
The Applied Anthropologist

AN INTERDISCIPLINARY SOCIAL SCIENCE JOURNAL

formerly HIGH PLAINS APPLIED ANTHROPOLOGIST

HPSfAA

ISSN 0882-4894

Vol. 27, No. 2, Fall 2007

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About This Issue: Robert Allan Hackenberg's Last Paper and Other Notes

It is our honor to publish in this issue of *The Applied Anthropologist* the last paper that the distinguished anthropologist Robert Allan Hackenberg (1928-2007) wrote and delivered. In it, he refers to the equally distinguished anthropologist Omer Call Stewart (1908-1991). Please see the references below to two obituaries for more biographical information on each.

Not mentioned in the endnotes is the fact that Andrew Gordon gave an earlier version of his co-authored article published in this issue on treatment practices of childhood illnesses in Guinea, western Africa. He gave his initial presentation on December 7, 2005, in Kilifi, Kenya, at a conference titled "The Ethnography of Medical Research in Africa" sponsored by the London School of Hygiene and Tropical Medicine of the University of London and the London-based Wellcome Trust of Sir Henry Wellcome.

From our Fall 2006 issue, we reprint with some revisions "A Generalist's Approach to Applied Anthropology: For 2006, The Fourteenth Annual Omer C. Stewart Award" by Lenora Bohren. There we inadvertently omitted the "h" in the author's surname. We make amends here.

Please note the advertisement for Left Coast Press, which appears at the end of this issue along with one for *The Applied Anthropologist*. In the previous issue, we began exchanging such advertisements at no charge to either party. We express many thanks to Peter Van Arsdale, associate editor, who negotiated the arrangement with Left Coast representative Jennifer Collier. Please see the advertisement for Left Coast's contact and book-buying information.

Kreg Ettenger was still in office as president of the High Plains Society for Applied Anthropology when he wrote what appears in this issue under his by-line. Please take to heart what he says about what applied anthropologists might be able to contribute as preventive measures against school shootings.

References Cited

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1992 "Omer Call Stewart." *High Plains Applied Anthropologist* 11 and 12: ix-xviii. This issue combines Volumes 11 and 12 for the years 1991 and 1992.

Stull, Donald D.

2007 "Robert Allan Hackenberg." *Anthropology News* 48 (6, September): 49.

Negotiating Development: Local Actors and Economic Change in Coastal Ecuador¹

Daniel Eric Bauer²

Abstract

In recent decades, coastal communities throughout Latin America have adopted ecotourism as an economic response to declining fisheries production. Based on research conducted in southern Manabí province, Ecuador, this paper focuses on the development of an actor-centered ecotourism cooperative as a concrete example of an actor-centered development project to complement mainstream, state-sponsored development. It specifically highlights certain difficulties encountered by a community cooperative to change from fishing and diving to ecotourism.

*Activities like fishing and diving won't be prosperous in the future...
we are looking for an alternative in tourism.*

— JUNIOR SALAZAR, a local diver and proponent of tourism development (Salazar 2003)

Introduction

Coastal areas throughout the world are undergoing dramatic changes as a long history of natural resource extraction gives way to declining productivity and the need for economic change. Throughout much of the coastal tropics, traditional economic activities such as fishing and diving are being replaced by tourism. In south-central coastal Ecuador, local actors are undertaking the tenuous process of negotiating economic change. Drawing from the case of Pueblo Verde, a rural fishing village located in Ecuador's southern Manabí province, (see Figure 1 below), this paper addresses certain difficulties associated with ecotourism development. It analyzes relationships among local groups, non-governmental organizations (NGOs), and state agencies concerning development practices.

As the research presented in this paper illustrates, even when local development efforts are "actor-centered," they are indelibly tied ideologically to those that are state sponsored. My use of the term "actor-centered" stems from my own experiences with rural Ecuadorians and their attempts to realize a shift from natural resource extraction to conservation and ecotourism development. Within the context of this paper, the term "actor-centered" holds two meanings. First and foremost, actor-centered refers to the roles of local leaders and people within development processes. Actor-centered development is locally initiated, and the term "actor-centered" is used

interchangeably with the term "actor-initiated." Actor-centered initiatives mean that locals play a fundamental role in economic development programs even though they do not work independently of larger political, economic, and organizational structures. Secondly, the term "actor-centered" focuses on the perceptions, interpretations, understandings, and experiences of those who are locally involved with conservation and development.

This case study uniquely serves as an opportunity to understand economic development from the perspectives of local actors. Whereas, economic development in southern Manabí conforms to numerous other development studies by addressing issues of conservation and development (see Belsky 1999, Brown et al. 2000, Cruz-Torres 2001, McDaniel 2002, Place 1995, Walley 2004, and Young 1999), which are a fundamental feature of ecotourism (Walley 2004), the Manabí case emphasizes contradictions inherent in development. I discuss the complementary yet contradictory nature of southern Manabí development and focus on differential attitudes toward conservation from different state and NGO sources in the development process.

Ethnographic Methods

I conducted community-based research on ecotourism development throughout Ecuador's southern Manabí province during the summers

of 2002 to 2005. I use the term community in a broad sense. Drawing from the work of Stephen Gudeman (2001), community is herein conceived of as being a fairly small, intimate assemblage of individuals who are organized around a central set of activities that vary in importance according to their social and economic functions. I tracked the growth of ecotourism in the community of Pueblo Verde, Manabí, Ecuador. My research focused on economic transitions throughout the southern Manabí coast aimed at understanding a slowly developing shift from commercial fishing and diving to ecotourism. I employed participant observation as a primary means of data collection and conducted unstructured and semi-structured interviews with fishers, divers, tourism operators, and community leaders. All translations are my own and any errors or mistakes are my responsibility.

I focused specifically on interviewing individuals with an intimate familiarity of development processes in Pueblo Verde. My aim at understanding development from the perspective of those individuals who were active in local development practices. My interviews document the economic history of southern Manabí province and the growth of regional ecotourism, and my questions focused on individuals' perceptions of ecotourism, conceptions of conservation, and rationales for adopting ecotourism, and the specific ways in which actors' engaged themselves in ecotourism projects. All names used in this paper are pseudonyms to protect informants' privacy.

Community Variability: Puerto San Miguel and Pueblo Verde

The town of Puerto San Miguel lies on the outskirts of Ecuador's Machalilla National Park, a 55,096 hectare park (136,142.22 acres) established by the Ecuadorian government in 1979.

Puerto San Miguel is the commercial center of southern Manabí and it is the one place that tourists are sure to find if they make their way to the southern Manabí coast. Puerto San Miguel is a bustling town with a population of nearly 15,000 and it is the tourist hub of the region. During the summer months of June through August the muddy streets team with tourists both foreign and national. The months of June, July, and August mark the migration of Pacific humpback whales and correspondingly

mark the high season for tourism throughout the province of Manabí. Throughout the day the cafes lining the ocean-front provide tourists with a place to relax and reflect while observing the beach-front activities. At night, *cumbia* and *salsa* music from the various *discotecas* and bars pulsates through the streets. Puerto San Miguel is the de facto stopping point for

tourists traveling the south-central Ecuadorian coast. Most tourists only spend a few days visiting the area attractions and almost all visits are highlighted by a whale-watching tour and a tour of Isla de Plata, a 1,120 hectare (2,767.5 acres) island located 24 nautical miles off the coast of Puerto San Miguel. Tourism is such an important part of the local economy that Puerto San Miguel is championed as the whale-watching capital of the world.

Six kilometers to (3.7 miles) the south of Puerto San Miguel is the sleepy fishing village of Pueblo Verde. The village of Pueblo Verde, population 1400, is situated in an ecologically diverse region with low hills to the east and the Pacific Ocean to the west. Ecuador's coastal highway bisects the village and separates the majority of the village's residences from a vast expanse of communal land that borders the eastern foothills.

A large island, known as Isla Verde, is located approximately 2 kilometers (1.2 miles) off the coast, and is one of the most prominent natural

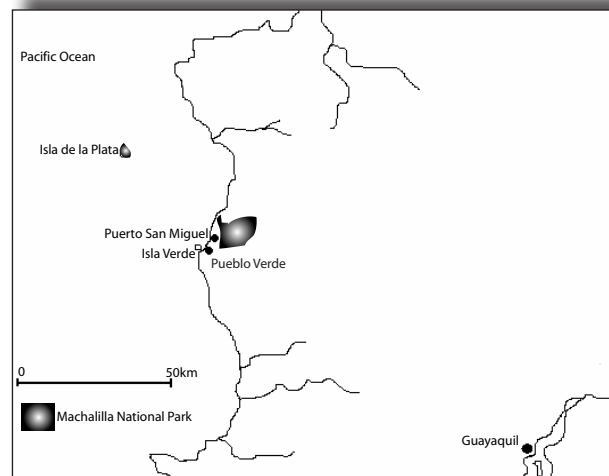


Figure 1: Location of Pueblo Verde, Manabí, Ecuador. Map prepared by the author.

features associated with the village of Pueblo Verde. For centuries, the island has served as a focal point for the inhabitants of the village. Elder members of the community speak of the once plentiful waters surrounding the island, waters that held bountiful amounts of lobster, *pepino* (sea cucumber), various fish species, and *Spondylus*, a bi-valve that has been utilized throughout the region for nearly 5,000 years (Harris et al. 2004). When I first began conducting ethnographic research in southern Manabí during the summer of 2002, the waters surrounding the island were greatly depleted due to over-exploitation by the commercial fishing and diving industries. While people still continue to fish and dive the waters associated with the island, recently realized ecotourism development initiatives are beginning to change the complexion of the once sleepy fishing village.

Stemming from the ecotourism success of Puerto San Miguel, and acknowledging the promotion of state-sponsored tourism, during the summer of 2002 members of the community of Pueblo Verde began investigating the economic potential of tourism. The result was the creation of PARCEMAR to promote tourism development and conservation in Pueblo Verde. The name PARCEMAR is derived from the desire of its members to establish a *parcela marina* or marine reserve on the northern side of Isla Verde.

Environmental Degradation and Economic Change in Southern Manabí

For over 5,000 years the natural resources of the Pueblo Verde region sustained its inhabitants (Harris et al. 2004). Prior to the 1960s, Pueblo Verde existed as a relatively isolated community where subsistence fishing and horticulture dominated the local economy. The adoption of motorized boating technology in the 1960s and the later construction of a coastal highway that connects Pueblo Verde to Ecuador's main port cities of Guayaquil and Manta transformed the village of Pueblo Verde into a semi-industrialized commercial fishing port. The fishing industry grew as people migrated south to Pueblo Verde from the inland region of Jipijapa and west toward the coast from the inland *montaña* region (Harris et al. 2004).

A recent study conducted by The Nature

Conservancy in conjunction with Ecuador's Fundación Natura (Gaibor et al. 2002) notes that Pueblo Verde experienced a three-fold increase in the number of active fishermen between 1963 and 1999 (Gaibor et al. 2002). "The global fisheries harvest increased six-fold since 1950" (Brown et al. 2002:9) so the growth of the Pueblo Verde fishing industry corresponds to the overall increase in the global fisheries harvest from 1950 to 1999. While this appears to indicate the overall economic growth of the local fishing industry, ethnographic data obtained between 2002 and 2005 suggests that as the number of people in the local fishing industry grew, an equally dramatic decline in fisheries production occurred.

The rapid growth of commercial fishing and the corresponding decline in production has caused many individuals, including Don Antonio Moreno, a local boat owner and community leader, to question the feasibility of maintaining the industry as a primary economic activity:

Why fish? There is no money in fishing. Life is not good for fishermen; work is not stable. Everyday is worse than the day before.



Sorting the daily catch before it is sent to market.

The local divers of Pueblo Verde share similar sentiments. In a 2003 video produced by the Ecuadorian Ministry of Tourism in conjunction with Machalilla National Park, one of Pueblo Verde's most respected divers, Junior Salazar, a 30-year-old who began diving in his early teens, critically evaluates the impact of commercial diving on the local environment. I repeat a statement of his that I opened with in my introduction above:

Activities like fishing and diving won't be prosperous in the future ... we are looking for an alternative in tourism.

He acknowledges that conservation-based ecotourism presents local divers with a means to bolster their incomes while protecting the resources on which they depend. For many locals, ecotourism is perceived as having the potential to provide the community with a viable economic alternative to commercial fishing and diving while maintaining an important economic and cultural connection to the Pacific Ocean.

DANIEL E. BAUER



Bringing in the daily catch.

During an interview, José Reyes, a young community leader and supporter of tourism development, spoke about the relationship between economic practice, the natural environment, and social identity. José slowly lifted his left arm and pointed to the west toward the Pacific Ocean saying that

It is the culture, people look toward the ocean ... the people only use one resource, fishing, we live for one type of work ... we are a village of fishermen.

He was implying that people could still focus on the ocean but switch from actual fishing to ocean-based tourism. That was explicitly expressed by a local diver as one of the founders of the local tourism cooperative PARCEMAR. He maintained that ecotourism development makes sense because

Tourism allows us to use what we know. ... We are fishermen and divers and tourism uses the same resource that we have used for generations.

The above-mentioned quotations provide us with an important insight as to the rationale for ecotourism development in Pueblo Verde. In Pueblo Verde, as is the case throughout much of coastal Manabí, the Pacific Ocean is a fundamental part of daily life. Not only is the Pacific Ocean the economic base upon which the community is reliant, the Pacific Ocean is also the cultural base of the community. Stephen Gude-man (2001) defines the community realm of economic interaction as a system of exchange that is characterized by the differential presence of the following traits:

- a *base* or *commons*, and ways of maintaining the base or commons through time;
- *cultural constructions* conjoining base and people, and helping to define identity;
- *situated* or *embedded reason* and *innovation*, which sustain and change the base;
- *self-sufficiency*, which supports independence and identity;
- rules of *allotting* and *apportioning* the base and products;
- forms of *re-allotment* and *reapportionment*, which mark changing positions, power, and accumulations;
- internal *appropriation* and *extraction*;
- expansion and contraction of borders through *reciprocity* and *force* practiced between communities; and
- *trade* for maintenance and exploration.

In the case of Pueblo Verde, the first four are the most applicable and pertinent.

In a similar manner, Shubi Ishemo (2002) argues that questions of identity are central to the cultural dimension of socioeconomic processes. In the case of Pueblo Verde, it is clear that economic activity is linked to identity formation. This recognition is consistent with Shubi Ishemo's (2002) approach that dimensions of social identity have to do with how economics influences culture. However, it is not enough to simply recognize this connection. In order to more fully understand the interface of identity and economic practice, one must first examine the cultural value of the commons. As a shared interest or value, the commons is not only a

material entity, but also a foundation for shared knowledge and representations (Gudeman 2001). The commons is both physical and cultural. The community members of Pueblo Verde acknowledge that their relationship to the Pacific Ocean extends beyond the realm of economic production. The Pacific Ocean is the foundation for cultural production. Thus, for many local actors, the transition from commercial fishing and diving to ecotourism is perceived as both economically and culturally appropriate.

Ecotourism Development in Southern Manabí

Environmental degradation is one of the prominent factors leading to a shift from commercial fishing and diving to ecotourism. And divers played an important role in the establishment of the PARCEMAR tourism cooperative. The relationship between PARCEMAR, NGOs, and the state, and questions of community attitudes toward conservation figures in tourism development in Pueblo Verde and in the social and economic conditions that influenced many of Pueblo Verde's commercial divers to make the transition from diving to ecotourism. Commercial divers maintain a social and economic position within the community distinct from Pueblo Verde fishermen. Commercial divers gain a substantial part of their annual income during the relatively short *pepino* (sea cucumber) season that occurs each year in the Galapagos Islands between June and August. Despite the high economic yields, often as much as \$1500 for two months of work, most divers resent working in the Galapagos. For the divers of Pueblo Verde, most of whom range in age between 17 and 35 years, working in the Galapagos means spending two months aboard a 15-meter boat (49.2 feet) with as many as 20 other people. The divers eat and sleep on the boat as it makes its way along the coast of the Galapagos. Fiberglass boats ranging in size from 6 meters to 8 meters (19.7 to 26.2 feet) known as *fibras* or *pangas* are towed behind the dive boats. Two divers and a *pangero* or driver man each *fibra*. Each day, the divers go out in a *fibra*, often spending 6 to 8 hours below the surface of the Pacific Ocean while oxygen is pumped through a one-half inch diameter tube

by way of a gasoline powered air compressor situated high above the diver on the floor of the *fibra*. Work is difficult and dangerous and many divers express a strong desire not to have to return to work in the Galapagos.

Due to their relative economic security, and their desire not to return to work in the Galapagos, the divers of Pueblo Verde have been much more apt than fishermen to interpret ecotourism as a viable economic alternative to marine resource extraction. Moreover, the relative independence of divers, working usually in pairs while in Pueblo Verde, as opposed to well-organized groups, provides them with the freedom to explore economic opportunities other than diving. Members of commercial fishing crews tend to be linked by strong ties of kinship and a clear family history of fishing. Commercial diving is much more individualistic. Divers also have much more free time to explore economic venues other than diving. Fishermen throughout southern Manabí province depend on the phases of the moon to dictate their fishing schedules. It is a general rule that fishermen work during the *oscuro* or dark period of the moon. During the full moon and surrounding days, known as the *claro* period, fishermen do not fish. This means that on average, fishermen work 18 days per month.

Divers on the other hand, rely on a far less predictable natural indicator for diving. Water clarity is the key variable that is necessary for successful diving to take place. Unlike the lunar cycle, water clarity is highly unpredictable. It can vary from one day to the next and is highly dependent upon wind and the condition of the sea. All people in Pueblo Verde are familiar with the potential of the sea to be *bravo* or rough. However, the rough conditions of the sea impact divers much more so than fishermen. In times of even minimal wind and strong waves, divers are unable to dive. As a consequence of the relative unpredictability of weather patterns, divers often work as few as 10 days per month. All of the above-mentioned factors have resulted in a situation in which divers are much more likely to adopt ecotourism as an alternative to commercial diving while fishermen are less likely to engage in ecotourism activities.

The Growth of PARCEMAR

The tourism cooperative PARCEMAR was established in June of 2002 with an initial membership of seven divers. Don Marcos García, a respected community leader and proponent of ecotourism development, discussed ideas about the formation of PARCEMAR with numerous local divers who also showed an interest in ecotourism development. The majority of the divers were familiar with the potential for ecotourism development as a result of their familiarity with the tourism economy of Puerto San Miguel. Moreover, the strong presence of NGOs throughout the region and the proximity of Pueblo Verde to Machalilla National Park helped convince members that ecotourism could prosper in Pueblo Verde.

During the summer of 2002, PARCEMAR experienced rapid growth. Two of the seven members of PARCEMAR opened individually operated offices in Pueblo Verde and five other members combined their resources to open a single office with the PARCEMAR namesake for a total of three offices whose growth was in part due to an idealistic notion of ecotourism development. Buying into the state discourse on tourism development that privileges conservation and highlights the natural environment as an important resource, the seven members of PARCEMAR believed that tourism would provide an important alternative source of income that required little up-front investment.

The members of PARCEMAR were not alone in their quest to promote tourism in Pueblo Verde. *Comitato Internazionale per lo Sviluppo dei Popoli*, the Committee for the Development of the Peoples (CISP), a European NGO that provides funds for environmental conservation efforts, joined forces with the newly formed tourism cooperative by providing nominal financial and organizational support. CISP worked with the members of the cooperative to institute an organizational structure that required each member of PARCEMAR to *buy in* to the cooperative. Each member of PARCEMAR was required to purchase a share of the cooperative for \$50. CISP matched the funds provided by each member resulting in a total cost of \$100 per share. CISP also provided the members of PARCEMAR with items including life jackets and marine radios.

With the help of CISP, PARCEMAR grew from seven members to twelve members between 2003 and 2004 and grew organizationally. Between 2003 and 2004, Don Marcos worked tirelessly to organize the members of PARCEMAR and gather much needed information for its growth.

But a number of fees inhibited the growth and prosperity of the tourism cooperative. Start-up costs were one reason that ecotourism growth was limited initially. Minimally, members of PARCEMAR needed to outfit their boats and pay for guide licenses. Guide licenses allowing access to Machalilla National Park cost \$100 per individual. Fees also needed to be paid to the municipal office in Puerto San Miguel in order to register PARCEMAR as a business. The total cost of fees to be paid to the municipality was \$120 in 2003. Members of PARCEMAR were also required to register with the regional tourism authority in Puerto San Miguel at an additional cost of \$64 annually.

Motor costs increased. Tourism regulations require that each boat used for tourism have two motors. To add another motor to each of the boats in operation, the members of PARCEMAR determined that they would have to acquire nearly \$10,000. The overall start-up cost quickly exceeded the initial amount invested by each member.

Funding was not the only problem encountered. During my time working with the members of PARCEMAR, I frequently participated in conversations pertaining to PARCEMAR's relationship with Machalilla National Park. Many of the members shared the concern that national park personnel favored the tourism offices in the nearby town of Puerto San Miguel. Don León Novo, a retired diver and a proponent of tourism in Puerto San Miguel, spoke of the relationship between PARCEMAR and the national park during an evening conversation outside of his home. He stated that:

The problem with tourism here is that everything is associated with Puerto San Miguel and the national park. For example, if people want to have tours here in Pueblo Verde and they want the tours to go to Isla de Plata, they can't ... they keep track of the visitors and once the maximum number of

visitors is reached, no more are allowed. It also costs a lot of money and in order to have access to areas associated with the park, the tour company has to pay. The agencies in Puerto San Miguel have an advantage over us because the national park has an office in Puerto San Miguel. This office helps the agencies in Puerto San Miguel, but ignores the offices in Pueblo Verde.

Due to lack of support from the municipal government and the regional tourism authority, the members of PARCEMAR never acquired the requisite guide licenses for Machalilla National Park. This situation greatly inhibits their chances of success. Whereas, whale-watching tours near *Isla Verde* cost \$15 per person, and *Isla de Plata* is the destination that is most often frequented by tourists. Between January and July of 2001, over 6,300 tourists visited *Isla de Plata* (Baquero 2002). The current cost for a trip to *Isla de Plata* is \$40 per person. The inability of the members of PARCEMAR to obtain licenses for Machalilla National Park is therefore, a significant obstacle impeding the growth and prosperity of PARCEMAR.

The State and Actor-Centered Development

Following the 1992 establishment of the Ecuadorian Ministry of Information and Tourism, development projects geared toward ecotourism growth increased dramatically throughout southern Manabí. The state sponsored initiative highlighted tourism as a fundamental activity for the social and economic development of the nation. Primary goals of the tourism plan include creating an environment that is accommodating to foreign tourists as well as creating economic incentives for foreign investors. Within this frame, and corresponding to a broader Latin American trend (see Belsky 1999, Meyer 1993, and Young 1999) the Ministry of Information and Tourism has promoted rural development initiatives with an emphasis on utilizing the natural environment as a tourist attraction. An important feature of the initiative is the desire to promote and *sell* the idea of conservation to tourists. With these goals in mind, the ministry recently adopted the motto, "*Porque Somos Naturaleza*" (Because We

Are Nature).

Despite the Ecuadorian government's intent to promote tourism, it has not earned a reputation for being generous when it comes to providing much-needed capital for local level development initiatives. PARCEMAR members point to a lack of government assistance, which inhibits the growth of the tourism cooperative. With reference to the national park and the issue of funding, according to Don León, "people in Pueblo Verde can't afford to pay, and there is no governmental assistance." Governmental loans are virtually nonexistent, and small-scale bank loans to entrepreneurs are difficult to obtain without substantial collateral. Don León blames the Ecuadorian government and its limited role in developing ecotourism throughout the rural coast. The accomplished diver and carpenter spoke slowly and distinctly with a soft tone and precise hand gestures:

There is no incentive [for tourism]. The government promotes tourism, but it also impedes progress. There is no form of [governmental] assistance. In Ecuador, the government just takes from the people. The money goes directly into the pockets of the rich. The rich get richer, and the poor get poorer.

Don León said this while running his finger across his throat. Don León is a man who knows about hard work in a life of poverty. He began diving at the age of twelve and has spent much of his life working as a carpenter and boat builder. His involvement in PARCEMAR stems from his interest in protecting the natural environment and improving the economic condition of his native community. His critique of the Ecuadorian government is due largely to what he views as a long-standing tradition of the Ecuadorian government to aid the rich and ignore the poor. In Puerto San Miguel, he has witnessed the growth of government supported tourism development, but, according to Don León, very little has been done to improve the lives of the individuals who are native to southern Manabí. Don León's criticism is that the Ecuadorian government has done little to provide financial assistance to local investors, focusing instead on attracting wealthy investors, both foreign and

national, with tax breaks and other incentives.

The words of Don León speak directly to what Jill Belsky (1999) refers to as *leaching*. Leaching occurs when income gained from ecotourism bypasses the communities where tourism occurs and goes directly into the hands of outsiders, often wealthy investors. As Belsky's (1999) work in Belize and mine in Ecuador illustrate, ecotourism is not free from leaching. Where it occurs, there is little direct economic benefit to local actors. In 2005, wealthy investors from the cities of Quito, Cuenca, and Guayaquil owned ten of the twelve tourism offices in Puerto San Miguel while only two of the offices were locally owned. Although the Ecuadorian government promotes ecotourism at the level of discourse, the government impedes local attempts to initiate tourism, which is a result in the eyes of many locals of not providing practical assistance to local actors.

It is obvious by analyzing the relationship between PARCEMAR and the state that there exists a corresponding, yet contradictory understanding of economic development. Despite a rhetoric that supports ecotourism growth and development, economic development in Ecuador all too frequently results in economic gains for the wealthy as opposed to improving the overall quality of life of the rural poor. Local actors hear the words that are being spoken by the government, but they rarely come face to face with the desired outcome. Ecuador has boosted its tourism industry since the early 1990s, and the number of tourists visiting Machalilla National Park increased by over 42 percent between 1995 and 2001 (Baquero 2002). During the same period, the number of foreign tourists visiting the park more than doubled (Baquero 2002). Despite these seemingly good indicators, many locals agree that the rural poor are not reaping the benefits of ecotourism.

Non-governmental Organizations and Actor-Centered Development

The Ecuadorian state has struggled to successfully implement development initiatives embracing the work of foreign non-governmental organizations to promote development. Starting in the 1980s, NGOs have become a dominant feature on the landscape of development and have become commonplace throughout Ecuador

because they are

seen as small-scale organizations closely linked to the communities that they serve. Unlike cumbersome state bureaucracies, NGOs are able to quickly implement projects, often in areas where the state lacks expertise (Segarra 1997:4).

Since 2002, southern Manabí has experienced a strong NGO presence for tourism development and conservation, not unnoticed by PARCEMAR.

One of my most memorable NGO encounters occurred during the summer of 2003 when the members of PARCEMAR attempted to secure funding from CISP, the European Union funded NGO that previously provided PARCEMAR with support. The members of PARCEMAR organized the meeting to gain information for financial assistance and took turns discussing the value of their tourism cooperative for local-level conservation. The primary goal of the meeting was to determine the amount of money needed to meet the needs of PARCEMAR. As the group discussed numbers and tried to figure out the necessary income that would need to be generated to repay a loan of roughly \$10,000, Alfonso Espinosa, the local CISP representative with whom the group was consulting, maintained that it would be difficult. His t-shirt extended a similar message in ironic fashion stating, "*Hay un mundo mejor, pero es carísimo.*" (There is a better world, but it is very expensive).

While NGO's have been and still are present throughout the region, in Pueblo Verde the success of NGO sponsored projects has been minimal. NGO aide has been used primarily to promote tourism while not providing funds to develop the infrastructure necessary for the transition from fishing and diving to tourism. Most notably, CISP utilized funds and labor to build signs promoting Pueblo Verde as a tourist destination. The signs, which promote local tourist attractions including the Pacific Ocean for whale watching, Machalilla National Park, and *Isla de Plata*, stand prominently along the highway that bisects the village. Used to attract tourists to the village, the signs present the casual observer with the image that development projects are being successfully negotiated in the

rural communities of coastal Ecuador. However, NGO efforts to promote tourism in Pueblo Verde occurred just prior to the scheduled end of the development project. NGO aide has provided the means to attract tourists but in many cases has not sufficiently provided for the fundamental requirements of a tourism agency such as office space and reliable boat motors. The net result of NGO activity in Pueblo Verde is that tourism offices are ill prepared to cater to tourists due to a lack of infrastructure.

Compounding the problems associated with a lack of government assistance and NGO support, is the recent disillusionment of members of PARCEMAR. In 2004, several members expressed an interest in selling their shares of the cooperative and running their own tours without the aid of the cooperative. One of the members of PARCEMAR described the potential move in the following way, "They want to leave because they aren't happy with the cooperative, and they think that they will have more success on their own. They don't realize that this will take time. We are working hard, but it takes time. If they leave, they will be operating without licenses. PARCEMAR is licensed, but the individual members are not. Without affiliation with PARCEMAR they will be operating illegally."

In the spring of 2005, two of the founding members sold their shares in favor of operating their own offices without the aid of the cooperative. Additionally, Junior Salazar, the diver who appeared in the promotional video for Machalilla National Park, sold his share of the cooperative and is no longer working in the tourism industry. Instead, he serves as the president of the newly founded *Organización de Busos en la Pesca Artesanal del Pueblo Verde* (Organization of Artesanal Divers of Pueblo Verde). He left the tourism cooperative to continue as a commercial diver because, as suggested by other members of PARCEMAR, the lack of funding is a fundamental problems inhibiting tourism development in Pueblo Verde. According to Junior Salazar,

one has to invest thousands of dollars ... for us that is very difficult ... tourism is very difficult. That is why I continue diving. I can make money by diving ... we can't live any other way.

Preaching Conservation in a Community of Fishermen

Ecotourism has predominantly been understood as a form of tourism development that values conservation as well as development. However, capitalist concerns often take precedence over conservation. The work of the PARCEMAR tourism cooperative illustrates the potential for a marriage between economic development and environmental conservation. The proposed protection of the *Parcela Marina* by the members of PARCEMAR demonstrates a clear concern for conservation on the part of the members of PARCEMAR, however residents of Pueblo Verde who are not involved in tourism development rarely echo the same sentiments. All too frequently, individual interests for economic gain are valued more than conservation. One of the biggest obstacles to the establishment of the *Parcela Marina* is a lack of community support.

By way of example, on a warm evening in August 2005, I joined Carlos Merced, a diver and one of the founding members of PARCEMAR, for a soda outside of his home. We stumbled into a conversation that we had encountered on numerous previous occasions about the progress of the *Parcela Marina* and the prospects for conserving the area. He quickly shifted in his seat and took on a serious tone:

The ocean is life for the people of the community. ... If people don't have anything else, they can always go out and get food. It is a problem, but it is life.

Throughout the course of my research, I encountered numerous similar situations. By further example, a female university student of ecotourism relayed a story to me in which her mother gathered 60 sea turtle eggs from the beach for household consumption. Another member of PARCEMAR summed up a local misunderstanding of conservation:

Divers go out, and everything they catch is worth money. Spondylus are worth money. ... the more you catch the more money you get. Fishermen are even worse, they take everything.

