community of Cimarron.

Quintana notes how the Utes and Jicarilla Apache spent their summers camping in the area of what is now called the Great Sand Dunes National Park and Preserve, Colorado, nestled against the west flank of the Sangre de Cristo Mountains along the east side of the San Luis Valley (p. 67). A lake near the Great Sand Dunes is where Pueblo Indians from Arizona and New Mexico traditionally believe

their souls emerge from the underworld at birth... By that lake their souls return to the underworld after death (Brigham 1931:39).

The National Park Service acknowledges that the Jicarilla Apache continue their ancient tradition of collecting sand from the dunes for ceremonial

uses. Frequently, cars and vans of Arapaho, Cheyenne, Comanche, Kiowa, and Pawnee from Oklahoma are seen as they travel through Taos. Their individual tribal license plates easily identify their place of origin.

As noted in her volume (p. 3), Frances Quintana was a student of Omer Call Stewart (1908–1991) while completing her Ph.D. studies at the University of Colorado at Boulder. She received her degree in 1966. Omer Stewart was a handsome man, distinguished yet approachable as an applied anthropologist who spent the better part of his life working with and for Indian people on various projects. Stewart began his incredible career at the University of Colorado at Boulder in 1945, serving as the Department of Anthropology's first chairperson (Cassells 1997:317–318). I had the honor of knowing him and privilege of attending his last class (Native American Religions) prior to his retirement as a professor emeritus in 1974.

I spent many hours visiting with Dr. Stewart while he continued to visit his university office and library during his retirement. In time, Omer gave me a key to his office, inviting me to access his priceless collection of data culled during his years of fieldwork with the Ute and other tribes. His research is well known and his publications on the Ute, as well as championing the right to use peyote among native peoples. Out of admiration and respect for him and the sanctity of his office I never used that key. I just could not go in without him being there. But I still have it in my possession as a keepsake.

Stewart passed away in 1991, and I was honored to attend his memorial service on January 25, 1992, at the Unitarian Universalist Church in Boulder. An extraordinarily humanistic anthropologist and devoted follower of the peyote road, he profoundly influenced my outlook of what anthropology would eventually become for me—a life of working with native peoples using both grassroots and academic platforms to further their goals. Omer was proud of the fact that he

had been excommunicated from the Mormon Church. He inspired many people over the course of his life and career.

While at the University of Colorado, Quintana provided assistance to Stewart, who was working with the Southern Ute Agency records archived at the Records Center (FRC) in Denver, Colorado, as part of a Tri-Ethnic Project. Her effort was published in Stewart's *Ethnohistorical Bibliography of the Ute Indians of Colorado* as "Appendix A, Analysis of Records of the Southern Ute Agency, 1877 through 1952, National Archives RG 75" (Stewart 1971). I have a copy in my office and have relied on it many times for its valuable and useful information. Quintana previously published *Pobladores: Hispanic Americans of the Ute Frontier* in 1991, which also came out as a second revised edition, *Los Primeros Pobladores: Hispanic Americans of the Ute Frontier* (Quintana 1991).

During her work at the Denver Federal Records Center Quintana compiled data on the first 50 years (1877–1926) of the Southern Ute Agency located on the Pine River (Río de los Pinos), where the present-day community of Ignacio, Colorado, now stands. These records, alongside informant recollections, provide the basis for this volume—a penetrating and candid look at a small group of native people, ancestral to Colorado, known as the Utes. (The Utes were not just ancestral to Colorado but to Wyoming, New Mexico, Utah, and other states as well.)

Despite being stereotyped as a so-called mountain people, abundant evidence shows that Utes were just as comfortable hunting buffalo and living on the plains, as were later tribes such as the more publicized Arapaho, Cheyenne, Comanche, and Kiowa. Although the expansive "parks" of Colorado, including the San Luis Valley, are within the central Rocky Mountains, they exhibit a plains-like environment known as *game bags*, replete with vast herds of buffalo, elk, deer, bear, mountain sheep, coyotes, wolves, and other animals traditionally used by indigenous inhabitants.

Quintana's detailed and methodical research using the federal records mentioned above in her empirical analysis of the Southern Ute Agency effectively demonstrates the terrible hardships the Utes were routinely forced to endure. Chapter 5, "Statistics of Change," provides five tables

regarding vital statistics, education, livestock, property and livelihood, and the ratio of self-support to dependency.

*Ordeal of Change* is divided into four sections. Section One, comprised of four chapters, uses the archives of the Denver Federal Records Center for the Southern Ute Agency between 1877 and 1926 to investigate (1) the forced relocation of the Ute, primarily to Oklahoma or Utah but, in any case, *out of Colorado*; (2) the further taking of aboriginal lands through allotments to individuals, amounting to legal theft of tribal land; (3) the subsequent land and water issues that resulted from that theft; and (4) the powers exerted by the various Bureau of Indian Affairs administrators during this time period. Section Two provides a statistical approach to bolster Quintana's observations and conclusions. Section Three offers an analysis of the preceding statistical data, and Section Four contains Richard O. Clemmer's thoughtful and insightful afterword that serves as an epilogue.

Clemmer, a former tribal employee of the Southern Ute and currently a full professor of anthropology at the University of Denver, minces no words when providing an emotional but informed and honest portrayal of what the Ute experienced during their reservation history as a result of the assimilation policy of the federal government. Through the Allotment Act of 1887, also known as the Dawes Act for Senator Henry L. Dawes of Massachusetts, which, among other provisions, isolated Indian children in boarding schools; through the Indian Reorganization Act (IRA) of 1934, which was conceived by Commissioner of Indian Affairs John Collier; through the era of so-called termination of President Dwight Eisenhower; and through relocating Indians from their reservations to selected cities via designated urban relocation programs, the design was to "de-Indianize the Indians—that is, to make them into rural farmers of Christian faith" (pp. 115–116). Ironically, after all that has taken place since European contact and confinement on their reservation in 1877, the Ute Indian is still an Indian. As Clemmer optimistically shares, the Southern Ute Tribe has prevailed, remaining a viable cultural identity with a future.

To Quintana's credit, she offers her volume to

the emergence of a generation of young tribal scholars who intend to reexamine the history of their people for the benefit of future generations (p. xiii).

And, secondly, she offers it as a data base supportive of indigenous plaintiff's claims that

through negligence or malice, tribal funds may have been systematically looted under the aegis of the United States government. If this work can in any way help to redress these wrongs, it will make the long road from research to publication well worth it (pp. xiii-xiv).

Quintana's use of primary-source information, supplemented with oral recollections recorded between 1960 and 1962, has, indeed, provided a valuable contribution to these ends.

Quintana acknowledges research questions in *Ordeal of Change* that include:

- How did the Utes survive the first 50 years of reservation life? And
- What conditions did they face and in what ways did these conditions change over the years? (p. 3).

Quintana's approach is to look at the cultural dynamics between the Southern Ute and their multi-cultural neighbors, primarily Hispanic. She examines United States government policies, and the administrators who were selected to uphold and enforce them, exposing aspects of indigenous reservation history generally glossed over or dismissed entirely.

The recent history of Colorado's native heritage, prior to and after European contact, most often appears to be of little consequence to the general public. This is not surprising in that this lack of interest carries over to Colorado's history overall. One drive through Colorado's rapidly urbanizing Front Range corridor from Fort Collins south to Pueblo quickly suggests why the intricacies addressed in *Ordeal of Change* may be of little interest to the general population. Lamentably, the same may be said of the overall cultural-resource management (CRM) community on such lands as public lands and Indian lands. Too few CRM studies devote enough attention to anthropology, ethnohistory, or history as it applies to contemporary Indians.

Deward E. Walker Jr. has been asserting this for years in his anthropology classes at the University of Colorado at Boulder. There are notable exceptions, of course. Archaeologists who have extensive experience working with Indian tribes are more numerous now than ever and increasingly make notable contributions to "tribal CRM" (Stapp and Burney 2002).

In the past, however, contract archaeologists, myself included, have understandably concentrated primarily on satisfying their federal permit requirements and focusing their efforts on recording cultural resources 50 years old or older. They assess the eligibility of those resources for the National Register of Historic Places, proposing data recovery or mitigation strategies designed to facilitate the host project's completion while "preserving" the now-extant site or sites. Sadly, American Indians have traditionally had little to do with this historic-preservation process. Starting around the early 1970s, though, tribes began taking greater control of their cultural resources. Three recent volumes—*Indigenous Archaeology: American Indian Values and Scientific Practice* (Watkins 2000), *Tribal Cultural Resource Management: the Full Circle to Stewardship* (Stapp and Burney 2002), and *Native Americans and Archaeologists: Stepping Stones to Common Ground* (Swidler et al. 2003)—punctuate this trend.

A number of tribes are now operating under the certification of the United States Department of the Interior as tribal historic preservation offices with jurisdiction on their respective federally recognized Indian reservations. Many other tribes handle their cultural-resource needs through other mechanisms, such as elder's committees, tribal archaeological and historical preservation programs, cultural committees, Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act (NAGPRA) representatives, and so on. This trend of American Indians participating more fully in cultural-resource management issues requires a greater understanding of the tribes that predominate today, including the Southern Utes.

The Southern Ute and Ute Mountain Ute nations are the only two land-based federally recognized Indian tribes in Colorado; and these reservations have been drastically reduced over time, effectively isolating them in the extreme

southwestern part of the state. Although prominent in this Four Corners part of the world where the states of Utah, Colorado, New Mexico, and Arizona come together and share a geographic point, their influence is considerably diluted elsewhere. While the Southern Ute and Ute Mountain Ute were able to remain in Colorado, the Northern Ute were removed to their present-day reservation, located in Fort Duchesne, Utah.

The stunning native architecture found throughout Arizona, Colorado, New Mexico, and Utah contribute immensely to the general citizenry's appreciation for America's non-renewable prehistoric and historic peoples, as well as their culture and remaining resources. Nevertheless, outside these highly visible remnants of the past, the public exhibits little concern toward the well being of Colorado's cultural resources—or American Indians, for that matter. No blame or collective shame is intended in this observation. It is just that these topics have little real exposure in a public venue and are overlooked in today's busy and uncertain technology/information/cyber-oriented world in favor of other, more compelling priorities. Gaming may be one exception.

Authors Quintana and Clemmer admirably take on the very complex, heart wrenching, and all too often forgotten history of reservation-confined American Indians and their ability to survive under deplorable conditions and yet adapt and remain a distinct people and culture. The rate of cultural transformation experienced by the Southern Ute, as well as indigenous peoples in general, since European contact is unfathomable. Prior to the horse reintroduced to North America by the Spanish, they, like everyone else, were on foot. But their ancestral range encompassed at least 225,000 square miles in northern New Mexico, all of Colorado, eastern Utah, and southern Wyoming. They survived without steel, guns, kettles, knives, and the like. Of course, they also did without venereal diseases, alcohol, processed flour and sugar (central ingredients of the currently vilified fry bread), or commercial tobacco. In less than 200 years, the Utes evolved from a pedestrian to an equestrian people. They readily adopted the horse and riding accoutrement initially introduced by the Spanish.

As Quintana illustrates, the Utes had several centuries of experience with the Spanish prior to

any significant contact with Americans. Besides the Spanish, a few of their other well-known cultural contacts (and, with Ute concurrence, newly accepted tribal members) included the Jicarilla Apache, Navajo, Comanche, Taos and Picuris Pueblos, Paiute, and Oglala Sioux. Naturally, for several centuries considerable intermarrying and cultural exchange took place among the Utes, Spanish, and others. Quintana observes as much, even to the degree that

Some features of Hispanic kin organization were parallel to traditional Ute practice (p. 82).

The 1868 Treaty provided

any 'friendly' Indians whom the Utes might choose to admit to their reservation were to be included in the benefits of the Treaty (p. 83).

In addition, religious movements such as the Ghost Dance, Sun Dance, and Peyote Religion brought the Ute into close contact with other tribes as well: The Northern Ute with the Oglala Sioux and Wind River Eastern Shoshone and the Kiowa and Cheyenne-Arapaho of Oklahoma with the Southern Utes (pp. 83–84).