But another diver stated that

The protection of the environment is of great importance ... we need to protect our resources.

This statement highlights not only the need for conservation but also the relationship between community members and the natural environment. Local actors view the region's natural resources and the maintenance of natural resources as a community responsibility; a responsibility that many maintain has not been taken seriously by local divers.

According to Miguel Balán a respected diver weathered beyond his years from countless hours below the surface of the ocean, the majority of Pueblo Verde's divers have shown little interest in preserving the natural environment. Sitting outside of Miguel's home on a cool evening in June 2005, he discussed the recent formation of an association of divers in Pueblo Verde and criticized the desire of the association to regulate diving through the formation of protected no-dive zones. He said that the protected areas are only those areas in which resources have already been depleted:

The entire region around Isla Verde is part of Machalilla National Park. In order to please park officials, the divers have agreed to stop diving in certain areas such as the Parcela Marina. However, they have only stopped diving in areas that don't have any resources because they have already taken everything.

Even while many of the divers of Pueblo Verde support a local no-dive zone in the *parcela marina*, some divers still frequent the area looking for lobster, sea cucumber, and spondylus. One of the reasons that divers still work the waters of the *parcela* is due to the close proximity of the *parcela* to the coast. The *parcela* is approximately 2 kilometers (1.2 miles) off the coast of Pueblo Verde. Divers can travel to the *parcela* in a matter of minutes whereas other dive spots, which are further away, require an increased investment in both time and gasoline.

Varying attitudes toward conservation constitute obstacles for the realization of a marine reserve off the coast of Pueblo Verde. Despite conflicting views about the potential for suc-

cessful ecotourism and differing opinions about conservation, in the summer of 2005 Pueblo Verde's association of divers agreed to close to commercial fishing and diving the 100-meter (328-foot) square area encompassed by the marine reserve to commercial fishing and diving. Despite the fact that PARCEMAR has undergone significant changes since its inception, the original members who remain a part of PARCEMAR are dedicated to protecting the marine park.

Concluding Remarks

Community based studies on ecotourism development provide an important contribution to scholarly discussions of development by illustrating the interconnectedness of local actors, the state, and NGOs. As my research illustrates, community based studies have the potential to be valuable contributions to our understanding of development processes as anthropologists. The case of PARCEMAR in Ecuador, which like much of Latin America has undergone dramatic tourism growth since the early 1990s, is one example of the ways in which ecotourism development is negotiated by local actors. In the face of rapid natural resource depletion like the coastal regions of Ecuador, and influenced by both a state-sponsored initiative to promote ecotourism and a decline in fisheries production, local actors have responded by attempting to foster and promote tourism development and conservation. Effective local actors are not merely passive recipients of development, but rather are key factors in the development process.

This study illustrates the complementary yet contradictory nature of the relationship between state-sponsored discourses on tourism development and actor understandings of tourism development. And it illustrates how even when local actors buy in, so to speak, to state-sponsored efforts, success is difficult to achieve. With PARCEMAR, numerous factors inhibited the growth of the tourism cooperative including a lack of government support, a lack of NGO support, limited park access, and a general lack of concern for conservation. Ultimately nevertheless, anthropological research pertaining to economic development should focus on actors' roles, conceptions, concerns, and understandings of development processes. It is from this actor-centered

approach, that we can gain a more thorough understanding of the social, economic, and political dimensions of workable development. ○

Notes

1. The author is grateful to Michael S. Harris, Ph.D., of Florida Atlantic University for his assistance and valuable insights. Thanks also to the anonymous reviewers for their suggestions.
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Collective Thinking Practices: Inferences from Case Studies of Decision-making Behavior

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Abstract

This paper presents a thinking-practices approach to studying organizational culture. To illustrate the idea, it reports on decision-making case studies in a United States manufacturing firm. The method is designed to systematically describe and compare decision-making patterns across organizational levels and within and between organizational work units. These patterns serve as a basis for inferences about the collective cognitive processes involved.

Introduction

Despite the so-called *cognitive revolution* of Noam Chomsky (1957), Herbert Simon (1957), and others in the mid-1950s, decision-making research has tended to remain focused on the mechanics of choice rather than on actors' judgmental formulations and evaluations of the conditions of choice. Weick (1979) uses the term *thinking practices* to refer to the cognitive processes that underscore this interpretive process. Thinking practices are the distinctive thought to action steps that individual people use in formulating, evaluating, and ultimately acting out alternative courses of action. Like other individual characteristics, thinking practices are variable both intra- and inter-individually; but, since they develop experientially in a social context, they also can be expected, with time, to exhibit regularities, again both intra- and inter-individually. The nature, extent, and sources of such regularities in the thinking practices of individuals, their patterns or *styles*, are among the important matters for the empirical analysis of decisions.

In this paper, we consider linkages of individual decision-making behavior with organizational culture. We focus on organizational decision making in order to illuminate individual thinking practices and their normative groundings. We propose simply that cognitive processes encompass implicit expectations or operating norms that are expressed in observable patterns of organizational decision-making behavior. To the extent the groundings of this behavior are shared, we assume they may be deemed *cultural*. We begin, therefore, with a critical discussion of organizational culture, and then sketch a view of decision making that emphasizes linkages of psychological

and social / environmental variables. Finally, we report case studies of decisions in a large manufacturing organization in order to illuminate our argument that commonality of decision-making behavior across individuals in organizations is indicative of shared beliefs and values, which is tantamount to a common culture.

The Concept of Culture

It is understood that we anthropologists are not widely agreed upon the meaning of *culture*. Nevertheless, a strong consensus very much exists to the effect that culture is an important concept. Its ancient and prominent position in social thought suggests as much, implying, as it does, first, that there is *something* general (call it culture) that distinguishes social collectivities and guides their actions; and, second, that we obviously need to understand what this something, this culture, is. Unhappily, just what the something is remains a matter of argument, and because of that, scholarship on the subject is perpetually inchoate.

Smircich (1983) lays out the ontological options in the simple form of three perspectives on culture:

- an *external* one according to which culture is something in the milieu of individual people that causes them to behave in particular ways;
- an *internal* one that considers culture to be an outcome, a product of the interactions of individuals in some setting; and, finally,
- a *root metaphor* idea suggesting that, as small societies, virtually by definition, organizations *are* cultures, not products of cultures nor even separable from them.

In a related paper, Thompson and Luthans (1990) seek to integrate Smircich's perspectives by sketching a cognitive interpretation of culture as a "socially constructed reality" (Thompson and Luthans 1990:324). In essence, they argue that, through associational learning, "culture is transmitted via behavior-consequences transactions" (Thompson and Luthans 1990:326). Sooner or later accumulations of contextually related learning episodes result in people acquiring a sense of pattern, or wholeness, Gestalt, or something of the sort, anyway, a culture, or, rather, *the* culture. Thanks to the various mechanisms specified in social learning theory such as copying and vicarious learning, Thompson and Luthans suggest, people work-up *cognitive maps* of their social settings, meaning models of them, in their minds. These maps tell them where they are in the world, so to speak, and also serve as reference points for self-managing their travels. So culture is in people's heads, but is *manifest* in what they do.

There are certain difficulties with Thompson and Luthans' formulation. Most importantly, its pieces do not always lie comfortably together. In their discussion of culture being learned, for instance, they seem to imply an external agency in the form of what B. F. Skinner, who lived from 1904 to 1990, might have called the *reinforcing practices of a community* (Skinner 2001, originally 1961). This situation seems to imply that the socially constructed "reality" of Thompson and Luthans, rather than being a construct, is literally "real." Hence, they speak of culture being *transmitted* by social interaction, when, from a constructionist standpoint, they might more appropriately speak of culture being *defined* in social interaction.

Such cavils aside, however, the useful view that emerges from Thompson and Luthans (1990) is one of *culture* as a personal generalization about observable social *patterns* of distinctive character, essentially intra-individual in Miller, Galanter, and Pribram's sense of social worlds (1960). It is, then, altogether reasonable to expect the models extant in particular social aggregates, or communities, to exhibit commonalities, but also to show considerable inter-individual variation. Indeed, Thompson and Luthans aptly speak of there being many cul-

tures in an organization. Reasoning such as this inevitably makes of *culture* a descriptive and individual psychological construct, that is, the concepts, beliefs, and values according to which individual people organize their actions. How these actions eventuate in social exchanges and collective structures is not, therefore, explicable via culture except tautologically. Accordingly, an individual's commitments to shared beliefs and values are direct reflections of their repetitive, often habitual patterns of behavior. Drawing from these intra-individual tendencies, we can describe characterizations of macro-level organizational phenomena.

Culture, Thompson and Luthans (1990) suggest, is learned, and it is learned via apprehensions of action-consequences. It is learned, however, in the sense of being *developed* or, as Thompson and Luthans say, constructed, and not in the sense of being taken in from outside, or of being *taught*, although some learning episodes, maybe some very important ones, certainly involve instruction. For its possessor, then, *culture* ontologically is an epistemic achievement. It consists, first and most basically, in an individual's conception of the world; and, second, in the ways these conceptions are distributed among differently situated people. As we shall illustrate, *culture* has much the same epistemic function for organizational analysts.

Analyzing Organizational Cultures

Given the just-described resolution of the so-called ontological problem of culture, the epistemic problem, or problems, confronting students of it resolve themselves into a range of familiar but still basic issues. They have to do with the acquisition, diffusion, and institutionalization of beliefs, values, and other ingredients of the mental equipment of individuals for dealing with their worlds. Methodologically, of course, the problem is an old one of observing "traces" of things, cultures in this case, which, by definition, are implicitly cognitive at micro-levels and mysterious at macro-levels.

Instead of endlessly arguing the ontology of culture, scholars might more usefully seek simple clarification of the particular conditions which the term "culture" may be used to denote. Whatever its confusions and inadequacies, the

word “culture” is not going away. We might, therefore, at least clear away some of the descriptive underbrush that impedes communication when the term is used. We mentioned earlier, for example, that if culture is cognitive its manifestations are nevertheless observable. That being true, it obviously is possible to study individuals’ actions (or reports of them), evaluate them, compare them with observations of others, make inferences about their similarities and differences, and try to associate any discernable patterns with conditions of their observation. The question, then, is when to speak of such intellectual activity as referring to “culture.”

A reasonable place to look for help with usage questions, albeit not one popular in social scientific discourse, is a dictionary. The *Second College Edition* of the *American Heritage Dictionary* (1991), for example, offers several definitions of *culture*. The first one is “the totality of socially transmitted behavior patterns, arts, beliefs, institutions, and all other products of human work and thought characteristic of a community or population” (1991:348). Clearly this is too inclusive. It either describes a field of study or is simply a so-called catchall lay term qualified only for casual use.

American Heritage’s second definition, however, is worthy of use for scholarly purposes. It describes culture as “a style of social...expression peculiar to a society or class” (1991:348). This seems more like it, more consonant with the kinds of ideas social scientists probably hope to conjure up when they use the word culture. Its essence is the notion of “style,” an idea that fits the Benedictine anthropological model of human social “patterns” differentiated by context, and one regularly encountered in scholarly conversations about culture. Moreover, “style” has a general parametric or paradigmatic quality suitable to use as a definition. In what follows, then, culture will be equated to style, specifically, for present purposes, *decision-making style*.

Culture and Decision-making

If culture itself is subjective (cognitive), but is manifest in behavior, then there obviously will be many kinds of behavior that imply it (culture, that is) and many ways of observing it. Our

interest fastens on decision making because it is a main field of our scholarly interest, but also because it is readily recognizable as what Schein (1990) would call a cultural *artifact*. Moreover, it is a subject particularly relevant to the special case of organizations, expressing as it does the processes of choice via which they are formed and operated.

In the present case, using observations of decision-making *artifacts* via indirect *policy-capturing* informant interviews, it is possible to do the following:

- search for descriptive commonalities among some or all of their producers;
- identify artifactual discontinuities and their conditions; and
- take inferences about the other two of Schein’s (1990) descriptive categories of culture, which are *values* and *assumptions*, and about their linkages with behavior. See below.

Then, on the unexceptional assumption that artifacts are expressions of the cognitions of individuals as their thinking practices, this exercise in description and inference can be understood as a mapping of an organization’s culture containing the continuities and discontinuities of some particular population’s socially constructed realities. It should be noted, however, that this *culture* is itself a social construction, an observer’s way of trying to make sense of organizational life.

The Issue of Organization Level Inference

The jump from micro- to macro-levels, from individual actors to cultural systems, requires a multi-level perspective of decision-making behavior. The answer to the question of whether or not a micro-analytic observation and interpretation of decisions can provide a basis for drawing inferences about macro-level patterns, that is, cultures, and vice versa, depends, in part at least, on how these *levels of analysis* are understood. Allaire and Firsirotu’s (1984) notion of *partial replication*, for instance, implies that a simple communality of personal meanings evolves among the several actors in a social system, which works to homogenize their world-views and facilitate their interactions. Hence, as

noted earlier, observations of inter-individual consistency of decision practices, such as decision-making *styles*, may be taken as indicative of shared cognitive structures like beliefs, concepts, values at a collective level of aggregation. Inter-individual / intra-organizational consistency of decision-making style is thus expressive, and, in fact, descriptive, of organizational culture. Specification of such styles, one posits, provides an analyst with conceptual means for comparing organizational *cultures*, and of generalizing about and predicting behavior without, however, requiring commitments to belief in the reality of those cultures.

In addressing the problem of aggregating individual-level data, other researchers have also taken a multi-level perspective to theorizing about cognitive style. In developing the concept of *group cognitive style*, Leonard, Beauvais and Scholl (2005) contend that over time, as group members interact, they develop patterns of decision-making behavior. They argue that such patterns are a natural outgrowth of the continual social interaction of individual group members. Just as individuals develop preferences for information processing it is reasonable to expect that groups similarly develop a preferred cognitive *style* or pattern of decision-making behavior.

An Empirical Demonstration

We move now to describe an application in organizational research of the ideas sketched above. No particular substantive issues are at stake in the study of decision-making we shall describe. Its message is mainly meta-theoretical and methodological. The focus is on decision-making styles, their organizational distribution in a particular setting, and the sorts of inferences about organizational culture their observation allows.

Describing Decision-making Styles

In a study by Hunt, Krzystofiak, Meindl, and Yousry (1989) consistent expressions of individuals' cognitive styles were shown across several phases of judgmental decision making. Many other studies have identified relations between various social factors and individual decision-making factors (Slovic Fischhoff, and Lichtenstein 1977; Killeen 1978; Standdon and Motheral

1978; Ravlin and Meglino 1987; Leonard and Beauvais 2005).

Several taxonomies for describing individual decision-making behavior exist (Heller and Yukl 1969; Likert 1967; Heller 1971; Tannenbaum and Schmidt 1958; Maier 1963; Lewin, Lippit and White 1939; Vroom 2003.). But, as Yukl (1989) notes there is little agreement on either the number or the specific nature of decision-making styles, or on the best ways to define them. However, generalizing from the literature, the various taxonomies all use at least four distinct categories for classifying individual decision-making behavior:

- making a decision unilaterally,
- making a decision with consultation,
- making a decision jointly, and
- making a decision by delegating it, that is, via delegation.

In the unilateral category, an individual makes decisions alone, without asking for input from others. This category may be divided into two varieties. The first is one where individuals have formal authority to make some decision alone such as in a *leader unilateral* style. The second is where individuals have discretionary latitude to make the decision alone as in a *subordinate unilateral* style. A consultative style suggests that an individual makes decisions alone, but only after giving consideration to the opinions and suggestions of others. In the joint category, an individual makes decisions together or *jointly* with other people. Finally, delegation describes a tendency for an individual to give other people the authority and responsibility for decisions. The unilateral, consultative, joint, and delegative typology covers most decision-making styles, although it may not be exhaustive. In any case, these four categories plainly represent patterns of decision-reaching activity that are likely to be manifested in most organizations and to be variously distributed either inter- or intra-organizationally.

Organizational Differentiation

Organizations are not monoliths. They are variously differentiated horizontally into such entities as work units, departments, and divisions as well as vertically. The result is that indi-

viduals in organizations are variously situated and bound by memberships in distinct groups or role sets that constitute different organizational environments, and their decision-making styles may be correspondingly differentiated. Like Henry Mintzberg (1978), we divide an organization vertically into four levels of people. From the top down, they are:

- the top managers;
- the intermediate managers;
- the direct supervisors; and
- the operators.

Operators are at the base carrying out the work of producing goods and services. Immediately above them are *administrative components*. The one first up comprises the *direct supervisors* who make up the direct-line production overseers. Up next, we find the level housing *intermediate managers* and consisting of the heads of functional divisions of the organization responsible for operations and particular products or activities. The highest level is, of course, that of the *top managers* comprised of those who oversee the entire organization. In the case we discuss below, horizontal differentiation defines itself by divisions responsible for different product lines.

Decision Styles and Organizational Roles

Merton (1957) notes the play of organizational roles in decision making. Superiors, subordinates, and peers, he suggests, exert pressure on decision makers to conform to their beliefs about the necessary and proper ways to make decisions. Organizations thus *socialize* their members toward shared and institutionalized norms of *appropriate patterns* of decision-making behavior that serve generally to regulate and standardize decision-making practices. A decision maker's position in an organizational hierarchy has been shown to influence decision-making; and decision behavior norms, diffused across organizations, may be widely institutionalized, thus defining more or less universal role requirements for incumbents of different organizational levels. Blankenship and Miles (1968), for example, found that upper-level managers in eight different organizations showed a stronger willingness to delegate, and to rely on their immediate sub-

ordinates in the decision-making process than did managers at lower levels. Lower-level managers, in turn, were more often at the receiving end of initiatives for decisions by their superiors and were more often expected to consult with their superiors before proceeding on most matters. Thus, generalized level-specific organizational practices and, by inference, role requirements appear to exist which work to differentiate managers' decision behavior, all of which suggests the operation of particular decision-making behavior norms ("styles") at different organizational levels. These styles constitute *cultural* patterns in *American Heritage's* second meaning of *culture*.

Illustrative Case Studies

Ten case studies were done to identify individual decision-making styles, and other aspects of decision-making, at different organizational levels in different work units of a large Northeastern chemical plant in the United States. Briefly, in addition to general information on informants' *typical*, conceptual, and operational approaches to decision making, each case involved detailed description of one specific decision of which the informant was the maker, tracing it retrospectively from its initial phase through its implementation.

Lengthy semi-structured individual interviews, done in the context of a broader management-initiated developmental evaluation of the plant, were organized around a general coding program, called a *task analysis* method (Hunt, Magenau and Fails 1981; Bahl and Hunt 1984; Hunt and Magenau 1984). Briefly, this scheme treats a decision as a task, and divides the overall decision-making process into periods of pre-decision, decision, and post-decision. It provides a set of descriptive categories for characterizing the participants and the structure and content of their activities during each decision period. This allows reduction of a number of descriptive observations to a discrete set of labelled categories (see the examples in the next paragraph) that are manipulable for comparative empirical analysis. Thus, the scheme served as both a template for planning a systematic interview that debriefed informants about their decision making, and as a means of coding their responses to the programmed interview queries.

We collected the following kinds of information for each case:

- Characteristics of the decision maker, including role/status position in the organization and personality.
- A definition of the situation in which the decision arose that includes the features of the decision itself such as its form, content, familiarity, time, importance, and degree of decision-maker discretion.
- The organization's internal and external control techniques, such as whether centralized or decentralized, close or loose, negotiatory or persuasive, and power or moral appeal.
- The process itself of choosing that includes specification of alternatives, evaluation criteria, mechanism of selection, dissemination, and preparation for implementation.

Only a small part of this information is used here in this article. Systematically tracking and coding particular individuals' decisions allowed the development of detailed and descriptively standardized cases of organizational decision making. We considered how the decisions were made, by whom, and on what criteria. We analyzed comparatively in order to identify specific ways in which decision processes vary, or do not vary, inter-individually and across particular work units or organization levels.

Informants' Levels

Decision making was evaluated at four different organizational levels:

- Top management, meaning a plant manager;
- Intermediate management, meaning a functional manager;
- Direct supervision, meaning a foreman/supervisor, and,
- Operations, meaning a production worker.

Three individuals were selected randomly from the second, third, and fourth of these four levels, one from each of the plant's three main operational divisions.

Procedure

We conducted individual interviews in one four-hour or two two-hour sessions, during regular working hours and privately in employee offices or conference rooms. We obtained permission from each informant to tape record sessions, which were later transcribed for coding. Interviews began with introductions, followed by a brief explanation of why and how the informant had been selected, and what to expect of the interview. After obtaining some general background information, informants were asked to describe the kinds of decisions they normally make in their work, how they typically go about making them, and how free they generally are to make and implement their decisions. This overview, in addition to its substantive value, served to initiate a discussion of *decisions* and to prime the informants for the ensuing parts of the interview. Next, informants were asked to think of one specific decision they had made "within the last few days." Having identified a decision, such as "a waste disposal problem," they then were asked about what events had occurred, who was involved, and a program of other questions specified by the interview schedule. Upon completion of each interview, the general purposes of the study were discussed with the informants at whatever length they wished and in whatever detail.

Observed Decision Styles

The key empirical question at issue here centers on whether individual manager's identifiable decision styles are altogether individual matters or exhibit collective patterns sufficient to justify calling them cultural. Individual's decision-making styles were identified by asking informants how they "*usually* went about solving problems." Accordingly, the following question was asked of each informant: "When you search for ways of solving problems or ways of taking advantage of opportunities, how much influence do you usually allow to other people when making a decision?" Based on the degree of influence or participation individuals allowed to other people, they were classified into one of four *primary* decision-making styles, ranging from no influence by others (a *Unilateral* style) to high influence (*Delegation*), with *Consultation* and

Joint styles as intermediate forms. Some informants implied that, in particular instances, they used styles different from their primary ones. Therefore, in addition to a primary style, *secondary* (or conditional) styles were also coded. Coding primary styles relied on such key words as *typically*, *normally*, *usually*, *generally*, *often*, or *almost always*. Expressions such as *sometimes*, *under some circumstances*, *occasionally*, or *at times* were taken as indicators of secondary decision styles.

Additional analysis provided a basis for increasing our confidence in the reliability of these decision style classifications. For example, recalling a recent strategic decision, informants were asked to describe their style as either solitary (individual selects in social isolation) or collectively influenced, in which others were included in the selection process, and to discuss whether this style was typical of them in their work. Furthermore, informant responses were probed to explore the relative emphasis of the collective aspects (consultation, joint, or delegation) of their decisions. This procedure, by indicating areas of uncertainty and suggesting directions for additional inquiry, served to test and enhance the interviewer's understanding of each informant's primary decision style.

Another way of testing whether or not these classifications are reliable is to look for what Schein (1985) calls *critical events*: events that appear to generate conflict between a decision maker and the expectations of others in the decision environment. To illustrate, in one case a supervisor reported strong subordinate resistance to his unilateral approach to a particular decision. The supervisor described himself as normally giving serious consideration to the opinions of his subordinates. In the particular case, however, he gave them no opportunity to participate. The upshot was subordinate acceptance of the decision, but only after a show of displeasure about how the decision had been made. Specific episodes such as this one suggest that, in the events, operating norms are violated, which supports inferences as to the normative status of particular decision-making styles in the setting.

Organizational Level

Individual decision-making styles were observed at each of four organizational levels: Top Management, Intermediate Management, Direct Supervision, and Operations. Five of the six informants at the intermediate and direct supervision levels described *consultation* as their *primary* decision style, while operations-level informants as *workers* emphasized a *subordinate unilateral style*. It thus appears that decision-making styles in the plant are hierarchically differentiated, generally calling for wider participation at higher levels and more unilateral decision making at the operator level.

The observation of such patterns provides a basis for inferring or hypothesizing about other cultural attributes such as Schein's values and assumptions (1985). For example, a tendency toward unilateral decision-making at the operations level may reflect values there about independence or assumptions about operator autonomy (or the absence of it) and/or skill at that level. Meanwhile, the more participatory styles of top management, intermediate management, and direct supervisory levels may suggest broad values about teamwork and/or assumptions about cooperation in co-worker relations as a condition for effective work performance. At any rate, whatever particular values and assumptions may be justifiably inferred from (or imputed to) them, core behavioral themes remain apparent in the organization: unilateral decision styles at the operations level and consultative styles at other levels.

Discussion

Decision making is an exercise in the cognitive construction of reality. The analysis of decision making is epistemologically identical. It is a matter of interpretation, a cognitive construction of reality, a theory. Naive or scientific, theory is a problem-solving tool that evolves by developing and extending patterns such that empirical themes and relations are *explained* by specifying their place in a pattern, as parts-to-whole. Implicitly or explicitly, a theory is a claim to knowledge. Sustaining such a claim comes down to persuasively "grounding" belief, warranting assertion, and reaching social consensus on the

utility of ideas. Hence, the essential test of any model or theory, personal or scientific, is its practicality in its usefulness for coping with events (see Hunt 1983).

Systematic descriptive analyses of decision making at micro-levels, we have suggested, affords a practicable framework for constructive theorizing about fundamental organizational processes. Specifically, it provides a behavioral basis for drawing comparative inferences about the thinking practices of individuals and their socially constructed realities that can be generalized to effect characterizations of macro-level group and organizational behavior patterns. We have further suggested that the process of describing and adducing inferences about behavioral styles and cognitive models in organizational contexts is epistemologically equivalent to describing, or, more precisely, defining the elusive idea of organizational cultures.

The analytic exercise outlined herein demonstrates application of this strategic idea. By focusing on the description of patterns or styles of decision-making behavior that typify managerial actions in a particular organization, we sought to illustrate both a means and the utility of thinking about and describing organizational culture via behavioral analyses, specifically of organizational decision-making practices. Understanding the empirical properties of organizational decision patterns and, by inference, the individual cognitive models on which they are based, provides a conceptual framework for drawing further inferences about their etiologies. Systematically describing the properties of decision makers, of decisions, and of the environments where they are observed facilitates comparative analyses of individual decision-making behavior and its organizational patterning which support inferences about the cognitive and social processes that ostensibly explain the behavior.

Future Research

Research to advance behavioral perspectives on decision-making and organizational culture might take several directions. First and most obviously, additional comparative studies of the kind we have sketched can be used to evaluate,

refine, and extend both theoretical models and analytic technologies such as the task-analysis method used here. Second, intensive and narrowly focused studies attentive to issues of data quality are needed to generate and evaluate inferences about “front-end” matters of decision-making modeling, about their expression in action, in “rear-end” matters of decision-making, and about their interrelations with organizational and environmental factors. Finally, applications of a task-analysis model or any other for comparative cross-site analyses of decision making and its circumstantial variation would be greatly facilitated by a more satisfactory taxonomy of decisions, that is, tasks, than any that now exists. ○

Notes

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Witnessing Practice: The Treatment of Childhood Illness in Upper Guinea, Western Africa¹

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Abstract

If fieldworkers are able to witness ongoing actions of diagnosis and treatment for childhood illness, then we are able to observe practices and conditions that escape our notice. That is, were we just to rely on cognitive approaches or retrospective accounts or even rapid assessments, we would become selective about data collection despite the broad perspectives. As our analysis as well was guided by the work of Pierre Bourdieu (1977, 1990), we viewed treatment practices as the "habitus," the flow of responses to conditions that present themselves. Some of the presenting conditions were seasonal poverty, the deference to elders and their beliefs, a meddlesome patrilineage, and the inclinations to rely on labels of being constitutionally ill and to rely on ritual cures. In this paper, an examination of conditions highlights how everyday conditions need to change if treatment practices are to change.

The Aim of This Article

Our approach was not business as usual for applied anthropologists when we studied treatment of sick children in Upper Guinea, western Africa. We did follow certain customs. We sought to complete our work in a short time, eight weeks, common for applied work. Our tools of interviewing, participant observation, and tracing social networks were taken from the tool kit of anthropology (Schensul and LeCompte 1999, Bernard 2006). But the way we used these tools was different. We made it a priority to witness all that happens over the course of an illness. We sought to learn about events as they evolve, prospectively, from the beginning of an illness to its conclusion. Our team of field researchers observed sequences of activity through diagnosis, treatment, and care, that is, through all that takes place when children are sick. When we asked questions about ongoing activity, the questions were raised on the site of action, or shortly afterwards. We ask rhetorically, why not get the full story from the actors and actions that are implicated in the care of the child? We had our researchers collect data from the community, seven days a week, 24 hours a day. We will review what is entailed in witnessing treatment practices, but here we review a case study to illustrate the kind of data we had and how we collected it. We look at how this information may be useful for applied work.

We do not feel that an attempt to witness ongoing activity is necessarily the optimum strategy for all short-term applied research. But

given our experience, we strongly recommend it for understanding treatment decisions with sick children. Perhaps, close and comprehensive attention may be similarly useful in other treatment situations that call for continual attention to care giving, or when the sick person is not apt to speak on his or her own behalf, as is the case with a young child. Nevertheless, here we limit our discussion to witnessing the care of sick children, with an understanding that the approach may be useful in other treatment situations and for other research problems that will benefit from witnessing unfolding action.

Our approach was, in part, a conscious alternative to the cognitive emphasis in much of the research on treatment on illness. Usually, a cognitive approach means hearing how and what people think, and this often means being or staying remote from the action, itself, not seeing what happens. Since cognitive research presumes a close connection between behavior and how our informants describe and explain illness and treatment, it appears unnecessary to witness the unfolding activity. Furthermore, since thought is recognized as prior to action, temporally and logically, to know how people think is to know what steers them to one or another action.

There are several cognitive approaches that are part of research on treatment and illness. One is to examine rules for making treatment decisions (Garro 2004, Garro 1998, Mathews 1990, Ryan 1998, Ryan and Martinez 1996, and Young and Garro 1994). Investigators identify a

limited number of considerations such as type of illness and the gravity of the illness, as well as other issues regarding treatment such as cost and access. A decision model approach examines one treatment choice over another in light of how an individual perceives these considerations. Another quite common approach is to look at shared understandings of illness. There has been a continuing research concern with explanatory models of belief, of the unfolding of illness, and of treatment, starting with Arthur Kleinman and others (1978). Another emphasis has been to look at illness narratives and to examine how an acceptable and meaningful story comes to be fashioned and as it become an acceptable guide for future action (Kleinman, Eisenberg, and Good 1978; Mattingly 1998; Mattingly and Garro 2000; Price 1987).

A cognitive approach does yield important information about terms, beliefs and perceptions. This is helpful for developing health education and for improving patient communication. Yet, the approach is full of problems. Decision-making models may be especially helpful for understanding clear-cut acute illnesses, but not so helpful for lingering illnesses when many decisions are still to be made. A study of beliefs and narratives may be important for the design of health-education materials and assist clinicians who talk with patients, but beliefs and narratives may have little to do with what is in one's head when actions are taken (Garro 1998). Research would need to look further to know what influences a decision and what is in people's heads when they act, in short, to observe what happens.

Our commitment to observe all that happens differs from the rapid assessments in health care (Scrimshaw and Gleason 1992, Scrimshaw and Hurtado 1987) and in other applied work.. More generally speaking, see Beebe (1995, 2001), Handwerker (2001), van Willigen and Finan (1991), and Vlasoff and Tanner (1992). Rapid assessments have a broad scope, but they, too, are dependent on cognitive approaches with their associated limitations. Moreover, much of the data collection relies on an informant's memory. Influences on treatment may be subtle or difficult to remember. Often apparently minor events and feelings are important and repeat

themselves in people's lives. This may be a clear problem with the so-called *calendar method*, recalling day-by-day events over the past two weeks (Baume 2000 Goldman et al. 1998) and with social autopsies reconstructing events leading up to death or some other calamity (Gray 1992 and Gray and Barss 1992). We often saw mothers so tired at the end of the day that they barely attend to their sick child. Being overburdened and fatigued are important and influential in the course of treatment, but these types of events are not easily recalled. Issues of mood and feeling tend not come to light in an interview. Events and actions take the front stage. Also, the presence of other people and the apparently minor roles they play in our life may also have a great impact, but these issues, too, do not necessarily come to mind in interviews. We also saw how individuals with minor roles in the child's life make seemingly casual suggestions, but their presence may be so important that they re-direct the course of the treatment plan. Frequently minor players and incidents just do not come to light in people's recollections.

Rapid assessments do have a major advantage in using many different data sources, not just memory and personal accounts. But a broad-brush approach also raises other problems. Data collection becomes selective. The researcher must decide on a range of questions to be asked. There are many diverse scenarios to be observed. The research team tries to make the best decision about the most informative time and place for data collection. Often, there is an effort to highlight the significant sphere of activity, like what goes on at a clinic. But a consequence may be a disproportionate and sometimes unwarranted emphasis on a topic that is less than important. For instance, research on the worldwide program of Integrated Management of Childhood Illnesses (see Black and Kelly 2003; Gordon, Yoder, and Camara 2005) has spent significant time in the clinic, reviewing records, observing medical supplies, training, and work routines of clinic staff. Yet we find, these factors are frequently not very important, because biomedical treatment has been taken over by the market vender of pharmaceuticals. They are the preferred provider of care. Independent vendors are more valued. They provide

familiarity with the client; they offer credit and ready access to care, day and night, every day of the week (Gordon et al. 2004, Gordon 1998).

Also, rapid assessment research, like much of qualitative research may create distortions because of the strong role of some informants, and not others. The voices of certain people, our *key informants* and confidants, play a major role in findings. This impact is especially pronounced when the research is short-term.

Finally, in rapid assessment research other distortions may come into play. Frequently, the routines of work, of collecting data take place during the workday of the field researcher, as opposed to having a fieldworker on the scene all the time co-existing in the community. Consequently, much is not noticed. We found important subjects and scenarios far off the beaten track, late at night, at odd moments, and coming from people who do not attract our attention in rapid assessments. The role they play may come to light when rapid assessment field teams tend not to be operating.

The Full Story: The Holistic Focus of Our Researchers

Our researchers heard personal accounts of what was going on as the action occurred. Most importantly, we observed the conditions in which actions take place. We followed the agenda of “practice theory” of Pierre Bourdieu (1977, 1990, Ortner 1984), which, as Ortner points out (1996: 1-20), is not really a theory at all: it is an outlook. We understand patterned behaviors as a response. Our researchers tried to witness everything - all that was happening with the child, who did what to continuing conditions and contexts, what Bourdieu would call *conjunctures*. Research focuses on the conditions to which individuals respond. Recurring or predictable responses are “the habitus” of a group. Going back to our example of the tired mother, she may fully believe in the importance of administering ritual baths for the sick children (the cognitive component), but the beliefs are not very important when the circumstances of life leave her too tired to act. She may, instead, simply decide – as mothers in this community were inclined to do – that the child is constitutionally ill, so the effort is not worth it. The

labeling procedure is the habitus. Yet under more favorable circumstances, when the mother is fresh from a night’s sleep, she may aggressively seek out treatment and then another way of coping, or habitus, is evident.

Common Conditions and Variability in Practice

Our research readily disclosed the conditions or conjunctures associated with treatment practices. We had little problem studying the conditions and treatment practices in short term research. In the rainy season, childhood illness is endemic. The rates of childhood illness in Guinea are extraordinary and the child mortality rate (death of children under five) is 222 per 1000 in (*Direction Nationale de la Statistique* 1999:23). When we studied in the rainy season, much of the illness over the year came to light during our term of study. Our focus on conditions turned up the following:

- a seasonal dimension to poverty and adversity during this rainy season. This includes increased illness, a lack of money for medications and proper nutrition, and heavy demands in agriculture work taking time from child care;
- patrilocal residence and patrilineal group membership, meaning the mother is particularly responsive to the expectations of her husband’s family;
- reliance on alternative sources of treatment outside of clinic health services, these being market vendors providing “Western” pharmaceuticals as well as herbal treatment and massages provided by healers and elders who coax unhealthy spirits out of the body
- beliefs about continuing illness that may be explained by a child’s sickly nature, from birth; and
- beliefs about some illnesses described as *kono* that assess the origin of illness in the bush and transferred to children via birds overhead, the scent of monkeys, and the consequence of accidentally crushing an insect.

But the recognition of commonly shared conditions does not explain individual practice.

The care of sick children is not uniformly compromised by seasonal poverty. Not all caregivers took direct orders from the patrilineage. Nor do beliefs about inherent frailty and the origin of diseases always play an important role. We were interested in why children are treated differently. We started research with the idea that the particular constellation of the agents of care – mothers, fathers, friends, cousins and so forth – may cause differences in practice. How the network of social relations is put together and functions is another condition, though it might be described as part of the micro-ecology of the child's life.

We do not necessarily think family and kin relations are always what is important to explain variability in practice. In another type of society, in one more cosmopolitan, the level of education and the type of occupation may play important roles. But here in Konindou II in Upper Guinea, there was a single ethnic and language group. Education, work, and wealth were pretty much on the same level for everybody. We found that social relations in the household, in the kin group or the living compound made for clear differences in responses to conditions and practice with regard to childhood illness.

At the start of our study, our researchers focused their attention on the micro-ecology or conditions of a child's life by collecting lists of all who would be part of the social network concerned with the child and the child's illness (see Trotter 1999). Then, over the course of research, fieldworkers examined how the social relations functioned. By the end of our research, we found four differing types of conditions of social relations affecting treatment of the child. Each type of situation had effects that strengthened or weakened the impact of general conditions such as seasonal poverty and patrilocal residence. The following were the four constellations of social relations:

- 1) children whose mothers or other caretakers who have no history in the community;
- 2) children whose parents have highly integrated systems of support both from the mothers and father's patrilineage;

- 3) children with mothers who marry into the compound and community but who have fractious relations with the in-laws and little other support; and
- 4) children with uninvolved fathers but with mothers who had developed other sources of support (Gordon, Yoder, and Camara 2004:17-35).

In this paper, we examine the case of a child in the third type of situation, which is that of a mother marrying into her husband's community and having little support and much difficulty with in-laws. Our illustration presents a day-by-day account. Then we discuss the recommendations that come from our examination of the findings. Finally we consider what ought to be done to enhance the possibilities of research that witnesses. First, though, we discuss the fieldwork.

The Fieldwork

Our research focused on the treatment of all sick children five and under. It was conducted in eight consecutive weeks spanning late June to early August. A child became the subject for research once illness was detected and research attention continued until the child was well again. Children who became ill had a mixture of maladies such as malaria, gastrointestinal infections, skin disorders, and respiratory problems. A child would often suffer several maladies in succession or concurrently.

Konindou II is a settlement of 444, which is the capital of the sub-prefecture of Konindou, itself part of the prefecture of Dabola in what is close to the geographical center of Guinea, but part of what is called Upper Guinea bordering Mali. The village was divided into geographic sectors, each named after a specific patriclan. There was the Draméla sector named after the Dramé clan, while the Camaralá sector is named after the Camara clan. Each fieldworker took up residence in a different part of the community, generally conforming to clan divisions.

Field researchers lived in the compounds 24 hours a day, seven days a week. They made observations, overheard conversations, engaged in casual conversations, and made cassette recordings of interviews. As the time of field-

work, the fieldworker blended with the time of the subjects in the study. Fieldworkers heard, and overheard, and saw much of what goes on. We had a team of five researchers each following about 31 children in the different sectors of the community of Konindou II. At the end of the field-study period, 61 of the 155 children covered were sick. Each was a separate case in our research.

The fieldworkers were Malinké women, all with at least a high school education and some who were finishing their university training in fields such as sociology, literature, or linguistics. They were curious and eager to learn about the ways of life of other Malinké who lived as many of their relatives were living or how they had lived in the parental or grandparent generations. Being Malinké, it was possible for them to enter the world of Konindou II, gain quick acceptance, and start collecting data immediately. Gaining trust in the community, though, was not necessarily smooth. There was suspicion, at first, but it quickly wore away as these women assumed their place in the compounds, sleeping close to their hosts, eating the same foods, and partaking in the small talk of everyday life.

Training Guidelines

With training and continuing supervision, we found that our fieldworkers could mostly be left to their own devices. We started out with one week of training in the field, where techniques of observing, interviewing, and taking notes for a journal were part of each day's instructional routine. Training included exposures to the field situation with submission and review of notes, observations, and tape recordings. All three co-authors conducted training. The first two co-authors, Andrew J. Gordon and P. Stanley Yoder, are both anthropologists, and the third co-author, Mamadou Camara, is a field linguist and native Guinean. Camara continued to supervise in the field from his base as a professor at the University of Conakry. Gordon also made several trips to oversee the fieldwork and follow up on data collection.

Our fieldworkers followed these four guidelines as instructions:

- 1) Even before the presence of illness, take a census of children who are five and under along with the network of social relations linking the child and the mother with others who may play a role in the daily life of the child.
- 2) Begin a case of study as soon as there has been recognition of signs or symptoms that suggest illness by recording the signs and symptoms that are meaningful, noting the diagnosis or diagnoses that accrue from what is recognized, and recording all the treatment and care that is provided.
- 3) Note all treatments and those who are involved in the treatments. Note assessments about treatment as well as the outcomes of treatments.
- 4) Speak with those involved in diagnosis, care, and treatment to capture just what is in their minds, and what they feel about the actions that are unfolding.

Fieldworkers were expected to note signs or symptoms that were recognized as *suggesting* illness, such as cold symptoms, fever, diarrhea, and respiratory discomfort. From this point onwards, the child was to be observed and contacted, at least once a day (though preferably more often) to know how people were responding to the child. Because work and residence are one and the same, making a household visit would entail no more than walking over to the next compound, usually about 200 feet. Frequently, news of an illness or treatment would reach the fieldworker simply by her staying put in the compound where she lived.

In accounts containing data on treatments, fieldworkers were instructed to record who gave the treatment, always getting details about who did what, and at what time. Notes and cassette recordings facilitated the task of . Fieldworkers posed questions in an open format to elicit maximum responses, to ask for illustrations of any general or summary statements, and to always ask follow-up questions so as to further probe the information offered.

A Case Study of Practice

We present a narrative of a case handled by *Maciré*, one of our fieldworkers. An eight-month-old male child, *Amara*, is suffering from a skin disorder and then from malaria. He is the only child of his mother, *Dyenabou*. Here we see commonly shared conjunctures of seasonal poverty and ambient morbidity in the rainy season. We also see the distinct conjunctures of the mother being an outsider and with fractious relations with her in-laws. Additionally, her husband is largely absent working in a town 36 kilometers (22.4 miles) away, and she has little in the way of support from others.

Day 1. On the first day in the case of Amara, Maciré learns of Dyenabou's efforts with Amara's illness. Maciré begins the case with an account of Dyenabou, whom she observes talking with her mother-in-law (Amara's father's mother). Dyenabou tells her that Amara cried all night. The mother-in-law touches Amara's head and replies that it is scabies that so disturbed the child and that the fever was due to his teething. Dyenabou remarks that Amara now only accepts the care of her grandmother.

Dyenabou brings Maciré up to date on Amara's problems. Amara had suffered this skin problem for months, visited countless healers and tried as many herbal remedies, but nothing had worked so far. All the healers offered diverse explanations for Amara's problems, one of which blamed a back sprain as the cause of fever. Dyenabou also mentioned her husband, who spends most of his time in Banko (36 kilometers or 22.4 miles away). He recently purchased tubabu basi; Dyenabou was referring to White (tubabu) medicine (basi). Dyenabou specifically cited the efforts of a well-known healer who recited verses (the maboros) and the advice of a healer who urged her to consult with Conakry-based Sousou healing women whose work with children is recognized throughout Guinea. Dyenabou had just returned from Conakry where she consulted the Sousou healing women.

Day 2. On day two, Maciré observes the ongoing action and records the conversations of others. From here onwards see stresses from her mother-in-law and others in Amara's patrilineage. Maciré records how the mother-in-law berates Dyenabou. The mother-in-law says:

It's you who doesn't want the rash of my grandson cured quickly. One who is nursing a child with scabies should turn the child over to someone else to wash it. Then the problem will quickly leave. I've always said that when you want to wash the child, let me know, but you never do it.

Then, in an off-hand comment, she mutters to herself, in a way that is audible to others:

The mother does not listen to the counsel of her mother-in-law.

The mother-in-law then takes the matter into her own hands, bathing Amara and applying methalatum Chinoise, a commercially available topical analgesic. She also applies an herbal preparation known as setulu, derived from tree sap. She summarizes the day noting how Amara's fever continues, and that he is not receiving any treatment. An eight-year-old girl, Amara's father's brother's daughter, takes watch over Amara while Dyenabou works in the fields.

Day 3. Maciré visits Amara and Maciré writes that while he is slightly better, he is still suffering. His hands are so covered with sores that he cannot even crawl. The mother-in-law crisply underscores the difficulty:

Ah, you can't even walk.

Then, directing her comments for the apparent benefit of Alpha, Amara's father's brother, she asks: "Where did this rash come from that covers Amara's body?" She comments that the problem came on bit by bit with no success in treatment concluding her remarks with, "I don't know what more to do." Then, turning to Alpha she sums up the situation:

Alpha, it's Dyenabou who makes the child worse.

Alpha acknowledges the mother's remarks then goes over to Dyenabou, hands her a tube of penicillin topical ointment, and reprimands her:

It is you who should wash Amara, who belongs to all of us. Since he is your child, take charge of his treatment yourself, for the love of God.

Day 4. Maciré speaks with those around

Amara and later engages the mother-in-law in a focused interview. As Dyenabou was preparing to go work in the fields, Maciré asked how Amara was doing. Dyenabou said it made her anxious not knowing what was wrong with her son, but that she was going ahead with pharmaceuticals her husband brought her. She added that the rash was drying up; mentioning that the improvements were the result of her mother-in-law's applying an herbal body wash along the reciting verses (maboros). But, Dyenabou also remarked, Amara still had a fever that morning.

Later that day, Maciré observes Amara's grandmother washing him and applying the medication from Alpha. In the evening, Maciré went to speak with Dyenabou's mother-in-law and culled her perspective on illness and the illness of Amara:

You know that the suffering here is due to our meager resources. Everyone here cultivates. The arrival of the dry season helps us to avoid suffering at other times (during the rainy season). During the dry season we have the harvest and the means to care for our children. But the dry season is now passed and leaves us now without anything and we find ourselves empty handed. If you are sick or a family member is sick in this period, you will be anxious because you go to the clinic and you don't have any money. What are you going to do? It's for that reason that we use our medicinal leaves to prepare in a boil and to wash our children... At any time a person can be sick, but in the rainy season with the humidity and cold, if there's an illness it becomes difficult and fatigues the person.... You know when the rainy season arrives there are so many difficulties, and it is a very difficult time. One day you get some rice and there's no sauce, another day you have sauce and there's no rice. Many of us are suffering.

Maciré closed the interview by asking about any governmental health care assistance and was told that yes, the government did provide assistance, but gave only medicines to prevent illness, not to cure them; she was speaking about vaccinations.

Day 5. (no entries)

Day 6. Maciré's observes Amara and is later consulted by Dyenabou who plaintively asks Maciré what to do in such a situation. After a brief discussion, Dyenabou settled on giving paracetamol (an analgesic that lowers fever) to Amara. Afterwards, Amara went to sleep. Alpha shows up to spend some time with Amara and carries him around to visit members of the family and of the compound. At day's end, Maciré found Amara still feverish

Day 7. Maciré observes that Amara is in the presence of his mother, his father, and his paternal grandmother Dyenabou's (mother-in-law) and Alpha. Dyenabou tells her mother-in-law that Amara had not slept. The mother-in-law remarked, "It's not still the rash, I hope." Dyenabou said that she didn't know anything about how such rashes were cleared up. Alpha, upon returning, shouted at his brother, Dyenabou's husband:

What are you thinking about for Amara? About this rash, they've told me that you've never done anything. He is sick again today, so what are you going to do? Are you counting on his mother? And the day she dies, what are you going to do then? You should learn what to do from now on, not for today but for the future.

At that point, Amara's father mounts his motorcycle and returns to Banko. Alpha turns to Dyenabou and asks why she had not treated Amara with the medicines he gave her. Alpha gives him a dose of this medicine, remarking that none of it has been used, and then cries out:

What more can I do? Let's quickly find a solution before there are further complications.

Day 8. Maciré observes that Dyenabou returns from a visit to her father in Konindou I, the adjacent village. Dyenabou reports that her father had plans to help with the payment for Amara's medications. Dyenabou runs into to Alpha, reports to him about visiting her father. Alpha spoke approvingly and Dyenabou said that she planned to return there the next day. That evening, Amara was feverish and Maciré

observes that Dyenabou simply went to sleep without involving herself, in any way, with Amara.

Day 9. Maciré notes that Dyenabou had not visited her father, as planned. Maciré also remarks that Amara still suffers, that he does not sleep, refuses the breast of his mother, and is not responsive to anyone. Maciré observes that Dyenabou is spent, physically exhausted, unable to keep up with her son's care. Maciré writes that she would have liked to have seen Dyenabou do more to help Amara, adding that, in going off to the fields and leaving Amara at home in the care of his 8-year-old cousin, she seems indifferent to her son's illness.

Day 10. Maciré writes that the rash clears up, but Amara comes down with what is recognized by the family as kono (malaria). Early in the day Maciré writes that the mother, despite an additional diagnosis, applies the same treatments. In Maciré's notes she record "No care for him, nothing... only the methalatum chiniois and setulu." Maciré also notes that after preparing food, Dyenabou returns to the fields. A torrential rain falls on Konindou and Maciré observes the rains worsen Amara's malaria. At 7 p.m., Dyenabou returns after working in the fields. She reports that she did not return to her father. That evening, Dyenabou washes Amara, applies setulu, heats the fire and retires. Maciré's journal discloses her negative opinion when she writes of Dyenabou's not returning to her father. She remarks, "Again it's not her problem only her cultivation interests her."

Day 11. Amara still suffers from kono (malaria); Maciré remarks that Dyenabou is not involved at this point, neither is her mother-in-law, nor Alpha, and Amara's father is always in Banko (36 kilometers away). Maciré observes that Dyenabou prepares the food, puts Amara on her back, and goes to the field, carrying Amara despite the torrential rain falling on him.

Day 12. Maciré observes that Amara's condition has worsened; he vomits a great deal and cries intensely. Maciré records how Dyenabou despairs and how, in frustration, she exhorts her son to recover. We view a mother at the end of her rope, unable to cope, fatigued, overly burdened by agriculture duties, giving up at times and given to accepting her child as sidasolo, or

constitutionally sick. She says to him:

I don't know anything anymore. I can't do the job of weeding my peanut field if you stay sickly [sidasolo]. I just don't understand. Pardon me, dear "little father" (term of endearment for the child), don't tire me out like this. It's the rainy season, and I have no help. You have to have pity on me. I was left an orphan when my mother died, and only your namesake [Dyenabou's father] is living, and all our needs fall on him. Then little father, drop this illness. I hope you are going to understand my advice.

Day 13. Maciré had given Dyenabou money, as she did on a weekly basis. Dyenabou went to the weekly market and bought Paracetamol and Indomiel (an antibiotic), from Mamadi, the main market vender of pharmaceuticals.

Day 14. Dyenabou reports that the medications appeared to have no effect, so they are no longer being applied. Maciré notes that the malaria worsens. Amara vomits after breastfeeding and Maciré records Dyenabou saying:

Amara, you have so fatigued me in the past day. All the dry season you have not gotten sick, you choose the rainy season to get all sorts of illness, and this is the most important time for cultivation. Everyday it's another illness.

Later, Dyenabou's mother-in-law appears and says, "What now, a sprain? As soon as you lift him he cries; his father should be aware of that." Amara's father returns from Banko and asks about the problem; Dyenabou affirmed it was fever. The father replied that it was also likely to be konodoni (a problem linked with vomiting), and recommended a healer. Dyenabou followed her husband's recommendation and has the healer apply a maboro and a body wash.

Day 15. Maciré writes that Amara is still unstable. Dyenabou informs her mother-in-law that Amara had not slept the previous night. We see how the case reveals that treatment activity can shift back and forth based in beliefs about kono or spirits or belief in biomedicine. The mother-in-law says that the child has kono, adding:

I have been waiting for this because the signs indicated this was the case: he doesn't do anything but sleep, his face has changed color, his stools are black, and in the middle of sleep he jumps.

The mother-in-law advises Dyenabou against working in the fields for the day, and to stay at Amara's side and to take him to Nakura, a healer. Maciré observes Nakura performing what is planned to be a three-day treatment beginning with a massage, applying setulu and then the recitation of a maboro. Nakura indicated that if this treatment could not cure the problem, then it would be important to use another plant medication. Dyenabou observes that a maboro is more effective if used in conjunction with an herbal preparation.

Day 16. Maciré writes that Amara is still suffering from the convulsions of malarial fever (kono). Maciré writes: "The mother-in-law has discovered that the illness has not improved, but she doesn't provide any care. Since the morning, she goes to the field, leaving her grandson with his mother, alone." Nakura's treatment continues. Maciré writes, "For the moment, no member of the social network does anything." Maciré has grown accustomed to our use of the terminology "social network", so her observations show signs of social science.

Day 17. Maciré observes that the kono continues. Dyenabou hears from a neighbor that Kerfala (well known for treating kono) would be the answer to the problem. Nakura's treatment continues.

Day 18. Diaka, whom Dyenabou describes affectionately as a "sister" gets involved and urges Dyenabou to see still another healer, Naba, one of the best-known healers in Konindou II. Aiba Kalo, another well-known healer, tells Dyenabou to go into the bush, collect leaves for treatment, and prepare them in a boiling pot. In an interview with Dyenabou, Maciré asks how she was aware that the problem was kono. Dyenabou replied, precisely reciting the diagnosis of her mother-in-law, "His eyes are swollen, his stools are black." "Who advised you about this," Maciré asked. Dyenabou replied that her mother-in-law had, and that Nakura, the healer, had affirmed it. When asking Dyenabou if she was

going to take Amara to the work in the field, Dyenabou replied that she could not, because when the rains came down, it worsened Amara's condition. Maciré asked if Dyenabou had an umbrella. Dyenabou replied:

If you don't have the money, you can't buy an umbrella ... because it's the rainy season, and now it's hard on everybody.

Maciré then asked about the choice of caring for the child versus doing work in the field. Dyenabou replies that it wasn't even a question, because if you aren't involved in cultivation then things will be difficult for you. Dyenabou mentions that her husband would like to help, but that he didn't have anything. She also mentions her father, but explained that he proves to be less than helpful because of his obligation to his wives. Dyenabou adds that her mother was dead. She continued, reflecting on another theme, the problem of social support:

I don't have an older brother, nor older sister or young brothers or sisters from the same mother ... the only one who cared for me is no longer here. His child came and brought him to America. It's he who sent me money and bought me clothes. Since he left, I have no one. With his paternal grandmother, one day she is happy and comes over to play with him, and the next day she's angry or not feeling well.

Dyenabou remarked that she has friends around but they follow the lead of the mother-in-law and do not treat her kindly. Maciré asked what she would do if the problem continued for another week; Dyenabou replied that she would go to the clinic and to Mamadi (the vender of pharmaceuticals), as she had been told to see him on market days because he has lots of medication. When asked who would pay, Dyenabou replied that her husband and her friend Diaka would pay.

Day 19. Maciré learns that Amara slept well, after many days without sleeping.

Day 20. Maciré observes that Amara's condition improves.

Day 21. Amara slept all day, but had cried all throughout the preceding night. Maciré writes

that the mother-in-law is seemingly unconcerned, simply telling Dyenabou to prepare food, and then going to work in the fields. Maciré observes that Dyenabou's husband, too, remains unconcerned for Amara. She adds, with some obvious displeasure, that all he does is go back and forth to Banko.

Day 22. Amara continues to sleep, but has little desire to breastfeed. At this point, Dyenabou is no longer consulting healers.

Day 23. Amara is a little better and is in his eight year old cousin's care.

Day 24. Amara appears to be recovering, having spent the night peacefully. Amara is properly nursing.

Day 25. Recovery continues; Amara is reportedly very happy and smiling. Afterwards, Amara is fully recovered.

What A Case like This Can Tell Us

This case tells us how conditions impede any effective care. Seasonal poverty and the practices of *kono* treatment block effective care. Also Dyenabou proves less than attentive to her child due to work obligations. Being so stretched in her responsibilities, she simply resigns herself to the label of *sidasolo* and thoughts that further efforts are not worth it. The answer to her problem certainly does not wholly lie in better health education or more services. The conditions of her life need to change. In Dyenabou's case, her contacts provide little buffer to adversity, and they offer insufficient support. To change practice, we need to change the arrangement of her everyday life. We recommend the following interventions to address the problems of practice we note in her story:

Practices	Recommendations
<i>The practice of local medicine.</i> The case lets us see how the authority structure based on seniority and the lack of money both enhances dependence on <i>maboros</i> and on body washes, not use of biomedicine and clinic.	An answer is to rely on the elder generation to promote biomedical alternatives. In this fashion, they may keep the authority that they have had. In fact, their authority could be strengthened, not threatened, as they become agents for biomedical practice.
<i>Fatalistic postures connected with the sidasolo diagnosis.</i> It seems a default classification of <i>sidasolo</i> , deciding that children are constitutionally ill, is another and sometimes preferred option to battling against more fatigue, despair and expenditures of personal resources.	One way of attacking the problem would be to provide linkages and support among mothers to create systems of mutual assistance so as to stave off being "burned out" by dealing with one child's illness.
<i>The practice of leaving the child in the care of other children and the practice of exposing the child to harsh conditions presented by the work situation.</i>	Instituting day care with a trained paraprofessional provider to care for sick children when mothers have to go to work.
<i>The problem of seasonal poverty.</i> This limits access to health care and causes malnutrition.	Prospective payments into a health care system and the providing of nutritional supplements.

We do not imagine that the above recommendations will be as important for those children benefiting from social networks that are broad and deep, or for those households where husbands are on the scene. But others, like Amara, will certainly benefit as with instances of grandmothers caring for grandchildren, of individuals moving into the community without any relations at all, and of husbands being out of the country.

Trusting In the Research

Our stated agenda in this article is to promote and expand research that witnesses ongoing action. Much groundwork needs to be done to enhance the reliability and trustworthiness of the approach. We recommend several procedures for (1) selecting a place to study, (2) training the staff, (3) supervising the researchers in the field, and (4) presenting the findings of the research.

Selecting a Place to Study

Researchers, especially applied researchers, need to avoid charges that the community studied, and therefore the findings, are irrelevant. Findings can be easily dismissed as being far from the norm. This situation did not necessarily happen to us, but our case did not attract the sort of attention it might have were it recognized and widely accepted that the study was representative. We should have handled our site selection differently. We should have developed consensus that the site we selected was representative and meaningful for a number of communities. With a functioning health center, as it turns out, Konindou II did closely resemble other communities in the area of Upper Guinea. It is typical insofar as its agro-pastoralist economy is populated by Malinké, who strongly adhere to the Islamic faith, and. Had we engaged others in the process of site selection and had they agreed that the findings were important for other communities, many would have been deeply invested in our findings. Nevertheless, we would likely have chosen the same community.

Training the Staff

The training of the staff, similarly, needs to be a standardized. Teaching about making observations, keeping field notes, interviewing,

and developing a case study was a process that we knew how to do because we had done it before, many times, either in the classroom or in the course of training collaborators in field study. However, a method needs to stand independently of its practitioners. It will be necessary to write it all down for protocols to be clearly spelled out. The process along with its goals of training will need to be codified. That will help maintain quality control and reduce uneasiness about the techniques that may seem to outsiders as highly idiosyncratic, and perhaps perceived as variable as the personalities of the fieldworkers.

Supervising the Researchers in the Field

Defined guidelines about the breadth and data of collection will enhance fieldwork and increase the trust of the readership. Our researchers were well prepared and well trained for the experience of fieldwork, but there was considerable variation in the extensiveness of field notes. Over our time in the field, we realized the need for standards. They should have been more fully developed before fieldwork began. Then the fieldworkers would have had a guide for what constitutes a well-developed case study. They would know how a case might fall short, either in quality and quantity.

Also, we found that standards of excellence, or even of sufficiency, cannot be readily conveyed. Just turning over instructions, however much they are detailed, will not ensure adherence to standards. Continuing dialogue and interaction among fieldworkers, and with the supervisor, will go a long way to sustain norms about what persons and what actions should be observed and in how much depth, basically, to know when there is enough material.

Motivating community cooperation is another important area in need of clear procedures. For Konindou II residents, there was not a lot of interest in participating in interviews, especially when our informants found work in the fields or found their household chores to be far more compelling. Often, they would consider relaxation after a day's work to be far more desirable than hunkering down with a fieldworker. We needed to motivate informants. Several weeks after research began, we responded to the problem by providing each fieldworker a small

sum of money that they would give to informants with whom they would want to talk and interview. We discussed dangers of making an interview a quid pro quo for a gift, as community members might fashion reports just to get paid. Our fieldworkers were instructed to give gifts casually, at a time and place apart from the interview itself.

Our paying for information, however indirect, may not sit well in all societies, but here, in Konindou II, we were comfortable that we were acting in a fashion consistent with local norms since gift giving is an essential part of life in the community. Not to give a gift after someone had generously given time and information would, in fact, be contrary to custom. In other fieldwork ventures, the supervisor of the field workers would need to arrive at the best decision.

Finally, we found motivating our fieldworkers to be similarly important. Among the five, there was not the same appetite for running after information and tracking down interviewees. This situation presented a considerable challenge for the supervisor who could not simply rely on the eagerness of fieldworkers to go after that next interview. Like all of us, at certain periods of the day, such as late at night, early in the morning, or perhaps on a particularly hot afternoon, the inclination is to relax. Also, there was no way for a supervisor to know if someone should be interviewed or if there was no need for a specific research task. Midway through research, we decided to change the reward structure. While there are many problems connected with payment according to the production of evidence, it did, in this case, work for us. For follow-up interviews, we gave an extra supplement for each interview completed.

Presenting the Findings of the Research

As a basic expectation, a report that witnesses treatment of ill children should reflect the range of alternative practices. One way to proceed is to present in-depth case studies of different types of practices and conditions. The report should describe variability within each type of practice as in the work of Mathew Miles and Michael Huberman (1994), develops a number of tabular formats to show subtypes and subtle

differences from case to case. Combining extensive case study and tabular distillations of textual data will both provide an intimate knowledge of the local situation as well as give the reader confidence that variability has not been ignored and that the full story has been told.