Whereas the Spanish were more accustomed to the Ute way of doing things, which fostered a mutual respect and acceptance of one another, the newly arrived Americans and their United States government generally found the Ute people and their way of life intolerable—something to be extinguished or confined and tightly regulated. Despite the Utes' several centuries of familiarity with the Spanish, the United States government discouraged or outright forbade their Ute captives from continuing their pre-confinement relationships with their Spanish friends. Rather, the Utes were required to closely conform to the Anglo model of an industrious Christian man taking part in farming and ranching pursuits. More to the point, perhaps, Quintana suggests that Hispanic employees were not held in high esteem by agency personnel because they

did not put the required degree of pressure upon the Utes *to hustle*, but rather worked with them at their own pace" (p. 81; *emphasis mine*).

Anyone with any experience working with or for

Indian tribes will immediately realize the folly of thinking Indians could be molded into any kind of Anglo-inspired model.

And yet, as noted by Quintana, if anyone were able to convince the Utes of the benefits of agricultural pursuits it would have been their old Hispanic neighbors, not the federal government. In fact, Quintana reports that soon after the founding of the Southern Ute Agency on the Río de los Pinos,

Hispanic Americans from communities in northern New Mexico and...the San Luis Valley...began to arrive (p. 78).

It is hardly surprising that the Hispanics converged on the new agency, considering the long history already established between the Hispanics and Utes of southern Colorado and northern New Mexico. Cross-cultural sharing, adoption, and modification had long taken place between the Ute and Spanish. The realistic ability of the newly arrived Europeans to quickly replace this longstanding relationship proved ill conceived.

With their numbers dramatically reduced, including many Ute elders who possessed the preponderance of oral history information; the land base of the Utes inconceivably shrunk; their traditional subsistence and lifestyle dangerously on the brink of collapse; and their traditional government and laws, social institutions, and other traditional components of their ancestral culture under assault made for a bleak picture. For the first time in their tribal history, their lives and well-being were now completely out of their control. If indeed there was a future for the Ute, it was unknown.

Quintana painfully takes us through the federal government's early attempts to acculturate the indigenous Ute hunter-gatherers into a farming-based economy and culture—in short, an Anglo farmer and/or rancher mode. At the same time the non-Utes could not have cared less what the Utes did as long as they did it in Utah—or anywhere else for that matter (p. 76).

To become fully rehabilitated, acculturated, and socialized, the Indian would be required to undergo a nearly impossible transformation. For example, adopting a cash economy and sense of private property are prerequisites to transforming oneself from an indigenous citizen of nature

into a civilized, "God-fearing" Christian instilled with a spirit to work the land, "harness nature," and acquire wealth in money, livestock, and goods. The traditional form of sharing was now viewed as a liability, rather than an asset.

Naturally, achieving this transformation required accepting a fixed residence, something completely foreign to hunter-gatherer societies. Assimilation might also include disenfranchising oneself from one's indigenous group, extended family, or tribe; renouncing one's native language, religion, and ceremony; and buying into "democracy" and Christianity. The bottom line—get rid of the Indian thing!

Indian boarding schools were seen by Anglos as vital to meet such a goal. By removing the child from his or her natural environment, s/he could more easily be molded into at least the likeness of an Anglo child. Many an Indian child, however, sickened and died. Quintana notes that between 1883 and 1885 at the Albuquerque Indian School, 12 out of 27 schoolchildren perished, including Ignacio's last child (pp. 18–20).

Native religious practices likewise were dissuaded by the dominant Anglo culture. Shamanistic medicine, once common among the Utes, became rare and is thought to have died out altogether in the 1960s. Christianity was embraced by some of the Utes, while others continue to adhere to other forms of religious belief and ceremony, such as the spring Bear Dance, the borrowed Sun Dance, and the Peyote Road.

Once the Utes were "pinned down" on their respective Colorado reservations, it was only a matter of time before various schemes were devised to "lawfully" steal more Indian land. The Allotment Act of 1887 was just one of endless means to accomplish the theft of Indian lands and resources. In any case, who was going to effectively oppose this seemingly inevitable course of history?

Quintana authoritatively examines the often conflicting and self-serving interests of the various agency superintendents who administered the disposal or "sale" of Indian lands for any number of contrived reasons under "Administrators' Conflicting Interests," (pp. 34–42). For example, one "reason" for disposing of inherited lands was termed "non-competent" lands, which was land in the hands of Indians who were

judged incompetent to become farmers (p. 32). "Surplus lands" also could be sold out from under the Indians. These lands were "left over" after relocating tribes to smaller reserves elsewhere, thereby opening up their "surplus reservation" to private ownership (pp. 51–52).

The Indians also had to contend with the high turnover of agents, superintendents, and clerks. During the first 50 years of reservation history, the 22 agents, superintendents, and their superiors repeatedly used their controlling authority to exact obedience from the Southern Ute. Although there are any number of well-meaning, dutiful superintendents, the system was nevertheless prone to abuse and graft—frequently with severe consequences to the Ute, who only expected the United States to fairly and reasonably comply with the terms of their 1868 treaty and Brunot Agreement of 1874.

Rations, annuities, and cash from Indian individual accounts could be dispersed or withheld depending on the superintendent's disposition and circumstances at the time. And beginning with the work-for-rations ruling of 1875, there was the newly conceived notion that able-bodied Utes were required to provide labor in exchange for their rations (p. 75). Nothing in the 1868 treaty or the 1874 Brunot Agreement stipulated that the Utes would be so required. Here again, the federal government made significant policy changes impacting the Ute without their prior knowledge, understanding, or consent. In the end,

While the purpose of the Agency was to guide changes leading to self-support among the Utes, its functions perpetuated dependency (p. 76).

Today, just as in the past, many Anglos taking up residence near Indian reservations have little or no previous experience, socially or professionally, interacting with these unique cultures—particularly within the jurisdiction of federally recognized Indian reservations fully exercising their sovereign authority. Then again, many Anglos have resided in proximity to reservations for several generations, successfully socializing and working with their Indian neighbors. Regardless, despite federal government efforts at intervention, it was noted for 1926 that

in the eyes of Agency personnel and Anglo-American neighbors, they remained stubbornly, irritatingly, and obnoxiously Ute (p. 3).