A Final Thought

Those planning this sort of research should be alert to the way that official bodies sometimes resist efforts like ours. Data collection is a little like trawling the ocean floor since one is not at all sure what will turn up. This is not to say that organizations that oversee and fund research necessarily fear the unexpected, though that may well be the case in certain circumstances. Yet people and organizations do, though, want to work within a zone of comfort. The preference is to turn up problems for which there are recognized remedies.

Another point of resistance is uneasiness with fieldworkers having so much latitude to organize their time and efforts. Such freedom of action is rare, and it is usually given to those at the upper echelons of professional practice. Those above in the organizational hierarchy fear that those lower down will shirk responsibility and not be up to the task. Furthermore, they fear that unplanned interaction with community members will lead to breaches of etiquette, threatening official relations.

The development of guidelines and procedures is likely to lessen some concerns. But for remaining uncertainties, aside from encouraging experience with the research process, there is little we can do to quell many anxieties. Only going through the research process will make the benefits apparent and make the liabilities seem not nearly so great. Those responsible for health-care programs are rarely exposed to cases like the one of Amara. These individuals are usually tethered to offices in capital cities, far from community life. They do not commonly have the close exposures with people in communities like Konindou II, nor are reports like ours common fare. Reports that witness day-to-day activity do provide considerable possibilities for empathy and understanding. The insights to be culled may lead to interventions and innovation far more bold than those that are commonly

inspired by statistical reports that usually conclude with the need for more training, more education, or improved clinical protocols. Research that closely witnesses what is happening is likely to lead to trenchant and lasting changes. ○

Notes

1. Fieldwork was conducted with support provided by the United States Agency for International Development (USAID) under the terms of Contract Number HRN-C-00-97-00019-00. The authors thank Adboul Goudoussi Diallo, who was Dean of the Faculté des Lettres at the University of Conakry during the project. His cooperation was invaluable. We thank, too, the fieldworkers for their diligence and dedication. They were Mariam Bamba, Maciré Conté, Kadiotou Magasouba, Mariam Bamba Traoré and Djénabou Welé. We are greatly indebted to the people of the village of Konindou II, and particularly its leaders, for their confidence in our work and their great spirit of collaboration.

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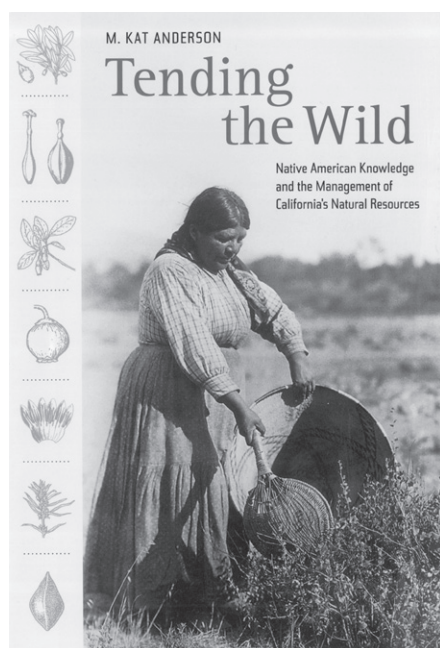
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Tending the Wild
Native American Knowledge and the Management
of California's Natural Resources

By M. Kat Anderson



A multi-review treatment by

Lawrence F. Van Horn

Nancy K. Turner

David E. Ruppert

Counterpoint by M. Kat Anderson

*Tending the Wild: Native American Knowledge and the Management of California's Natural Resources*¹

By M. Kat Anderson²

Introduction by Lawrence F. Van Horn³

We are delighted to present two reviews of *Tending the Wild* as part of the multi-review approach to books reviewed in *The Applied Anthropologist*. *Tending the Wild* by M. Kat Anderson is quite a tour de force in its comprehensive coverage of the ethno-botany of the indigenous peoples of what is now the state of California. This book represents aspects of what were historic practices, what still is practiced, and what might yet be revived. Is it applied anthropology? From an anthropological point of view, I believe it is because it shows how indigenous knowledge has been adaptive and still can be adaptive despite and/or because of "cultural change in the modern world." The latter phrase is from the mission statement of *The Applied Anthropologist* and relates to our journal's focus. *Tending the Wild* fits this focus because it thoroughly documents human solutions to a wide range of subsistence problems of the American Indians residing in California.

Anderson speaks of a "tension between nature and culture" (p. 358). She suggests that the key to "allow both humans and nature to flourish....lies in achieving a creative, even tension between nature and culture, a tension that our human antecedents in California understood well" (p. 358). I suggest that this book should be read and used in that light. You, the reader, please judge, but first be guided by the two reviews that follow. One is by a leading expert in Kat Anderson's field of ethno-botany, Nancy Turner. The other is by an anthropologist who truly appreciates the nuances and functions of ethno-botany as applied anthropology, David Ruppert. Please read on and enjoy how useful Kat Anderson's *Tending the Wild* may prove to be.

Notes

1. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005. 557 pages, three parts, 12 chapters, bibliography, coda, drawings, index, introduction, maps, notes, photographs, preface including acknowledgments, tables. Cloth \$39.95 U.S.

2. M. Kat Anderson's Ph.D. is from the University of California at Berkeley in wildland resource science. She is employed by the Natural Resources Conservation Service (NRCS) of the United States Department of Agriculture as its national ethnobotanist who reconstructs the plant uses, land-management practices, and harvesting strategies of indigenous peoples in the United States with an emphasis on California. Also at the University of California at Davis, she is an ecologist at its Agricultural Experiment Station, and a lecturer in the Department of Plant Sciences. She may be reached at the Department of Plant Sciences, University of California at Davis, Mail Stop 6, 1 Shields Avenue, Davis, California (CA) 95616-5270 USA. She may also be reached at 530-752-8439 by telephone and at mkanderson@ucdavis.edu by e-mail.

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*Tending the Wild: Native American Knowledge and the Management of California's Natural Resources*¹

By M. Kat Anderson²

Reviewed by Nancy J. Turner³

T*ending the Wild* represents a significant step forward in our understanding and recognition of indigenous-knowledge systems relating to traditional land and resource management. The book is painstakingly compiled, highlighting Kat Anderson's collaborative work with indigenous elders, harvesters, and traditional-knowledge practitioners. It encompasses her own original research, including observations and experimentation with plants and habitats, and is further strengthened by her careful review and incorporation of an immense body of literature and sometimes very obscure literature. Its scope and breadth are unparalleled as an ethno-ecological treatment of a particular area of North America, namely California. In assessing a book like this, I often turn immediately to the end. This book has a total of 44 pages of notes (pages 365-409) and 59 pages of bibliography (pages 411-470). My initial attempts to count the references ended with 157 for only the A's and B's, up to R.A. Bye). There are 55 pages of index (pages 471-526). All such pages are evidence of meticulous documentation.

This book is divided into three parts. The first is an introduction to California, its peoples, its environments, and its history of European contact and colonization. The second part documents in detail indigenous practices of land and resource management found in California. Numerous examples are given of the ingenious ways in which the First Peoples cared for, maintained, and enhanced their food sources, materials for basketry, and other natural resources on which they have depended for thousands of years. The third part addresses resource harvesting and management by contemporary Native Americans. It provides examples and directions for restoring practices that have diminished with the loss of habitats, loss of access to resources, and the accompanying loss of cultural knowledge.

This book is a superb culmination of Kat Anderson's work to date, and a fitting major step in her research path and career as an ethno-

ecologist. Her M.A. thesis in the late 1980s, on plant-resource use and management of the Yosemite Valley region, set her firmly on her trajectory (Anderson 1988). As well as studying general land use and management practices, she interviewed and worked with Native Californian basketweavers, notably those of the Southern Sierra Miwok, to learn about the use and management of western redbud (*Cercis occidentalis*; Fabaceae). She then tested the actual effects of these practices through experimental burning and coppicing. She demonstrated unequivocally that indigenous management practices optimized the growth and quality of this important basketry material (Anderson 1991, 1993a). She broadened her research to include indigenous management of deergrass (*Muhlenbergia rigens*; Poaceae), another important basketry material of certain indigenous basketweavers of California, particularly in relation to the use of fire to renew the plants (Anderson 1996a). She also began to work on selective harvesting and cultivation of geophytes, so-called "wild" root vegetables such as blue dicks (*Dichelostemma capitatum*; Liliaceae) (see Anderson 1993a, 1993b, 1997). *Tending the Wilderness* incorporates several of Anderson's previous publications. It was preceded by an anthology Kat Anderson co-edited with Thomas Blackburn (Blackburn and Anderson 1993), a book that foretells and whets the appetite for this current work of hers.

Always, Anderson's work has been integrative and has given us new perspectives and examples to consider in relation to practices of horticulture and cultivation as management tools for peoples who were previously simply categorized as hunter and gatherers. She has been right at the forefront of those practicing a whole new paradigm to analyze traditional plant and animal resource management, including the understanding of prescribed fire as an environmental management tool, and the incorporation of traditional indigenous management practices in environmental and applied ecological restoration

(Anderson 1996b, 1999).

Kat Anderson has been and is a leader in research on traditional land and resource management and its applications to contemporary natural resource management, conservation, and ecological restoration. At the same time, however, her work is a part of an entire movement within ethno-botany, ethno-ecology and related fields, with roots back into the early 1900s, and pioneered by individuals like Henry Lewis with his research on traditional landscape burning in California and Australia (originally published 1973, reprinted 1993). The movement gained momentum with the publication, *Resource Managers: North American and Australian Hunter-Gatherers*, edited by Nancy Williams and Eugene Hunn (1982). Richard Ford's essay on patterns of food production in North America in his edited volume on *Prehistoric Food Production in North America* (1985), Gary Nabhan's *Gathering the Desert* (1985), Florence Shippek's work with the Kumayaay of California (1989) and Eugene Hunn's research with James Selam and other Sahaptin peoples of the mid-Columbia region of Washington (Hunn 1990) are excellent earlier examples of this direction of research. Parallel recognition of the often subtle and little recognized management systems of indigenous peoples of tropical and subtropical regions was also occurring at this time, as exemplified by Darrell Posey's and Bill Balée's work in Amazonia (Posey 1985; Balée 1994). Australia, too, has been an area where traditional management practices of indigenous peoples have been studied and recognized (see Baker et al. 2001). In fact, from the 1980s through the 1990s, there has been an enormous body of research, global in scope, on indigenous and local peoples' methods of maintaining and perpetuating their resources, both in agricultural systems and in less heavily imprinted ecosystems from the tropics to the polar regions; the works of Freeman and Carbyn (1988) and Oldfield and Alcorn (1991) represent just two of many examples.

The close relationship between peoples' beliefs and worldviews and their use and management of resources was explored in detail by Eugene Anderson in his book *Ecologies of the Heart* (1996), and later highlighted by Fikret Berkes (1999) in *Sacred Ecology*. Leslie (Gottesfeld) Johnson has also written about this important topic

(see Gottesfeld 1994). Edited volumes like Blackburn and Anderson (1993), and later, Boyd (1999), Nazarea (1999), Minnis and Elisens (2000), Ford and Martinez (2000), and Deur and Turner (2005) have highlighted the diverse and important work of numerous researchers in this area. Many of these authors, including Gary Nabhan (1985), Amadeo Rea (Nabhan and Rea 1987), and Catherine Fowler (1989), have both influenced and been influenced by Kat Anderson's work.

In addition to the various papers, books, and book chapters that have drawn from this rich body of research, a number of important recent dissertations have been produced that link to Anderson's work in various ways. For example, Sandra Peacock's integrative work on balsamroot (*Balsamorhiza sagittata*; Asteraceae) as a managed root vegetable of the Interior Plateau of British Columbia (1998) shows parallels with geophyte management practices documented by Anderson. Michelle Stevens collaborative research with California Native basketweavers on white root sedge (*Carex barbarae*; Cyperaceae) as a managed basketry material (1999) was supervised by Anderson. Douglas Deur's pioneering ethno-archaeological research on estuarine root gardens of the Northwest Coast (2000), and most recently, Brenda Beckwith's meticulous research (2004) on blue camas (*Camassia* spp.; Liliaceae) management on southern Vancouver Island, in collaboration with the Songhees Coasts Salish, are also strongly correlated to Anderson's research.

It is notable that Anderson has always worked collaboratively with Native Californians and has carefully acknowledged them as the original knowledge holders. This is critically important because scholars have often treated indigenous peoples only as research subjects. Or indigenous peoples have been completely ignored in their struggles to regain aspects of control of their lands and resources. They continue to need to gain respect, recognition, and positive benefits from their contributions. In this effort, the California Indian Basketweavers' Association (CIBA) has put Anderson's research to good use along with other Native American organizations. Anderson's work has helped to raise awareness of the impacts of pesticide use in forestry on the

health and wellbeing of indigenous users of food and basketry materials to support a more equitable and consultative approach to conservation and protected-area management by government agencies and non-governmental organizations (NGOs). Anderson has followed the important lead of Dennis Martinez, an indigenous ecologist and restorationist. She has followed his lead along with that of others in the Society for Ecological Restoration to help create a new approach to ecological restoration, eco-cultural restoration. This approach takes the cultures and traditional practices of indigenous peoples into account. Gregory Cajete, a noted environmental and cultural educator, is just one of many indigenous individuals to praise Kat Anderson for her important contributions toward a better understanding of Native American ecological practices.

The significance of Anderson's work is, perhaps, not so much that she documents distinctive approaches and practices of indigenous peoples to resource management in California, but rather that the practices and perspectives she identifies are widespread and probably even more ubiquitous than any of us have recognized. For example, we know that the entire range of the practices she writes about that have been applied by Californian First Nations in managing their plant resources. The practices include burning, pruning and coppicing, cleaning, selective harvesting, tilling, transplanting/replanting, and ceremonial management. They have been known to at least some of the First Nations of British Columbia and elsewhere on the Northwest Coast (Deur and Turner 2005), as well as in many other regions (Berkes 1999; Minnis and Elisens 2000). Similarly, the diverse modes of resource use and management described by Anderson have been applied over a whole spectrum of ecological zones, not only in California, but in many regions of the continent and beyond. Indigenous peoples did not confine themselves to only one place, but moved over their landscapes and territories in a patterned seasonal round, choreographed to the rhythm of the growing cycles and moderated by fluctuations of climate and resource productivity. Virtually every habitat, from coastal beaches to coniferous forests, to montane meadows, and every successional stage of vegetation, was

known to and influenced by indigenous managers.

Sometimes, the effects of human hands and tools are subtle, sometimes unperceived by most of us, but increasingly, the profound influence of humans over thousands of years in molding their habitats to sustain their resources and meet their day-to-day needs, is accepted by scholars (see Denevan 1992). Anderson has thus documented not only peoples' techniques for perpetuating and enhancing the growth of individual species, but also has made a good case for entire domesticated landscapes including domestication at many scales. There may be some confusion in terminology with Anderson's particular use of "horticulture," "cultivation," and "domestication," which do not always match those used in other sources (see Deur and Turner 2005).

One of the saddest and most disturbing chapters of Anderson's book is Chapter 3, "The Collision of Worlds." Here, Anderson chronicles the immense disruption of the indigenous peoples' lifeways with the coming of various waves of outsiders. Examples abound, from the early Spanish explorers to the Franciscan missionaries, from those who came to wrest gold from the California hills to those who settled in its fertile valleys and drained wetlands, cut down trees, and grazed hordes of livestock. Anderson writes:

Whether they were intent on Christianizing the Indians, extracting wealth from the land, extending territory, or making a livelihood, the Franciscan missionaries, Spanish soldiers, Mexican Californios, American miners, and American settlers who came to California wrought devastation both directly—through subjugation and genocide of indigenous people—and indirectly—by developing economic enterprises that destroyed and vastly altered ecological systems and made it impossible or increasingly difficult for Indians to continue their traditional livelihoods (p. 63).

This history, too, is sadly replayed over and over in colonized lands the world over, and the story of cultural and environmental loss that Anderson recounts in this chapter is just one of countless examples.

The First Peoples of what is now "New

World” British Columbia experienced comparable devastation and loss of their homelands, languages, and cultures at the hands of the newcomers and the accompanying colonial forces from the “Old World” (see Harris 1997; Turner 2005). Drained lakes, dyked estuaries, clearcut forests, polluted rivers, overgrazed hillsides, and introduced species of plants and animals that have replaced many indigenous species wholesale have all taken their toll on indigenous peoples’ lives, cultures, and traditional practices. There are even similar histories of creating “protected areas” like Yosemite National Park in California in the United States that excluded the indigenous occupants of these areas. And, at times, they were prevented even from picking berries or acorns as they had for generations because of the tyranny of a “wilderness” mindset that insists on the banning of human occupation from “wild” ecosystems. What was not recognized in British Columbia or in California was the extent to which the indigenous peoples themselves were shaping their landscapes. Eliminating their influence alone has changed the forests, meadows, savannahs, and wetlands from their so-called “natural” state.

To live with less impact on the Earth, it may be that the loss of indigenous cultural knowledge is the single most devastating impact for all of us in terms of the opportunities we have lost to view the world differently. Western ideas and policies practiced by Western settlers have brought about the lost. Indigenous peoples in California and elsewhere—even with their complex practices, attitudes, belief systems, stories, songs, and vocabularies—by no means have had all the answers for sustaining human life over long periods of time. But they had—and still have in some measure—different approaches, different worldviews, and different values that might help us all collectively to find a better and less destructive relationship with our environment.

Once researchers are able to glimpse beyond the confines of their more orthodox training in any of a number of fields, from archaeology to conservation, and seek out teaching from those who have often been overlooked, it is remarkable what new insights we may gain. For example, an entire “new” system of clam management and production was documented by marine geologist

John Harper, after he had observed unique “rock walls” along the lowest tide-line of certain beaches of the Broughton Archipelago along northeastern Vancouver Island. By eventually consulting with Kwakwaka’wakw hereditary chief, elder, and traditional-knowledge holder Adam Dick (Kwax-sistala), he learned that these features were clam gardens, which had been built and maintained for around two thousand years as a means of intensifying clam production by Adam Dick’s ancestors. Celebrated in story and song, and known to Adam since his early childhood when he had helped to repair his own family’s clam bed, these gardens had been all but forgotten, and had been assumed by archaeologists to be some type of natural feature (Woods and Woods 2005). Sometimes it is a matter of breaking away from our earlier cultural biases, to force us to the realization that books, journals, and writings from the Western world are only one source of knowledge. Western science and its experimental methods are not the only way we have to better understand ourselves and our environment.

In his book, *Tsawalk: A Nuu-chah-nulth Worldview*, Richard Atleo (2004), hereditary Nuu-Chah-Nulth Chief Umeek, provides us with a completely different, very holistic perspective and way of interpreting the environment, drawn from countless generations of living within and adapting to the turbulent social and ecological environment of Vancouver Island’s west coast. This book demonstrates how understandings and practices are both reflected in and inspired by spiritual teachings, narratives and ceremonies. Ancient stories and ceremonies may well be rejected out of hand by ecologists and land managers, yet they may be far more effective in communicating complex concepts and key principles, promoting effective learning and understanding, and motivating people to participate in implementing more sustainable strategies for long-term resource use. This is a facet of the cultural components of conservation that Kat Anderson understands very well.

In all, this is an affirming book. It is a positive work that recognizes often unappreciated or completely overlooked sophisticated systems of knowledge. And it points the way toward the restoration of cultural practices that have worked with natural succession and regeneration pro-

cesses to enhance the productivity and diversity of the land and all of its diverse habitats and life-forms.

Notes

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*Tending the Wild: Native American Knowledge and the Management of California's Natural Resources*¹

By M. Kat Anderson²

Reviewed by David E. Ruppert³

On the evening of July 4, 1804, members of the Lewis and Clark expedition, the Corps of Discovery, camped along the banks of the Missouri River near the present-day boundary between Atchison and Doniphan counties, Kansas. To celebrate this notable day, Captains Meriwether Lewis (1774-1809) and William Clark (1770-1838) and their crew donned military dress. After firing a keelboat cannon, all members of the party had an extra dram of rum. William Clark's notes reflect his admiration for this area along the Missouri River.

The contry [country] was covered with sweet and nourishing grass [Big Bluestem: *Andropogon gerardi*; Vitman?], interspersed with copses of tress Spreading ther [their] lofty branches over Pool Springs or Brooks of fine water. Groups of Shrubs covered with the most delicious froot [fruit] is to be seen in every direction, and nature appears to have exerted herself to butify [beautify] the Senery [scenery] by the variety of flours Delecatly [delicately] and highly flavored [flavored] raised above the Grass, which Strikes and profumes [perfumes] the Sen-sation, and amuses the mind. (Quoted in Ambrose 1996:149)

Was the "sweet and nourishing grass" Big Bluestem: *Andropogon gerardi*; Vitman? (Moulton 2006). Clark's last entry for that day reads:

So magnificent a Senery [scenery] in a Contry [country] thus Situated far removed from the Sivilised [civilized] world to be enjoyed by nothing but the Buffalo Elk Deer & Bear in which it abounds & Savage Indians. (Quoted in Ambrose 1996:149).

The campsite Lewis and Clark chose that evening was near or atop an extensive, but abandoned, Indian village, likely Oneota. Clark and others were clearly impressed by the bounty and beauty of nature they found there. "Nature appears to have exerted herself," as Clark said

(Moulton 2006) and was bountiful. An European American cultural theme may be apparent here. The theme is that the so-called *natural world*, which was thought to be outside the influence of the works of Western civilization, presented itself as *pristine* or unspoiled in its original state. That idea was certainly dominate in Clark's time and seems to be implied in this passage. No mention is made of possible American Indian exertions that may have contributed to the character defining and plentiful conditions reflected in the "Groups of Shrubs covered with the most delicious froot [fruit]" that Clark observes. While this short journal entry does not make it possible to determine if human hands were at work along with nature's in this instance, it is unlikely that Clark would have entertained (nor would most of his contemporaries) the possibility of such cooperative work. Increased understanding of American Indian plant use, going back at least to the early 19th century (see Gilmore 1991), should suggest to any reader of the expedition records that nature's bounty in this case may well have been the result of long-term Indian gathering and gardening practices and other land-managing efforts to make these resources more easily accessible, and not simply the result of nature's ways.

The assumption of nature's *pristine* character has deep roots in Western religions and cultures and strongly informs popular worldviews to this day. As expressed in concepts like *wilderness* it also has been highly influential in crafting laws and land management policies in the western United States. Huge areas of federal land in the past half century have been set aside in the western states and managed as wilderness areas—areas "untrammelled by man" in accordance with the Wilderness Act of 1964 (Public Law 88-577) and left to the unfettered forces of *nature*. But, is the preservation of pristine wilderness a valid concept in places once inhabited by American Indians and now set aside and protected from human occupancy and use other than back

country trekking? Were the varied landscapes in North America encountered by the first European American settlers the result of natural or human forces, or both? What does *wilderness* mean in the context of prior or ongoing Indian manipulation of the landscape? And, if Indian subsistence activities did change the face of the continent, what is actually being *preserved* through law and policy when areas are protected from human use or intrusion? These are significant research questions for historians, ecologists, geographers, anthropologists, among others. And beyond academic research, the answers are directly relevant to the management practices and preservation policies of public lands.

Kat Anderson's book, *Tending the Wild: Native American Knowledge and the Management of California's Natural Resources*, seeks to address these questions, and more. The book is the result of a lifetime of research focusing on California Indian peoples' subsistence practices. Anderson compiles here in one place, a comprehensive survey of the California the first European American visitors and settlers encountered and details descriptions of Indian subsistence practices. The major focus of the book is the role these practices played in shaping local and regional landscapes and the technical indigenous knowledge in accomplishing these ends. The first part of the book focuses on early accounts of the region's natural bounty along with a straightforward description of California's plant and animal life and its marine resources. The reader cannot help but be impressed with the state's geographic and biological diversity, a diversity that forms a backdrop for a discussion of California Indian reliance on and management of this diversity. Although her focus throughout the book is the influence of Indian practices on the landscape, she wisely discusses the importance of natural disturbances, such as natural fires and flooding, in shaping the natural landscape and plant ecology. Many plant species have become fire dependent or evolved to take advantage of other natural soil disruptions. It is on the base of natural ecological relationships that the discussion of the influence of Native American cultural practices on the landscape begins and continues throughout the book.

Traditional methods of plant harvesting,

reseeding, and replanting are all discussed here to shed light on Indian efforts to shape local environments to better meet subsistence needs. Plant harvesting and food processing are described with an eye to how these practices impacted local environments. Anderson deftly changes the scale of discussion from *local* to *landscape* in descriptions of Indian uses of fire to increase or enhance browse for wildlife, to create meadows, control pests, to increase the production forbs, sedges and grasses, as well increase the availability of wild fruits.

Fire, of course, has been long recognized as one of the most important tools used by American Indians across the continent to modify large areas (Blackburn and Anderson 1993; Boyd 1999; Lewis 1993; Sauer 1967; Stewart 2002). Anderson emphasizes the importance of fire but wisely leaves the reader to rely on the extensive literature on the Indian use of fire already in print (see Blackburn and Anderson 1993). The significant contribution of this book focuses on other, more intimate traditional plant and landscape modification techniques resulting from a variety of cultural practices targeting plant procurement and processing. Such techniques that have been the focus of much of her research work over the past 25 years. These details, placed in the context of ethnohistoric documentation, contemporary ethnographic interviews, and on-the-ground experimental work, form the backbone of her important contributions to our knowledge in the field of Indian ecology. With detailed descriptions of basket-making by California Indian peoples, Anderson provides a most detailed description and analysis of Indian cultural practices and its effect on plant distribution, morphology, and abundance. She relates how these changes affect significant modifications in the character of the local environment (also see Anderson 1991a and 1991b).

Not satisfied, as some anthropologists might be, to focus only on cultural practices, she drills down into the details of plant reproductive biology and the morphological affects on the plant of coppicing, pruning, and whole-scale harvesting. Indeed, these details, placed in the context of historic observation, plant biology, and ethnography makes Anderson's book not a "should read" but a "must read" for any serious

student of ecology and human behavior.

Tending the Wild challenges a few cherished anthropological categories such as just who might be hunters, gatherers, and agriculturalists. Although the literature has recently started to blur the lines between these categories of human economy, Anderson practically erases the lines by providing a wealth of detailed data describing native California's subsistence technology. Notions that the old categories reflect increasing levels of knowledge and social complexity persist in the profession but are seriously challenged by this book. California's Indian peoples would have typically fallen into the hunter/gatherer categories and consequently fallen, in the minds of professional researchers, lower on an evolutionary scale of social complexity. Anderson questions the research value of these categories of human economy by describing the complexity of native Californian technical knowledge necessary to shape and manipulate the resource environment to achieve desired ends. She also dismisses romantic notions that native Californians were natural ecologists, often portrayed by environmental writers as people living in complete balance with nature. This book points to the fact that Californian Indian people often found a balance with their natural environment through their extensive technical knowledge. But she also makes it clear that, as others have pointed out, Indian peoples had their thumbs on the scale by applying hard earned technical knowledge about the environment and how this knowledge can be applied to ensure a sustainable or enhanced source of resources (Mann 2005).

Indigenous land and resource management in California is the primary theme that unites every part of *Tending the Wild*, of which there are two more beyond the first. But the importance of understanding the methods and techniques of indigenous management of natural resources reaches beyond its significance to the fields of ethnobotany, human ecology, or human geography. It has direct application to policies and practices of federal and state land and resource management agencies charged with the protection, preservation or beneficial use of public resources. Each agency has its own mission and a separate set of policies regarding resource use and management, but all agencies benefit from,

and should be informed by, research that sheds light on past human use of the vast areas under their control. Wise use of resources, for whatever purpose, should be the foundation for all government land management decisions. Of course, American Indian peoples, in using local or regional natural resources for their own use in the past faced many of the same management problems, especially regarding issues related to sustainability. Anderson makes a good case that in many instances the requirements for sustainability were met by the traditional subsistence practices of California Indians. She also makes a good case that an understanding of how these requirements were met can greatly inform present land management practices. One obvious example is reflected in changes management agencies have made in fighting wildland fires. The past three decades has seen a dramatic shift from a government policy of fighting all forest fires to one that increasingly uses prescribed fire to manage resources as well as entire landscapes: A management technique that reflects centuries if not millennia of Indian uses of fire.

Anderson's work also tackles issues related to landscape restoration. For agencies like the National Park Service, large areas of the west were set aside to preserve entire regions or landscapes. However, as parks were established, Indian people were removed under the assumption that a hands-off policy was the best preservation policy. Their departure also ended, or at least discouraged, traditional Indian management practices that is so well documented by the book under review. In the absence of such practices, the landscape often changed as it responded to the implementation of this policy of "no human intrusion." In some cases, this desire to preserve the *natural* character of an area became instead an experiment in the application of *pristine* management policy. In the absence of indigenous management techniques, these landscapes changed. Over decades these changes have led some to question what actually is being preserved. If parks were intended to be preserved in a condition that existed at the time of their establishment, then parks have, in some instances, become candidates for serious restoration projects; restoration to a condition that had resulted from indigenous management.

Anderson addresses the division of opinion within restoration efforts to return a landscape to a “natural” state or to one that has for centuries been affected by Indian practices. She points out, importantly, that if the goal is restoration to a condition equivalent to that of indigenous use, it is necessary to understand the traditional ecological knowledge of Indian peoples before such restoration begins. The application of this traditional knowledge requires (1) efforts to document this knowledge and (2) careful thought as to its practical application to achieve restoration goals on public lands through significant changes in management policies. Of course, restoration of indigenous landscapes is not simply an exercise in preserving the condition of natural resources; it is also a vital element in the preservation of living indigenous cultures. If federal agencies charged with preservation of the nation’s heritage resources become serious about such restoration efforts, they need to combine their interest in preserving archeological sites and rehabilitating Indian ruins with a serious rethinking of how to aid indigenous Americans to preserve their own living cultures, if they desire such preservation.

If restoration projects are designed and carried out, they need to be carried out in partnership with Indian tribes. Such partnerships would lead to a greater understanding of Indian traditional knowledge and to more effective application of this knowledge in projects designed to achieve mutually desirable goals. Anderson’s work is highly significant in this regard. She not only provides the careful scholarship in documenting and analyzing traditional environmental knowledge, but she also focuses on land management policy implications of the application of this knowledge. For this reason alone, this book should become standard reading for natural and cultural resource managers and policy makers at the federal and state levels.

Critics of Kat Anderson

Anderson’s work is not without its critics. Thomas Vale (1998, 2002) and others like Margot Kaye and Thomas Swetnam (1999) contend that she paints with too broad a brush when making claims regarding Indian manipulation of whole landscapes. These writers claim that

proponents of so-called humanized landscapes, like Anderson, have gone too far by stating that, over time, every acre of the continent has been somehow modified or affected by Indian cultural practices. The critics call for a more careful consideration of such statements and a further consideration of the extent that pristine wilderness, especially in the west, existed at the time of European American entry into North America. They call for more detailed research and documentation to validate the broadest of the claims of humanized landscapes. They claim that at until more research is done, it is more reasonable to state that Indian subsistence affected smaller, more constricted areas directly related to village or seasonal camp sites. Vale and his colleagues contend that while it is reasonable to state that Indian tribes changed specific locales, it should be recognized that some areas were not affected and that the so-called pristine forces of nature were more often dominate factors defining large portions of western regions.

To a large extent, these criticisms rely on a manufactured dichotomy. *Pristine* is an idealized environment where no humans have had an impact. *Humanized* landscapes are seen as human designed areas that are an interference with, or disruption of *nature’s* handiwork. This maintains the old notion, both popular and professional and based in Western religion, that humans are somehow separate from the environment, not part of it. In this view, humans are seen as despoilers of the natural realm, which is an underlying assumption buried deep in the Western *wilderness* concept. The argument generated from this dichotomy, from this reviewer’s perspective, is not very productive. Rather, the primary focus should be on a careful examination of those cultural mechanisms employed by people in the course of resource use and management. Understanding the extent of the impacts of these mechanisms is important for a number of reasons, but the discussion surrounding the extent of impacts on the physical environment should not overshadow the importance of understanding the details of cultural knowledge and behavior. Anderson clearly supports the view that the human shaping of the environment is more pervasive than that supported by critics like Vale. However, in her book she tacitly rejects

the polarizing positions of *human* versus *natural* and takes the straightforward view that there are places in California that likely had little or no intervention from indigenous peoples (p. 3). Thus, immediately setting aside the arguments for one extreme view or another, Anderson turns her attention to the importance of understanding indigenous traditional knowledge regarding management of culturally important resources, which is the real focus of this book and of her work for the past two decades. While Vale and others harp on statements and claims regarding external, physical, and environmental changes, as the geographers they are for the most part, they miss the real value of Anderson's work. Her real focus is on human knowledge, the internal landscape of Native Californians, and the intimate, personal relationships these people have with their traditional lands and resources. Her focus is not solely on the result behavioral practices have had on the shape and character of the external geography.

Even less productive are statements by Vale that Anderson's work is an attempt to push a specific political agenda; in his words a "social ideology" (1998: 235) that tries to validate Indian history and identity, as well as her own views on indigenous landscapes. This criticism may stem from methodological differences. Anderson typically works closely with American Indian people. Through interviews, visiting traditional collection or gathering sites, and working in partnership with members of California Indian tribes in her experimental work (Anderson 1993), Anderson takes an anthropological perspective. That is, she attempts to understand the indigenous view of the resource. She describes the close personal connection to place, plant, and landscape. Attaining and describing this perspective is, perhaps, interpreted by Vale and others as a departure from an objective, scientific viewpoint. This would be a gross misunderstanding of method and results. Attaining the indigenous perspective is a vital element in understanding the relationship of human communities to their environment. Commonly shared beliefs, values, and world views at any given time are the engine of individual and group behavior, and certainly of behavior involved in the use of natural resources.

Rather than pushing a specific "ideology," Anderson provides us with important insights into the other half of the research question, the one not often asked, or answered, in other professional efforts. Even critics of Anderson's work admit that much of her work is among that of those who "champion the image of a Sierra domesticated by aboriginal humans is reasoned, cautious, and scholarly" (Parker 2002:259).

Land and Resource Management Policy Implications

In recent years, government agencies charged with the management of millions of acres of federal and state land in the west have been challenged to manage these lands with a greater understanding of American Indian cultural perspectives. Indian traditional cultural values are land-based and they increasingly look to federal agencies to assist them in preserving these values through management of lands and resources more compatible with these values. Through changes in federal law and executive orders, agencies are directed to consult with tribes to determine if planned actions will negatively impact lands that have cultural significance to tribes. Anderson's *Tending the Wild* provides important guidance for agencies wishing to build better relationships with Indian tribes, and wishing to find ways to incorporate Indian concerns into resource management policy and action. Agencies, of course, have their own bureaucratic cultures. It is no surprise these cultures reflect institutional perspectives and attitudes that must be overcome or changed before the application of traditional Indian ecological knowledge is viewed as useful.

Typically, in federal and state agencies, natural and cultural resources are seen as separate and distinct. These respective programs are funded and staffed separately and respond to different laws and guidelines when formulating resource management policies. This separation of program functions has often been a barrier to projects that combine natural and cultural resource issues. Such interdisciplinary projects are increasingly needed in a world that requires a more holistic perspective of our environment. Ethnobotany, as practiced here by Kat Anderson offers an important means to achieve this holis

tic perspective and, in the process, change agency practices and the policies behind the practices. *Tending the Wild* is perhaps the best example of how agencies can go about designing and conducting interdisciplinary work to bring about the necessary change.

Notes

1. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005. 557 pages, three parts, 12 chapters, bibliography, coda, drawings, index, introduction, maps, notes, photographs, preface including acknowledgments, tables. Cloth \$39.95 U.S.
2. M. Kat Anderson's Ph.D. is from the University of California at Berkeley in wildland resource science. She is employed by the Natural Resources Conservation Service (NRCS) of the United States Department of Agriculture as its national ethno-ecologist who reconstructs the plant uses, land-management practices, and harvesting strategies of indigenous peoples in the United States with an emphasis on California. Also at the University of California at Davis, she is an ecologist at its Agricultural Experiment Station, and a lecturer in the Department of Plant Sciences. She may be reached at the Department of Plant Sciences, University of California at Davis, Mail Stop 6, 1 Shields Avenue, Davis, California (CA) 95616-5270 USA. She may also be reached at 530-752-8439 by telephone and at **mkanderson@ucdavis.edu** by e-mail.
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*Tending the Wild: Native American Knowledge and the Management of California's Natural Resources*¹

By M. Kat Anderson²

Reviews counterpointed by M. Kat Anderson

I appreciate the detailed and thoughtful reviews of the book. I am fortunate to be a part of the growing movement of researchers outlined in Nancy Turner's review who are addressing the nexus between nature and culture. We document how culture shapes and informs management practices on the land and quantify the potential ecological effects of those practices through controlled experiments. In *Tending the Wild*, I deal with cultures operating in what Bruce Smith calls "The Middle Ground" (Smith 2005:39). These are the California Indian groups that do not fit neatly into the "hunter-gatherer" category or "agriculturalist" category. These groups practice methods of food production that do not necessarily cause or lead to incipient or full domestication.

As Turner points out, these "middle ground" indigenous cultures are widespread—practicing management techniques in wildlands on multiple continents. Turner also states that the world is simultaneously losing the diversity of these indigenous cultures and the natural systems upon which their cultures are based. Thus, this is a pivotal time for applied anthropologists and ethnobiologists as the research we do documents (1) many of the harvesting strategies that allow for coexistence with nature, (2) the ancient management strategies conducted on wildlands, and (3) the former abundance and diversity of plant and animal species tied to this harvesting and management. This information gives us both a benchmark — a measure of what we have lost or are losing — and a guidepost for how to, in collaboration with tribes, restore and manage wildlands.

In his review, David Ruppert discusses and defends my work in the context of the views of some of my critics. It is my hope that this book will stimulate debate by challenging the long-held perception that the North American wilderness before European contact was pristine. That perception has overlooked the impacts, positive or negative, that the land-managing practices of its indigenous inhabitants would have had on

the land's ecology. There are a growing number of researchers in the biological sciences in California who recognize that biologically diverse ecosystems such as coastal prairies, montane meadows, oak savannahs, and certain coastal redwoods are intricately tied to Native American interactions, especially Indian burning practices. Two new books edited by prominent fire and plant ecologists include Native American burning practices as a significant ecological force in California (Sugihara et al. 2006; Stromberg et al. in press). These books are important enough to be used as college classroom textbooks. New pyro-dendrochronology studies are showing that fire return intervals are short—too short to be attributed to lightning fires alone (Fry and Stephens 2006). For instance, there is a rethinking of the role of Indians in the maintenance of coastal redwoods in certain regions. Their fire management was much more substantial than previously thought (Stephens and Fry 2005).

Ruppert points out that past Indian knowledge and management practices have direct bearing on policies and practices of federal and state land and resource management agencies charged with the protection and conservation of public lands. And that we are hindered by the fact that funding, regulations and staffs, for the management of cultural and natural resources are on separate tracks. This is changing, at least in California where natural and cultural resource issues are being addressed jointly and innovatively. Two examples are the following:

- 1) U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service recovery plans that are being developed for threatened or endangered plant species are starting to set recommendations for the reintroduction of populations that encompass experiments that mimic Native American management techniques for rejuvenating these populations as one avenue of plant restoration (United States Fish and Wildlife Service 2006).

- 2) A new plant gathering policy has been finalized by the U.S. Forest Service and the U.S.

Bureau of Land Management for California. It specifies that the local managers of these agencies, in consultation with tribal governments and communities and indigenous traditional practitioners “will identify opportunities and tribal partnerships to incorporate tribal traditional management practices to restore, enhance and promote ecosystem health” (U.S. Department of Agriculture Forest Service and U.S. Department of the Interior Bureau of Land Management 2006). This policy will be incorporated in respective manuals. This landmark move recognizes the links between tribal management and ecosystem health in certain plant communities.

These are just two of many examples. They show how the work of applied anthropologists and ethnobiologists, in collaboration with tribes, can and is influencing the ways that natural resource managers and ecologists view, set research agendas for, and manage the natural world.

Notes

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*Switchbacks: Art, Ownership, and Nuxalk National Identity*¹

By Jennifer Kramer²

Reviewed by Darby C. Stapp³

In 2004, my family and I traveled to the Lummi Indian Reservation in the northwestern part of the state of Washington to participate in a conference honoring the late Cherokee anthropologist Robert K. Thomas. One evening, the conference participants were invited to the beach to watch a ceremony welcoming the arrival of canoes from neighboring villages on their way to a larger cultural renewal celebration at Port Angeles. While waiting with 50 or so other people, we noticed an elderly man with his family sitting in his well-traveled van alongside an old card table covered with traditional and contemporary cedar hats, baskets, and mats. Since we make it a practice to purchase contemporary cultural items during our travels through Indian Country, we went over to get a closer look. His family explained that the gentleman was one of the few who still made traditional hats, that they had gathered all the plant materials, and that the items were for sale. We purchased a hat, which now sits on shelves surrounded by other indigenous items collected during our 25 years of living in the Pacific Northwest.

Did this gentleman have the “right” to make traditional Lummi hats? Was he hurting Lummi culture by offering these items to outsiders? Was he unduly profiting from his efforts? Were we wrong to purchase the items, thereby creating a market for contemporary Lummi artifacts with a traditional bent? Were we inadvertently perpetuating the exploitation of Lummi culture? Or were we helping a family make a living, and in the process helping the Lummi keep their cultural traditions alive and growing?

These are the types of questions addressed by Jennifer Kramer in her book *Switchbacks: Art, Ownership, and Nuxalk National Identity*. Kramer’s focus is on the Nuxalk, a coastal people who live in a remote region of British Columbia, about a 14 hour-drive north and west of Vancouver. Kramer uses the concept of *art* to explore many of the contemporary issues facing the Nuxalk as they strive to survive in a world dominated by

Western values and economics.

Indigenous art is a timely topic. According to a June 7, 2006, article about the Australian aboriginal art market in the *Christian Science Monitor*, the industry has grown from a market of \$750,000 in 1971 to that of \$149,000,000 today (referred to in *Art-Talk* 2006:13). Despite this growth, many of the artists are living in third-world conditions. While the gallery owners may reap high prices for the so-called art pieces they sell, the artists themselves are often forced to sell their wares for a pittance because they need money. Imagine a carver coming in from the hills to the local trader with three weeks worth of carving; what choice does he have but to take what is offered? Sometimes that means having to take goods related to life’s necessities rather than cash. This phenomenon, of course, is not restricted to indigenous artists. Mention the term *gallery owner* to most any artist, and you can sit back and listen to a 20-minute lecture on the inequities of the art world.

What is unique to the indigenous art world is the internal cultural controversy that the selling of cultural items can create within certain North American Indian or other indigenous communities. Whether the issue is the sharing of sacred symbols with outsiders, the appropriation of images that culturally really do belong to a particular family or kin group, or the use of particular cultural objects in inappropriate ways, there are generally some in the community who do not approve. Works like Kramer’s that critically examine this process are thus welcome and important.

Like many anthropologists, Kramer uses both storytelling and theory to present her own research and to draw out more general statements about cultural processes that can be used for cross-cultural comparison. I feel that she is strongest when storytelling, and weaker when theorizing. But I should qualify that opinion by saying that at this point in my career I do not put much stock in jargon-laden theory. There are two

reasons. First, it is a language that academics use primarily to talk with each other, and can be incomprehensible to the people I work with daily, such as those from tribes, government agencies, companies or corporations in private industry, and members of the general public. Second, I find that jargon rises and falls like a fashion trend and is too often used instead of more detailed, methodical, and specific explanations. So let me focus on Kramer's storytelling, which is really quite engaging.

Simply stated, Kramer's book is about cultural property and the transformations that are taking place in response to contact with those outside a particular culture and society. What were once objects made for a variety of specific uses, whether practical or spiritual, are now regarded as *art* and given new economic value. This process produces profound cultural effects on many levels of Native American and Native Canadian communities. On one hand, people are making items that tradition holds they should not be making. People are using symbols in contexts that they should not be using them in. People are sharing information they should not be sharing. People are owning objects that they should not be owning. And people are viewing objects that they should not be viewing.

On the other hand, individuals are learning crafts and learning to be self-sufficient. Cultural groups are gaining recognition, and by extension, the power to help themselves in their struggles to survive. And tribal members are learning and taking an interest in their cultural heritage, staving off the forces of acculturation. This also teaches youth traditional crafts and skills that help perpetuate the culture. Elders have a purpose in teaching the crafts, arts, and skills involved. The youth learn about the need to manage the natural resources that produce the raw materials needed for the objects in question.

I like Kramer's book. Her stories and her depiction of difficult questions and tough contradictions caused me to reflect on parallels with American Indian communities and cultural issues where I live on the Columbia River in southeastern Washington. Upon reflection, however, one thing that continues to bother me is Kramer's concentration on so-called art. Certainly, an increasing number of collectors of

Northwest Coast indigenous art are creating increased demand for new products. But to the indigenous groups themselves, is it in fact art, or is it some other kind of cultural or economic material or expression? It bothers me to define cultural items as art or their creators as artists simply because outsiders view it as art or because it possesses some inherent beauty. From the perspective of the maker, this category we call "Native art" could include anything from everyday shoes and basic cookware to sacred religious items or commodities with little cultural meaning that are created for economic gain. Was the maker of a sacred mask making art in the same way that Frederic Remington (1861-1909) or Charles M. "Charlie" Russell (1864-1926) made their paintings of the American West? I don't think so.

Where I live, we lack the fine art that attracts big galleries and big checks. But we do have people, including myself, buying as art very old corn-husk bags, beaded bags, regalia, and other items of dress or war. These are not art to the indigenous people in the way that they are art to the generally European American buyers; they are cultural items of different and very specific kinds. One big problem arising from this situation is that collectors create a dollar value that did not exist before. You need money? That beaded bag in Auntie's trunk can fetch \$600 on the open market. Of course, the local trader will only give you \$150, but that's \$150 cash tonight. And cultural property begins to migrate from the families who own it to outsiders. These issues are not restricted to material culture. The sharing of songs, dances, and language can create controversy, as can the expropriation of traditional plants and other natural resources, leading to scarcity and other adverse impacts.

The question of whether or not we call, and conceive of, cultural items as "art" ends up having some significant consequences. It is true that many writers and academics use the term *art* as a sign of respect for the skills of the creators and the importance of their traditions. Indeed, in historical context, the term has been employed in an attempt to get beyond the use of the term *folk art* or that of *handicrafts* to distinguish more "primitive" objects from the "high-art" of European and American traditions. This is a lauda-

tory impulse. But again, we need to get beyond our own jargon and be more specific and expansive about the full and changing realities behind our theories and semantics.

Kramer does make it clear that there are no simple answers to these complex dilemmas, and she does not take on the challenge of bringing her work to applied settings. There are no recommendations for the Nuxalk or for gallery owners. She may well enlighten her colleagues in anthropology and her students with her rich description and analysis. But her works are likely to remain insulated within academic conversations. Applying our work is so fraught with difficulties and contradictions that many anthropologists become immobilized. I cannot make grandiose statements about how Jennifer Kramer or anyone else should apply their work. When I feel stuck, I turn to stories, as she does in part in *Switchbacks*. So let me close with a personal remembrance that I think about quite often.

I recall a young tribal member who occasionally sold her modern but culturally sensitive photographs, tee-shirts, and poems to other American Indians and to non-Indians. I witnessed her being criticized by a tribal elder, one with whom I was quite close. This elder and I talked about it from time to time; I explained what I saw as some of the benefits – the same ones Kramer discusses, including economic rewards, cultural understanding, and cultural regeneration. To these arguments he responded: “I know all that, but I just don’t like it. It’s not right.”

I am pretty sure he did not like my collection of Plateau bead and corn-husk work either, nor was he too excited when I started beading. But toward the end of his life he asked me to take his favorite beaded vest, one that he had beaded with a story his step-mother had told him. He said he was afraid of what would happen to it once he was gone, suggesting it would be sold by someone and lost forever. I paid him what he wanted, but told him I did not know what to do with it. He simply replied, “You’ll know.”

Notes

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*Switchbacks: Art, Ownership, and Nuxalk National Identity*¹

By Jennifer Kramer²

Reviewed by James J. Hester,³ Philip M. Hobler,⁴ and Inge Dahm⁵

S*witchbacks* is the result of 16 months of fieldwork conducted between June 1995 and November 2001. Stimulated by the paucity of Nuxalk art in Vancouver galleries and told by gallery owners that the Nuxalk had not experienced

a cultural revival, Kramer went to Bella Coola. To her surprise she found that Bella Coola was filled with artists producing carved masks, paintings, silk screen prints, gold

and silver jewelry, beaded barrettes, and T-shirts. However few of these items were reaching Vancouver and a non-native clientele. The reason she discovered, was local pressure not to sell their art outside the Bella Coola valley. This led her to formulate the following research questions:

- How has value developed in Nuxalk art?
- When and how does Nuxalk art come to be valued?
- How does Nuxalk art influence their awareness of art and its creation?

Further she examines the existence of Nuxalk art after decades of external pressure to eradicate its production. And she examines Nuxalk ownership of art and non-Nuxalk recognition of this ownership.

The research approach she used to pursue these questions was to interview members of the community, elected tribal officials, hereditary chiefs, and others. However, these informants are not specifically identified, other than those she thanks in the acknowledgements. They include William and Merle Tallio, Alvin Mack, Joe Mack, Darlene Tallio, Peter Tallio, Chiefs Lawrence Pootlass, Ed Moody, Derrick Snow, and Archie Pootlass. We are not informed how many informants were interviewed, their age or sex, nor how many of them are artists. The result is that we have no way of knowing how representative the attitudes she identifies are of the total community.

The themes she pursues include:

- The difficulty of determining ownership of cultural objects.
- The Nuxalk use of cultural heritage as proof of nationhood.
- The significance of Nuxalk entanglements with Canadian law and the Western art market.
- The relationship between selling Nuxalk art and the creation of contemporary Nuxalk identity.
- The Nuxalk strategic use of accusations of cultural appropriation by others.

Kramer's conclusions are based on the concept that the attitudes of the Nuxalk oscillate between opposing viewpoints as follows:

- A. The Nuxalk have a self-proclaimed identity which she terms *self-objectification*, in order to remain free from external definitions.
- B. The Nuxalk use a flexible strategy, employing Canadian Federal law when it supports their cause but also rely on Nuxalk law.

The oscillation between positions A and B gives rise to her use of the term *Switchbacks*.

In conducting her fieldwork, Kramer confronted the concept of *theft*, the idea that appropriation of Nuxalk art by outsiders, whether individuals, dealers, or museums, represents exploitation of Nuxalk identity. Kramer also asks whether her own involvement raises the same issue: That her study would enable her to publish a book for money or gain employment at a lucrative salary. The issue is unanswerable since no one in Bella Coola had the authority to give permission for her study.

In pursuit of answers she presents several case studies; the Nuxalk place of learning, Acwsalcta, the Nuxalk Echo Mask, and the Nuxalk Sun Mask. These examples relate to what is culturally significant in establishing and

perpetuating Nuxalk identity. The case studies illustrate different approaches to these issues. The Echo Mask was sold to an art dealer and then repatriated to Bella Coola by the tribe. They invoked the terms of the Canadian Cultural Property Export and Import Act that prevents significant cultural property being exported from Canada. Using \$200,000 most of which was provided by the Canadian Department of Heritage, the mask was repurchased and placed on exhibit in the credit union in Bella Coola.

The Sun Mask was featured prominently as the outstanding object in the Vancouver Art Gallery's exhibit, *Down from the Shimmering Sky: Masks of the Northwest Coast*. The Nuxalk considered this use of the mask as validation of the importance of Nuxalk art. Kramer terms this attitude as representing *figurative repatriation*.

The issues at Acwsalcta were resolved by the creation of songbooks. The traditional songs in Nuxalk were translated into English and written down. In addition, Christian hymns were translated into Nuxalk. However, the ambiguity continues since there is fear of relying too much on the written texts. Further, they could be used by outsiders to the detriment of Nuxalk control.

In all of these case studies there is Nuxalk awareness that even though cultural items were collected in the past by museums and anthropologists, and viewed as a form of theft, in fact these items, masks, songs, etc. were thereby preserved for use by future generations.

In spite of these ambiguous attitudes toward the production of art, its use within the community, and its sale outside of the community, Kramer concludes by quoting one Nuxalk man who stated, "The Nuxalk nation was known all over the world because its art resided in foreign places such as Germany, New Zealand, New York, and Hawaii. It is because outsiders own Nuxalk art and recognize Nuxalk culture and nationhood that the Nuxalk are now powerful."

Beyond the question of how Kramer conducted her study, we raise the question of its value, both to the Nuxalk and to others. For example, we believe the title, *Switchbacks*, is inappropriate. It would convey no meaning to anyone researching a bibliographic database. Even the subtitle, *Art, Ownership, and Nuxalk*

National Identity, is ambiguous. A better title would have been *Nuxalk Attitudes toward Their Art*.

Kramer uses a number of terms including *commodification*, *strategic essentialism*, *self-objectification*, *figurative repatriation*, *hybridity*, and *indigenous commuting*. Such terms only confuse the reader, rather than clarifying the issues. Certainly these terms would mean little to the Nuxalk.

Finally we ask: *What benefit does this study provide to the Nuxalk or anyone else?* It is a difficult question to answer. However, we see little benefit to outsiders, especially the art dealers and museum curators. Their interests are focused on the acquisition, display, and / or sale of art objects, and the attitudes of their creators would seem somewhat irrelevant to the dealers. With respect to the benefit of the Nuxalk, they already know what they believe, so at best this study is redundant. However, as one of the Nuxalk predicted, she did get a book published, and did obtain a permanent position.

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4. The late Philip M. Hobler's M.A. in anthropology came from the University of Arizona. He was a professor emeritus, Department of Archaeology, 8888 University Drive, Simon Fraser University, Burnaby, British Columbia (BC) V5A 1S6 Canada. The telephone number there is 604-291-4727. Philip M. Hobler died on July 19, 2006, having lost a two-year battle with cancer.

5. Inge Rosemarie Dahm holds a M.A. degree from the Department of Archaeology, Simon Fraser University. She is the widow of Philip M. Hobler. To contact her, please write or telephone the Department of Archaeology, 8888 University Drive, Simon Fraser University, Burnaby, British Columbia (BC) V5A 1S6 Canada, 604-291-4727. Or for help, at **burley@sfu.ca** e-mail David V. Burley, Ph.D., the chair of the department.

*Switchbacks: Art, Ownership, and Nuxalk National Identity*¹

By Jennifer Kramer²

Reviewed by Yoshiko “Miko” Yamamoto³

The *Switchbacks* book is a useful ethnography of a Nuxalk present-day community and its dealing with the repatriation of art objects under Canadian Government law. Jennifer Kramer carefully describes her acceptance by the community and gaining permission to publish the results of her fieldwork, putting herself also in a state of *Switchbacks* as the title of her book suggests. As an anthropologist, she participated in community activities and interviewed Nuxalk artists. She even made a trip from British Columbia, Canada, with Nuxalk school children to the American Museum of Natural History in New York City and observed and took notes on their responses to the works on display of their fellow Bella Coola people, which they were seeing for the first time. Kramer expresses keen insights regarding the reactions of those who made the trip. She records the children's responses to the items in the museum exhibit that their ancestors had made and used. Had they been “stolen” from their community so they could be shown in public at the museum? The children reflect the response of the Nuxalk in general about their pieces being found in museum collections. Their overwhelming tendency is to identify with the pieces culturally, socially, and personally. The title of the book, *Switchbacks*, suggests the direction of Kramer's discussion and analysis. She leads us to a developing perspective of the Nuxalk that links works of art and ownership with their social and cultural identity.

Chapter 2, “The History of Bella Coola,” is a good summary of relationships between the Bella Coola and the non-First Nation representatives throughout Canada's history. In this chapter, she describes the emerging concept of the term *theft*. It shows strong resentment toward the non-First Nation people, and abpuy what happened in the past to indigenous cultural objects. Kramer leads this reader to a feeling of guilt but at the same time sympathy for the Nuxalk people about what the non-Nuxalk people did uncon-

sciously or consciously. Often heard from antique collectors are explanations of their acts as valid. That is, they always explain that what they were doing is to save cultural heritage that is disappearing. Anthropologists diligently document and collect specimens thinking to help preserve the cultures of indigenous peoples against cultural loss in the future. However, what the non-Nuxalk people did seems to have caused considerable. The introduction of a cash economy with tourism and other influences of Westernization deeply affected the Nuxalk's cultural identity, their conservation of cultural objects, and their ideas of ownership, as well as their creative activities.

Chapter 3 comprises Kramer's account of the creative activities of Nuxalk artists. She gives us some complex reasoning on authenticity offered by the artists. The topics include the arts that are made for commodity sales and the arts of *genuine ethnic identity*. *Self objectification* is the term Kramer uses for the works that artists create for themselves. Not until recently have many accounts been published on artists of the ethnic arts. Generally speaking, many catalogs featuring Northwest Coast art do not mention the artists' names in describing the pieces. More frequently mentioned are the names of collectors or of museums as sources, even though the craftsmen of those pieces were known to the original owners. It was not the concern of Franz Boas (1858-1942) to discuss and describe what the artists of the Northwest Pacific Coast had in their minds (Boas 1955). A recent article by Zena Pearlstone (2001) titled *Katzina: Commoditized and Appropriated Images of Hopi Supernaturals* correctly initiates what should be the future direction of the treatment of artists of ethnic arts. Likewise, Kramer's approach with her detailed observations is most welcome.

Kramer's observation and analysis of the *Acwosalcta*, “the Native-run band school on the First Nations reserve in Bella Coola” (Kramer 2006:66-86), shows the frustration of the people

with respect to the solution or compromise in the execution of religious performance associated with the traditional *potlatch*. Years of suppression of ritual practice has affected cultural revival among the Nuxalk. Although accurate descriptions found in archives and publications from notes made by anthropologists are available, the adoption of such knowledge by this method was an issue raised by the Nuxalk. There was an objection to adopting the knowledge based on Western technology. Within the Acwsalcta the idea is expressed that oral tradition and verbally expressed memories are considered desirable instead. As Kramer mentions correctly at the very beginning of the book, many have assumed that, when cultural revival occurs, it is a simple reversion to the past. But the people of the First Nations did not attempt to replicate the behavior and traditions of their ancestors as they were in the past. It is not the existence of an organization like Acwsalcta that matters. Rather what matters is the way the revived knowledge is sorted out by the teachers of the knowledge and the consensus among the Nuxalk people to comfortably practice their heritage in the name of cultural identity via recalled oral traditions.

Having described in general terms the historical and political background of the Nuxalk people, Kramer's analysis shifts to one-on-one encountering of the creators, who are the artists of the objects they create and of their ideas. Two masks are described and analyzed that were repatriated to the Nuxalk people. The Nuxalk made two different decisions for the two masks represented by two different concepts – the concept of physical repatriation as opposed to figurative repatriation. These resulted in the two different ideas on the masks and thence two different ways of exhibition.

The book does not include any photographs of the works she discusses. There must be a good reason, and Kramer should tell us. Perhaps, I inadvertently missed it. Nevertheless, to refresh our memories on the subject of indigenous art, readers would do well to review *Primitive Art* by Franz Boas (1955). Also helpful would be references on the *potlatch* because of the complexity of the religious rituals described by Kramer (see McFeat 1967:72-133; Kew and Goddard 1974:72-73). Since the Bella Coola are well known to

anthropology, Kramer's book may be more clearly understood in light of past documentation of Bella Coola artistic creativity (see Boas 1955:279-296; Carson 1982; Holm 1987:119-127). A recent account may interest the readers of Kramer's book. The return of collections is featured by the University of Pennsylvania's Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology (Preucel and Williams 2005:9-19).

As I read the last several chapters I began to feel relieved because future doors still seem to be open for us museum professionals and admirers of ethnic arts and crafts. I look forward to seeing innovative indigenous works exhibited with curation acceptable to the Nuxalk people. I also hope to see publications of their art that they are proud to present as their work.

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*Switchbacks: Art, Ownership, and Nuxalk National Identity*¹

By Jennifer Kramer²

Reviews counterpointed by Jennifer Kramer

Darby Stapp, Miko Yamamoto, and James Hester with his co-reviewers Philip Hobler and Inge Dahm collectively raise the following important question: *Who benefits from this work?* Who is the book's intended audience, and does the book convey recommendations? The reviewers state that I do not propose an applied course of action for Nuxalk people, gallery owners, or museum curators. While I concur that I do not offer solutions to the ambiguities and contradictions inherent in who owns Nuxalk culture and who has the right to decide on its representation, repatriation, or commodification, I have attempted to highlight the problems. I do not believe it is my role to tell the Nuxalk what to do in these situations, for that would be a presumption of authority. However, I think it is important that non-Nuxalk people be aware of the complexity of these concerns so we can interact in a way that is respectful of boundaries of identity and ownership. My book is an attempt to understand and chart these limits to Nuxalk culture.

As a curator at the University of British Columbia's Museum of Anthropology, one of my responsibilities is to work with the Nuxalk to reorganize the display of their material culture at the museum. I traveled to Bella Coola in October 2006 to show photographs and documentation of Nuxalk objects at the museum in order to talk with the Nuxalk on how best to display this collection. At one point during my visit, I was discussing with a Nuxalk man in his fifties the catalogue notes that had been added by Nuxalk in the 1970s. Many of these brief comments identified the family or individual who had rights to dance a particular mask. Suddenly the man said that

You have to be careful around ownership. Things are family owned, but also Nuxalk owned.

I think he was intimating that over time ownership rules had changed. Dance preroga-

tives had been coalescing into collective national possessions, but accusations of appropriation between families and individuals still exist. He was warning me that I needed to be sensitive to such contexts of history.