In Colorado, the Pike's Peak Gold Rush of 1858–1859 dramatically accelerated the contact between native peoples and Europeans from the East. The soon-to-follow discovery of gold within the San Juan Mountains of southwestern Colorado further doomed the Ute to additional reduction of their aboriginal lands and priceless natural and cultural resources. Interestingly, despite the Brunot Agreement's recognizing the Utes' right to hunt animals and gather wild plants on the lands they had ceded, such as the San Juan Mountains, they were effectively prevented from doing so by claims to private land ownership, fences, intimidation, and violence (p. 1). Alongside the extreme diminishment of their aboriginal landholdings, within less than 20 years, all of Colorado's native tribes were vastly reduced in numbers through disease, starvation, exposure to the elements, warfare, abuse, confinement, and relocation to foreign and hostile environments.

In hindsight, Colorado's Utes stood no chance against such a backdrop of forced cultural change. The sheer numbers of immigrants and goods moving into the West would allow no other outcome than cultural genocide or removal. Yet despite all odds against them, and an ideology for their extinction, the Southern Utes have survived and continue to flourish. As noted in the preface by Quintana and in the afterword by Clemmer, agriculture, oil and gas production, other extractions based upon mineral rights, and tourism, with the Sky Ute Lodge and Casino, are integral parts of the Southern Ute's stable economic future (pp. xiii and 129–131).

If my tone appears overly harsh and critical of how history has treated the Utes, it is unavoidable. Humans and their societies and cultures are a part of nature; and as beautiful and harmonious as nature daily appears, it can also express itself in chaos and disharmony. Although I could understand, to the degree anyone can, why bad things were apparently unavoidable among people and peoples, I never could really accept the fact. In truth, although I began reading

about American Indians soon after learning to read, I made a conscious effort to stop subjecting myself to that period in our country's history that has been portrayed as free and glamorous but was, in fact, so terribly sad and tragic for America's native and non-native participants.

Quintana's *Ordeal of Change: The Southern Utes and Their Neighbors*, alongside Clemmer's epilogue, portrays one Indian tribe's experience encountering a vastly different people, both incomprehensible and irreconcilable, along with new traditions, beliefs, technology, and culture; and they do it with candor and an honest sense of duty and justice. I applaud their careful and methodical use of the written record, informant recollections, and personal hands-on experience with the Southern Utes in preparing this work.

The volume makes a significant contribution to the Ute, specifically the Southern Ute, for education, research, and the ever-looming need for legal action. The book also makes a worthwhile contribution to contract archaeologists and anthropologists working in Colorado; federal land managers administering aboriginal Ute lands and resources; Colorado residents, particularly those residing in the southern and southwestern regions of the state; and politicians, including Colorado's governor and staff, to provide them with a quick study of the Southern Utes since their forced confinement on their reservation in 1877.

Is not all of this just water under the bridge, so to speak, and of little historical interest or contemporary applicability? Yes and no. The past is just that. But while we cannot change the past, we can use it to learn about the present and the future. Or at least that is the desired outcome of *Ordeal of Change: The Southern Utes and Their Neighbors*. The book reminds and helps us revisit a not-so-comfortable time in our state's early history through examining the Southern Utes' past. I cannot say I enjoyed reading what Quintana and Clemmer exposed about the sufferings and privations of Colorado's Utes. I have always been uncomfortable revisiting this period of history, but I am glad I did. Quintana and Clemmer provide a great deal of detailed information in *Ordeal of Change* that was new to me. As a result I would like to think that I myself could be a better neighbor to the Utes. ○

## Notes

1. Lanham, Maryland: Alta Mira Press, A Division of Rowman and Littlefield, Publishers, 2004. 173 pages, dedication, maps, photographs, tables, abbreviations, preface, acknowledgments, eight chapters, afterword, notes, bibliography, index, about the authors. Cloth, \$72.00 and paperback, \$24.95 U.S.

2. Frances Leon Quintana received her Ph.D. in anthropology in 1966 from the University of Colorado at Boulder. She is retired and may be reached through Richard O. Clemmer, contact information below. She served as curator of ethnology at the Museum of New Mexico, Santa Fe, New Mexico, USA.

3. Richard O. Clemmer's 1972 Ph.D. in anthropology is from the University of Illinois. He is a full professor and chairperson, Department of Anthropology, University of Denver, 146 Strum Hall, 2000 East Asbury Street, Denver, Colorado (CO) 80208-2406 USA. He may also be reached by e-mail at [rclemmer@du.edu](mailto:rclemmer@du.edu) and by telephone at 303-871-2476. He is a former Southern Ute tribal employee.

4. Michael S. Burney obtained his M.A. in anthropology in 1991 from the University of Colorado at Boulder with an emphasis in western United States prehistory. He may be reached at Burney and Associates, P.O. Box 2329, Taos, New Mexico (NM) 87571-2329 USA, at 505-737-9497 by telephone, and at [michaelsburney@yahoo.com](mailto:michaelsburney@yahoo.com) by e-mail.

## References Cited

Brigham, Lillian Rice

1931 *Historical Guide to Colorado: A Pilgrimage Over the Old Trails to Outstanding Sites and Landmarks*. Denver, Colorado: State Executive Board and Colorado Society, Daughters of the American Revolution.

Burney, Michael S., Joyce Danenberg, and Carol Affleck

2004 "A Class I File and Literature Search on Indians and Native Sacred Sites for the Valmont Butte Area, Boulder County, and Northern Colorado Front Range." Foreword by Alden B. Naranjo. Denver, Colorado: On file, Colorado Office of Archaeology and Historic Preservation.



Cassells, E. Steve

- 1997 *The Archaeology of Colorado*. Revised edition. First published in 1983. Boulder, Colorado: Johnson Books.

Quintana, Frances Leon

- 1991 *Los Primeros Pobladores: Hispanic Americans of the Ute Frontier*. Second revised edition, Notre Dame, Indiana: University of Notre Dame Press. Aztec, New Mexico: first published by the author as *Pobladores: Hispanic Americans of the Ute Frontier*.

Stapp, Darby C., and Michael S. Burney

- 2002 *Tribal Cultural Resource Management: The Full Circle to Stewardship*, Walnut Creek, California: Alta Mira Press, A Division of Rowman and Littlefield, Publishers.

Stewart, Omer C.

- 1971 *Ethnohistorical Bibliography of the Ute Indians of Colorado* (with Appendix A, "Analysis of Records of the Southern Ute Agency, 1877 through 1952, National Archives RG 75, in the Federal Records Center, Denver, Colorado," by Francis L. Swadesh [Quintana]; and Appendix B, "Colorado and Out-of-State Newspaper Articles on Ute Indians," by Omer C. Stewart). *University of Colorado Studies Series in Anthropology Number 18*. Boulder, Colorado: University of Colorado Press.

Swidler, Nina, Kurt E. Dongoske, Roger Anyon, and Alan S. Downer, editors

- 2003 *Native Americans and Archaeologists: Stepping Stones to Common Ground*. Walnut Creek, California: Alta Mira Press, A Division of Rowman and Littlefield, Publishers. First published in 1997.

Watkins, Joe

- 2000 *Indigenous Archaeology: American Indian Values and Scientific Practice*. Walnut Creek, California: Alta Mira Press, A Division of Rowman and Littlefield, Publishers. First published in 2000.

# *Ordeal of Change: The Southern Utes and Their Neighbors*<sup>1</sup>

By Frances Leon Quintana<sup>2</sup>

With an Afterword by Richard O. Clemmer<sup>3</sup>

Reviews Counterpointed by Richard O. Clemmer

Speaking also for Frances Quintana, we are appreciative of the positive and well-informed assessments by reviewers Kathleen Van Vlack, Michael Burney and Arthur Campa. Van Vlack brings up a point that unfortunately was not directly addressed in *Ordeal of Change*—a discussion of the effects of disease epidemics in the 19th and early 20th centuries. If data on other Native American groups in the West can be used for comparison, these were most likely smallpox in the mid-19th century and measles in reservation times. Smallpox affected the Hopi and Zuni periodically throughout the mid-19th century. Census counts do not start for the Southern Utes until 1880, but if agents' estimates can be taken at face value, it seems there were a total 1,520 Weeminuche, Moache and Capota who periodically came to the Cimarron and Abiquiú Agencies in 1874 (Leland 1986:609). By 1887, when the three bands had been settled on the reservation in southwestern Colorado, there were only 985 and this number holds more or less steady until 1894 when there is an increase to 1,016. By 1896, the population is reported as 1,159 (*Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs* 1896). It seems unlikely that this increase could have been through births alone; probably there was some population added from the "Blanding Paiutes," some of whom eventually came to be known as the "Allen Canyon Utes."

But the revealing population figures for the three bands are for the following decade. The population decreases: to 1,137 in 1897; 1,001 in 1897; 941 in 1901; 896 in 1904; and 807 in 1907 (*Annual Reports of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs* 1897, 1901, 1904, 1907). By 1910, numbers have dwindled to 698 (Leland 1986:612). Over a period of 16 years, this is a 40 percent population loss; if the 1874 figure is accurate, it is a 54 percent reduction within less than two generations. Although I do not have statistics for Ute Mountain, the Southern Ute population continued to

decline. In her book *Southern Ute Women*, Katherine M.B. Osburn (1998:76)<sup>4</sup> lists the population as 362; by 1922, it is down to 329, reflecting a further 9 percent decline. The 1874 figure of 1,520 may be somewhat inflated, but it is not at all unlikely that smallpox devastated the bands shortly before or after their freedom was severely curtailed and they were forcibly relocated to the confines of a greatly reduced territory.

In reservation times, smallpox continued to plague the Southern Ute population as did tuberculosis and venereal disease (Osburn 1998:76). Measles may also have been a big killer, especially of children, well into the 20th century, if comparative data from other reservations are relevant. On the Fort Hall Reservation in southern Idaho, for example, a measles epidemic wiped out 20 percent of the population in 1917. Ironically, children living at the boarding school were largely unaffected. Agency personnel blamed the epidemic's mortality on unheated tents since three-quarters of the highly mobile Shoshone-Bannock population still used tents as dwellings (Heaton 2005:179). Although the Mountain Utes had begun to favor Navajo-style hogans by the early 20th century and two housing construction projects in the 1890s and 1920s supplied a handful of Southern Utes with log cabins and clapboard houses, by the 1930s most of the Southern Utes were still living in tents. If the epidemiology of measles among the Southern Utes was similar to that among the Shoshone-Bannock, successive measles outbreaks among children could have been mostly responsible for the continual population downturn.

Michael Burney's personal reminiscences and comments provide an insightful context to Frances Quintana's work. "...Colorado's native heritage", he says, "appears to be of little consequence to the general public." At the time that Frances (then Frances Swadesh) undertook her research while working on the interdisciplinary Tri-Ethnic Research Project, headed by Omer

Stewart, this was undoubtedly the case. Both Ute Tribes were still dealing with government muleteers who were riding herd on tribes under the "Termination or Rehabilitation" mandate. This policy anticipated that tribes such as the Utes would be targeted for enough "rehabilitation" until they were fit enough to be abolished! Frances sought to show that the Indian Bureau had never had an informed grasp of who the Utes were and the degree to which they were charting their own destiny and to which they used the Indian Bureau and its resources for their own purposes, not the government's. Thanks to Gary Cooper and John Wayne, the general public was, at that time, of the opinion that Indians were already largely vanished, except perhaps for a few quaint and colorful desert-dwellers in Arizona and New Mexico, and if the Utes had been brought to termination, only the general public in La Plata and Montezuma counties would have noticed.

But I disagree with Burney's assertion that the Utes' existence and Native American heritage generally still goes largely unnoticed. Three pieces of legislation have brought the Ute Tribes at least onto the horizon of the public's consciousness, if not into its full gaze. One is the legislation that finally funded the Animas-La Plata Project. As the most major waterworks project undertaken by the Army Corps of Engineers (aside from the rebuilding it will hopefully accomplish for the levees in New Orleans) in many years—and perhaps the last one that will be undertaken by its overseer, the Bureau of Reclamation—the project attracted the attention of the conservation movement. As a result, a lively debate ensued over the anticipated consequences and purposes of the project that attracted some attention not only in Colorado but also in Washington, District of Columbia.