I share this story not because I have the solution of how to resolve the predicament of changing ownership, but because it asserts in a Nuxalk voice the entanglement of Nuxalk cultural property. Non-Nuxalk people and, particularly, museum curators need to be aware of these intercultural histories that engender Nuxalk messages, which might paradoxically advocate public display and cultural privacy.

In *Switchbacks*, I try to show how Nuxalk cultural heritage and cultural property are caught up in non-Nuxalk structures of valuation such as the Canadian and international legal systems, the global indigenous art market, and the institutionalization of museum display. Therefore, they cannot be divorced from non-Nuxalk reception. I chose to write in a language that is considered short-hand by anthropologists, art historians, and students of Native Canadian culture, who are the primary intended audience of this work. I do not deny that this jargon can be opaque. However, I think James Hester, Philip Hobler, and Inge Dahm have not grasped the aim of my book when they suggest it could be better titled *Nuxalk Attitudes toward Their Art*. I agree with Hester, Hobler, and Dahm that the Nuxalk already know what they believe and that this book is not for them. Instead, I intended this book to function as a translation for non-Nuxalk people who are privileged to view Nuxalk art.

I chose to use the title *Switchbacks* because it is a physical marker of the steep hill into the Bella Coola Valley, which must be traversed to reach the Nuxalk, and it is also a metaphor for the dialectic at work in the construction of Nuxalk identity. In *Switchbacks*, I rely on the premise that Nuxalk art is presented to non-Nuxalk audiences in much the same way that a Nuxalk chief might display his ancestral privileges before

witnesses at a potlatch that he hosts. I am suggesting that ownership needs to be validated by external eyes, and that in this way Nuxalk identity is affirmed. Building upon Charlotte Townsend-Gault's fruitful concept of *art as argument* (1997), this cultural display deserves a response. This book is my response to Nuxalk art.

I am sympathetic with Darby Stapp's discomfort with my use of the term *art*. He is correct that I chose this label in part because it conveys respect, and I do not want to become entangled in an outdated debate about the various qualities of art versus craft. But, I also chose it because it seemed more open-ended in what it could accomplish. My research embraces intangible as well as tangible products of Nuxalk culture, and I explain that I define the term *art* as that which the Nuxalk believe to be art. I wanted to acknowledge Nuxalk agency so I treated art as having the capacities of a verb rather than the passivity of an object. I do not think that *cultural item*, the term suggested by Stapp, conveys the same activity or potential.

While I take Stapp's point that art did not originate as an indigenous category, it is myopic to suggest that contemporary Nuxalk, and especially Nuxalk artists, should not make use of the term's abilities to convey aesthetic judgment and to declare the possibility for economic patronage. I am trying to argue that selling art can be an authenticating act, so suggesting that the term *art* is inappropriate implies that the Nuxalk lose something when they choose to participate in the art market. While I know this was hardly Stapp's intention, I would not want to make the Nuxalk vulnerable to this sort of critique, thereby reifying traditional uses as the only acceptable ones for Native Canadian products. Regrettably, Miko Yamamoto misconstrues my discussion of authenticity and use of the term *self objectification*. My argument does not distinguish between art made for sale and art made for internal use, which is what she problematically labels *genuine ethnic arts*. Rather, I try to demonstrate how these are specious divisions not recognized by the Nuxalk.

Both the review of Miko Yamamoto and that of James Hester, Philip Hobler, and Inge Dahm discuss *Acwsalcta*, the band-run school in Bella

Coola. While the *Acwsalcta* school is crucial for inspiring Nuxalk youth with their cultural heritage, the mere fact of its existence does not resolve the dilemma of how to proceed with the creation of a Nuxalk cultural curriculum. I differ from the breezy attitude of Hester, Hobler, and Dahm that "issues at *Acwsalcta* were resolved by the creation of songbooks." While the songbooks offer one solution to the difficulties in teaching oral culture, they bring a host of other problems by recording culture in written form.

Hester, Hobler, and Dahm raise the important question of methodology and the ethical implications of fieldwork and academic publications. As I explained in my book, I do not name the people with whom I spoke, because people were cautious of publicly voicing their opinions in a community rife with political divisions. While I could offer statistics on how many people I interviewed in Bella Coola, my research methodology was intended to be qualitative rather than quantitative. My goal was never to be representative as I would not want to suggest that the Nuxalk are uniform. In fact, I tried to emphasize the multiplicity of opinions expressed by the Nuxalk. But perhaps I could have made clearer the challenges in attempting to capture this diversity within the pages of a book.

To answer Yamamoto's question of why I did not publish photographs of Nuxalk art, I offer this quote from the book's introduction:

I do not want to contribute to the feelings expressed by some Nuxalk that the display of their art, or even photographs of it, has the potential to reveal knowledge that belongs to the owner of the cultural object and that should stay secret. My goal is to respect the limits of representation set by the Nuxalk while also reading them as important messages about Nuxalk identity...Some Nuxalk believe that duplication of Nuxalk art is theft because it dilutes the power of what the Nuxalk possess as a culture and as an identity. **Since I did not wish to wrestle control away from the Nuxalk, I have not included any photographs in this book.**

[Bolding added here for emphasis.] In refusing to display, I am acknowledging that I do

not own the inherited right to do so. Even so, I am aware that Switchbacks creates an access point to the Nuxalk, who are vulnerable when exposed. In order to protect individual Nuxalk from unwanted exposure I have not included any personal names in this work (Kramer 2006:22).

As I hope this paragraph conveys, I tried to be as attuned as possible to issues of cultural appropriation and the boundaries of ethical knowledge production.

Hester, Hobler, and Dahm imply that I do not believe anyone in Bella Coola has the authority to give permission for my study. I think they are misinterpreting my point about the difficulties in finding consensus among the Nuxalk. As I write in my conclusions:

Ownership, I began to understand, can never be complete. Ownership in Bella Coola is a complex claim, involving much more than the person or persons who assert it. It is a process of events involving witnesses and, as such, it is often fraught with contention and counterclaims (Kramer 2006:126).

This is also true of book reviews and the various people who read and write them. I thank the reviewers for their critical commentary.

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*Ethnographies of Archaeological Practice: Cultural Encounters, Material Transformations*¹

Edited by Matt Edgeworth²

Introduction by Lawrence F. Van Horn³

Whose culture is it? That of those of the past whose physical evidence of habitation or other activities is investigated by archaeologists? That of the local community members whose heritage is being studied archaeologically? That of the archaeologists themselves who design research projects, excavate sites, and analyze findings? That of the cultural anthropologists who observe these archaeologists during excavation and thus participate in the ethnography of archaeological practice? An apt answer would seem to be *all of the above*, especially if we heed Matt Edgeworth and his authors in this fascinating book titled *Ethnographies of Archaeological Practice*.

This book offers intriguing examples from different parts of the world of how ethnography can contribute to archaeology. That is not surprising since *culture* remains the core concept that integrates the four fields of anthropology. These are, as we all know, (1) archaeology, (2) biological or physical anthropology, (3) cultural anthropology including ethnography as the description of a society's beliefs and mores and ethnology as societal comparison, and (4) linguistic anthropology as relating to the influences between language and culture and vice versa. What is surprising is how jargon-laden this book seems to be in spots. In the two reviews that follow, both Thomas F. King and Darby C. Stapp, comment on the book's occasional but still unseemly use of jargon.

No doubt the overuse of jargon should not be surprising in light of the observation of the late anthropologist Carleton Coon (1904-1981) that

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

Does Matt Edgeworth fall into this category? He rightfully accepts Lisa Breglia's "series of suggestions for how ethnography of archaeology

can aid in building a locally meaningful, ethical context for fieldwork" (p. 181). But then he allows this sharing of ideas to be muddled when, as Thomas F. King reports in his review, 'she insists that the disciplines not "be entirely caught up in a closed hermeneutics of disciplinary self-reflexivity"' (p. 182).' Does that mean we might talk and think too much about how ethnography can help archaeology?

Please enjoy the reviews of Thomas F. King and Darby C. Stapp, and by all means enjoy the book itself. In spite of annoying instances of jargon exemplified by that of Lisa Breglia, let us be reinforced by the ethnography of archaeology and realize once again that we anthropologists of whatever specialties are trying to understand how culture works and how it changes. As the book *Ethnographies of Archaeological Practice* excitingly shows, we can do so from the past and the present. We can do so by seeing how cultural content and cultural process interact and influence one another, respectively, as material artifacts and products of behavior, and as ideas and beliefs behind behavior.

Or is my assertion above too full of jargon? Perhaps it verges *On Bullshit* as discussed and analyzed by Princeton philosopher Harry G. Frankfurt (2005) and as reviewed in *The Applied Anthropologist* by Pennie L. Magee (2006), Barbara L. Scott (2006), and me (Van Horn 2006) via our multi-review treatment. Whether jargon is *bullshit* remains a question for another time. Suffice it to say that *Ethnographies of Archaeological Practice* is an important and inviting book even if muddled in places by jargon that could have been smoothly clarified by more straightforward word choices.

Notes

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Ethnographies of Archaeological Practice: Cultural Encounters, Material Transformations¹

Edited by Matt Edgeworth²

Reviewed by Thomas F. King³

In the last few decades, a number of archaeologists have begun doing more or less formal ethnographic studies of themselves, their colleagues and students, and their field projects. At the same time, some professional and student ethnographers have taken archaeological field schools and other excavation projects as venues for their exercises in participant-observation. Matt Edgeworth, a practicing applied archaeologist in the United Kingdom and an international leader in ethnography-of-archaeology (EOA) practice, gathered 15 EOA studies for this volume.

I am not sure I can honestly call this book a piece of applied anthropology, I am sure that at least some of the authors would object to having their work so labeled. Some of the authors define themselves as anthropologists, others as sociologists, others just as archaeologists dabbling in the study of themselves and other live people. More importantly, I am not sure to what extent the studies recounted are really “applied” to anything. They are certainly examples of ethnography done in novel contexts, but for the most part the authors seem to have little interest in how or whether the results of their work might be used. Yet as an occasionally practicing archaeologist, as I read some of the articles, I found myself thinking that having an ethnographer observing a field crew in action could be pretty useful as a means of improving my understanding of how the crew members’ and my own assumptions and beliefs influence the nature of the data produced. Such an application, however, seems to be remote from the minds of most of the authors. The use of ethnography as a basis for understanding and defusing conflicts between archaeologists and resident communities is clearly on the minds of some, but few seem inclined if a bit embarrassed to acknowledge this application as a rationale for the work. For the most part, the authors are content simply to reflect upon how archaeological sites and people – including themselves – influence and in some

senses construct one another.

Edgeworth kicks the volume off with a retrospective on EOA origins – in the 1990s, though he can trace the idea back to the mid-20th century – and then turns to its history and potential. He sees the latter as lying in EOA’s “capacity to facilitate alternative ways of looking at things....to look at things [in archaeological practice] in new and surprising ways” (p. 16), which does seem like a useful thing to facilitate, and hence like the activity’s primary application. Having a systematic interpretation – or multiple systematic interpretations – of what goes on during one’s survey or excavation, and how the differing viewpoints of different participants and stakeholders may influence the outcome, could make for much more interesting, thoughtful, balanced, and perhaps reliable interpretations of the archaeological record.

I suspect, though, that Edgeworth and many of his authors would reject the idea that a “reliable” record is achievable or worthwhile. Virtually all the papers are rather aggressively post-modern in orientation, and focus on telling stories from different perspectives rather than seeking any sort of mutually agreed-upon “truth.” I do not object to that perspective, but I do wish those who espouse it could be less pompous about it and lose the jargon. If I see the words *reflexive* or *hermeneutic* one more time, I think I will scream.

Following Edgeworth’s introduction, Thomas Yarrow describes the way academics, archaeologists, volunteers, landowners, and the financial benefactors supporting a Yorkshire excavation construct their own versions of the same site, and what these varying versions reveal about the site on the one hand and the people on-site on the other. David Van Reybrouck and Dirk Jacobs write about the mutual creation of an Iron Age house and the archaeologists excavating it. Charles Goodwin, a linguist, provides a somewhat more abstract treatment of how the observation of phenomena in a site gets trans-

lated into written descriptions and interpretations that in effect create the phenomena described. Blythe E. Roveland, an archaeologist who carried out EOA on her own excavation of a late Paleolithic site in Germany, discusses the difficulties and rewards in doing so. Jonathan Bateman focuses (literally, using photography) on the process of graphic record-keeping on an archaeological dig, and the role of that process in creating the identity of both site and artist/draftsperson. Cornelius Holtorf describes relationships (and non-relationships) among Italian, Scandinavian, and American archaeologists and field-school students working on a site in western Sicily, and the sociological results of the enterprise.

John Carman's contribution on the sociology of an archaeological excavation emphasizes the social activities and patterns of activity distinctive of the archaeological enterprise – isolation as a group, engagement with material things, beer-bourn camaraderie. Oguz Erdur describes a day in the life of an ethnographer on a dig, reflecting on ethnographic versus archaeological perceptions. The apocryphal names he gives his subjects are rather distractingly cute, and though his use of presumably verbatim quotes makes for a lively paper, I came away from it scratching my head and wondering what I had just read. Michael Wilmore, observing work at a Bronze Age site in Cornwall, emphasizes the relevance of class and status to the perceptions and interpretations of both the site and the work by different participant groups.

Angela McClanahan shifts the focus to the management of what she calls heritage sites (p. 126), and to the perceptions of such management by local residents. She analyzes the attitudes of Orkney residents to the United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization's (UNESCO) designation of the *Heart of Neolithic Orkney* as a World Heritage Site, and to the management style of its administrator, Historic Scotland. Not surprisingly, the locals are less enthusiastic about the designation than Historic Scotland might have expected; the monuments play roles in their lives and identities that are not necessarily compatible with World Heritage status. Håkan Karlsson and Anders Gustafsson address a similar set of issues in their

examination of how Swedish heritage authorities have managed through burial and interpretation an endangered rock art site at Tanum, effectively asserting their authority to control both the site and the visitor's experience.

Shifting back to the study of archaeological fieldwork but continuing to attend to the viewpoints of the non-archaeological public, Denise Maria Cavalcante Gomes discusses the construction of modern identities by Amazonian Caboclo communities (p. 151), and how these identities play out in a community's attitudes toward an archaeological project. Similarly, Timoteo Rodriguez examines conflicts that developed between archaeologists seeking to study, preserve, and develop the Maya site of Kochol – with the intention of benefiting the local Yucatec Maya community – and the community itself, which saw the site as a particularly good place for growing crops. In the final paper, Lisa Breglia provides an examination based upon participant observation of worker-archaeologist relationships at Kuchol and the apparently nearby site of Chunchucmil. Based on her observations, she sets out at the end of her paper to offer “a series of suggestions for how ethnography of archaeology can aid in building a locally meaningful, ethical context for fieldwork” (p. 181). Regrettably for me at least, her postmodern prose renders whatever suggestions she offers almost incomprehensible to this old-style archaeologist. When she insists that the disciplines not “be entirely caught up in a closed hermeneutics of disciplinary self-reflexivity” (p. 182), I think she is cautioning against navel contemplation. That would point to a malady that, it had struck me while reading the preceding papers, seems to be something of an occupational hazard for EOA practitioners. But it is hard for me to be sure.

Breglia's is the only paper in which I found an explicit reference to applied anthropology. Without explanation of her apparent distaste for our practice, she insists on page 182 that EOA must “first and foremost” not be “cast under” applied anthropology's “rubric.” This seems to me rather too bad, because in many ways her work seems to have the most hardheadedly useful application in identifying and heading off conflicts between archaeologists and local residents arising out of their disparate histories and

culture-grounded perceptions.

The EOA approach, as portrayed in this book, seems to be something of an adolescent sub-discipline in that it is gawky, gangling, flailing about in all directions, uncertain of purpose but bursting with somewhat unformulated promise. While it appears that some of its practitioners would regard it as anathema, I agree with Michael Wilmore's observation that EOA can "suggest areas that could repay careful consideration in relation to the practical conduct of archaeological research" (p. 115). His comment and others reminded me of a time when I discovered that a volunteer on an excavation I was supervising was discarding important evidence and thus information. He was an attorney, as it happened, and he simply could not see why it was of value to keep fish bones, and as a result was tossing them out, thus biasing my analysis of fish consumption at the site. It struck me at the time that we archaeologists often have a pretty thin understanding of the attitudes that inform the behavior of our fieldworkers, even when we all originate in the same society, and that the fruits of these attitudes can have profound implications for the reliability of our results. A more balanced understanding of fieldworker attitudes, and our own, perhaps obtainable through the conduct of EOA, could improve that reliability. I surmise, though, that most of the authors in *Ethnographies of Archaeological Practice* would sneer at such an application. The applicability of studies like McClanahan's, Karlsson's and Gustafsson's to archaeological site management is more straightforward and obvious; it would, I think, be enlightened of organizations like Historic Scotland and the Swedish heritage authorities at Tanum to pay attention. The work of ethnographers like Breglia, Rodriguez, and Gomes could be vital to avoiding mutually damaging confrontations between archaeologists and residents. These all seem like worthy applications, but my analysis may reflect a flawed hermeneutic.

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Ethnographies of Archaeological Practice: Cultural Encounters, Material Transformations¹

Edited by Matt Edgeworth²

Reviewed by Darby C. Stapp³

The majority of archaeological research in North America has become increasingly sterile in recent decades. Despite the intellectual advancements of the last quarter century, most archaeologists continue to produce descriptive archaeological reports in the scientific tradition. The field, at least in its Western intellectual form, is insular, and few opportunities for outsiders, descendants of peoples under study, or contemporary local communities exist.

Why do archaeologists provide so few alternatives to the standard archaeological program? Why is archaeology restricted to its genre? And why, even in these standardized scientific texts, do archaeologists provide and incorporate so little context, so little *meta-data*, if you will?

As an archaeologist raised in the *New Archaeology* tradition and then tossed into the highly charged political environments of North American Indians, I have come to believe that there is little objectivity to be found in archaeology today. Bias exists throughout the system as an inherent part of our work. It affects our selection of sites to excavate, our choice of collaborators and hiring (or use) of people to do excavation work, our selection of sampling strategies and analytical techniques, the patterns and objects we choose to document or not document, and the stories we choose to tell. Economic constraints, intellectual backgrounds, and political environments all affect the “science.” While this situation itself is disturbing, what really bothers me is the failure of most archaeological reports to document these biases so that other researchers can be aware of why certain choices were made during the recovery, analysis, and reporting of archaeological materials. By deciding not to document these biases, we make it unnecessary to think about them, and as a result, we fail to learn, we fail to grow.

Yes, it is important to provide the counts, the measurements, the maps, and the pictures of artifacts. But it is also important to explain the

background of the project, the intellectual history and perspectives of the researchers, the reasons why the site was excavated, the economic constraints and how they were addressed, the political contexts of the descendent populations and local communities, and so on. Rarely is such information explicitly provided to the reader

In several venues, I have encouraged the publication of books and reports that highlight not only the knowledge gained from the work, but also philosophical and political influences on the researchers, their professional settings, the sites in which they work, and the social impacts of their scholarship. Thus, when approached to write a review of *Ethnographies of Archaeological Practice*, I was interested to find out whether some of my concerns would be addressed by editor Matt Edgeworth and his contributors. What I found was encouraging. Many of my concerns were addressed, while many new approaches were introduced that stimulated my thinking in fresh directions.

Most of the contributors in the book are ethnographers, not archaeologists, which may explain why many of the issues explored were outside my archaeology “box.” They deploy the ethnographic method in order to learn more about the process of doing archaeology itself. Some pursue issues that arise within an archaeological team; several others focus on relationships with local communities, which may or may not be descendant populations of those who left the remains under study.

I found the chapters in the book to be generally readable and interesting, if occasionally jargon laden. Matt Edgeworth lays out the background and objectives of the book quite clearly in the introductory chapter. Lisa Breglia provides a thoughtful concluding chapter and strives to give some direction for the future to those who would follow her model for the ethnography of archaeological practice. I am not convinced that there should be a specialized field of ethnography of archaeological practice per se, but I do

believe that archaeologists should let ethnographers examine what we do as archaeologists. We should become more aware of the context of our work and more explicit about it. And, as Matt Edgeworth demonstrates, cultural anthropologists pursuing the ethnography of archaeology can help.

I think the book can help address what I see as archaeology's biggest challenge today — the development of more sophisticated research designs. Archaeology, at least in its intellectual form, is about producing new knowledge. But this is where we have tended to fall short recently. We have great expectations about what we might learn from a site, which is usually well documented in a funding proposal, but we rarely deliver in our analysis and reporting. Why is that?

One reason may be the lack of new ideas accepted in mainstream archaeology, and here is where the approaches described in *Ethnographies of Archaeological Practice* hold promise. The diversity of ideas that the ethnographic research described in the chapters is sorely needed in archaeology today. Perhaps the new ideas and approaches from our cultural anthropological colleagues may help lead archaeology in new directions. I hope so.

Most of the research in the book examines ongoing archaeological excavations, focusing directly or indirectly on the digging aspects of archaeology. Ethnographic studies of archaeological settings outside excavation might also be fruitful. I would like to see attention turned to the laboratory, to the writing up of research reports, and to the public dissemination of our work. Some chapters touched on these points, but I got the feeling that the researchers saw archaeology mostly as a means to discover artifacts.

I would also like to encourage ethnographers to assist archaeologists in evaluating their work once projects are completed. The research could take the form of assessment of the research design and its implementation within particular research contexts. Rarely is this done, and when it is, it is more likely to be performed by archaeologists. Anthropologists from different backgrounds might bring a more productive insight to our archaeological practice. There is, unfortu-

nately, much disparity between what we say we do in archaeology and what we really do, and ethnographers could help us be more honestly descriptive about our work.

Ethnographies of Archaeological Practice is successful in demonstrating that ethnographic approaches to archaeological research can make contributions to cultural anthropology, archaeology, and the communities affected by archaeology. The diversity of topics and approaches represented in the book confirm that this is an emerging area of intellectual endeavor. The use of anthropological jargon made it difficult to understand some of the ideas being presented, and the significance of the results is not always transparent. But these problems should subside in the future as archaeologists and ethnographers interested in working together co-evolve in their thinking.

Like the authors, I would like to see the further development of the *ethnography-of-archaeological-practice* approach. The case studies presented in the book give us a taste of what can be achieved, but in order to make progress, some focus is needed. A well articulated research design that can be used by ethnographers and archaeologists alike would, I think, be well received

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Ethnographies of Archaeological Practice: Cultural Encounters, Material Transformations¹

Edited by Matt Edgeworth²

Counterpointed by Matt Edgeworth

I would like to thank Larry Van Horn, Thomas F. King and Darby C. Stapp for their valuable comments. I am also grateful for this opportunity to respond to the issues raised.

Ethnographies of Archaeological Practice was based upon a session at the Fifth World Archaeological Congress held in Washington, District of Columbia, in 2003. The session was exceptional in that it attracted papers from a very broad cross-section of the academic community. Perspectives of heritage professionals, museum workers, commercial archaeologists, excavation team leaders, teachers – not to mention ethnographers and sociologists – were represented. If Stapp is correct in saying that much archaeological work is insular and exclusive, then this session at least was the very opposite.

A point that came very clearly out of the session's discussions was that ethnographies of archaeology do not comprise anything like a neatly defined *field*. Rather, such work is being carried out in many different forms and for different reasons by workers in a host of different countries in both hemispheres and across a broad spectrum of archaeological and anthropological "isms." The idea of using the ethnographic method to investigate archaeological practices seems to be emerging independently at various points of origin. Much as I might like to be an "international leader of ethnography-of-archaeology," as King puts it, I have to admit that I am nothing quite so grand. This is simply not a discrete or bounded field of research, and there is no leader of it as such.

The purpose of the book, and my aim in editing it, was and is to preserve the diversity of points of view. I wanted to avoid falling into the trap of organizing disparate projects into a single encompassing field and to thereby put boundaries on it and thus to separate it from other fields. Many edited books do exactly that. They include contributions only from authors who share the same assumptions, work to the same goals, and use similar forms of language. Reference to

workers in other fields is often non-existent. That is how the insularity referred to by Stapp is created and reproduced.

Ethnographies of Archaeological Practice is different. The authors take up their own standpoints and develop their own forms of ethnography of archaeology. Some of the papers do deal with post-modern issues and use post-modern terminology, but actually these form only a small part of the book as a whole. It is true that discussion in the book ranges across internal and external disciplinary boundaries, but I think that King is being unduly negative when he describes this as "flailing about in all directions." It is also true that the book explicitly sets out to be experimental and to take risks, and does not claim to represent an established and mature field, as King seems to expect it to. In fact, it is only by confounding King's expectations, by not structuring the material too much, that the book turns out to be, in his words, "bursting with somewhat unformulated promise."

Van Horn, King, and Stapp all raise the issue of the use of jargon and whether the book might be jargon laden. Normally if we are working within a single field, we do not notice the jargon we use, while the jargon of others grates on our ears. We might gently remind one of the critics that even his job title of *cultural resource specialist*, with its meaning so clear to anyone working in that area, may actually be a form of meaningless jargon to someone from outside. The problem was particularly acute in editing this book. That was because the papers originated from or situated themselves within so many different fields, some of which do not normally communicate with each other. Nevertheless, the fact that workers from these different areas could come together to discuss a common theme, as they did in the session and the book, despite the various forms of technical language used, is surely an encouraging sign. This is much better than expecting others to use one's own forms of speech, or taking up a hostile attitude against

those who talk in a different way. King's overly defensive stance against post-modernist discourse is a case in point. As Van Horn so rightly points out, "anthropologists of whatever specialties are trying to understand how culture works and how it changes." Despite the internal cultural and linguistic variations a common ground does exist. There is room for dialogue across academic boundaries. There is space for books like this that serve as a meeting-ground for different points of view.

What *Ethnographies of Archaeological Practice* asks the reader to do is shift between alternate ways of seeing. I accept that this can be an unsettling experience. It can be a shock for archaeologists or anthropologists, who are used to looking outwards in space or backwards in time at other cultures, to suddenly be made the object of the ethnographic gaze. Such an inversion of a habitual mode of looking at the world might have the disorientating effect of undermining belief in anthropological or archaeological "truth," and it would seem that this is at the core of King's somewhat negative attitude towards the book. However, I maintain that ethnography of archaeology ultimately enriches and enlarges rather than undermines.

Consider an ancient monument like Stonehenge. Try and explain it purely in terms of human activity in the ancient past and you are only looking at half of the story, for it is clearly also in part a construct of the present and the recent past. The political and social contexts within which the interpretation and physical form of Stonehenge have been shaped over the last century or two, and continue to be shaped by present day practices, is part of the overall picture. Stonehenge today is made up of modern material culture as well as ancient stones, the two being inextricably interwoven together. Our experience of the monument is shaped as much by walkways, car parks, fences and notice-boards as by the stone circles themselves. We need to understand it in terms of its significance to ourselves and to wider community groups as well as in terms of its significance to people in the past, broadening out our ideas of what archaeological "truth" is. Ethnography of archaeology can help us do that.

The issue of reflexivity is clearly crucial here

and it would be odd if it were not dealt with at some length in the book. As Stapp recognizes, there are thousands of archaeological reports that just describe, measure and present archaeological data. Anyone who wants to avoid talk of reflexivity or hermeneutics has plenty of places to turn. By way of contrast, several chapters in this book try to give more holistic accounts of (1) the archaeological evidence *and* (2) the cultural context of archaeological practices within which the evidence was brought to light. These papers go right against the grain of conventional writing. Attempting to take up a reflexive stance in this sense is actually quite a difficult and brave thing to do, all too easy to ridicule. King may scream, but his response illustrates well the resistance that exists within the academic and professional community to the development of reflexive methods or narrative styles.

At the same time, I think it is important to recognize that there are different kinds of reflexivity. Does being reflexive have to mean gazing at one's own navel, as characterized by its detractors? Or can we use reflexive methods to take us out of our insular self-absorbed worlds into more meaningful conversations and collaborations, not only with other parts of the disciplines, but also with other cultural groups? There is no muddled thinking, as Van Horn suggests there is, in embracing reflexivity on the one hand while cautioning against a tendency to create a closed, inward-looking discipline on the other. Ethnography of archaeology can help us focus our attention on our own practices, yes, but also on our interactions and encounters with other peoples. It can facilitate contact with alternative cultural perspectives, encouraging an "exchange of views," by which I mean the possibility of seeing the world from the radically different perspective of a cultural other, perhaps adjusting our own point of view to take account of it.

At least three papers in the book highlight disparities between how archaeologists configure the relationships between living communities and ancient material culture, and how members of local resident communities themselves see their relationship with the past. These papers go on to show how ethnographers, or perhaps even archaeologists with an ethnographic sensibility, can help bridge gaps in cultural understanding

over matters which are of great importance to both groups of people. How the past is to be configured, who the past belongs to, how the past is to be utilized in the present, and so on, are all issues which can be at least partly resolved through dialogue with living communities who have a stake and a voice in their own pasts. Ethnographers have an important part to play in that process.

There are numerous purposes to which ethnographies of archaeology can be put, and I resist the urge to focus on just one or two at the expense of others. As I see it, here are some of the main applications:

- Turning ethnographic attention onto the micro-processes of archaeological practice can shed light on the conditions that make archaeological knowledge possible, show how knowledge of the past is produced, and reveal how the “craft” expertise of archaeology is passed on from one generation of workers to another. Please see my own detailed study of excavation practices (Edgeworth 2003). There are clear links here with sociology of science, and Stapp is right when he says that other areas of archaeology, like laboratory work or project management, would be fertile ground for this kind of work.
- As already discussed, ethnography can be used as a reflexive method. The presence of an ethnographer on site, or indeed of archaeologists themselves taking up an ethnographic stance on their own activities, may have the effect of bringing about a more self-critical, self-aware and self-questioning practice.
- Combining archaeological investigation with ethnographic study of the activity of archaeological investigation itself can give a broader and more holistic version of archaeological “truth,” or, as King puts it, “make for much more interesting, thoughtful, balanced, and perhaps reliable interpretations.” For a recently published example, see the experimental site report on the excavation and survey of a Bronze Age landscape at Leskernick on Bodmin Moor, with contributions by ethnographers,

sociologists, poets, artists, geographers, and so on, as well as archaeologists (Bender, Hamilton and Tilley 2007).

- Ethnographies of archaeology can transform our view of archaeological monuments and the policies through which monuments are conserved, packaged and presented. The key here is seeing monuments as artifacts of the present as well as of the past, and studying them in their social and political context in the here and now. Ethnographers can investigate cultural encounters between the likes of heritage professionals, local residents, tourists, in the context of interactions between these groups and the monuments themselves. Their findings have important policy implications. As King says, it would “be enlightened of organizations like Historic Scotland and the Swedish heritage authorities at Tanum to pay attention.”
- On a broader scale, ethnography provides a means of apprehending the encounters and interactions that take place between archaeologists and indigenous peoples or other traditional communities. Often there are great dissonances between western and non-western perspectives on the past which ethnographers working on this cultural interface are well-placed to explore. See Lisa Breglia’s recent book on the “monumental ambivalences” that arise as an increasing number of important archaeological sites worldwide are coming under private ownership (Breglia 2006).

Neither reviewer picks up on the overarching question raised by the book, which in my view presents a challenge to the field of applied anthropology as it does for other branches of the discipline. The question springs from the knowledge that what we do as anthropologists or archaeologists is an embedded part of the complex social and cultural world that is the object of anthropological study. The question is this: What happens when the outward-looking anthropological method, normally applied onto cultural *others*, is turned back and applied onto the cultural practices of anthropology itself?

Notes

1. Lanham Maryland: Alta Mira Press, 2006. 213 pages, foreword, preface, acknowledgements, photographs, bibliography, notes, index, about the contributors. Cloth \$72.00 U.S. and paperback \$24.95 U.S.

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*Applied Anthropology: Domains of Application*¹

Edited by Satish Kedia² and John van Willigen³

Reviewed by Emilia Gonzalez-Clements⁴

I was pleased to find *Applied Anthropology: Domains of Application*, edited by one of the preeminent scholars of the discipline of applied anthropology, John van Willigen, who was my major professor at the University of Kentucky, and by Satish Kedia, who was my classmate there, now a professor and practitioner at the University of Memphis. I was eager to read their book and to evaluate its usefulness in training my applied anthropology interns.

The editors define applied anthropology as “the application of anthropological knowledge, methodology, and theoretical approaches to address societal problems and issues.” Their primary goal is to “discuss important domains of application in anthropology where knowledge, methodologies, and theories relevant to a particular setting for applied work are employed to connect research, policy, and action” (pp.1-2).

The book consists of a table of contents, acknowledgements, eleven chapters with bibliographies, an index and short biographical sketches of the editors and contributors in its 370 pages. An introductory chapter lists some of the many domains (settings) of application and summarizes the historical context, typical settings and roles, methodological approaches, and ethical issues of applied anthropology. The chapter introduces the nine domains described in the book, which include development, agriculture, environment, health and medicine, nutrition, involuntary resettlement, business and industry, education and aging. These were selected as the currently dominant sub-disciplines in applied anthropology.

All nine chapters, written by applied anthropologists prominent in their fields, follow a similar pattern: introduction, origins and history, anthropological contributions, theory and methods, project or career case studies, models, future directions and conclusions relevant to their particular domain. The past-present-and future overview presents a thorough picture of each domain. The authors also include personal

experiences from their careers in the field.

A concluding chapter by the editors discusses emerging trends in applied anthropology, including demographic changes and resulting employment opportunities, adaptation to new work contexts, multidisciplinary collaboration, new alignments with study populations, and applied anthropology contributions to anthropology.

A major theme of the book is that applied anthropology has a long history of usefulness in helping understand how the cultures of the world see themselves, and helping solve societal problems. The book also demonstrates that the discipline learns and adapts, and that its value will only increase in a changing, complex world with persistent problems, such as poverty and inequality.

While I am familiar with applied anthropology in general, and my primary domain of application is *development*, I learned much from the nine discussions. I found the content both comprehensive and concise, and very useful as background information for a current initiative I am designing for sustainable mountain development in a group of small rural Mexican villages. Of particular interest to me were the chapters on development, agriculture, environment, and nutrition. I am largely unfamiliar with the latter three, but I will be supervising team members with expertise in those areas. The chapters gave me a good foundation for identifying the kind of training and experience needed by the practitioners I must find for the multidisciplinary team I am creating, as well as an understanding of their domains.

Practitioners whose work may involve them in domains outside their main areas of expertise will benefit from the book's chapters. I especially appreciate how each author gave the definitions of concepts mentioned in their writings. Students will find that the histories of the development of the sub-disciplines with case studies provide a good foundation for their own career-defining decisions. They will also find many

examples of commitment to respect, participation, and advocacy for the study of populations. This viewpoint is one of the main reasons my own students are drawn to a career in applied anthropology.

Although one author specifically describes the work of a non-academic applied anthropologist, most of the contributors work primarily in academic settings. Perhaps a non-academic would not want to readily write about the origins and theories of a domain, but it would be interesting to hear from applied anthropologists who are employed full-time outside the academy.

This well-organized book is straightforward and up-to-the minute. The similar pattern of content in the chapters made it easier to compare the chapter contents. Including the origin and history of each sub-discipline clearly showed how applied anthropology has changed over time. I was struck by the relatively short history of some of the domains, and by the range of activities and results in gathering information, carrying out actions, and influencing the policy process.

Applied Anthropology: Domains of Applications more than meets its goal of showing how practitioners and academics can use their anthropological knowledge, skills, and methods. I will use this book in my own practice and in the training of my staff and interns. I will recommend it for anyone interested in learning about the critical role applied anthropology plays in benefiting the persons with whom we work through traditional and newer methodologies, in more complex settings, and collaboratively helping to solve contemporary human problems.

The book's future directions and conclusions send the message that traditional anthropological methods and continuing commitment to ameliorate the lives of the people whom we study are central to applied anthropology. But global changes and the increasing complexity of persistent problems require us to work collaboratively with and learn from other disciplines, and to include in advocacy as much participation of individuals and communities as possible. This includes the challenge to communicate our findings to other disciplines and to reach wider audiences.

Notes

1. Westport, Connecticut and London: Praeger Publishers, an imprint of the Greenwood Publishing Group, 2005. 378 pages, acknowledgments, 11 chapters, references cited at the end of each chapter, index, about the editors and contributors, no illustrations. Cloth \$149.95 U.S.; paperback \$34.95 U.S.

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*Applied Anthropology: Domains of Application*¹

Edited by Satish Kedia² and John van Willigen³

Reviewed by Edward C. Knop⁴

Satish Kedia's and John van Willigen's edited volume, titled *Applied Anthropology: Domains of Application*, impresses me as a carefully-conceived, well-crafted, interesting, and valuable examination of anthropological knowledge. The scope involves anthropological skills being applied in various topical contexts. Examples of the topics are aging, agriculture, business, medicine, and nutrition. There are nine in all that constitute, not an exhaustive list, but a nice, diverse sampling. The book emphasizes issues with definite examples of simultaneously *ethical and effective* socio-cultural intervention. Applied topics are approached as analysis of the developmental state of the domain more than as a how-to-do-it-there manual. Thus, it has both an academic and a practical appeal, with extensive, current literature overviews and references to both types of concerns. Too often, edited volumes are uneven in chapter style and quality; in this case, the consistency is good, presumably because the editors have done their work well, and the authors are major, experienced leaders in the respective domains, usually both as academicians and as field practitioners.

That I have much appreciation for the topics included, organization, approaches, emphases, and presentation style is to say that I share some biases with the editors and chapter authors. Some academics and practitioners will not share so, who are more traditional fans of *modernization*, or of technical-social *manipulation* of people and conditions, or of *macro-policy administration*. They will likely be less appreciative than I am. But they, especially, have much to learn from the assessments, and they have become fewer in contemporary applied social science, especially anthropology. Some specific biases or preferences that I brought to the reading include the following. I appreciate that the topics are framed in socio-historic context. The entire book is so framed. Indeed each chapter is framed like that. The emphasis is on the developments and events in the domains of anthropology since World War

II. I like the fact that substantive considerations are accompanied by attention to issues and implications for theory. That includes study methods. I appreciate the fact that the book's prevailing themes include client emancipation, empowerment, organization, and mobilization in pursuit of relevant goals and values. I appreciate the quest for social justice and environmental care. I appreciate the book's treatment of anthropological advocacy and its bridging of support roles. I appreciate the relevance of liberationist and dependency theory and at times of post-modern theory. I value the writing formula of identifying and introducing basic points, justifying them, putting them in context with examples, and reflecting back as they are woven into a gestalt-like fabric of intertwined domain and discipline efforts.

The introductory and concluding chapters by the authors serve well to orient the reader first to what is coming and why, and then to recap common concerns and to anticipate implications, issues and challenges for applied anthropology in the future. More specifically regarding the introduction, the pattern of treatment in the book's domain chapters is set up and explained first in a summary of the historic development of applied anthropology. Then an overview follows of the settings and roles in application. Subsequently there is a review of theoretical and methodological approaches with an exploration of ethical issues in applied intervention in the context of a preview of the highlights of each domain chapter.

Throughout, the book introduces and capitalizes on important applied anthropology concepts and illustrates them in domain context such as culture brokers, local indigenous knowledge, co-management, the ecological model, globalization and global restructuring, social capital, and common property. The domain chapters not only show how anthropology is being applied and further developed, but also each domain chapter serves to provide a general

summary of the current state of the domain. I found this very informative with domains with which I have had limited prior experience. Examples are health and medicine, nutrition, aging, and business and industry. For the domains I know better, I found them to be perceptively reviewed. And I still always learned some new things from each treatment. Cross-cutting topical domains are various settings and styles of applied work. These range from encouragement and support of indigenous grass-roots initiatives and movements through applied fieldwork on university projects and those of non-governmental (NGO) organizations as well as government and corporate service initiatives and programs, along with government and international agency strategic planning, policy formulation, and implementation activities. All of these get some attention in the book, and most get at least some mention in most domain discussions.

I assume the volume under review is intended in part as a complement to John van Willigan's 2002 (third edition) *Applied Anthropology: An Introduction*, which it does well by detailing and illustrating the themes, concepts and main points offered there. But the book also stands well by itself, and would complement any basic applied anthropology text. I judge the book's level of conceptual sophistication and presentation style to be appropriate for upper-division, junior or senior year undergraduates. It could also serve graduate students at the master-of-arts level. And it could be useful to established application-oriented professionals with limited background in anthropology. As the editors note, there is much overlap these days among the social sciences in addressing applied topics. Thus, the appreciative audience is likely to be far greater than only students and practitioners of anthropology. All of these people, and others more interested in particular domains, should find much of value in the book and its domain chapters. Undoubtedly, the *Domains of Application* is a welcome, overdue contribution to applied anthropology and to general social science. As a text in applied anthropology, it has no peer.

Notes

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2. Satish Kedia's Ph.D. in anthropology is from the University of Kentucky. He is an associate professor of anthropology at the University of Memphis and directs the Institute for Substance Abuse Treatment Evaluation there. He may be reached at the Department of Anthropology, 316 Manning Hall, University of Memphis, Memphis, Tennessee (TN) 38152-3390 USA, as well as at 901-678-2080 by telephone and at **skkedia@memphis.edu** by e-mail.

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*Applied Anthropology: Domains of Application*¹

Edited by Satish Kedia² and John van Willigen³

Reviewed by Peter W. Van Arsdale⁴

Given the reputations of the authors represented in this volume, I expected it to be a well-researched and useful compendium. It is. However, what I did not expect is the remarkable depth and breadth most of the authors provide. The book is more than a practitioners' guide to applied anthropology. It is an anthropologist's guide to the history of our discipline, reflected through the development of its myriad sub-disciplines or domains. The intersections of theory and practice are covered exceptionally well.

Each chapter in *Applied Anthropology: Domains of Application* is authored by a leading figure or figures in the field. Peter Little covers the topic of *anthropology and development*. Robert Rhoades employs the little-used phrase *agricultural anthropology* discussing the intersection of environment, technology, and culture in agricultural work. Thomas McGuire addresses *environmental and ecological issues*, several of which overlap with those covered by Rhoades. Linda Whiteford and Linda Bennett discuss *health* in the context of medical anthropology. Immediately following is a complementary chapter on *nutritional issues* authored by David Himmelgreen and Deborah Crooks. The domain's leading proponent, Anthony Oliver-Smith, deals with issues associated with *development-induced displacement and resettlement*. Marietta (Meta) Baba treats applied anthropology's impacts on *business and industry*. One of the most well-established domains is that of *anthropology and education*, and Nancy Greenman authors the chapter here summarizing relevant accomplishments. A topic dealt with too infrequently among practicing anthropologists is that of *anthropology and the aged*. I admittedly am biased, since some of my earliest applied work was in this field (Van Arsdale 1981). Robert Harman fortunately provides chapter coverage in this volume.

The book's editors, Satish Kedia and John van Willigen, author the introductory and concluding chapters. These are tightly written and

well worth reading two or three times each. The history of applied anthropology is covered thoroughly. Although some of this history repeats material previously presented by van Willigen (2002), it serves as a needed reminder that while our roots date to the pre-World War II era, our best achievements date to the post-World War II era. Applied anthropology has become, in a very real sense, about much more than just anthropology, that is, about more than participant observation, ethnographic interviewing, and cultural interpretation.

Of particular importance in the editors' introductory chapter is the discussion of ethics. Issues involving the proper treatment of persons selected as research subjects were first discussed as early as 1919. However, the first professional code of ethics for applied anthropologists did not emerge explicitly until 30 years later. Full-fledged presentations of issues involving confidentiality, privacy, and data security only emerged another 30 years after that. The observations of Kedia and van Willigen can, and should, be cross-referenced with key observations regarding ethics from other of the book's contributors. That is to say, Linda Whiteford and Linda Bennett discuss the moral-medical model of alcoholism. Robert Harman writes about the obligation to serve others in humane fashion. Anthony Oliver-Smith describes and analyzes differential power relations affecting the displaced. And Meta Baba analyzes adverse transnational corporate impacts on Third World residents. Illustrative are the vital issues involving the lack of informed consent among the Yanomami of Venezuela that caused an uproar upon publication in 2000 of *Darkness in El Dorado* by Patrick Tierney, as Kedia and van Willigen emphasize. My "Darkness in Anthropology" complements *Darkness in El Dorado* (Van Arsdale 2001).

Of particular importance in the concluding chapter is the section on changing relationships with study subjects. From *person-to-be studied* to

person-to-be-assisted to person-in-collaborative-relationship-with-researcher, over the past half-century greater sensitivities to the importance of such relationships have emerged. The notion of reflexivity covers part of this, as researcher shapes subject and subject shapes researcher. The notion of collaboration covers another part, as researcher and subject gain equal status, the latter even taking the lead on occasion. This practice is presented powerfully in a highly recommended forthcoming volume edited by Les Field and Richard Fox titled *Anthropology Put to Work* (Field and Fox 2007).

All of the chapters are well crafted, thoroughly researched, and informative. Jargon blessedly is kept to a minimum. It is not possible here to go into detail on each contribution. Although I comment on other chapters in this review, I have selected two that stand out for depth and breadth of coverage and that clearly illustrate the links between theory and practice. My first selection is Thomas McGuire's exceptional overview of what he terms *environmental anthropology*. He uses the writings of Julian Steward and Eric Wolf in point/counterpoint fashion to remind us of foundations traceable to cultural ecology for the former and political economy for the latter. Stressing the production of goods, class structure, market relations, and state policy, Wolf's approach led to *political ecology*. McGuire unfortunately does not mention Marvin Harris, but to hark back to *The Rise of Anthropological Theory* (Harris 1968), he does emphasize the role of ideology. The field of maritime anthropology provides the examples of practice that McGuire uses.

Peter Little also makes an exceptional contribution to this volume. Little reminds the reader of how work in development has been central to our discipline. For the past 50 years, much anthropological theory has been appropriately borrowed from other fields such as socio-economics. He stresses that development anthropology continues to open professional doors to indigenous practitioners. Indeed, some of the most influential non-Western applied anthropologists, such as Arturo Escobar (1995), Arjun Appadurai (1997), and Walter Lusigi (1984), have "cut their teeth" on development anthropology, as Little references. Little says that co-manage-

ment of projects, such as those involving national parks in East Africa, and participatory collaboration in applied research, such as that involving eco-tourism, should continue to be advocated strongly. Both processes, by definition, involve Western and non-Western colleagues working in partnership.

One pleasure of having been in the field of applied anthropology for over 30 years is that I get to read about the accomplishments of people I have been privileged to know. Among these valued colleagues is Abdel Ghaffar Ahmed, whom I first met in Khartoum in 1979. As I began a multidisciplinary project on water resource development in Sudan's western provinces, he was the first to brief me on the political pressures between Darfur's sedentary and migratory peoples. These exploded, as he had predicted, some 25 years later. In his chapter on development, Peter Little appropriately recognizes Ahmed as "one of Africa's best-known anthropologists" (p. 42).

Another colleague with interests bridging applied anthropology and development is Pennie Magee. We first met through the High Plains Society for Applied Anthropology (HPSfAA) and most recently are working together through its Publications Policy Committee, which she chairs. In Chapter 7, Anthony Oliver-Smith analyzes development-induced displacement of indigenous peoples, and he features (pp. 194-197) Magee's innovative work in Brazil (1989). He discusses the importance her 1980s research played in understanding the adverse impacts on riverine peasants the Tucuruí Dam had after it was constructed. Oliver-Smith quotes her (p. 196): "If peasants above the dam suffered the loss of their land, peasants below the dam suffered the loss of their water" (Magee 1989:6-7).

Another valued colleague is Chris Fry, who has proven to be a networker of the highest caliber. Coincidentally, I met her about the same time as Abdel Ghaffar Ahmed, but under very different circumstances. In the late 1970s, she was pioneering cross-cultural studies in aging and organized a conference at Loyola University of Chicago in which I had the opportunity to participate. As Robert Harman notes in his chapter on applied anthropology and aging, Fry edited some of the earliest books integrating

cross-cultural aging studies and co-founded the Association of Anthropology and Gerontology (AAGE). Harman cites several of her most important publications. *Dimensions: Aging, Culture, and Health* (Fry 1981) and the book she co-edited with Jennie Keith, *New Methods for Old-Age Research: Strategies for Studying Diversity* (Fry and Keith 1986) influenced me directly.

Robert Harman again notes the importance of applied work in aging when he recounts the efforts of Madelyn (Micki) Iris. I first met Iris in the early 1980s, through our mutual involvement in the National Association for the Practice of Anthropology (NAPA) of which she has recently served as president. She was just initiating an evaluation of the Guardianship Project in Chicago, the city where she makes her home. As Harman says, her evaluation efforts therein eventually benefited elders, the agency, guardianship workers, and program administrators. She went on to share her findings with policy makers and program planners nationwide (Iris and Berman 1998).

This volume also is important in that, scattered throughout, are references to several of the classic cases involving applied anthropologists. Kedia and van Willigen remind us of the Fox Project of the 1940s in Iowa, the Vicos Project of the 1950s in Peru, and Project Camelot of the 1960s in Latin American countries. More recently, with reverberations extending to the present, is the case of the Tucuruí Dam in Brazil, mentioned earlier. In the book, Oliver-Smith says that poor planning and inadequate government follow-up, which at times was inhumane, resulted in a cascade of what I term first-, second-, and third-order negative impacts. These, respectively, manifested themselves in the form of an inadequate resettlement policy, followed by ill-timed relocations, followed by unexpected disease impacts. In a cruel twist, the indigenous people themselves were initially blamed for the diseases afflicting them.

Another more recent case with reverberations extending to the present is that of Ecuador's El Tor cholera pandemic. Linda Whiteford and Linda Bennett report in the book that over a two-year period in the early 1990s some 85,000 people became ill, with nearly 1000 dying (p. 139). With better cholera abatement, such as

targeted medical intervention, seen early on in urban more than rural areas of the country, a team that included an applied medical anthropologist was brought in to assess *disease behaviors*. Through this approach, what came to be called the Community Participatory Intervention (CPI) model was developed, and its implementation eventually led to significant cholera reduction in Ecuador's rural areas as well.

Reading this book carefully is a must. It provides *action templates* for students and seasoned professionals alike. Ultimately, as Robert Harman (p. 335) so aptly states, the "strategies for getting one's work utilized by policymakers are associated with factors pertaining to collaboration, agency, community and politics, research process, communication, time, advocacy, and [attention to] ethical issues." All these factors are covered herein.

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*Applied Anthropology: Domains of Application*¹

Edited by Satish Kedia² and John van Willigen³

Reviews counterpointed by Satish Kedia and John van Willigen

We appreciate the thoughtful reviews of our edited volume, *Applied Anthropology: Domains of Application*, by Emilia Gonzalez-Clements,

Edward Knop, and Peter Van Arsdale, and we are gratified they all felt that the collection successfully accomplished its goals. We especially value the personal reflections and perspectives the reviewers incorporated. It is our pleasure to comment on some of the common themes that emerged across the three reviews.

Each of the reviewers offers interesting thoughts on the need for anthropology to be interdisciplinary. There is no doubt that the work of applied anthropologists requires collaboration with other areas and a working knowledge of cognate disciplines. This approach is reflected in the emergence of a series of rapidly developing *neo-disciplines* beyond those discussed in our volume, such as nursing anthropology, design anthropology, and maritime anthropology to name but a few. These innovative neo-disciplines challenge the traditional barriers among distinct fields. It is clear that the relative impact of anthropology on these neo-disciplines varies greatly from domain to domain; in some, anthropology's influence is dominant and even initiated the field, while in others the influence is only peripheral.

Concerning these domains of anthropology, Emilia Gonzalez-Clements rightly suggests that it would be interesting to hear from practicing anthropologists who are employed full-time outside of academia. As she acknowledges, however, there is some difficulty in asking a nonacademic to "write about the origins and theories of a domain." Since the chapters in this volume set out to trace the intellectual histories and methodologies in each of these realms, those employed in nonacademic settings might find it cumbersome to develop such narratives, as it may fall outside their usual commitments. While we agree with the reviewer on this point, all contributors in this volume have significant

experiences as practitioners in their respective domain, either as a part of their research agenda or as consultants. We were pleased to learn that Gonzales-Clements found the volume to be very informative regarding areas in which she had little prior experience and that she plans to use our book in training her staff and interns. The volume is indeed intended to serve, in part, as a resource for helping anthropologists navigate the various domains and train students and new practitioners.

A number of years ago, co-editor John van Willigen (1991) prepared a short note for publication in *Anthropology News* titled "Intellectual Migrants." He asserts that the demography of employment and job incentives led to the "migration" of as much as fifty percent of new anthropology Ph.D.s to find meaningful roles in practical domains of application. Although these practitioners often do not publish for academic audiences, many develop careers that involve substantial amounts of writing in the very domains of application we refer to as neo-disciplines. These so-called *intellectual migrants* have colleagues in diverse fields, and they report their work not in the *American Ethnologist*, per se, but in venues associated with their specific domains. Publication in these realms is motivated by the need to influence consequences, including program and policy outcomes whose impact is greatly enhanced through certain kinds of applied writing as opposed to journal articles. In addition, of course, there are professional gains; while clients and communities benefit, the researchers generate more opportunities as the impact of their work becomes broadly known.

Edward Knop described the book's selection of domains as "not an exhaustive list, but a nice, diverse sampling." We find this description to be apt and agree that the list of topics could certainly be expanded. We identified chapters in terms of content specialization areas, but many of these might be subdivided, particularly medical, development, and environment. Another

approach could be thematic, addressing various research or action practices in separate chapter topics. For example, we could imagine chapters focusing on evaluation, social impact assessment, cultural resource assessment, rapid assessment procedure, and the participatory practices that applied anthropologists routinely use. Other relevant areas include cultural resources, historic preservation, urban development, planning, and fishery management. It is conceivable to do a compendium to our current volume and expand the scope of various domains covered.

Peter Van Arsdale highlights the book's attention to ethical practice. It is noteworthy that the concern over ethics has a rather problematic historical context, both in academic and non-academic realms. The review of all proposed research by Institutional Review Boards (IRB) is a relatively new phenomenon for anthropologists. The IRB places more stringent guidelines for the protection of subjects and ensures their participation in research only after their informed consent and knowledge of potential adverse implications have been secured. We agree with Van Arsdale that applied anthropologists are well suited to observing not just immediate impacts but "second- and third-order negative impacts" of policies and proposed research as well.

As Van Arsdale implies, it would be fascinating to develop an alternative history of anthropology, suggested in part by our volume. There is a tendency among anthropologists to overlook the impact of application and practice when documenting the history of the discipline. Although theoretical contributions constitute the core of any discipline's history, one must acknowledge that the historiographic enterprise is far more complex and should ideally strive to reflect "everything that everybody does" not just "some things that some people do." What would a new version of Marvin Harris's *Rise of Anthropological Theory* (1968) be like, given that about half of all professional anthropologists are applied anthropologists or practitioners? The basic history of anthropology starting in, let us say, 1970, is essentially the changing nature of the relationship between anthropologists and the communities in which they work. As Van Arsdale notes, the central theme in the recent history of

anthropology is the emergence of collaboration and reflexivity. Yet, writing about this would be a daunting task as many of the following questions would need to be addressed. First, what theories and methods have applied anthropologists actually used? What are their sources? What has been the influence of anthropology on other disciplines? How synchronized are the procedures of applied anthropology and traditional academic anthropology? We think that the authors in our collection come quite close to addressing many of these questions and articulating the balance between applied and traditional anthropology.

To sum up, we liked Van Arsdale's statement that the volume "provides *action templates* for students and seasoned professionals alike." As applied scholars, we are excited about the fact that the book inspires as much *action* as *intellectual discourse*. Our vision for this collection is indeed to provide readers with a comprehensive overview of many prominent domains of applied anthropology and the future directions of these domains. We wish to express our appreciation again of each of the reviewers' perceptive and complimentary commentaries, and we hope that the current generation and new generations of students and practitioners alike will benefit from our collection.

Notes

1. Westport, Connecticut and London: Praeger Publishers, an imprint of the Greenwood Publishing Group, 2005. 378 pages, acknowledgments, 11 chapters, references cited at the end of each chapter, index, about the editors and contributors, no illustrations. Cloth \$149.95 U.S.; paperback \$34.95 U.S.

2. Satish Kedia's Ph.D. in anthropology is from the University of Kentucky. He is an associate professor of anthropology at the University of Memphis and directs the Institute for Substance Abuse Treatment Evaluation there. He may be reached at the Department of Anthropology, 316 Manning Hall, University of Memphis, Memphis, Tennessee (TN) 38152-3390 USA, as well as at 901-678-2080 by telephone and at skkedia@memphis.edu by e-mail.

3. John van Willigen received his Ph.D. in anthropology from the University of Arizona. He is a full professor of anthropology at the University of Kentucky and directs the Applied Anthropology Documentation Project there. He may be reached at the Department of Anthropology, 211 Lafferty Hall, University of Kentucky, Lexington, Kentucky (KY) 40506-0024 USA, as well as at 859-257-6920 by telephone and at **ant101@uky.edu** by e-mail.

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May 31, 2007

Ms. Beverly Hackenberg
1380 Columbine Avenue
Boulder, Colorado (CO) 80302-7544

Topic: Remembering Robert Allan Hackenberg (1928-2007)

Dear Bev and Family,

You have been kind enough to invite me to share a few of my memories of Bob to be entered into the record of his funeral. I realize that a really representative picture of Bob would occupy a book-length manuscript, so I won't try to do that. Instead, I shall offer a few memories that capture the high points of Bob as I knew him.

For me, Bob was always like an elder brother. He was the elder brother who forged ahead and led us in the many projects he initiated. It was always challenging to work with Bob, whose energy was phenomenal. His high energy was matched by his dedication to purpose. He was always understanding of the human abilities and limitations of his associates and was able to make us all feel worthwhile. His sardonic humor and keen insights into human nature made it possible for him to act as an advisor, friend, and taskmaster whenever necessary. Nevertheless, his colleagues and students all bonded deeply with him, forming lifelong ties that are evident in the more than forty-five Ph.D. candidates he supported and guided through graduate school. Although Omer [Omer Stewart], Friedl [Friedl Lang], Bob, and I could differ on theoretical and methodological issues as colleagues in the department, our support for our graduate students never failed, and they have all done well in their careers.

After being hired at Boulder in 1969 by Bob, Omer, and Friedl, I became part of an applied team, a hard-drinking, hard-fighting band of applied practitioners. From the beginning, I was impressed by Bob's "all-nighters," in which the really important work didn't begin much before midnight and would last 'til dawn. Being a morning person, it was not always possible for me to last out the night, and Beverly would usually tell me to go home when an all-nighter was in the making. It was clear from the outset that Bob had a master plan, of which I was a part, and it was to make Boulder into an applied powerhouse, building on the example of Omer, both of whom received the SfAA [Society for Applied Anthropology] Malinowski Award. The NIMH [National Institutes of Mental Health] training problem and my editorship of *Human Organization* for six years and service as SfAA Treasurer for three years were parts of Bob's plan. Development of the High Plains Society for Applied Anthropology was yet another part of our plan to create a regional applied organization. The HPSfAA is indebted to Bob for his contributions to our journal and for his students, who have been founding members, officers, and long-term supporters of this outstanding local practitioner organization. Applied and public anthropology continue to be evident at the University of Colorado in my work and that of Terry McCabe, Russ McGoodwin, and Donna Goldstein, reflecting the growing number of graduate students who are opting for applied careers.



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Bob's many overseas projects are well known in many national and international settings, where he made many lasting theoretical contributions to development, health, urbanization, and other emerging problems of globalization. Likewise, his contributions to medical anthropology and to betterment of the health of the Tohono O'odham in Arizona should be noted as well as his recent work on the problems of the United States/Mexico borderlands in association with the University of Arizona.

In closing, let me mention two more important factors in Bob's personal and professional life. First is you, Beverly. I regard you as Bob's secret weapon. It is difficult to imagine that Bob could have accomplished alone all he did. From your earlier days at Arizona, you have always provided essential personal and professional support for Bob while acting not only as a mother to your children but also to many of Bob's students and their families. The co-award of the SfAA Malinowski Award to both Bob and you was proof that many others have also recognized your key role in the Hackenberg saga.

Finally, I always like to recall what Bob said to me when I asked him what had guided his incredible career. He thought for only a minute and then said, "If it doesn't make a difference, don't do it." Bob always made a difference.

Respectfully,

SIGNED

Deward E. Walker, Jr.
Professor

Applied and Practicing Anthropology: The Fifth Sub-discipline at the University of Colorado at Boulder¹

Robert A. Hackenberg²

Introduction: The Anthropologist as Advocate

I must first express my appreciation to the Anniversary Committee for its invitation to represent cultural anthropology on this occasion. It is the 50th year since the Department of Anthropology was founded at the University of Colorado at Boulder, and the 40th year of my association with it. Prior to my arrival in Boulder in 1966, I served as applied anthropologist for a decade at the Bureau of Ethnic Research (now the Bureau of Applied Research in Anthropology or BARA) at the University of Arizona, to which I have now returned. The Fiftieth Anniversary Committee included Cathy Cameron, Carla Jones, Payson Sheets and Dennis Van Gerven. Invited speakers were David Breternitz for archaeology and Jack Kelso for biological anthropology along with me for cultural anthropology.

In a well-known essay, Marietta Baba (1994) proposed that non-academic anthropology and its practitioners had achieved separate status and substantial numbers, deserving to be recognized as a fifth sub-discipline of anthropology, compared to physical or biological anthropology, archaeology, cultural anthropology, and linguistics with language and culture relationships as the well-known first four branches of the discipline of anthropology. Though they now serve as subjects for text books (Gwynne 2003; Ervin 2000), neither applied nor practicing anthropology is grounded in theory and method. Both are more frequently illustrated or exemplified; seldom intellectually analyzed.

Baba's claim for distinctive recognition rests on the unique function of our subject rather than on its widely shared content. This function, documented in each text referenced above, is advocacy – the performance of the informed anthropologist as an appointed agent and proponent of directed culture change. (see Gwynne

2003, Chapter 6, "Advocacy Anthropology"; Ervin 2005, Chapter 10, "Advocacy Anthropology").