The second piece of legislation is the Indian Gaming Act of 1988. For better or worse, the Utes are now on the recreation map of leisure consumers who "casino hop" up and down the Rocky Mountain spine, from Black Hawk to Sandia Pueblo. Finally, there is the Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act of 1990 (NAGPRA). This law grabbed the public's attention with the discovery of so-called Kennewick Man and the debate and controversy that

raged in its wake. The Utes have not gotten involved in a controversy such as the Columbia Plateau Tribes have done with Kennewick, but the issue has generally enhanced public awareness that Native Americans have a stake in interpreting the past because what is past for the public is very much a part of Native Americans' identities and self-definitions.

As Burney notes, NAGPRA has brought Native Americans much more participation in the cultural resource management (CRM) process, and thus also more into the public eye. In most parts of Colorado, the Ute Tribes have standing as the primary consultants when archaeological sites are identified. Although CRM usually does happen literally and figuratively on the fringes of the general public's backyard, the advance of suburbia to the borders of national forests in many places in Colorado has the potential to bring the consultation process into the awareness of even the gated elite. As both Ute Tribes continue to grow their economic power through judicious management of revenues from fossil fuel exploitation and gaming, they will likely make their political presence increasingly known.

And as Arthur Campa notes, the Utes will also benefit as plaintiffs to the legal efforts, spearheaded by the Native American Rights Fund based in Boulder, Colorado, to secure financial redress for thousands of individuals whose personal accounts and property have been thoroughly mismanaged by the federal government. I think as the 21st century moves on, Native Americans generally will gain greater political prominence and social recognition than they had for most of the previous century. ○

## Notes

1. Lanham, Maryland: Alta Mira Press, A Division of Rowman and Littlefield, Publishers, 2004. 173 pages, dedication, maps, photographs, tables, abbreviations, preface, acknowledgments, eight chapters, afterword, notes, bibliography, index, about the authors. Cloth, \$72.00 and paperback, \$24.95 U.S.

2. Frances Leon Quintana received her Ph.D. in anthropology in 1966 from the University of Colorado at Boulder. She is retired and may be

reached through Richard O. Clemmer, contact information below. She served as curator of ethnology at the Museum of New Mexico, Santa Fe, New Mexico, USA.

3. Richard O. Clemmer's 1972 Ph.D. in anthropology is from the University of Illinois. He is a full professor and chairperson, Department of Anthropology, University of Denver, 146 Strum Hall, 2000 East Asbury Street, Denver, Colorado (CO) 80208-2406 USA. He may also be reached by e-mail at **rclemmer@du.edu** and by telephone at 303-871-2476. He is a former Southern Ute tribal employee.

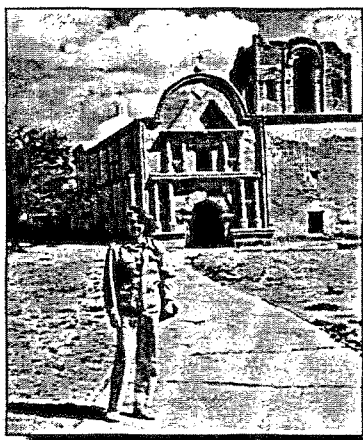
4. This book is a slightly revised version of Katherine Osburn's Ph.D. dissertation, cited below, which I used and cited in my "Afterword."

### References Cited

- Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs*  
1896 *Annual Reports of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs*. Washington: United States Government Printing Office
- Heaton, John  
2005 *The Shoshone-Bannocks: Culture and Commerce at Fort Hall, 1870-1940*. Lawrence: The University Press of Kansas
- Leland, Joy  
1986 "Population." In *Handbook of North American Indians, Volume 11, Great Basin*. Volume edited by Warren L. D'Azevedo, series edited by William C. Sturtevant. Pages 608-619. Washington: Smithsonian Institution
- Osburn, Katherine M.B.  
1998 *Southern Ute Women: Autonomy and Assimilation on the Reservation, 1887-1934*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press. Based upon the author's Ph.D. dissertation, "And as the Squaws Are A Secondary Consideration': Southern Ute Women Under Directed Culture Change, 1887-1934," awarded by the University of Denver in 1993.

**The Omer C. Stewart Memorial Award**  
**A Generalist's Approach to Applied Anthropology:**  
**For 2006, the 14th Annual Omer C. Stewart Memorial Award<sup>1</sup>**

Lenora Boren<sup>2</sup>



I was thrilled when I found that I had been nominated for the Omer C. Stewart Award in applied anthropology for 2006. I first met Omer Stewart in the 1980s as a graduate student at Colorado State

University (CSU) and continued my association with him for many years at the High Plains Society for Applied Anthropology (HPSfAA) annual meetings. I have greatly admired his work and am pleased to be associated with his name.

Receiving an award in applied anthropology is particularly meaningful to me since I am a generalist in applied anthropology. Most awards are given to specialists who have become well known in their area of emphasis, often for academic achievements such as being an outstanding teacher or having the most publications, but few are given to generalists whose achievements often go unnoticed.

What is a generalist? A generalist is one whose interests extend to several different fields, one who has mastered and integrated more than one specialty and practice as occasion demands (Nickols 2003). What makes me a generalist? My background in environmental anthropology has been very diverse. I have spent my career working with issues concerned with culture, technology, and the environment. These issues have been very diverse. They vary from global warming, focusing on how farmers and ranchers adapt to climate change, to air quality issues, focusing on car culture and driving behaviors. It is often difficult to become successful as a generalist because it is easy to miss opportunities to participate in relevant projects where your knowledge and expertise can be applied. To do the type of work, I enjoy, I have learned that it is very

important to establish *networks* in order to find such *opportunities*. This often means broadening one's networks to include other disciplines and other networks. In my case, it meant including ecologists and practitioners from government agencies in order to learn about current opportunities. Once information has been compiled from these opportunities, it is important to disseminate it through *outreach* activities to reach a wider audience and in the process make further contacts that in turn can lead to future projects and new jobs.

### **My Story**

I graduated from Pennsylvania State University with a B.A. degree in sociology. After graduation, I moved to New York City and found a job in personnel, which is now known as human resources. I worked in personnel for several companies for six to seven years. Between jobs, I took a "sabbatical" of a year and a half traveling around the world where I learned first hand about different cultures. (This was the beginning of my interest in anthropology, but I did not know it at the time.) When I returned, I became dissatisfied with the corporate world and began to take graduate courses at Hunter College of the City University of New York. I soon decided to go to graduate school full time but did not want to study in "The City" so I bought my first car at 28 and drove to Colorado with the intent of getting a master's degree in sociology. I decided on Colorado State University and was soon convinced that sociology was not the degree I wanted, it was anthropology. (I had taken one class in anthropology at Penn State and had not liked it because it was a huge class that focused on the memorization of facts, so I thought anthropology was not my "cup of tea.")