The applied tradition in cultural anthropology at the University of Colorado at Boulder was already established when I arrived. Omer Stewart (1908-1991) and Ted Graves had both been appointed and housed in the university's Institute of Behavioral Science (a "prestige" location on the campus) when I joined them as the third member. The tradition begins with Omer Stewart as the founder of the department. His record as an advocate on behalf of Native Americans was terminated only by his death in 1991. In 1987, Omer's *Peyote Religion: A History* was published. His other major research interest was fire ecology and its role in shaping aboriginal subsistence. His final manuscript was *Forgotten Fires: Native Americans and the Transient Wilderness*. It was edited by Henry Lewis and Kat Anderson and published posthumously in 2002.

Omer Stewart's "Indianology"

Omer was instrumental in creating the department in 1957 and was its first chairman. He soon abandoned the recording of culture element distributions in which he had been trained by Alfred L. Kroeber as a graduate student at the University of California at Berkeley. He preferred cultures that were so-called going concerns, especially the Native Americans of the inter-mountain west with all their attendant adjustment problems.

William Adams, "Shonto Bill" to his friends, recently completed a monograph on the foundations of American anthropology which, because of its primary subject matter, he designated as "Indianology" (Adams 1998). The post-war years of the 1940s and 1950s were dominated by John Collier, superintendent of Indian Affairs (1933-1945), and the applied anthropology projects that he sponsored. Foremost was the Indian Administration and Personality Project (1941-

1947) with an all-star cast including Clyde Kluckhohn, Laura Thompson, Rosamund Spicer, Gordon McGregor, Dorothea Leighton and Omer Stewart. The final report, Laura Thompson's "Personality and Government" (1951) is a neglected classic.

Major tribes whose capacity for self-government and self-support were evaluated included the Hopi, Navajo, Papago (now the Tohono O'odham), Pine Ridge Sioux (Lakota), and Zuni. The Zuni study, which was assigned to Stewart, ended prematurely when the project was terminated in Washington. Omer returned to his lifelong research on the Southern Ute in and near Ignacio, Colorado.

Omer's ethnographic fieldwork among the Utes was tireless. But he is best known for three components of advocacy on their behalf:

- 1) his testimony on the legalization of peyote consumption as a religious rite,
- 2) recognition of the Native American Church for its work in combating alcoholism, and
- 3) his evidence in support of aboriginal land use before the Indian Claims Commission in which he was opposed by his Berkeley professor Julian Steward.

In a recent article, Deward Walker (1999) offers "A Revisionist View of Julian Steward and the Great Basin Paradigm from the North," in Richard Clemmer's and Mary Rudden's edited anthology, *Julian Steward and the Great Basin: the Making of an Anthropologist*, Omer and Julian gave conflicting presentations before the Indian Claims Commission. Deward explains why Omer Stuart was right.

Beginning Field Research with the Tri-Ethnic Project

Using his position in the Institute of Behavioral Science (IBS) and his friendship with Clyde Kluckhohn, Omer promoted a substantial five-year, interdisciplinary research project on alcoholism among Anglos, Utes, and Hispanics residing in the vicinity of Ignacio, Colorado. With NIMH (National Institutes of Mental Health) funding from 1959 to 1964, it was known as the Tri-Ethnic Project and gave equal representation to psychologists, sociologists,

and anthropologists in its design and execution. While Omer resigned as Tri-Ethnic co-director, it could not have been completed without his *48 file cabinets of notes, clippings, and documents*. The legendary 48 cabinets were uncounted but a recurrent item in IBS folklore throughout the 1960s.

The Tri-Ethnic field anthropologist involved with was Ted Graves, who was the first faculty member at the University of Colorado at Boulder to hold a half-time anthropology and half-time IBS appointment. The formula, once established, was subsequently passed on to me and to others. The outcome of the Tri-Ethnic Project was a highly regarded volume published in 1968 titled *Society, Personality and Deviant Behavior*. The study director, psychologist Richard Jessor, was the principal author. Ted Graves was a major contributor. The study was framed in the hypothetico-deductive mode, using subjective interview schedules to generate statistics. But, according to Graves (2004: 30-31), it was Omer's arrest records, sorted by ethnic group, which provided the empirical base needed to reach conclusions. Graves (2004 volume 1: 27-32) provides a view from inside the Tri-Ethnic Project, and his second volume (Graves 2004) opens with reprints of two journal articles summarizing it.

Expanding Modernization Studies in the Southwest at the Institute of Behavioral Science

The National Institutes of Mental Health was the funding source for the Tri-Ethnic Project, and its success built a platform on which Graves was able to construct a substantial NIMH-based behavioral science program in the Institute of Behavioral Science. Half of the way through Tri-Ethnic's funding cycle in 1962; Graves applied for and captured our first quarter-million dollars for the support of training graduate students and expansion of our faculty resources. He called it the Research Training Program in Culture Change. The seven-year grant paid for five pre-doctoral fellowships and the salary and expenses of the director.

Since he was holding "hot dice," Graves placed a second NIMH bet in 1964, this time on a five-year grant to finance the Navajo Urban Relocation Project. This project examined the

success or failure of the federal resettlement plan to persuade reservation Indians to move to Denver with a range of inducements including job placements. See Graves (2004 volume 2: 119) for six reprinted articles from the Navajo Urban Relocation Project. Five authors were Training Program Ph.D.s: Braxton Alfred, Robert McCracken, Peter Snyder, Robert Weppner and Bryan Michener. Their dissertation titles appear in the University of Colorado at Boulder library catalog, available online through *Google*.

With this abundance of riches, Graves was clearly beyond his personal limits, and in 1965 he began recruiting for a co-director of the Training Program. Omer, as senior IBS anthropologist was nominally in charge of recruitment. Using Tohono O'odham study data, I joined them both on a tribal development panel at the 1965 SfAA (Society for Applied Anthropology) meetings in Lexington, Kentucky.

I was able to present my credentials of twelve years of experience in Southwest Indian adjustment at the Bureau of Ethnic Research, University of Arizona. Omer was also impressed with my capacity to match his consumption of Kentucky bourbon. I got the job on the plane flying back to Denver, which was also a convivial encounter.

In the fall of 1966, Jack Kelso, chair of the department, was surprised to find me on his doorstep introducing myself as a department member. He crisply observed that, though I claimed to have been hired by Omer, he had somewhat overstepped the limits of his temporary appointment as summer chairman. Since half of my appointment as an IBS associate professor was to be funded from the Training Program, we were able to come to terms. My starting salary was \$11,100 for the academic year.

My IBS responsibilities expanded quickly when Graves decided to accept a two-year National Science Foundation field fellowship in African studies, after which he moved to a prestigious professorship at the University of California at Los Angeles (UCLA). I was left with two groups of graduate students, mine in the Training Program and his in the Navajo Project. With the balance of the budget for salary, I hired Delmos Jones (1936-1999), who had been my

master's student at Arizona and was finishing his doctorate at Cornell. Del served as my co-director for 1966-1969, and then moved on to the Graduate School of the City University of New York (CUNY). He is remembered by the SfAA's student travel grant issued annually in his name since his passing in 1999.

Jones in turn was replaced by Deward Walker who, as I note later, has done the most to keep Omer's tradition of advocacy alive at the University of Colorado at Boulder. When another divided position became available in the Department of Anthropology and the Institute of Behavioral Science, I was able to persuade Gottfried Lang, a graduate classmate from Cornell, to accept it. Friedl was also housed in IBS quarters and our production of Ph.D.s in applied anthropology flourished.

Following Omer's retirement, the three of us – Hackenberg, Lang, and Walker – became the continuing tri-fold source of applied anthropology research and dissertation supervision through the 1970s and 1980s. Our work was interdisciplinary in scope, and our professional interests were much closer to those of the Society for Applied Anthropology than to those of the American Anthropological Association (AAA). We initiated four basic courses – applied, urban, medical, and development anthropology and related seminars. Culture area courses were also offered pertinent to North America and Native Americans (Walker), Southeast Asia (Hackenberg), and East Africa (Lang).

Student response exceeded our expectations and, perhaps, our capacity. Between 1970 and 1975 we graduated ten Ph.D.s with rotating Training Program fellowships, several in the single year of 1973. The 1973 graduates were a cohort holding IBS table and typewriter space: Mary Gallagher, Kerry Feldman, David Glenn Smith, Julie Uhlmann, David Zimmerly and Donald Stull. Earlier IBS program graduates from were Larry Stucki (1970) and Rod Wilson (1972).

A steady flow of temporary appointments in cultural anthropology supplied additional course options and committee members with Ph.D.s and varied field experience. Some of you here tonight may remember them. Kerry Pataki, Richard Smith, Colby Hatfield, Jose Cuellar and

Richard Basham come quickly to mind. There may have been others.

Opening the Philippine Field Station: The IBS Population Program

The importance of research grants to our work cannot be overestimated. The Research Training Program was twice renewed extending its life to 1983 with a 21-year sequence of student and research support. Following Ted Graves' example, I sought grants continuously to expand student dissertation opportunities and defray the cost of our IBS appointments.

The terms of my 1966 employment included a mutual commitment to establish an overseas field station in Southeast Asia. A modest 1967 travel grant of \$4,632 from the Council on Research and Creative Work paid for Beverly and for me to scout possible sites and network connections in the Philippines. The United States Information Service had been employed her there. We selected Davao City as an ideal location for modernization research. Recently settled by post-war migrants from Luzon, it offered irrigable river valley agriculture and seaport facilities. Explosive rural growth was already in progress.

The recently created Population Program within the National Institute of Child Health and Human Development shared our view that this was a perfect site for research on population dynamics. Between 1968 and 1977, we renewed the Research Training Program for \$260,000 and obtained four grants with an average value of \$125,000 each for Philippine research. All were studies of the impact of either farm modernization or urban migration on fertility and household formation.

This platform financed the creation of the Davao Research and Planning Foundation, which remained self-supporting in the Francisco Building on San Pedro Street until 1983. Beverly Hackenberg served continuously as DRPF co-director. The foundation published seven research monographs and gained international prominence during the 1976-1978 interval when we contributed an annual set of Mindanao data to the World Fertility Survey. The survey provided material for my 1985 Westview Press vol-

ume, *Demographic Responses to Development: Sources of Declining Fertility in the Philippines*. We remain grateful to Kathleen Moody Jones, a 1984 program Ph.D. and Westview editorial assistant, for the decision to print this. These activities did not go unnoticed at home. Gilbert White, who became IBS director in 1970, established the Population Program as a new IBS component and named me to manage it. Beverly was appointed a senior research associate.

Preserving Omer Stuart's Legacy

With both shared experiences and interests, Deward Walker assumed Omer Stewart's role as advocate, providing legal testimony on a range of religious and cultural issues confronting American Indian tribes in the Intermountain and Northwest regions. To provide a forum for addressing these issues, and to encourage exchanges among students and younger professionals, Deward organized the High Plains Society for Applied Anthropology in 1980. He, Omer Stuart, Gottfried Lang, and I were founding members.

The High Plains Society for Applied Anthropology (HPSfAA) publishes *The Applied Anthropologist*, formerly the *High Plains Applied Anthropologist*, and holds annual meetings in such places as Estes Park and Denver, Colorado. Each year it selects a senior professional to receive the *Omer Stewart Memorial Award* for contributions to the advancement of applied anthropology. The society also confers a student award in the name of Gottfried and Martha Lang at its annual meeting. The High Plains Society for Applied Anthropology is the largest local practitioner organization outside Washington, District of Columbia, referring to the Washington Association of Professional Anthropologists (WAPA). Here follows a list to date of the *Omer Stewart Memorial Award* recipients.

- 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 and 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 University of Denver, for 2002
- 11) John van Willigen, University of Kentucky, for 2003
- 12) Edward C. Knop, Colorado State University, for 2004
- 13) Pamela J. Puntenney, Environmental and Health Systems Management of Michigan, for 2005
- 14) Lenora Bohren, Colorado State University, for 2006
- 15) Lawrence F. Van Horn, National Park Service, for 2007

Deward Walker's stature in the field was also recognized by the Society for Applied Anthropology, which chose him to edit *Human Organization* (1970-1976). Several of our graduates must join me in recalling our debt for a special issue that I edited under Deward's overall editorship in which we described our "Modernization Research on the Papago Indians," now Tohono O'odham (Hackenberg 1972). Publication was preceded by a group appearance for a session of papers on the same subject at the 1971 annual meeting of AAA in New York. Included with Beverly and me were Larry Stucki, Kerry Feldman, David Zimmerly, Julie Uhlmann, Mary Gallagher and Don Stull. This work was an extension of my former employment at the University of Arizona, financed by contracts that I was able to transfer to the University of Colorado at Boulder in 1966. Deward also edited the *High Plains Applied Anthropologist* (1995-2005), now *The Applied Anthropologist*, in which some of our best work was presented. Here follows a list to date of our journal's editors.

- 1) Peter W. Van Arsdale
- 2) Edward C. Knop

- 3) Lawrence F. Van Horn
- 4) Susan Scott Stevens
- 5) Deward E. Walker, Jr.
- 6) Lawrence F. Van Horn

Celebrating the Accomplishments of Our Ph.D.s

There is no immortality for our published work and little enough that lives as long as we do. If any of our contributions survive, they do so in the professional activity of our students. I will mention four whose non-academic accomplishments are outstanding examples of advocacy in action: Peter Van Arsdale, Jody Glittenberg, Mark Grey, and Donald Stull.

Peter Van Arsdale (Ph.D. 1975), senior lecturer in the Graduate School of International Studies at the University of Denver, has had major responsibilities for refugee and immigrant adjustment with the Colorado Division of Mental Health for several decades. He served as president of the National Association for the Practice of Anthropology (NAPA), 1998-2000, and authored *Forced to Flee: Human Rights and Wrongs in Refugee Homelands* (Van Arsdale 2006).

Jody Glittenberg (Ph.D. 1976), after three decades as a nurse scientist and administrator at the Universities of Colorado and Arizona, became a professor emerita in 2003. After a professional life devoted to mental health issues, she presently directs research at the Violence Intervention and Prevention Center, University of Colorado at Colorado Springs. Her forthcoming book is entitled *Violence and Hope in a U. S.-Mexico Border Town* (Glittenberg 2007). It reports a four year National Institute on Drug Abuse (NIDA) study of alcoholism and drug abuse in south Tucson, Arizona.

Mark Grey (Ph.D. 1989) holds a professorship at the University of Northern Iowa. He is the founder and director of the Iowa Center for Immigrant Leadership and Integration, also known as the New Iowans Program. New arrivals are primarily Mexican, and their primary employment is in meat packing. Mark's work extends beyond the minimal essentials of cross-cultural accommodation for new arrivals and their destination communities. He has also promoted an unofficial sister cities program in

which Iowans visit source villages in Michoacan, Mexico. Insight into conditions motivating migration blends with appreciation of the ways in which remittances sent back home have improved village life. Intergroup tensions are diminished and support is gained in Iowa for health, housing, and law enforcement. Mark received Iowa's highest public health award in 2005. In that year, he co-authored with Michele Yehieli *Health Matters: A Guide for Work with Diverse Cultures and Underserved Populations* (Yehieli and Grey 2005).

Donald Stull (Ph.D. 1973), a professor of anthropology at the University of Kansas, is at this time of writing, September 9, 2006, president of the Society for Applied Anthropology. He and his colleague Michael Broadway have produced and promoted an early warning system for alerting rural communities to the perils they will encounter if they are selected as sites for the future construction of meat and poultry packing plants. While the in-migration of workers, usually Hispanic, promotes the growth of commerce, strains on all forms of service can reach the breaking point and inter-group tensions can be destructive. Team research initiated by Stull and his associates explore the *best practices* for stress management in locations where warnings are ignored, and the packers, in fact, "have come to town." Results of research across two decades are presented by Donald Stull and Michael Broadway in *Slaughterhouse Blues: The Meat and Poultry Industry in North America* (Stull and Broadway 2003).

Advocacy as a Living Tradition at the University of Colorado at Boulder

We have offered a retrospective view of a half century, presenting variations on the theme of advocacy introduced by Omer Stewart. Neither applied nor practicing anthropology at the University of Colorado Boulder are featured prominently in either student recruitment or course offerings today. The courses listed earlier as part of an applied specialization for several decades are no longer offered. Yet living examples of faculty advocacy, and recognition received for it, are still present.

In 2004, Donna Goldstein, current departmental faculty member, received the SfAA's

Margaret Mead Award for *Laughter Out of Place: Race, Class, Violence and Sexuality in a Rio Shantytown* (2003). This volume dramatizes the struggle of women for survival in a cultural context of violence and pervasive misery, only partly relieved by indulgence in black humor.

Goldstein writes in the tradition established by Nancy Scheper-Hughes (1992) in *Death without Weeping*, which favors "a politically committed and morally engaged anthropology," in other words, advocacy. Moving beyond the award, Donna has initiated a study of pharmaceutical practices for pricing and distributing HIV/AIDS drugs in Argentina to fight acquired immunodeficiency syndrome (AIDS), the transmissible disease of the immune system caused by the human immunodeficiency virus (HIV).

In another continent, for work in another world, Terry McCabe, current departmental faculty member, received the 2005 Julian Steward Award from the Anthropology and Environment Section of the American Anthropological Association for his 2004 publication *Cattle Brings Us to Our Enemies: Turkana Ecology, Politics and Raiding in a Disequilibrium System*.

McCabe extracts the significance of sixteen years of study focused on the rangeland and its utilization by Turkana herdsman. His argument exposes the mistaken assumptions maintained by traditional policy-makers in arid east Africa. By postulating culture and environment as a disequilibrium system, he proposes drastic rethinking of rangeland management for pastoral peoples. He also has become an advocate.

In present and continuing research, McCabe has turned his attention to national parks in eastern and southern Africa. These locations, often United Nations-designated natural heritage sites, offer much more than conservation of species and ecotourism. Management options may result in either expanding or contracting the subsistence opportunities for indigenous populations in adjacent communities. From this perspective, parks and protected areas can serve as agents of either developmental or destructive change. Terry has just received National Science Foundation (NSF) support for a long-term study of five sites to discover and advocate the most positive impacts.

Disseminating Applied Research: The Social Science Library of the United Nations

Robert Redfield wrote in 1953 that “the peasant community became immersed in the great society as the anthropologist was studying it.” Though applied anthropology research continues to address local issues, their significance is now evaluated for global implications. Some of our recent work at the University of Colorado at Boulder has been made available to a global audience of scientists and students concerned with directed culture change.

The United Nations Decade for Sustainable Development has commissioned Tufts University to compile a Social Science Library of selected items to be edited on a series of compact discs and distributed gratis to 5,000 universities spanning low income countries in Asia, Africa, and Latin America. The complete collection will contain 4,000 articles and chapters from each of the social sciences plus philosophy and history.

Items are chosen for a “focus on sustainable development and human well-being.” The Society for Applied Anthropology has been requested to release 27 articles from *Human Organization* for inclusion. Four of them appear in a special 2004 issue of *Human Organization*, volume 63, number 4, which Beverly and I edited, titled “The Future Lies Ahead: Applied Anthropology in Century XXI.” Items selected for inclusion were those by Josiah Heyman, Craig Janes, and Conrad Kottak together with our introductory essay, “Notes Toward a New Future,” which begins as follows (p. 385):

We are challenged to define a new applied anthropology to meet the terms and conditions of a new century....The new landscape is shaped in the image of globalization, the worldwide expansion of neoliberal political structures and the capitalist economies which they facilitate and promote both at home and abroad....We need to acquire the concepts and processes that define this landscape as scientists see it. Finally, we must build models to apply this revised mindset to the improvement of the quality of life for those who request our services. Applied

anthropology must ‘come of age’ in this kaleidoscopic environment (Hackenberg and Hackenberg 2004: 385).

The Social Science Library of Tufts University also includes two of our essays that directly address issues of sustainable development. (See Hackenberg and Hackenberg 1999 and 2002). We expect that the Department of Anthropology at the University of Colorado at Boulder will continue to contribute to this disciplinary maturation process.

Notes

1. With some reference material added, this article is a minimally edited version of “Bob Hackenberg’s last paper” (Walker 2007). It is dated September 9, 2006, and Robert A. Hackenberg delivered it then for the fiftieth anniversary of the founding of the Department of Anthropology at the University of Colorado at Boulder.
2. Cornell University awarded Robert Allan Hackenberg (1928-2007) his Ph.D. in anthropology. He died on April 22, 2007. At that time, he was a professor of anthropology emeritus at the University of Colorado at Boulder and an adjunct research scientist with the Bureau of Applied Research in Anthropology in Tucson, Arizona, at the University of Arizona. Please see the obituary on him by Donald D. Stull cited here under *References Cited* below.

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**Letter from the President:
Applied Anthropologists and School Shootings:
What Can We Do?**

Kreg T. Ettenger¹

One week ago, on April 16, 2007, Virginia Tech senior Cho Seung-hui killed 32 other students and faculty before turning one of his guns on himself. It was the latest and deadliest of the school shootings that have now become part of the American landscape, and the first in many years to take place on a college campus. For those of us in higher education, it reminded us that violent rampages directed against classmates and school authorities are not limited to angst-ridden teenagers. It also pointed out that despite what we have learned about these killers, their motives, and their psychological makeup in the years since the 1999 Columbine High School shootings in Colorado, we as a nation are woefully unprepared when it comes to predicting or stopping such attacks.

On my own campus at the University of Southern Maine (USM) there are no physical means to deter students from entering buildings and classrooms with weapons. Students can enter campus on foot or by car from various directions and park as close as ten feet to major classroom buildings and dormitories. There are no parking booths or attendants, and very little campus security presence of any kind at most hours. This is due in part to a general hiring freeze at our university that has left our public-safety office, as well as our academic departments, understaffed.

There is also no way for faculty or others to quickly respond to protect the safety of students or others. Classroom doors cannot be locked from the inside. There is no system for communicating from within classrooms or hallways in the event of an emergency. And there is no widespread training of faculty, staff or others in self-defense or in defusing volatile situations. It is abundantly clear from past experience that campus security and local police cannot respond quickly enough to prevent or even minimize the

large-scale killing of students by a well-prepared assailant, yet virtually nothing is done to train or equip those of us who would be first in his or her line of fire.

As in every other place where a school shooting has occurred, there is a general attitude on my campus of "It can't happen here." A university administrator implied this message in a recent e-mail, explaining that we have a USM *crisis-response team* for just such emergencies. In addition to the many bogus bomb threats over the past year, I have witnessed three incidents that truly could have led to harm on our campus: two classroom chemical leaks and a major gas-line rupture next to the campus. In all three cases, the response of campus security personnel and staff including faculty was, to put it kindly, insufficient. In one case, the instructor responsible for a leak of gaseous sulfuric acid continued to downplay the incident even as students were choking and gagging in the hallway. In another, a natural-gas leak that I could smell from nearly a mile away as I drove in did not precipitate the evacuation of classroom buildings.

In the case of the bomb threats on campus, of which there have now been about a dozen in as many months, the administration has decided to no longer evacuate buildings, but to do a cursory inspection instead. This decision was ostensibly taken to reduce the number of bomb threats by taking away the thrill that the caller(s) gained by disrupting campus activities. While the number of threats has apparently decreased, although they have not stopped, what happens if a future threat is, in fact, attached to a real bomb? Administrators have weighed the risks, and apparently decided with little direct input from faculty or students that public safety is less important than maintaining classes and meetings. Yet, we now know that Virginia Tech was similarly threatened in recent weeks, and that these threats may have

come from Cho Seung-hui.

As with the hours before the Virginia Tech massacre, public information for faculty, staff, and students is also lacking. I just visited our university's public-safety webpage, and the most recent announcement of a security risk to the campus was dated January 24, 2007. It is about a man convicted of indecent exposure who recently moved to town. Posters with pictures of this man have been posted on campus buildings for the past two months. There is nothing about school shootings, bomb threats, or anything else that might remind us of the very real threats we face every day, or how to identify, manage or prevent them.

In short, we here at USM, as no doubt at campuses across America, are woefully unprepared for future school shootings, despite the overwhelming probability that they will occur. Why am I bringing this up here? Because applied anthropologists may be among those who can contribute to more secure schools, more balanced approaches, and more effective responses to the growing risk of school and workplace violence. We are trained as observers of people and as practical problem-solvers, and this situation requires both.

For one thing, we can provide ethnographic data and analysis that administrators, security officials and others need. We may not be criminal profilers, but we do know about things like peer pressure and social networks, and why the roommates and friends of would-be shooters do not report them. We know that there are dangers to labeling people as *mentally ill* or *loners*, and that such terms can serve to further ostracize those already struggling with marginalization.

We know that some of those who see themselves as social outcasts eventually strike out against those they see as more powerful. And we also understand that knee-jerk reactions like calling for more students to have guns for their own self-protection is probably not the answer.

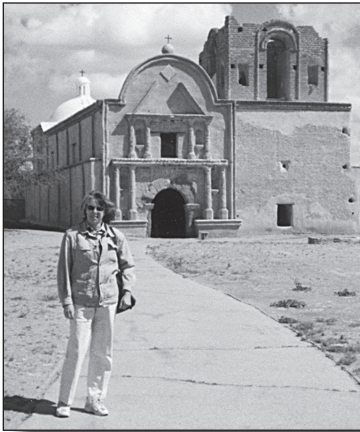
As applied anthropologists we can study and write about these issues, but we should also engage in them at the local level. If your university, or your company if you are in the corporate world, has a committee or task force charged with increasing campus or building security, join it. Offer your skills as a researcher and problem-solver. Offer whatever literature and perspectives our field has to offer on the subject. Conduct research on campus to get the views of your colleagues, students, and others. Suggest whatever policies you feel are needed, from increasing classroom security to improving interventions for troubled students. Bring the balanced and holistic perspective that this complex, emotionally-charged problem desperately needs. Finally, do whatever you feel you need to do to be personally prepared, should the day ever come.

Notes

1. Kreg T. Ettenger is the president of the High Plains Society for Applied Anthropology. His Ph.D. in anthropology is from Syracuse University. He is an assistant professor in the Department of Geography and Anthropology at the University of Southern Maine, 37 College Avenue, Gorham, Maine (ME) 04038-1032 USA. He also may be reached by telephone at 207-780-5322 and by electronic mail at ettenger@usm.maine.edu or at kreg.ettenger@excite.com.

The Omer C. Stewart Memorial Award
A Generalist's Approach to Applied Anthropology:
For 2006, the 14th Annual Omer C. Stewart Memorial Award¹

Lenora Bohren²



I was thrilled when I learned 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 is diverse. I have spent my career working with many issues concerning culture, technology, and the environment. They vary from global warming to a focus on how farmers and ranchers adapt to climate change, from air-quality issues to the culture of the car and driving behaviors. It is difficult to find success as a generalist because it is easy to miss opportunities to participate in relevant projects where your knowledge and expertise might be applied. To do the type of work I enjoy, I have learned that it is important to establish *networks* in order to find

such *opportunities*. This often means broadening one's networks to include other disciplines and networks outside one's own area of interest. In my case, it meant including ecologists and practitioners from government agencies in order to learn about current opportunities. Once information has been compiled, it is important to disseminate it through outreach activities to reach a wider audience and, in the process, to make further contacts that can lead to future projects and new jobs.

My Story

I graduated from Pennsylvania State University with a B.A. in sociology. After graduation, I moved to New York City and found a job in personnel, now known as human resources. I worked in personnel for several companies for six to seven years. Between jobs, I took a "sabbatical" for a year and a half to travel around the world, where I learned firsthand 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 attend 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 intending to get a master's degree in sociology. I decided on Colorado State University and was soon convinced that sociology was not the degree I wanted; instead, 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 fact memorization, so I thought anthropology was not my "cup of tea.")

Studying anthropology at Colorado State University, I soon became interested in Native American adaptation strategies to the natural environment. I was fascinated by the variety of technologies used by different cultures to adapt to their respective natural environments. Thus began my interest in culture, technology, and the

environment. I had no idea where this fascination would lead me.

After graduation, my first job was with a CSU agricultural economist studying small and part-time farmers. I had no experience with farm culture but thought why not? I also worked with a CSU sociologist conducting studies on the social impact 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 understanding the decision-making process behind the adaptation strategies of a complex culture in a rapidly changing environment. I found both of these opportunities through the *networks* I had established in graduate school.

In 1982, I shifted gears again and was hired by the CSU Clean Air Center. I learned of this job opportunity from a contact I had made while working with social-impact studies. My new job was to survey diesel car owners to assess the future role of diesel passenger cars within the passenger car population of Colorado's Front Range. I again found myself in a new arena but one that still focused on environmental issues. I continued using my theoretical framework by approaching this study from the perspective of learning about the consequences adapting a technology—the car—to the American culture and environment. I discovered that people love their cars and that the car had shaped twentieth-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 to own 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 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 twenty-four years and am now the director. I started with an interest in Native American adaptation but 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 I never thought I held an interest 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 evaluating 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 to assess car owners' understanding of, and response to, the light. 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 assumption that economic factors are a stronger motivator for action than are environmental ones. Ah, economical 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 twelve (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 directly impacts it. The course consists of modules that can be used in science, environmental science, or mathematics classes to teach students how to calculate 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, which allowed 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 planting 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 (now the College of Natural Resources). 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) found that adaptation strategies of farmers were quite 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 further opportunities, including working on a large-scale assessment of farmers and ranchers in the Great Plains of the United States and serving on the steering committee (*outreach*) for the Great Plains Climate

Change Assessment, sponsored by the White House Office of Technology. This opportunity came as 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 role networking plays in leading to potential opportunities cannot be overstated. 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 970-491-1805, and **Lenora.Bohren@Colostate.edu** is an e-mail address for her.

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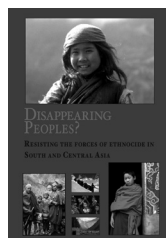
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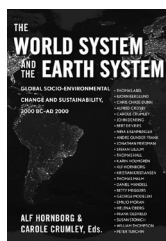
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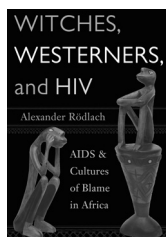
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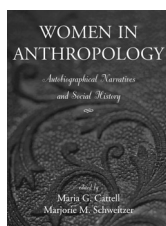
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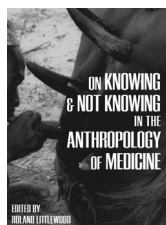


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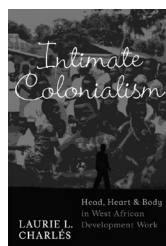


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The journal is published under the auspices of the High Plains Society for Applied Anthropology (HPSfAA). The editor-in-chief is Lawrence Van Horn, Ph.D., of the National Park Service. Annual memberships in the High Plains Society include subscriptions; these are \$40 US for individuals, \$75 US for institutions, \$50 US for couples desiring joint memberships, and \$25 US for students. Individual issues are available at \$20 US. Membership inquiries and remittances should be addressed to Merun Nasser, Ph.D., HPSfAA Treasurer, 2636 Grapewood Lane, Boulder, Colorado 80304-2406. Materials for publication consideration should be submitted electronically to the editor-in-chief at: julavaho1@mindspring.com.