At Colorado State University in anthropology, I soon became interested in Native American adaptation strategies to the natural environment. I was fascinated by the different technologies used by different cultures to adapt to differ-

ing natural environments. Thus began my interest in culture, technology, and the environment. I had no idea where this would lead me.

After graduation, my first job was with a CSU agricultural economist studying small and part-time farmers. I had had no experience with farm culture, but thought why not? I also worked with a CSU sociologist conducting social impact studies of energy development on the western slope of Colorado. I built on my knowledge of culture, technology, and the environment and was able to expand this knowledge to include the understanding of the decision-making process behind adaptation strategies of a complex culture in a rapidly changing environment. I found both of these opportunities through *networks* I had established in graduate school.

In 1982, I shifted gears again and was hired by the CSU Clean Air Center, which is concerned with air quality. I found this job from a contact I had made at my job working with social impact studies. My new job was to survey diesel car owners with the goal of assessing the future role of diesel passenger cars in the passenger car population of the Front Range of Colorado. I was again in a new arena but was still focused on environmental issues. I continued using my theoretical framework by approaching this study from the perspective of learning about the consequences of adaptation of a technology, the car, to the American culture and environment. I found that people loved their cars and that the car had shaped 20<sup>th</sup> Century America. Diesel passenger car owners felt they were different from other car owners; they thought they were contributing to the health of the environment by not driving gasoline cars and planned on owning diesel cars "forever" (Walker et al. 1983). However, this changed when the price of diesel fuel increased; soon they were driving gasoline powered vehicles and the population of diesel passenger cars quickly dropped along the Colorado Front Range. I learned that economic factors were a stronger driver concerning buying habits, at least with cars, than were environmental factors.

### Lessons Learned

I thought the job at the Clean Air Center would be short term, but I continued to work there for 24 years and am now the director. I

started with an interest in Native American adaptation, but I found, through *networking*, that there were job *opportunities* assessing the impacts of technology on the environment in contemporary America. As a generalist, I adapted quickly and was able to take advantage of these opportunities and found myself studying environmental issues that I had never thought I could be interested in, such as cars. My interest in environmental issues and my ability to adapt allowed me to take advantage of a variety of available opportunities.

At the Clean Air Center, I became the human factors expert looking for solutions to air quality issues in terms of human behavior. I conducted studies assessing response patterns to technological developments in the car. One of these studies was to assess the response of car owners to the "check engine" light (idiot light) on the dashboard of their car. I conducted surveys, case studies and focus groups nationwide assessing the understanding of and response to the light by car owners. I learned that vehicle owners were more likely to respond to the check engine light (in this case the desired response was the repair of the vehicle) if the response would lead to saving money rather than protecting the environment from harmful emissions (Bohren 1997). This study supported the fact that economic factors are a stronger motivator for action than are environmental factors. Ah, Economic America!

It is very important to share information gained from these studies through *outreach* activities, which could potentially change or influence behavior that could protect the environment. An example of an outreach activity that could influence behavior is a kindergarten through grade 12 (K-12) environmental education course I helped develop called "Cars, Cultures, and Cures." This course was designed especially to be used in middle schools/junior high schools for pre-drivers to help students see their responsibility in promoting good air quality by understanding how their driving behavior has a direct impact on air quality. The course consists of modules that can be used in science, environmental science, or mathematics classrooms to teach students how to calculate/assess the effects of specific actions on air pollution (Bohren 2001). This course was accompanied by a slide show I developed on "American Car Culture." I have presented this

slide show to schools, city governments, teaching organizations, and at conferences both in the United States and abroad.

Initially, I only worked part-time at the Clean Air Center allowing me to pursue other interests in environmental anthropology. I had the *opportunity* to work on more academic projects that had an applied emphasis. For example, I worked on a project in Africa that looked at tropical soils and biological fertility (TSBF). In this project, I worked with a multidisciplinary team. We studied the use of biological fertilizers to enhance soil fertility by cultures that needed to increase their cash crop production in order to supplement subsistence agriculture. Chemical fertilizers would quickly deplete the fertility of already marginally productive soils and were too expensive. It was found that there were ways to increase the soil fertility using biological means, such as legumes, which could be integrated into a culture without affecting the cultural ethos and without causing damage to the soils or costing too much money (Bohren 2003).

While at the Clean Air Center, I decided to enroll in a Ph.D. program in my spare time. Colorado State University does not have a Ph.D. program in anthropology so I enrolled in an interdisciplinary program through the College of Forestry and Wood Science. This program would allow me to expand my background to include more ecological knowledge. I received a Ph.D. in natural resource administration with a dissertation focused on agriculture and the adaptation of farmers and ranchers to climate change. I went back to my acquired interest in agricultural adaptation. I learned that in environments where water is the limiting resource, dry land farmers and ranchers use similar strategies to adapt to climate while irrigation farmers use different strategies. The determining factor was the availability of water. Earlier research by John Bennett (1969) had found that adaptation strategies of farmers were very different from those of ranchers and were driven by ethos rather than environmental issues. While working on my dissertation, I was exposed to the CSU climate change network. This exposure led to new opportunities including working on a large scale assessment of farmers and ranchers in the United States Great Plains and serving on the steering committee

(*outreach*) for the Great Plains Climate Change Assessment sponsored by the White House Office of Technology. This opportunity was the result of an increasing interest in the human dimensions of climate change and the recognition that human activities are a driving force in global warming (Ojima et al. 2002).

I have given an example of how a generalist in the field of environmental anthropology, through *networking*, can find many varied *opportunities*. I have only mentioned a small sample of those I have been able to take advantage of through networking. In today's world of shifting circumstances, the importance of networking leading to potential opportunities cannot be understated. These opportunities can lead to *outreach* activities that can have a worthwhile impact on society and on the environment; they are essential to the understanding of the adaptation of a complex culture to a changing environment. A good place to start networking is in professional societies such as High Plains Society for Applied Anthropology. This award is indeed an honor for a generalist like me. ○

## Notes

1. At Estes Park, Colorado, in the 26th year of the High Plains Society for Applied Anthropology, Edward C. Knop and Peter W. Van Arsdale presented the 14th Omer C. Stewart Memorial Award to Lenora Bohren of Colorado State University during the annual meeting, April 28–30, 2006. This written version reflects her acceptance remarks. Previous winners of the Omer C. Stewart Memorial Award of the High Plains Society for Applied Anthropology are as follows: (1) Muriel K. Crespi, National Park Service, for 1993; (2) Robert A. Hackenberg, University of Colorado at Boulder, for 1994; (3) Deward E. Walker, Jr., University of Colorado at Boulder, for 1995; (4) Darwin D. Solomon, United Nations Food and Agricultural Organization, for 1996; (5) Donald D. Stull, University of Kansas, for 1997; (6) Gottfried O. Lang, Emeritus at the University of Colorado at Boulder, for 1998; (7) Howard F. Stein, University of Oklahoma, for 1999; (8) Carla N. Littlefield, Littlefield Associates of Denver, Colorado, for 2000; (9) Kenneth M. Keller, Metropolitan State College of Denver, for 2001; (10) Peter W. Van Arsdale, Colorado



Mental Health Institute and the University of Denver, for 2002; (11) John van Willigen, University of Kentucky, for 2003; (12) Edward C. Knop, Colorado State University, for 2004; and (13) Pamela J. Puntenney, Environmental and Health Systems Management of Michigan, for 2005.

2. Lenora Bohren's Ph.D. is from Colorado State University in natural resource administration. She directs the Clean Air Center / National Center for Vehicle Emissions Control and Safety at Colorado State University, Fort Collins, Colorado (CO) USA 80523-1584. Her telephone number is 970-491-7240, and **Lenora.Bohren@Colostate.edu** is an e-mail address for her.

## References Cited

Bennett, John W.

1969 *Northern Plainsmen: Adaptive Strategy and Agrarian Life*. Chicago: Aldine Publishing Company.

Bohren, Lenora

1997 *Evaluation Report for ITS [Intelligent Transport System] for Voluntary Emissions Reduction: An ITS Operational Test for Real-Time Vehicle Emissions Detection. Final Report*. Denver, Colorado: Colorado Department of Transportation (CDOT).

2001 "Cars, Cultures, and Cures: Environmental Education for K-12 [Grades Kindergarten through 12]." *Practicing Anthropology* 23 (3, Summer): 38-41.

2003 "Anthropologists and Effective Resource Management." *High Plains Applied Anthropologist* 23 (2, Fall): 196-206.

Nickols, Fred W.

2003 *Generalist or Specialist: Which Do I Consult?* Accessed online at <<http://home.att.net/~nickols/articles.htm>> on August 7, 2006.

Ojima, Dennis S., Jill M. Lackett and the Central Great Plains Steering Committee and Assessment Team

2002 *Preparing for a Changing Climate: The Potential Consequences of Climate Variability and Change—Central Great Plains. Report for the United States Global Change Research Program*. Fort Collins, Colorado: Colorado State University.

Walker, Jerry P., Joseph Beebe, Lenora Bohren, Rick Hufnagel and Rick Kovacic

1983 *Research Report on Air Quality and Light Duty Diesel Vehicles along Colorado's Front Range*. Fort Collins, Colorado: Office of Research Development and Training, Department of Industrial Sciences, Colorado State University.



## Guidelines for Authors

**M**aterials for consideration should be submitted electronically to the editor in chief, Lawrence F. Van Horn, at [julavaho1@mindspring.com](mailto:julavaho1@mindspring.com) in a Word file attached to an explanatory e-mail message. Margins of one inch would be appreciated as would single spacing with paragraphs indented one-half inch in Times New Roman 12 point font. Please do not double space between sentences and avoid all but the simplest formatting.

The length of articles should be no more than about 8,000 to 10,000 words. Do not use footnotes; however, in an endnote, please do provide an affiliation statement with contact information to promote communication between readers and authors. This endnote should contain the author's current position, highest degree, university that awarded it, the year it was awarded, and the degree's discipline. Please also include the author's address for U.S. mail as well as e-mail address and telephone number.

Manuscripts are copyedited prior to publication, and the High Plains Society for Applied Anthropology holds the copyright.

### Disclaimer of Liability

Neither *The Applied Anthropologist* nor the High Plains Society for Applied Anthropology assumes responsibility for any statement(s) of author(s) appearing in *The Applied Anthropologist*. Author criticism of any group(s), person(s), or situation(s) appearing in *The Applied Anthropologist* is not approved of, condoned, or supported directly or indirectly by *The Applied Anthropologist* or the High Plains Society for Applied Anthropology. Accuracy and correctness of information and permission to use information are the sole responsibility of the author(s).

### References Cited

References should be listed in the text (Hallowell 1996:348) with the full reference given under "References Cited" as follows:

#### Bibliographic Style for References Cited, *The Applied Anthropologist*

Hallowell, A. Irving

- 1966 "The Backwash of the Frontier: The Impact of the Indian on American Culture." In *Readings in Anthropology*. Edited by Jesse D. Jennings and E. Adamson Hoebel. Second edition. Pages 348-361. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company. First edition published in 1955.

Smith, Alexander McCall

- 2002 *The No. 1 Ladies' Detective Agency*. New York: Anchor Books, Division of Random House.

- 2004a *The Sunday Philosophy Club*. New York: Pantheon Books, Division of Random House.

- 2004b *The Girl Who Married a Lion and Other Tales from Africa*. New York: Pantheon Books, A Division of Random House, Incorporated.

Stapp, Darby C. and Michael S. Burney

- 2002 *Tribal Cultural Resource Management: The Full Circle to Stewardship*. Walnut Creek, California: Alta Mira Press, Division of Rowman and Littlefield, Publishers.

Tian, Robert G.

- 2005 "From Theory to Practice: Anthropology in Business Education." *High Plains Applied Anthropologist* 25 (1, Spring): 13-22.

Witten, M. Wray

- 1990 "Institutional Failure in the Water and Sanitation Decade." *Colorado Journal of International Environmental Law and Policy* 2:277-294.

